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MIGRATION AND REHABILITATION
A CASE STUDY OF OMDURMAN
SUDAN

BY

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(BA, MA)

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL
ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL WORK FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY (PH.D.)

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DEDICATION

TO MY FATHER, WIFE, DAUGHTERS AND SON

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ABBREVIATIONS

1.	IMF	International Monetary Fund
2.	ILO	International Labour Organisation
3.	IDA	International Development Assistance
4.	GDP	Gross Domestic Product
5.	Southern Region	includes Bhr. El Gazal, Upper Nile and Equatoria Provinces
6.	Western Region	includes Dar Fur and Kordofan regions
7.	OFEDC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
8.	UNCOHE	United Nation Conference on Human Environment
9.	UNDESA	United Nation Department of Economic and Social Affairs
10.	UNOEA	United Nation Office for Emergency in Africa
11.	WB	World Bank
12.	WHO	World Health Organisation

GLOSSARY

1. Dar es Salaam - one of the three absorption areas suggested around the capital, ie Omdurman, Khartoum and Khartoum North
2. El khalwa - Koranic school
3. El kisra - traditional bread made from grain
4. Hara - small area of residence
5. Karo - container for transferring water often fixed to horses and donkeys (see photographs)
6. Souk - market
7. Rakuba - small hut made from grass and wood often used as a lounge or as a kitchen
8. Shugag - traditional shelter made from wool blankets
9. Nafir - a kind of community assistance based on reciprocal basis
10. Shiekh, Omda, Nazir - administrative system inherited from colonial rule to administer villages and districts, based on tribalism. The principal aim is to collect taxes and punish those who break tribal rules and to conciliate individuals and other tribes-people
11. Sudanese Pound - The official exchange rate between the Sudanese Pound and the American Dollar was a constant US\$ 2.8716 to the Pound over the period 1957-1976. From then, the Pound deteriorated sharply to the level of US\$ 0.1651 per Pound in 1988 (IMF International Financial Statistics, Year Book 1988/89, pp 654-655, Washington, DC.)

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with rural-urban migration, with the socio-economic problems confronting migrants in Omdurman and the suitability of the solutions of their current situation. Basically, the research aimed to answer two major questions. First, what are the demographic and socio-economic conditions of migrants? Second, what could be done to rehabilitate them? In answering these questions the study utilises both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The former based on questionnaires given to both migrants and professionals. While the latter was confined to case histories and interviews of all those concerned with the problem.

The thesis contains 8 chapters. The introduction was intended to provide essential background information to the economic, political and social problems which have confronted Sudan since independence with special attention to the problem of migration.

Chapter 1 explained urbanisation growth in African countries since the 1950's, which was attributed to rapid natural increase and in-migration from the countryside. In addition, imbalance of socio-economic development which was aimed to favour urban centres at the expense of rural areas.

Chapter 2 reviewed the policies of rehabilitation in developing countries. These policies have tended to follow one of three types: Demolition and clearance, site and services and upgrading and rural development.

The first was most common between 1950-1960. This policy failed to control urban land and aggravated the housing problems rather than solving them.

The second started in the 1960's and aimed to provide low density housing and neglected the high rise tenements. The main problems facing this model were its failure to introduce water supply, electricity, transportation, basic infrastructure etc.. Many countries adopted both site and services and upgrading approaches. The third was adopted by some other countries through establishment of agricultural projects, growth centres or rural industries. Overall, this policy could help to disperse population but requires to be integrated with other approaches.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the methodology and study framework. Three areas of migrants were selected on the peripheries of the town, that is the Western, Northern and Southern parts. The total number of respondents were 392 in addition to 10 family case histories, five from each type of migrant. The professional sample included 41 informants who represented different government ministries, institutions, research units and university teachers.

A descriptive account of migrants was introduced in Chapter 4. The information which was obtained included area of origin; age; household situation, income, housing circumstances and perception of the problems.

Chapter 5 examined the remarkable differences between both migrant sub-types. On the objective level the exercise included characteristics of each type, ethnic composition, factors which led to their migration, visits to village of origin, contact with the local community, education, occupation, housing and conditions of household health, amenities and level of modernity.

On the subjective assessment, the emphasis was directed to the major differences between both family types. The study utilised the life history method (a biographical approach) to present the supplementary cumulative evidence.

The adjustment to the new areas was assessed in Chapter 6. The study also combined both structural and cultural approaches. First, the structural account concentrated on two variables: type of migration and length of stay in town. Second, utilising case histories (biographical reconstructions) to evaluate changes in attitudes, values, aspiration, feelings of each family type towards the other and the host population. The interviewing included men, wives and children.

The main objective of Chapter 7 is to assess the acceptability of the solutions by the migrants and the professionals. The main purpose was to reveal the extent to which the professional's views were based on accurate knowledge. Five solutions, each associated with different options, were suggested. These solutions were:

1. Assimilation of migrants in the city.

2. Rehabilitation on legal plots, outside the city.
3. Repatriation to area of origin.
4. Resettlement in new agricultural schemes.
5. Removal to old agricultural schemes.

The conclusion chapter 8 included a summary of the study findings and discussing them in relation to similar empirical studies and relevant social theories. Also the results of rehabilitation solutions discussed in the light of policies of settlement. The chapter ended by providing a framework of action and recommendations at national, regional and local levels.

INTRODUCTION

Sudan has an area of a million square miles and borders with eight African countries. The partial census of 1983 showed that the total population amounted to 22 million. During the last twenty years it has faced acute economic difficulties and massive in-migration, out-migration and immigration from neighbouring countries.

The roots of these problems are due to internal and external factors. Colonial rule, and all national governments have concentrated socio-economic projects in the central areas and ignored developing the peripheral regions. The consequences of this direction were a bloody civil war in the South and mass migration from remote regions to the prosperous areas. On top of these internal factors Sudan was, and still is, heavily dependent on foreign resources for its import needs and budgetary purposes (Bank of Sudan 1987). The World Bank (1984) confirmed that in the case of developing countries, the extra foreign exchange may bring temporary relief but will have no lasting benefits.

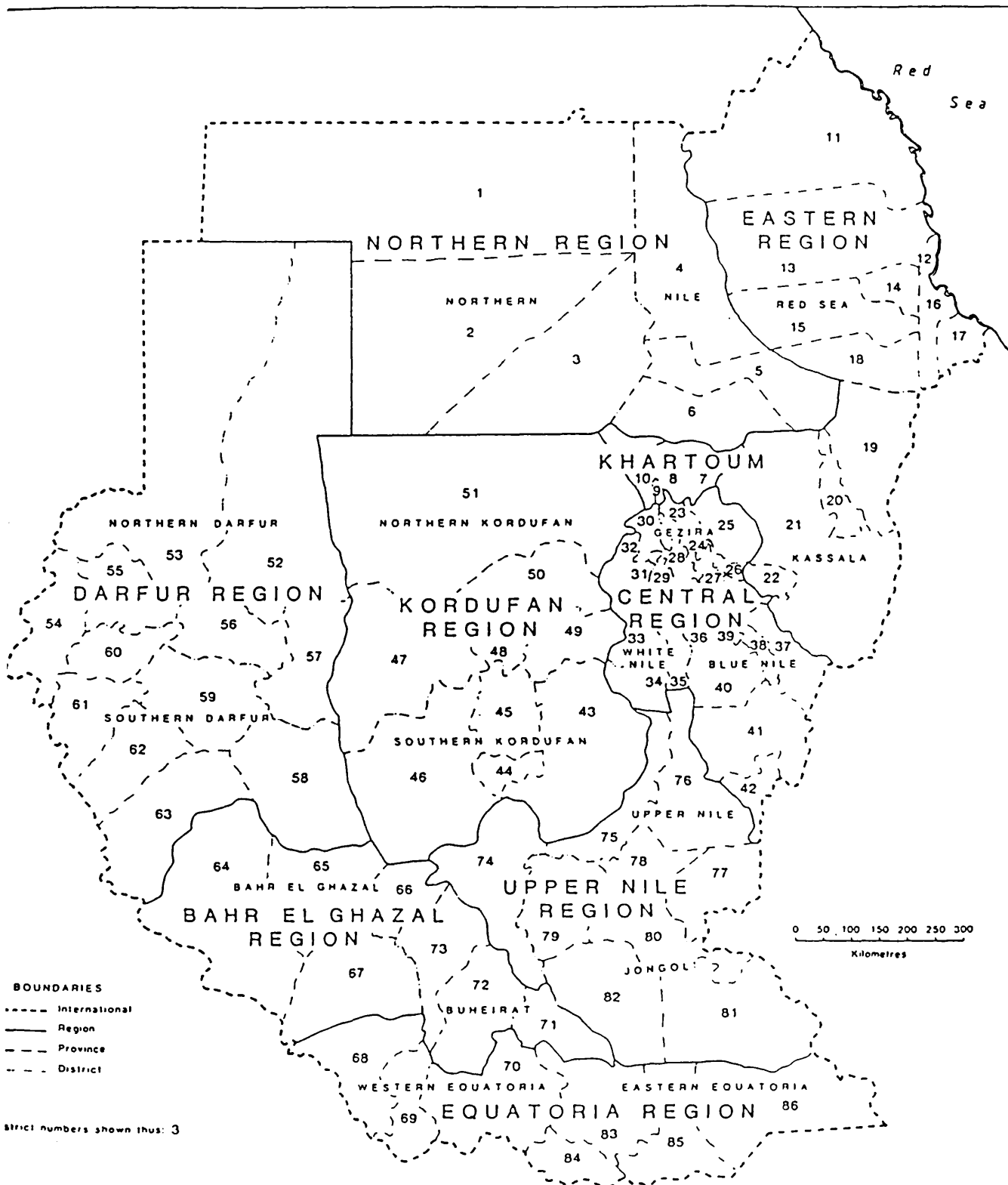
It will be helpful to throw some light on previous socio-economic development plans, balance of payment deficits and external debts which have done so much to cause the current socio-economic problems confronting the country.

Sudan achieved independence from British rule in January 1956. The transitional national government was pre-occupied with Sudanising the civil service and problems in the South and other peripheral regions were largely ignored. This

government lasted only for two years and was replaced by a military regime in November 1958. In 1961, the new government undertook a Ten Year socio-economic development plan. The plan was suspended in 1964 after the success of a public uprising (October Revolution) and traditional political parties came to power again. The second civil government abandoned the Ten Year Plan and changed to a yearly programme to meet public needs (Third Economic Conference 1984). This government lasted for five years, during which time the threat of civil war was escalated and deprivation of remote areas increased.

The Free Officers Coup of May 1969 radically changed the political structure to scientific socialism, and nationalised trade banks and private sector institutions. This direction continued only for two years when the Communist Coup (1971) failed to exclude Nimir. Since then Sudan became more heavily influenced by the Western Countries and de-nationalised the economic institutions again. In 1972, the government was successful in ending years of instability and armed conflict in the South; through the Addis Ababa Agreement the Southern Region became an autonomous area within the country. A new climate of co-operation was established within the country and international free world. In 1977, the government set up the Six Year Plan of Economic and Social Development 1977/78-1982/83. The plan involved a 7.5% annual rate of development; which would create half a million job opportunities, establish new economic institutions and training centres etc. As regards human development, the plan aimed to reduce internal migration

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS BY REGION PROVINCE AND DISTRICT 1983



through the establishing of basic services; new agricultural schemes, the resettlement of nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples and the prohibition of illegal immigration. The government adopted regional development as the main element of comprehensive national planning to reduce economic and social disparities between regions (Ministry of National Planning 1977).

The Six Year Plan failed to achieve envisaged goals. Many commentators attributed the failures to mismanagement, corruption and over-ambitious objectives. Others cited external factors such as oil price rises, higher world interest rates and reduced commitment of the IMF and multilateral organisations. Another factor was that after the Camp David Accord, Arab countries punished Sudan for being the first country to condone the agreement. They reduced or completely stopped exporting crude oil and terminated donations of aid and financing of economic projects. These reasons together led the IMF to suggest the Three Years Investment Programme 1980/81-1982/83 to replace the Six Year Plan with more modest and limited aims (Gurdon 1984).

The Second Public Uprising succeeded in overthrowing the May Regime in April, 1985. A transitional government was established from both the army and the public to carry out the national election which took place in 1986. The traditional political parties came to power and the new government suggested a Four Year Plan Recovery Programme 1988/89-1991/92. The main objectives of this programme were to achieve a targeted real growth rate of 5%; rehabilitate established

schemes; direct efforts to developing the traditional sector; to achieve food self-sufficiency; to increase the production of cash crops and to attract foreign capital and emigrants remittances (Ministry of Planning and the Bank of Sudan reports 1987). In June 1989, the National Salvation Government replaced the democratic regime and information on current developments is lacking.

There can be no doubt that the consecutive changes of government have had serious effects on the Sudanese economy, both on its balance of payment deficit and on the successive increase of external debts. In addition to mass emigration of skilled and trained manpower. The annual deficit rose from 11 million Sudanese pounds in 1972 to 600 in 1980 and, as a result of oil price rises and decline in cotton production, rose to 2.2 billion by the end of 1982. Over this period the total debts were 8 billion American dollars by the end of 1984 and it reached 11.9 billion by the end of 1988. Therefore in 1988 the country was obliged to pay 1,074 million dollars as principal and interest, that is 763 and 311 respectively, from which the total amount of repayment was 53.6 million (Bank of Sudan 1988). In 1988 the total revenue from exports was 1,922 million Sudanese pounds and the import bill amounted to 4,587 million (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 1988).

This worsening economic situation was associated with an ever increasing concentration in the capital. By 1979, 70% of the total industrial and commercial establishments, 58% of the total employment, 57% of the country's doctors etc. were found

in the capital (Abdelrahman 1979). This heavy concentration of economic and social facilities led to increasing migration to the capital and other urban centres. This concentration was in turn associated with civil war and declining productivity of subsistence agriculture in the West. Drought and desertification forced rural residents to move Northwards and Eastwards to seek better opportunities.

The first period of drought occurred between 1969-1973 and the second during 1979-1984. The main affected areas were Northern Dar Fur, Kordofan and White Nile Provinces. These areas are located between latitudes 13 and 17 degrees North and longitudes 27 and 32 degrees East. The climate in these areas is classified as desert, semi-desert or low rainfall savanna. Both local and national authorities were reluctant to announce the famine till September 1984, when an official declaration was made. In December 1984 the government decided to repatriate the migrants involuntarily. While the Health Committee reported that many were medically unfit for travelling, this advice was ignored by the authorities; as a result little permanent return movement took place. Those who did move back found nothing had been prepared for them (Suhair 1987). More detailed information and estimates on these movements will be found in Chapter 4.

In addition to these problems of internal migration, Sudan experienced the emigration of around half a million people to Arab countries. The majority of these people are professionals, technicians or skilled labourers (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 1988). At the Conference of Sudanese Working

Abroad which was held in Khartoum in 1985, it was indicated that the total number is about 350 thousand emigrants including one hundred thousand accompanying their families (Hamid, A.M. 1988). In 1980 ILO reported that the population of Sudanese Working Abroad had risen to 3% of the total population. Eighty per cent were skilled clerical workers or professionals viz. Doctors, engineers, surveyors, technicians, university teachers (Omer El Tay 1988).

Some authors believed that the official records were unrealistic because the majority of emigrants left the country without notice and only a quarter left through the official channels (Galaleldin 1985).

As regards emigrants remittances, the total remittances during fiscal year 1988/89 amounted to a billion Sudanese pounds (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 1988). The government at that time had a tendency to rely on these remittances as a major source of foreign currency. However, these remittances have also contributed to new modes of economic behaviour (Hamid, A.M. 1988). Most emigrants' savings are directed to consumption instead of investment. Besides, the majority kept their money abroad or sold it in the black market rather than sending it through official channels. Others used their savings for land speculation, weddings, and investment in the tertiary sector.

Immigration from neighbouring countries has also been a significant feature of Sudanese history. For decades there have been successive waves of movements to Sudan mainly from

Nigeria, Zaire and Chad. In 1974, the government established the Office Commission For Refugees to administer and co-ordinate refugee affairs and undertake programmes of assistance and rehabilitation (Hassan Attia 1986).

Sudan today is the third or fourth recipient of refugees in the world. During the last two decades, it has become the main host of refugees from Ethiopia (Eriterean and Tigrean), Chad, Uganda and Zaire. In 1978 the United Nation Mission estimated that 300 thousand refugees lived inside Sudan. By the end of 1984 the total number had reached almost a milllion. Official records of the office of the Commission for Refugees in 1985 estimated a total of 1.2 million refugees in the country (Omer El Tay 1988). Over time the problem of refugees has become more criticl and places tremendous strain on both arable land and social services.

Sudan has at least 200 million feddan (1 feddan = 1.03 acres) of which only 15 million (7.5%) are currently under cultivation. At the same time there are 20 million cattle, 20 million sheep, 15 million goats and 3 million camels. The agricultural and animal sectors contribute 60% of the country's total GDP: 40% and 20% repectively (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 1988).

Despite discoveries of crude oil and minerals, the Sudanese economy is based on agricultural and animal production and improvements here are necessary to solve economic and demographic problems.

This research is primarily an attempt to survey the problem of rural-urban migration so as to help policy formation in

current rehabilitation programmes. The study focuses on migrants in Omdurman and has two basic objectives. First, to present a demographic and socio-economic profile of migrants; and second to examine suggested solutions for rehabilitation.

The data has been obtained through questionnaires and case histories and other appropriate techniques. With regard to the first objective, some major questions were asked of both migrants and professional respondents:

1. What are the demographic, economic and social characteristics of migrants?
2. What factors contributed to their migration?
3. How long have they stayed in town?
4. Why do they live in present places?
5. What is the degree of their adaptation to urban life?
6. What social ties exist between migrants and home-people in rural areas and town?
7. What efforts do they make to obtain legal plots?
8. What do they do to meet daily needs?
9. What are the main socio-economic problems confronting migrants now?

Professional respondents were also asked direct questions which could not be asked of the migrants themselves viz:

1. What are the benefits/non-benefits to the local community obtained from migrants?
2. What are the positive/negative roles of government and political parties towards migrants?
3. What kind of assistance is provided by International Relief

Aid Organisations?

4. What is the role of the media towards migrants?

To meet the second objective the study suggested five solutions each associated with different options and asked both migrants and professionals to select the best two solutions: The main questions were:

1. Are the migrants willing to be integrated in the city, if so where?
2. Would they agree to move to legal plots of land on the outskirts of town, if so under what conditions?
3. Would they accept repatriation to native areas, if so what would they like to be done before moving?
4. Do they want to be rehabilitated in new agricultural schemes, if so where?
5. Would they accept to be shifted to old established agricultural schemes; if so what schemes do they prefer?

This thesis contains the following chapters. Chapter 1 and 2 give a brief review and essential background information about rural-urban migration studies in Africa and rehabilitation policies in some developing countries.

Chapter 3, describes methodology and study framework. This includes a discussion of study difficulties.

Chapter 4, gives a simple descriptive account of Omdurman migrants and compares migrants' objective conditions with those perceived by professionals.

In Chapter 5, the study examines the fundamental differences between displaced and spontaneous migrants,

utilising survey data and case histories. The analysis includes migrants characteristics, ethnic composition, push factors; visits to home villages, contacts with local community, education and occupation. The distinction between displaced and spontaneous families was made through cumulative evidence to supplement the objective data.

The adjustment to the new area is assessed in Chapter 5. The chapter covers identification to new area, rural-urban link and differential adjustment of families members.

Chapter 7 looks at the problem of rehabilitation and assesses the acceptability of suggested solutions to both migrants and professionals.

Chapter 8, the concluding chapter, includes a summary of findings and discusses the result in the context of similar empirical studies and relevant social theories. It ends with an outline of a framework of action and policy recommendations at the local, regional and national levels.

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p 11,12.

The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Government tried to ensure that the Muslim Northerners did not exploit the African Southerners. It was decided in 1922 that the South was naturally part of East Africa and that eventually it should be part of a federation of East African States. During the next 25 years contact between the North and South was discouraged. Northern merchants and muslim preachers

were prohibited from entering the region.

p 2. The Addis Ababa Agreement (1972) brought peace to the country by giving the three southern provinces a large degree of autonomy through the creation of the Southern Region. On the economic front, Sudan adopted an ambitious development programme designed to turn it into the "Bread basket of the Arab World". The intention was to utilise Arab capital, Western technology and Sudanese land and water resources.

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CHAPTER (1)
POPULATION MOVEMENT IN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

African countries have experienced rapid urbanisation growth since 1950, particularly in larger cities. There are two reasons responsible for this urban growth: rapid natural population increase and in-migration from the countryside. Moreover, most African countries are suffering from famine or are threatened by famine regionally or nationally. Famines are usually due to two main causes: natural (includes failure of rain and floods) and man-made (includes chronic underdevelopment, unequal distribution of resources and development policies which favoured some regions at the expense of another, in addition to political instability and conflicts) (Carter 1982).

According to the World Bank (Table 1), in 1960 there were only 12 cities in Africa with over half a million residents, while by 1980 there were 48 with over half a million and the overall urban population had almost doubled over this period. West African countries have the highest rates of urban population growth because administration and commerce are both concentrated in seaports at the expense of the development of intermediate towns elsewhere (Gugler & Flannagan 1978). Thus, Lagos, Abidjan and Freetown doubled in size in less than ten years and in Senegal, Liberia, The Ivory Coast and Ghana one third of the population is living in the urban centres (Steady 1982).

THE HIGHEST URBAN POPULATION IN AFRICA

"Selected countries"

Country	As percentage of total pop.		Percentage in cities over 0.5 mill person		Number of cities over 0.5 mill person	
	1965	1984 %	1960	1980 %	1960	1980 %
1. Ethiopia	8	15	0	37	0	1
2. Zaire	19	39	14	38	1	2
3. Tanzania	6	14	0	50	0	1
4. Uganda	6	7	0	52	0	1
5. Madagascar	12	21	0	36	0	1
6. Benin	11	15	0	63	0	1
7. Kenya	9	18	0	57	0	1
8. Guinea	12	27	0	80	0	1
9. Ghana	26	39	0	48	0	7
0. Sudan	13	21	0	31	0	1
1. Senegal	27	35	0	65	0	1
2. Mozambique	5	16	0	83	0	1
3. Zambia	24	48	0	35	0	1
4. Morocco	32	43	16	50	1	4
5. Egypt	40	23	53	53	2	2
6. Nigeria	15	30	22	58	2	9
7. Zimbabwe	14	27	0	50	0	1
8. Cameroon	16	41	0	21	0	1
9. Tunisia	40	54	40	30	1	1
0. S. Africa	47	56	44	53	4	7
1. Algeria	32	47	27	12	1	1
2. Libya	29	63	0	64	0	1
3. Angola	13	24	0	64	0	1

Source : World Development Report 1986 : Urbanisation p. 240 - 241

While the increase has been less consistently dramatic elsewhere the overall trend is similar. Over the last 30 years the populations of Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, Nouachot, Lusaka, and Kinshasa have increased more than 7 fold and the populations of Cairo, Casablanca and Algeria have increased more than 3 fold. In Uganda, the migration to urban centres for employment has had the effect of decreasing wages in the whole country, particularly in Kampala, where wages were stable over the last ten years (Southhall 1970). Also in Nairobi, Kenya, the landless labourers have emigrated in large numbers to the city, whose population has doubled over the last decade, and become larger than the next 20 towns combined. Mombasa and Nairobi now account for more than 20% of the urban population of Kenya. The majority of migrants were young and moved after leaving schools and disliked working in the agricultural sector (Richardson 1984).

Despite this concentration of African population in large cities the majority still live in the countryside. In 1980 it was estimated that 79% of the African population lived in rural areas or towns with less than 20 thousand residents. This figure is expected to decrease to 69% by the end of the 20th century (McAuslan 1985).

The United Nations Conference on Human Environment (1974) noted that the migratory streams which brought people to large cities occurred in successive forms i.e. people from remote rural areas move to hamlets, from hamlets they move to small towns, the small towns' dwellers move to central slums of big cities and people from city centres will move out to the

peripheries. The conference explained that the poor rural migrants who arrived in large towns or cities either settled in the old squatter settlements or invaded vacant public or private land in the cities' edge and built their own makeshift shelters from whatever materials. Sometimes the two forms overlap. The former established private rental accommodation for new arrivals.

The population movement from rural to urban areas has stimulated much debate on the forces which motivate people to move. A variety of factors have been suggested, either operating singly or in combination.

2. REASONS FOR LEAVING RURAL AREAS

Research studies which have examined reasons for leaving rural areas have revealed three forces which play a crucial role in motivating migrants to move.

First, some researchers have relied solely on economic motives to explain the decision to move e.g. Lesile in Dar es Salaam, Rouch in Ghana, Balandier in Brazzaville and Reeds in Malawi (Hanna & Hanna 1971). More generally Gugler and Flanagan (1978) have noted that in West African countries urbanisation is characterised by severe inequalities between regions. They attribute this to imbalance in economic opportunities between rural and urban sectors, e.g. in Nigeria the average rural household income is less than half the average urban household income. McAuslan (1985) reported similarly. Thus in 1977 Nairobi contained more than half of Kenya's modern sector while it has less than 6% of the population, Dar es Salaam had less

than 5% of the population while it had half of Tanzania's urban manufacturing. Mitchell, has argued that centripetal and centrifugal-push-pull-forces operate in three ways to direct the flow of rural urban migration. If economic needs can be satisfied in rural areas then people stay there: in the absence of rural opportunities, economic needs pull the migrants to town but social needs push them back to rural areas. When both economic and social needs can be satisfied in town, migrants become both economically and socially involved in town and lessen their rural social obligation and become townsmen (Parkin 1975).

Second, other writers have stressed the role of social factors in rural-urban migration. Therefore most migrants decide to move after listening to the account of migrants who return from town, or they visit relatives/friends in town. For example Lee had seen migration as an outcome of a disparity between a set of perceived attracting and repelling forces at places of origin, and a possible future in urban settings (Potter 1985). According to Taylor (1966) the decision-making process "entails a resolution of the forces which bind the potential migrant to his present situation the forces which pull him away". He said " The decision to move is characterised by a period of "germination". During this period, husband and wife conduct a sporadic debate on the advantages and disadvantages of migration. In many cases the debate is joined by relatives, workmates, neighbours and even the children". He criticized the push-pull model because it attributed all

motives to the assumption of "maximising want satisfaction", and ran the risk of over-simplifying the process, reducing it to a kind of "mechanical balance" of external forces. A number of writers have argued that women often migrate because of social reasons, i.e. those who have not been able to bear children, marital instability, educated girls, or an imbalance between males and females. All these reasons push women into cities more than any other reasons (Gugler & Flanagan 1978). Some others see the excitement and attraction of the city and freedom in town as the main reasons to motivate rural residents to move (Hanna & Hanna 1971).

Peil (1984) argued that the social and political causes of migration were ignored because of the primacy of economic factors. He revealed that many people moved either voluntarily or involuntarily for reasons which were not economic. Social contacts represent an important stimulus for migration, women are more likely to migrate for social reasons, conflicts at home and political migration represents another social factor. Thus it is often difficult to separate economic, social and political factors in migration studies.

Third, the multi-causal model represents a compromise between the economic and the social and constitutes the most useful way to explain rural-urban migration in African countries. It is argued that any evaluation of rural-urban migration must consider the aggregate of economic, social, political, and environmental conditions. Thus rural-urban migration must be seen as determined by different forces which exert pressure on individuals (Gugler & Flanagan 1978). For

instance, Banton carried out a survey in Freetown and other parts of Northern Sierra Leone, and found that the principal reasons for coming to towns were that money was so easily obtained and things could be bought. He also emphasised that in Freetown the migrants were more liberated (Gugler & Flanagan 1978).

Generalising, we could conclude that there are different forces which motivate people to move from rural to urban areas. But the importance of each cause was to be determined according to the present circumstance and situation of the individual migrant. Therefore researchers must give "equal" attention to all forces involved in rural-urban migration.

3. DIFFERENT SITUATIONS IN URBAN CENTRES

The independent African countries witnessed an exodus migration from rural areas to capitals or large cities during the last three decades. The national governments removed all barriers established by the colonial regimes to restrict moving to urban centres and concentrated development projects in capitals and large cities to the neglect of rural areas. This imbalance of development led to a fast rural migration to urban centres which resulted in many problems, particularly of accommodation and work. In the following section we aim to explain the magnitude of problems confronting these towns.

In West Africa, McAuslan (1985) reported that in Lagos, Nigeria 1980, the population of the city amounted to 4.5 million, most of them were living in unplanned districts, suffering from lack of infrastructure services. The estimation

of 1981 showed that Freetown, Sierra Leone, had a population of over half a million, mostly housed in unplanned residential development. Lusaka, Zambia, had a population of .5 million, half of whom were living in spontaneous settlement which developed around the town and expanded on illegal land. In Central Africa the situation is the same: the total population of Bangi was 340 thousand, three quarters were living in squatter housing which was characterised by the lack of clean water, sanitation and electricity services. And in Ouagadougou, Barkina Faso, of a total population of 250 thousand, 60% were living in spontaneous settlements around the city (McAuslan 1985). Examples can also be cited from East Africa. In Tanzania between 40%-70% of the main cities' residents were living in unauthorised settlements, the investigation conducted by Housing Development Division 1980 indicated that about 65% of the population of Dar es Salaam was living in squatter settlements (Mghweno 1984). In Kenya, according to 1979 estimates (Buttsworth 1981), the total population was 16 million of which 2 million lived in urban centres, most concentrated in Nairobi and Mombassa. Nairobi alone accounted for 45% of the total urban population. For example, Mathare Valley, one of Nairobi's main squatter areas, grew from 4 thousand residents in 1964 to 53 thousand in 1971. According to the 1979 survey, it was found that most of the squatter settlements lacked basic services (McAuslan 1985). In North Africa the situation is similar. In 1975 the housing deficit in Egypt accounted for 1.5 million units, of which Cairo

represented 50% and the number of squatters in The City of Dead "Cairo" accounted for one million in addition to many other parts and peripheries of the city. All illegal settlements lacked the basic services (Hardoy 1981). El-messiri (1985) reported that despite rapid growth of spontaneous settlements in Egypt, the official records ignored their existence. He identified three areas of squatter communities in Cairo i.e. Mokatom Hills in the peripheries of the town, the cemetery area, the eastern fringe of the city and in the desert near industries. In Alexandria, Egypt, a recent study (Soliman 1985) showed that the urban squatters accounted for 310 thousand, located in different areas of the southern part of the city.

In Morocco, squatter residents live in spontaneous settlements known as "Bidon Villes" in and around the main cities. Most residents pay rent to landlords or to someone who claim a right to the land. A survey carried out in 1975 found only 10% of "Bidon-Ville" households had access to pipe water and the rest relied on public fountains or wells. In addition, more than half had to travel hundreds of metres to reach the nearest public fountain (McAuslan 1985).

On the basis of the substantial empirical evidence, Dwyer 1975 (Potter 1985) proposed a model to explain the location of spontaneous settlements throughout the Third World's cities (Figure 1). The model postulates a move from small towns or countryside either to city centres and later to squatter locations, or directly to squatter settlements. Alternatively, as the urban areas expand, the major squatter locations move out centrifugally by normal process of invasion and succession.

FIGURE 1

Third World Urbanisation

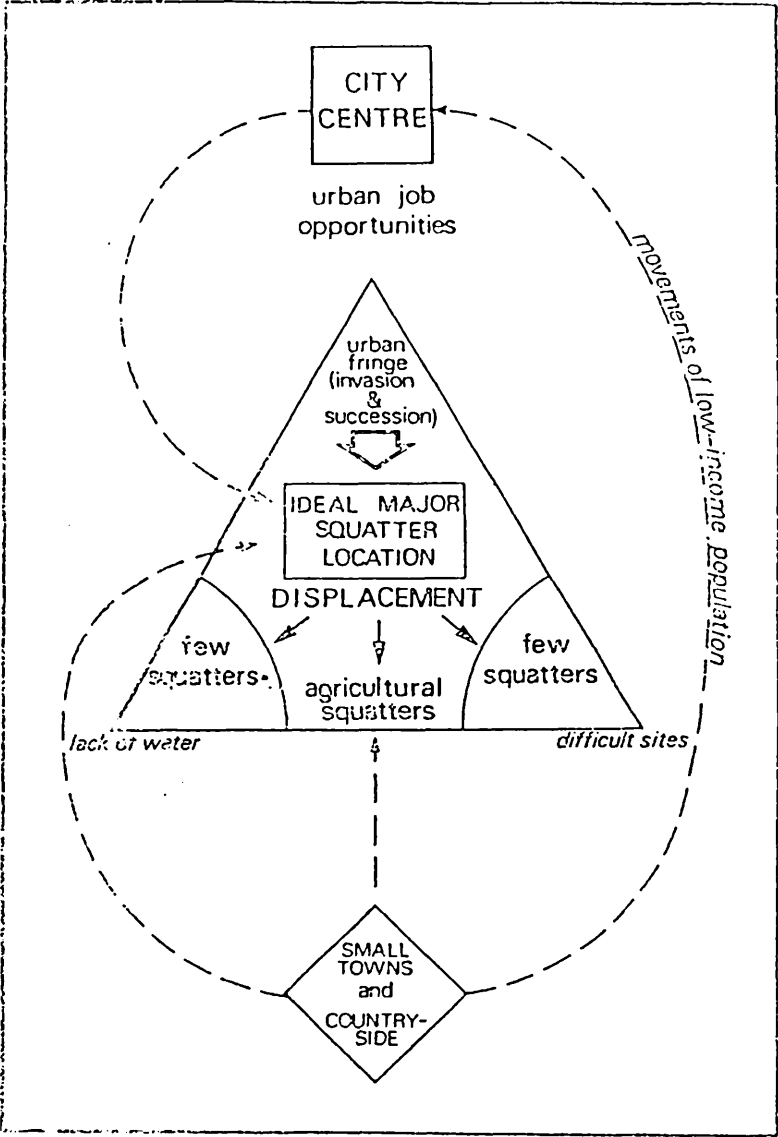


Figure 3.13: Dwyer's locational model of spontaneous settlements (Source: Dwyer, 1975)

Thus the spontaneous agricultural settlements on the urban fringe may eventually be replaced by urban-oriented squatter settlers.

Dwyer's model is useful because he tries to trace the two major paths of migratory movements of low-income people into spontaneous settlements. Both are found in the case of Omdurman migrants. That is spontaneous settlers moved to Omdurman town and later moved to illegal settlements on the fringe of the city while displaced settlers moved directly to squatter settlements and because of the expansion of spontaneous settlements they relocated in difficult places with a lack of water and other basic facilities.

Eyre 1972 (Potter 1985) studied the shanty-towns of Montego Bay, Jamaica. and identified another model of migrant flows (Figure 2). The predominant flow (A) represents rural migrants who moved into inner-city slums and (B) represents the reverse i.e. from inner-city slums to shanty-towns to escape from high rent and other negative aspects of inner-city life. Flow (C) is from inner-city slums to the upper and middle class zones (u-m) and includes the small proportion of successful migrants who became better off. Flow (D) also represents the small and rich groups who flew from shanty-towns to the upper and middle class zone. Finally flow (E) represents movement from rural areas to shanty-towns which included a limited number of migrants.

Third World Urbanisation

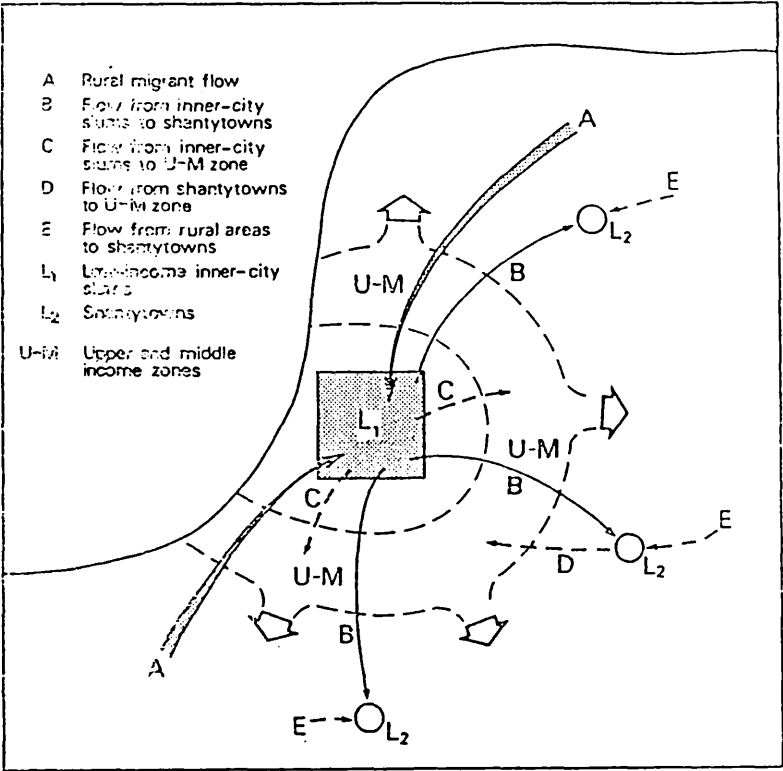


Figure 3.14: Squatter settlements and migrations in Montego Bay, Jamaica (Source: Eyre, 1972)

4. MIGRANTS IDENTIFICATION WITH URBAN LIFE

Most migrants in African cities are confronted with unemployment in new settings. This problem led to an ILO sponsored conference which showed that about 60 million people of both sexes are currently unemployed and that African countries need to create 150 million jobs by the end of this century (Steady 1982). This condition is due to urban areas receiving more developments and better public services than rural areas. The concentration of development projects and services made urban areas more attractive and encouraged migration to cities and towns (Beier 1984). Moreover, the availability of food represents another factor to motivate people to move, because food is derived from many sources and is not subject to disasters such as drought or floods (Steady 1982).

Many writers have revealed that migrants who came to the city in search of jobs were likely to remain unskilled. However, the city requires more highly skilled manpower. Thus, those who possess a few skills became part of what is called a "Marginal labour force" i.e. some work in sweet shops, street vendors, craftsmen etc. But even in these lower jobs they are confronted with severe competition and earn small wages (Gilbert & Gugler 1982). Recently, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation (1984) reported that rural urban

migration in developing countries does no more than exchange rural poverty for urban poverty.

Of course some migrants have an accurate idea of what to expect in urban areas and still decide to move. In Gugler's words "To participate in a lottery, they try their luck at the urban economy game. It is a lottery because so much of the hiring is haphazard and it is a very serious game" (Gugler & Flanagan 1978). Others had been misled by stories told by returnees describing urban areas as places of great wealth (Gilbert & Gugler 1982).

Butterworth & Chance (1981) noted that migrants in cities divided into two groups, the first becoming more urbanised because their social contacts and aspiration are focused on the city and they have associates from different backgrounds. The second group represents those who strive to combine themselves with fellow villagers and people from the same region and maintain strong ties with their home-land even if they have no intention of returning home.

On the other hand the urban residents in town do not want more people to join them from rural areas. This is expressed in widespread antagonism towards squatters in town (Velsen 1975). The hostility may reach the point of segregation, particularly when they are different from town people in culture, behaviour and appearance (Hirst 1975).

All research studies concerned with migrants, adjustment to urban life found that some people suffer greatly in urban centres but others succeeded in surmounting the difficulties

and established meaningful institutions and communities of interaction (Doughty 1970).

Butterworth (1970) reported that the adjustment by the Indian migrants from Tlalantongo to Mexico-city was highly satisfactory because of the strong psychological urge to learn new skills and values. Moreover, family ties remained as strong as they were in Tlalantongo. He noted that this result contradicted the stereotyped concept of family weakening with urbanisation. Doughty (1970) commented that the process of adjustment to urban life can be seen as the constant struggle of people to maintain the integrity of family and personal life. He reported that twenty-five years ago it was common to find highlander migrants in Peru rejecting their traditions. Eventually, with successive waves of migrants, highland culture became respectable and the pressure for rapid assimilation has declined. Lewis in 1952 found that migrants from the peasant village of Tepoztlán adapted to life in Mexico-city with relative ease without breakdown of traditional social relations. These findings were confirmed by recent studies (Butterworth 1981).

In a study of migrants from Durham coalfield, (Taylor 1966), two reactions to living in new areas were illustrated viz, many migrants felt stress and strain associated with separation from friends/relatives and from the known way of village life, but for others, living in the new area afforded a feeling of release rather than stress and strain, i.e. new life gave them an experience of freedom to live as they wished. He attributed the feeling of stress and anxiety to a reduction in

social interaction and to the feeling that people in town disliked them.

Mayer 1961 studied Xhosa migrants in East London, Cape Town. The fieldwork focused on two categories "Red" and "School" migrants. The findings revealed that the former were more conservative, still holding to an indigenous way of life "Orthodox in appearance", all households clustered in particular districts and keeping up strong ties with home people. By comparison, School-migrants were less homogenous than Red-migrants, enjoying more freedom and the changes to town life-style. But also there were some who were unresponsive to the attraction of the city and remained rustic in appearance and habits. Moreover, they mixed exclusively with Red-migrants. These results made Mayer conclude that if the individual migrant found himself among people of own kind, similar to the people in his own country, in such a way that his resocialisation for town purposes could have been undergone with much less damage to his old habits and norms. Thus the personal freedom of choices in town may have resulted in some becoming genuinely adjusted, some resisted adjustment and many others responded ambiguously: i.e. often those who had strong desire for adjustment but who were frustrated by town life (Mayer 1971).

Many research studies confirmed that the shift from rural to urban life may lead to increased personal anxiety and stress, the greater the change the more stress and strain. The reason is that old ways are likely inadequate and new ones must

be learned. According to Mead "When some of an individual's old responses are thought to be irrelevant, he may come to fear that his entire traditional way of life will disintegrate. Even if he willingly seeks to adjust, to change he is likely to experience considerable strain" (Hanna & Hanna 1971). David (1970) confirmed that rural - urban migration may interrupt and frustrate life expectations in addition to anxiety.

Many scholars are concerned with other hypotheses such as relationships between mental illness and migration, displacement and mental illness, migrant adjustment and mental disorder and between social classes and deviant behaviour (David 1970). The United Nations Conference on Human Environment (1974) provided evidence of a significant relationship between migration and mental illness among migrants in urban centres, caused by the stress and strain of the new environment, a sense of loneliness, isolation and neglect. In addition, most migrants are young, poor, unskilled and mainly illiterate. Thus they found themselves no longer subject to family control or tribal protection. These forces may lead to delinquency i.e. drug addiction, alcoholism, prostitution and crime.

Some other studies found the incidence of schizophrenia to be greater in central areas of larger cities than in the outskirts. There are at least two studies which explained the relationship between mental disorder as a result of social stress in town. The first, conducted by E. H. Hare (1960) in England, revealed that the schizophrenic person has often had a difficult personality, he is rejected by family and therefore

leaves home and moves to the city centre. The second, conducted by G. D. Klee in the U.S.A., concluded that there was much evidence that, psychiatric disorders were higher among people at lower socio-economic levels than others, and also there was a positive association between psychiatric admission and overcrowding (U.N. Conference on Human Environment 1974).

All African countries are suffering from malnutrition and health rather than psychological problems. The World Health Organisation defined health as a "state of complete physical, mental and social well-being" (U.N. Conference on Human Environment 1974). Research studies in West Africa demonstrated that the problems of malnutrition and undernutrition were predominantly among the urban poor because of high density of living, poor housing and prevalence of infectious diseases which made them highly vulnerable to malnutrition infections (Steady 1982). The records of pediatric patients at Cocod Hospital in Abidijan 1972-1975 showed that 67% of patients came from slum areas. According to the observations of a well-known Nigerian pediatrician, the problem of malnutrition in Lagos is beyond the scope of treatment. In Accra where there are sprawling shanty-towns, Dr. Fred Sai found that the malnutrition occurs among the migrant children who live in shanty-town areas (Steady 1982).

5. RURAL - URBAN CONTACTS

Despite different conditions of migrants in urban centres, most are not isolated from rural areas and they keep themselves in touch with home-people. Research studies in Africa showed

that when migrants enter the city for the first time, the most important decision is where to live. Leslie (1963) described the case of Dar es Salaam. He said "it would be difficult to find a single African who arrived in Dar es Salaam knowing not a soul." Caldwell 1969, in a survey of rural-urban migration in Ghana, admitted "over half the potential migrants in rural areas expected to stay at first with relatives or fellow villagers. If migrants do not know any specific person in town, they often seek out the most important persons among their own ethnic groups" (Hirst 1975). Little (1965) studied the migrants in West Africa and reported that the rural migrants used contacts with kinsmen and neighbours, groups in order to achieve a highly personal set of relationships. These contacts keep the migrants in company with previous associates, and instead of weakening tribal consciousness, tend to make it stronger. In a survey study in Ghana, Gugler and Flanagan (1978) found that about two thirds of migrants to Accra, Kumasi and Tokarado stayed with kinsmen when they first arrived. Also in Abidijan and Lagos the survey results revealed 50% of factory workers respondents reported that their best friend was from the same village and 86% said their best friend was from the same tribe (Gugler & Flanagan 1978). However Stegman 1969 and Richardson 1971 confirmed that the neighbourhood consideration is more important than accessibility to a job in all African countries (Soliman 1985).

Consequently, most migrants are attached and indebted to parents and extended families and remain close to kinsmen,

tribespeople and villagers in town. (Gugler & Flanagan 1978).

Migrants in urban centres often establish regional, local or tribal associations in places of residence. Such organisations have played an important role in preserving their legal rights in the face of officials (Doughty 1970). Little (1965) found that the voluntary associations allow young women to get to know young men personally in a way that is difficult in ordinary times. He noted that these contacts facilitate the informal choice of brides. The main purposes of such organisations are to provide migrants with information about what is going on in the city, keep them in touch with both people at home and with town institutions, to help with loans of money and to serve as an adaptive mechanism to adjust migrants to become townsmen (Little 1965). Moreover, ethnic organisations in Africa have played key roles as a channel of communication for both townsmen and rural residents, in all political parties. For instance, when the national councils of Nigeria and Cameroon were founded in 1944, the vast majority of members belonged to these organisations (Gugler & Flanagan 1978).

The Luo Union in East Africa represents all urban associations. There are Luo Unions in Kampala and Nairobi, each includes all migrants in both cities. The major practices are to arrange the circulatory movement of wives and children between town and country. The second is to provide lodging in town to all job seekers, who are often relatives, rural neighbours or friends (Parkin 1975).

6. CONCLUSION

Between 1950-1980, most independent African countries witnessed large scale migration from rural areas to major cities and towns because of imbalance in economic opportunities between rural and urban centres. This, in turn, resulted from the concentration of industrial and commercial developments in large cities, and from civil wars and natural causes. This population mobility has led to unemployment and overcrowding in shanty-towns of the larger cities. West African countries represent the most rapid urban growth in the world because development programmes are concentrated in the seaport cities.

Migrants in cities represent two groups, the more urbanised and those who continue to identify with their rural areas. Both are overcrowded mainly in the outskirts or in inner-cities. The former have built their dwellings on unused land while the latter - often new arrivals - stayed with relatives, friends, fellow villagers or a person from their home-land and they eventually move to city peripheries.

Of course, both are confronted with widespread antagonism from the host population because they lived in places planned or replanned for residents in the city, competed with local residents in scarce opportunities for jobs, raised rent levels shared social services with town people, created shortages in consumer commodities, overcrowded the transportation, in addition to differences in culture, behaviour and appearance.

Despite the deplorable conditions of migrants in town, they are not always isolated from home people in native areas. They often maintain strong ties with people at home and express

loyalty in many ways. On the other hand, they also establish regional, local or tribal associations and unions to protect their rights and preserve their legal status. These organisations are playing crucial roles in their identification with urban life and at the same time keeping their identity, and loyalty to rural areas.

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CHAPTER (2)

POLICIES OF REHABILITATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

INTRODUCTION

In the same way as developed countries during the 19th century, developing countries are now experiencing massive population growth. This population growth is the result of natural increase, massive rural-urban migration and smaller streams of migrants from a limited number of urban centres. The increasing imbalance of the population is resulting in increasing density of low income groups in urban areas and is creating many socio-economic, political and environmental problems which are beyond the abilities of individual governments to deal with.

The new arrivals have little choice, they either have to reside in the city slums or in the peripheries. In either location their presence is resented by the settled population. They do not want more people to compete with them for the scarce jobs and consumer goods. Moreover, they often dislike the migrant's culture, behaviour and appearance. Administrators and politicians are forced to acknowledge this hostility and they often add their own stereotyped views. Many believe that the squatter settlements are places of crime and criminals, so they advocate legal measures against them (Gulati 1985). Of course there are some people who believe in the creativity, ability and will of the migrants and see their situation as a solution to different problems faced in the homeland (Potter 1985).

It is undeniable that the squatters have created many

housing problems in urban areas. Shah (1984) showed that the principal reason for the housing crisis was due to lack of desire on the part of authorities to recognise or to understand these processes. He noted that the first step to stimulate people to participate in housing action is to understand them and to facilitate the implementation of their actions. He revealed the necessity of changing our perspective and values in order to achieve the main goals. This involves changing attitudes towards squatters, treating them as users, not occupiers, respecting their self-initiatives, helping to build their dwellings, changing the traditional role of housing agencies from controllers to facilitators, and viewing the plots as investments rather than a charity. He concluded that if the traditional socio-economic structure and associated attitudes prevail, slums and spontaneous settlement will continue to constitute the main urban problem in developing countries.

Amos (1984) revealed the close relationship between politicians and administrators in housing policies. He concluded that it was the political system itself which represented the major obstacle to administrators: senior administrators acting tentatively and junior administrators taking their instructions from senior ones. He suggested that what senior officials need is more political and financial support to accomplish housing plans and to improve their work.

Most politicians have ambivalent attitudes towards squatters and their rehabilitation. The squatters are deplored

because of poor quality of life and the problems concerning their dwellings. These problems are not perceived until it is too late. In the early stages they appear as disputes between urban residents and squatters but in the long run they become serious and the intervention becomes both difficult and risky. (Amos 1984).

Recently, both administrators and governments have been made aware of these problems and they have pursued new policies which have led to more security of tenure and have provided migrants with a basic infrastructure (Gulati 1985).

Therefore the political and administrative arrangements must complement each other in any resettlement programmes, in addition to compatibility with local environment. However, political parties within or outside the government must play a considerable role in determining housing programmes and their implementation. When two or more parties compete for political control, the programmes become unstable and subject to changes to meet the principal objectives of the other parties. If one party prevails it must have enough coherence between its central and local administrators to deal with difficulties and failures in the programme and its implementation (Amos 1984).

Most writers believe that land is the key to tackling the housing shortages in the Third World countries. The lack of land represents the crucial problem in many cities and while some people continue to grow wealthy through their control of land, it is the lack of land which keeps others poor. It is the shortage of legal housing plots at suitable prices which results in most houses being built in illegal shanty-towns. If

governments are able to provide legal plots this can slow down the rapid growth of spontaneous settlements and can ease the pressures in crowded city slums and unauthorised settlements in the outskirts of the cities (McAuslan 1985).

The Habitat Conference (Hardoy 1981) recognised that land was a scarce resource, thus recommended that management should be subject to public surveillance and changes of land from agricultural to residential areas must be integrated with public control and regulations.

Therefore the past pattern of ownership should be transformed to meet the needs of society and requires the update of information and land capability, characteristics of tenure and legislation.

Moving to consider the international agencies, William (1985) has shown that the shelter provision has invariably come too late. The exception is the United States Agency for International Development which has established a fund dealing with investments in the Third World countries, especially in Latin America. The main purpose of this fund is to assist upper and upper-middle income households. Other non-governmental organisations work with small funds in slums and squatter settlements to help local communities with basic services such as health, child care and small water supply services.

Since 1970 the international assistance began to increase levels of investment in urban shelter. William (1984) has suggested there are three factors which led to this change viz: the increasing speed of urban growth and expansion of

slums and squatter settlements, the increasing disparity between the rich and the poor and the contribution of experts such as Abrams, Turner and Mangin in the 1960s. This resulted in better understanding of the situation of urban poor settlers and led to the emergence of a new philosophy of housing which revealed the success of low-income groups in building their own dwellings and producing basic services in the face of opposition from government administrators. These ideas showed that the urban poor were the central, rather than marginal groups in the urban economy. This change of thinking has strong influence upon policy-makers in the international aid agencies, especially the World Bank and donors such as American, Swedish and other United Nation agencies i.e. ILO and W.H.O.. During the period between 1972-1981, the World Bank and the International Development Assistance launched about 50 loans covering 35 countries in the developing world.

To facilitate the introduction of loans to the Third World countries the Habitat Conference called for national settlement policies. According to the recommendations A1, A2 and F1 (Hardoy 1981) all countries must establish, as a matter of urgency, a national policy on human settlement including the distribution of population and related economic and social activities over the national territory. The national policy for human settlement and the environment should be an integrated part of any national economic and social development policy. Therefore governments must establish national, ministerial and other appropriate levels, responsible for the formulation and implementation of settlement policies and

strategies for national regional and local developments.

2. THE SHELTER PROVISION POLICY

The human settlement policy in developing countries needs four integrated types of policies related to either national or local levels (Mobogunje 1978). These policies include policies formulated at local level to limit the growth of specific urban centres. The main difficulty facing this type of action is the urbanisation process which takes place at national scale. This needs decisions at national and international levels. The second is that urban development policy must be complemented by sectoral policies of the central government e.g. during the last three decades most policies concentrated on the formulation and implementation of master plans, usually supported by national and international organisations. The third type deals with the uncontrolled operation of the urban land market resulting in the high prices of land in the downtown area, which increased in price more than the outskirts of the city. The speculators bought land and left it undeveloped for a long time, anticipating the rise in its value, and the lack of control on the use of urban land led to high population density in some areas in the urban centres. Finally, in many developing countries governments formulated and implemented various types of policies concerning shelter provision policies which ranged from direct construction, site development and provision of materials. All these types were outside the reach of low-income groups who were left to build up their dwellings on illegal land opposing the local

authorities which assumed the right to destroy the residences.

Therefore the essential requirements for shelter provision policies (Mobogunje 1978) need three kinds of procedures: First the government must intervene on land ownership especially in urban areas; it will be impossible to make people build houses unless there is a realistic policy on land tenure and security of tenure.

Second, for the majority of self-built shelters the most important action is to organise and facilitate the production of low cost construction materials using both natural and human resources as much as possible.

Third, the policy must be defined in a way that it is integrated with other policies in the country. While the main purpose of shelter policy is to make national facilities and resources available to all groups, it can help to organise people to participate effectively in the task of providing their shelter.

Governments will only succeed with short and long-term policies and programmes if they understand the problems of squatter settlements. Unfortunately most developing countries do not have a sufficient body of accurate data to facilitate the development of national programmes. Therefore, a high priority should be given to the acquisition of a flow of accurate information about spontaneous settlements (U.N. Conference on Human Environment 1974).

At the local level, the most important problem to be solved is how to settle newcomers, for the majority of urban poor are to be found on the peripheries or in the centres of older

cities or even on the poor land with existing settlements. Beier (1984) reported - in a pessimistic way - that if land was made available it would be insufficient to accommodate all the expected migrants. This meant that more and more of the urban poor would still have to be accommodated and this makes the task of future improvement difficult, if not impossible. In addition, the crowded settlements on poorly drained land became too expensive to be provided with basic services.

The Conference on the Human Environment (1974) was more optimistic and stressed the need to evolve new solutions: quoting the words of Francis Bacon, "He that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils". Therefore not all programmes should be directed to urban areas but to both sectors. This means that we must expand our understanding and suggest a broader framework for both rural and urban areas (Cohen 1984).

Potter (1985) reported that there are two major problems facing urban planners in developing countries, i.e. the great disparity of regional development and the acute distribution of incomes, employment, welfare, housing and other benefits within cities. Taylor and William 1982 (Potter 1985) suggest that the personal income disparity is due to rural urban disparity in wealth. They propose a four layer pyramidal structure including at the apex the small urban elites, government servants and those who are employed in modern industries, the vast numbers of the urban poor and at the broad base of the pyramid lay the mass of rural poor. They stressed that these inequalities represent the basis of planning problem.

Few of the Third World countries have enough trained cadre to carry out national development plans, so they must seek help from international agencies and organisations such as the U.N. Centre for Housing, Building and Planning, the W.H.O., the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Food Programme, the U.N. Social Development Division, the ILO, the UNESCO, the FAO and the UNCF. All these organisations have great interest in planning in the developing countries. Moreover they can help in technical or capital investments through bilateral or multi-lateral agreements. Such assistance has been successfully established in Latin America but has not yet been attempted to any great extent in Africa (U.N. Conference on Human Environment 1974).

The achievement of efficacious planning is very difficult in the face of the formidable economic, political, social and environmental circumstances of the Third World. Moreover, the establishment of a participatory planning body may be necessary if governments are to succeed in selecting appropriate approaches which suit the local conditions. (Potter 1985).

Most social surveys and interviews which have been carried out in developing countries have revealed that public participation is usually met by taking representative samples of views of the diverse groups involved in the society. But the main obstacle has been that certain individuals may come to represent the wider groups. So the result of representation is confined in those who are educationally, socially and economically better off, which tend to exclude most urban poor (Potter).

Conyers 1982 (Potter) has argued that there are at least three important reasons for public participation in planning, i.e. it acts as a means of gaining insight into local conditions and the needs of local people, it is logical to assume that individuals are more likely to be committed to plans if they were involved in their preparation, and, finally, there is the philosophical reason that it is considered to be a basic democratic right that people must participate in their own development. "Planning is for people".

Pocock and Hudson 1978 (Potter) assumed that public participation in planning is the key issue of the nature of interaction that is established between planners and public. They explained their ideas in three hypothetical models based on planner-client interaction (figure 3).

In the first model the planners were seen as leaders and the flow of ideas and information was from planners to members of the public with little or no flow in the opposite direction.

In the second the planners were seen as followers and the public expressed their needs and planners responded to these statements.

In the third they revealed the compromise situation i.e. planner-client interaction which means that the flow of ideas and information occur in both directions. In other words, the planners explain the reasons for their proposals whilst the public conveys its needs and aspirations to the planners and much debate is established between planners and the public.

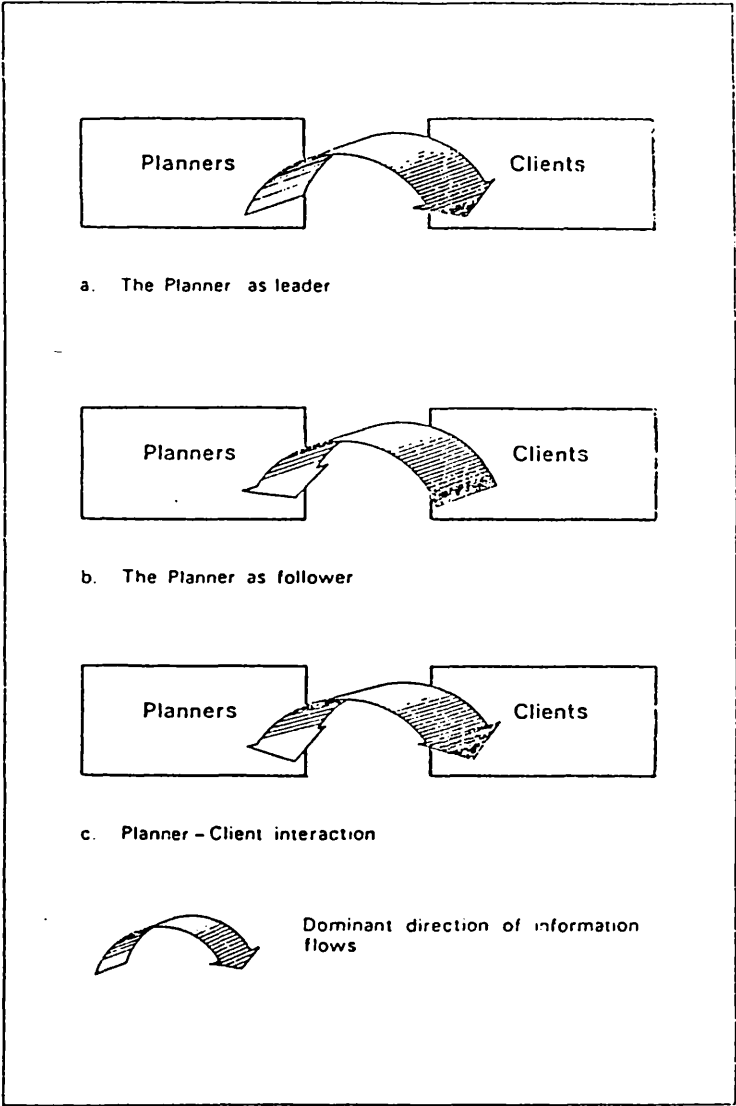


Figure 5.1: Planner-client interactions (Source: Pocock and Hudson, 1978)

Recently, Ramachandran (McAuslan 1985) estimated that between quarter and half of the inhabitants of the Third World cities can not afford for themselves cheap lodging or apartments which meet rudimentary social services. They can find accommodation in one of three ways: those with no money sleep in the streets or other public places, others may rent a room in a slum or shanty-town and the rest build themselves a shelter with the help of friends, on land they do not own and have no permission to build on. The first two types are specifically compatible with Latin America and Asia, while the third is much relevant to current conditions in African countries.

We will try below to give selected examples of national shelter provision policies in some countries from the Third World. According to Bamberger (1984) the Shelter programme in El Salvador is different from most sponsored by national and international agencies. First, it is a non-governmental organisation although it reaches the scale and impact achieved by public sector agencies (operating in six cities). Second, the programme is aimed at achieving community social awareness through community participation. Despite these features, it is claimed that the policy suffers from four major weaknesses, viz the total housing production and finance have been inadequate to the needs of urban poor, the shelter and services have been available only to the middle and upper income groups, the government has failed to face urban land problems and, finally, there has been no explicit policy towards upgrading the informal housing policy system. In

India there are many public sector agencies providing finance for housing. Each sector has its own regulations and the total amount of credit available can not meet the demand for building the units. Most agencies are competing for small groups of people and there are no specific institutions providing credit to poor urban dwellers who are left to help themselves (McAuslan 1985). Such urban poor are left to strive outside the government institutions, using their ability and creativity to afford themselves suitable shelter, mainly in the outskirts or city slums. The study of Calcutta (UN Conference 1974) has identified six functions performed by squatters. These functions include the provision of housing at suitable rents, the welcoming of new arrivals, assisting them to adapt to urban life, providing a wide variety of employment and small scale enterprises, providing accommodation close to work, establishing voluntary associations and encouraging small scale private enterprises in the field of housing. In Kenya there is no explicit national settlement policy which covers the whole country. After independence in 1963 the government established the Physical Planning Department as a part of the Ministry of Land and Settlement. In practice however, there is no emphasis on spatial planning (Harday 1981). Chana (1984) has shown that policies dealing with housing low-income groups in Nairobi involved four institutions: public sector, private formal, private informal and popular sector. He has shown that Nairobi City Council, the National Housing Cooperation and private formal provide two thirds of units to high-income groups,

government staff and low-income employees while the other two sectors are working in squatter settlement areas. Recent researches (McAuslan 1985) have shown that upper and middle income groups in Nairobi moved out from their houses and rented them to five or six families so as to pay the subsidised rents to the City Council and to gain large profits from the rent.

In Tanzania "villagisation" is the key of national settlement policy. Nyerere aimed to rusticate the urban society through transportation of the population to villages when basic services could be afforded and new economic activities established. Tanzania's approach to development is to link local regional and national planning in one system (Hardoy 1981). To this end, all land belongs to the government and no transaction can take place without the sanction of the state. Despite these sanctions there is a thriving market in land, especially in the more desirable suburbs of Dar es Salaam and some peasants sell the land to members of the bureaucratic elite who construct houses financed by loans from Tanzania Housing Bank (McAuslan 1985).

In their different ways both Kenya and Tanzania provide clear examples of failure in urban land credit policy. Kenya has a small but thriving private credit institution and follows English models. In England over 60 per cent of people earn enough money to pay for the loans from building societies, while in Kenya, only less than 5 per cent can pay for the loans. The problem for Tanzania is not inequality in lending policies but the loan application form is modelled by international organisation, so most workers are intimidated by

the form and either fail to complete it correctly or have never applied at all (McAuslan 1985).

Nigeria has not had a national settlement policy since independence. It pursued a decentralisation pattern in industries and urban development (Hardoy 1981). Most urban development concentrated around Lagos. The government established a new Ministry of Housing, Urban Development and Environment to carry out the urban policies. The implementation of such policies reflected the bias of policy-makers because of the overconcentration on improving roads and other infrastructures and the neglect of the mass of urban dwellers. According to estimates of mid 1970 the amount of urban housing deficit was between 840.000 and 1.025.000 units and it was predicted that it would reach 1.6 million units by 1985.

In Egypt (Hardoy 1981) it only became apparent in the mid 1970s that socio-economic development policies needed a clear framework if special problems were to be solved. In 1978 the urban population was about 17.6 million people and was expected to reach 33 million by the year 2000. So Egypt needed a comprehensive settlement policy which gave considerable attention to many settlements in the Nile Valley and Delta. Soliman (1985) noted that the Egyptian government has undertaken various forms of intervention during the last three decades. These forms have been linked with socio-economic plans and political changes occurring within the country. The first started in 1956 when public housing became part of the government function, to eliminate the monopoly of the private

enterprises inside the housing sector, the second after the war in 1973, when the government announced that the private developers were responsible for housing deficit, the third occurred in 1980 when the authorities established new restrictions on private developers concerning building procedures and regulations.

According to the above examples derived from the literature, we can conclude that in most developing countries there is no national settlement policy linked with the socio-economic plans. In their absence most governments and administrators have behaved tentatively or reluctantly, in tackling the housing problem in both rural and urban areas. Moreover, in the absence of a national policy, government administrators have inclined to local or regional policies to solve the problems of people crowded in cities. These local and regional policies have tended to follow one of three types: demolition and clearance, site upgrading and rural development. These will be described in detail.

3. THE CLEARANCE "DEMOLITION" POLICY

This clearance policy, which has been adopted by many developing countries, has aggravated the housing problem rather than solved it. It has neither succeeded in removing people nor in stopping further migration from rural areas. The Conference on Human Environment (1974) explained that without provision of alternative residence, clearance schemes could only aggravate the problem of housing in these areas. The Conference regarded such schemes as destroying the human environment rather than improving it. The Conference stressed

that such a policy would not succeed and the national economy could not afford to give them public housing. The only way was to give them the right to access legal plots of land. It advised Third World countries to formulate national settlement policies in order to solve the problems of land use, employment and provision of services at local levels. To maintain these goals, different levels of governmental and sectoral agencies must integrate in a comprehensive plan giving considerable attention to economic, social and environmental resources.

Grimes (1984) has argued that the squatter settlement situation is exacerbated by the cycle of demolition and redevelopment schemes, especially those close to employment centres within the cities. If the bulldozers were sent in order to clear the squatter areas without the provision of alternative accommodation, the squatters would simply move to start again somewhere else. And when the authorities decided on public housing schemes, these houses were too expensive for the majority of squatters and other low-income groups.

The survey of Manila 1968 (Grimes 1984) demonstrated that one-fifth of the population of the metropolitan area were living in squatter areas or slums. Since the 1970's the authorities had adopted a clearance policy and had succeeded in clearing out some of the central squatter settlements. Those moved found themselves and their families far away from the city centre and they faced many problems. Only a few residents were offered jobs around the new dwellings. The result was that 40 per cent had returned to other squatting areas closer to the

city. After years of neglect the administration decided to enforce public nuisance laws to eradicate squatter settlements. The inhabitants were forcibly evicted and their dwellings in the core of the city demolished. They were moved to a distant site and expected to build their houses on an area which did not have material that could be used for such constructions (Gulate 1985). Kazemi 1980 (Gulati 1985) noted that forcible eviction and violence towards squatters appears not to have been frequent under the Shah's rule in Iran. Similarly in Pakistan, after public enthusiasm for removal, the lesson was slowly learnt that removing squatter houses on the outskirts of cities was a futile approach (Sikander 1978).

Nigeria attempted a demolition policy in 1955 where Lagos Executive Development Board sent labourers to destroy houses in removal areas. They were faced with resistance and violence. Also in Accra in 1960, the government researchers tried to collect data from the centre of the city and were stoned (Peil 1984).

In Zambia, the authorities decided to destroy the biggest squatter settlement in Lusaka. In a single day in 1970 571 houses were demolished and the Cabinet Minister declared that about 90.000 persons arrived in Lusaka from rural areas and he called them "uninvited guests" (Velsen 1975).

The experience of most developing countries is fairly similar. Between 1950 and 1960 many adopted a clearance policy, particularly in inner slums and on city peripheries. Such policies were both unpopular and unsuccessful and were gradually abandoned.

4. SITE AND SERVICES AND UPGRADING POLICIES

Since 1960 many developing countries have changed their policies towards sites and services and upgrading approaches. Indeed, as Potter (1985) has argued, the merits of aided self-help approaches seemed to be so great that some authors are afraid that this approach will be regarded as a panacea for all problems in developing countries.

Both Mangin and Turner (Potter 1985) have been strong advocates of self-help housing as the principal approach suited to all developing countries. The former has written a paper in 1976 under the title "Latin American squatter settlements: a problem and a solution". He discussed all predominant views on squatter settlements and regarded these views as myths: i.e. the squatters were not disorganised and not a drain in the urban economy, not populated by criminals, and they were not from a single homogenous social group. By contrast, he argued that most squatters were in employment, socially stable and had resided in the city for some time. Moreover, their occupation of poor land motivated the need for high rents and gave them the opportunity to build their own houses. He argued that all that needs to be done in order to assist the self-builders is to give them plots in appropriate places and distribute cash in suitable stages. He acknowledged that improvement would be gradual; i.e. houses built from straw would later acquire walls, services and, later, paved streets.

Turner's model (Gulati 1985) had reflected the initiative and creativity of the urban poor. His central idea was that

the housing standards proposed by the authorities were beyond the capability of low-income urbanites. His views were successfully implemented in different developing countries such as Brazil, Peru, Chile, India, Zambia and Kenya. The World Bank applied Turner's views and sponsored several projects in developing countries. Many writers have attributed the success of Turner's proposals to the following:

1. The model is premised on squatter initiative and participation in decision-making.
2. The role of governments is limited to provision of the land, giving security of tenure and support services.
3. The model is suited to democratic regimes depending on public acceptance.
4. It represents a more humanitarian and pragmatic solution to housing problem in the Third World countries.

Turner has explained that his basic ideas are based on the premise that (Figure 4) in making residential choices, different individuals are influenced by three different factors giving rise to three groups, viz:

The first group constituted the very low-income whose need is to live close to the inner ring-areas (proximity to inner urban ring) so as to be near available job opportunities (PP Figure 4).

The second group represented the low-income individual households who had a strong desire for permanent ownership and security of tenure (OO Figure 4).

The third included the middle-income group who were seeking modern standards of amenities (MM Figure4).

Turner called the first group Bridgeheaders, those who arrived earliest from rural areas seeking jobs and resided near city centres. The second he called the Consolidators, because they already had jobs and stayed for a long time in the city, their first priority was to own legal or illegal houses. The third were the middle-income (status seekers) whose ultimate priorities were to raise their standard of living, amenities and status.

Turner's ideas have had wide appeal and self-help programmes were adopted by many governments in the Third World countries. Gilbert and Gugler (1982) estimated that by 1977 there were eighty proposed or accomplished schemes in 27 countries.

Gulati (1985) made an assessment of Turner's self-help approach. He pointed out that the main criticism of the model is that it concentrated on low-density housing at urban layouts and ignored the high-rise constructions sponsored by government or with the help of international organisations and agencies. Consequently, the implementation of Turner's approach did not solve the squatters' problems concerning water supply, electricity and transportation.

Many experts (Amos 1984) believed that the problems of site and services and upgrading approaches could be solved if all operations became the responsibility of one agency. Others oppose this attitude for three reasons:

1. The scale and diversity of tasks are so great that one agency can not cope with the problem. This means that the

FIGURE 4

Third World Urbanisation

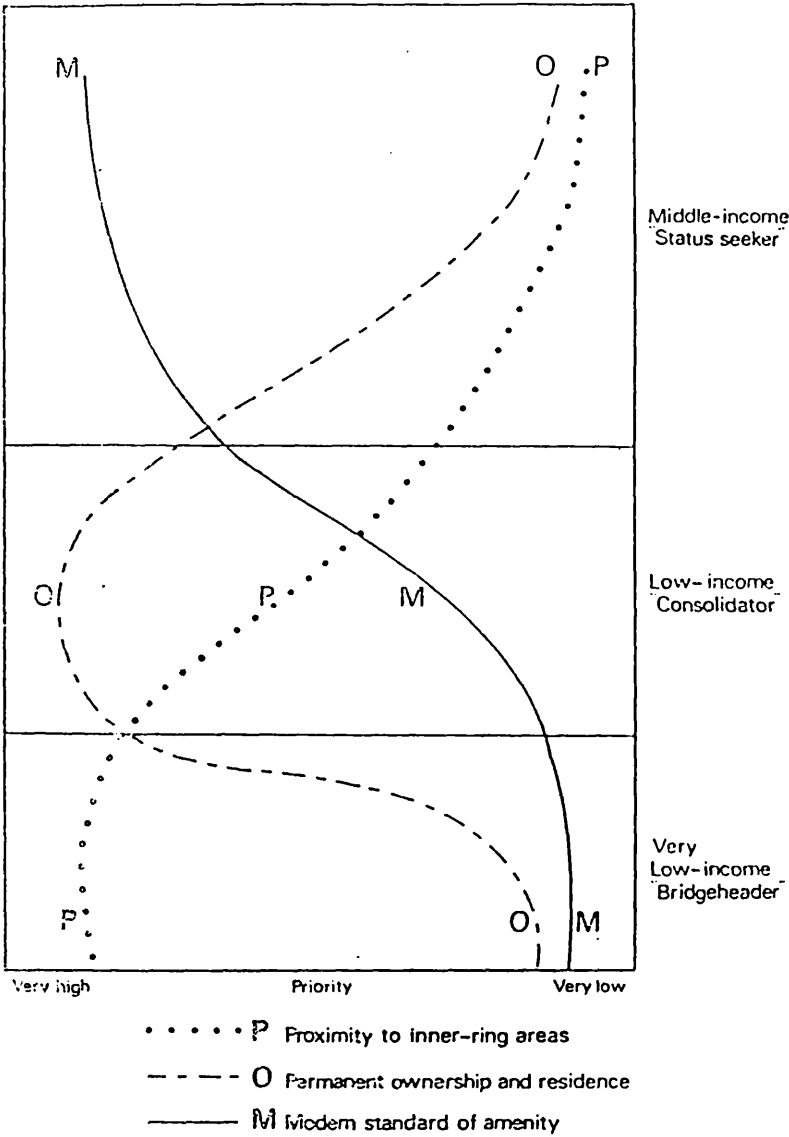


Figure 3.15: Turner's model of low-income housing groups

authorities must transfer the bulk of the work from inter-agency to intra-agency.

2. Most of the tasks are not specifically related to site and services and upgrading schemes. Therefore to avoid duplication other agencies have to participate in some parts of the programme.

3. It is unrealistic and impossible for one agency to undertake the whole task of low-income housing.

Most writers have agreed that upgrading and site and services schemes complement each other. While the former is aimed at making best use of existing houses the latter is aimed at providing new shelter to the homeless and displaced people (Potter 1985).

In contrast to most developed countries which have the finance and technical resources, developing nations do not have enough financial and human resources to build sufficient houses for all dislocated people. Therefore the only alternative left to these countries is the reliance on some kind of self-help policy. These two (Gilbert & Gugler 1982) major policies are often pursued interdependently, i.e. upgrading of the existing settlements and the development of new settlements. It is invariably hoped that the former will motivate the external and internal agencies to participate in such schemes, and that the latter will stimulate and encourage the urban poor to build their houses on legal plots.

The experience of most developing countries which have applied the two approaches has revealed that site and services approach has often suited the countries which are poor and facing lack of trained professionals who can carry out the task

of rehabilitation (Grimes 1984).

The United Nations Conference on Human Environment (1974) advised the governments which had adopted a site and services approach that housing and environmental problems must be solved together. The conference reminded governments that many site and services projects had failed because they were established without regard to the basic facilities.

Site and services and upgrading policy has been implemented in many of the Third World countries. We will review some examples and see to what extent they have succeeded or failed to achieve their principal goals, particularly in the field of rehabilitation of the urban poor who were living in major cities.

Ward (1984) argued that in Mexico-city site and services programme has had a limited success. He attributed the failure to two main reasons i.e. the instalments for the land were very expensive so that most of the population could not pay and the government was reluctant to intervene in the land market.

In El Salvador, (Bamberger 1984) the Foundation Shelter program was the first site and services approach sponsored by the World Bank. The main objectives of the project were to build government houses, reduce the shortages of low-cost urban shelter, ease the burden on government resources, create labour intensive centres, and establish commercial organisations and, finally, establish social organisations capable of developing the local community.

Potter (1985) revealed that in Hong Kong, Singapore and

China the government building programmes have succeeded to some extent in controlling spontaneous settlements. Dwyer 1975 (Potter) reported from Hong Kong that since 1964 the government has undertaken the responsibility for the construction of 400.000 new domestic residences which accounted for 44.5 per cent of the total population. The scheme represented the largest public housing programme in the Third World to re-accommodate the squatters. Dwyer gave another example from Caracas, Venezuela, where the government constructed 97 high-rise developments between 1954-1958. The outcome of this project was nearly a disaster. Accordingly, most authors agreed that developing countries can not afford high-rise tenements to meet the mass urban poor needs.

In Africa, governments of Zambia, Tanzania and Sengal (Grimes 1984) have adopted site and services and upgrading projects as part of an integrated housing policy. By 1973 site and services schemes became part of the national development plans of at least thirteen countries and many other countries overcame the barriers that prevented the use of site and services approach.

The evaluation of the housing policy in Zambia illustrated that the application of site and services and upgrading programmes aimed only to build houses for those who were working for a short-time in the mines, while their families remained in the villages. In the long run, many families migrated to the cities and, therefore, the previous housing system became unsuitable to their current demands. Then Zambian policy-makers changed the upgrading system to serviced

plots because the public funds were insufficient to afford a complete house to each family (Grimes 1984).

In more recent years the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development launched its first scheme in Dakar where unused land was levelled and subdivided into plots with access to water and electricity. But still half of Dakar's population is too poor to qualify for the projects, according to the World Bank estimations in 1975 (Gugler & Flanagan 1978).

In 1974 (Jere 1984) the statistical reports showed that the amount of squatter housing deficit was about 28% of Lusaka housing stock. The second national development plan - 1972-1976 - demonstrated that the designing and provision of services to such areas is better than its wholesale demolition. So the first priority had to be given to acquisition of land. When Zambia tried to apply site and services and upgrading policies the financial resources were very poor and there was no alternative but to seek help from the World Bank. In 1973 it agreed to finance 47% of the cost while Zambia, the American Friend Service Committee and UNICEF financed the rest.

The main goals of Lusaka's squatter upgrading and site and services project were:

1. Upgrade and service 17000 dwellings in four squatter settlements.
2. Prepare and service 7600 plots in overspill areas.
3. 4400 plots fully serviced in six cities.
4. Provision of building material loans.

5. Provision of public services and facilities

During negotiation all participants agreed that citizens' participation was extremely important because the scheme needed the trust, approval and cooperation of the affected people. Certainly, Lusaka's experience is viewed as a major step in the right direction and one of the most popular ways to provide shelter for the urban poor, although it revealed some failures. With a longer time period the authorities and residents hoped to make good the failures and improve on the successes (Jere 1984). The World Bank reported from Lusaka in 1981 (Peil & Sada 1984) that the scheme succeeded in the provision of 31.000 serviced plots accommodating about one third of Lusaka's population between 1976-1980.

In Nairobi, Kenya (Chana 1984), the city council adopted a large scale project called Dandora Community Development Project. It was established in 1975 through multi-lateral loans between the government and both the World Bank and the International Development Agency. The project implemented 6000 serviced plots during seven years. But in comparison to housing needs it was "a drop in the ocean"; the main objectives of the scheme were to provide 6000 serviced plots, facilitate material loans and construct community services. Dandora project was directed to benefit low-income households and it represented the first project sponsored by the World Bank in Kenya. The site was located 10 km east of Nairobi centre. Chana summarised the consequences of the project as follows:

1. From the administrative and political point of view the project experienced a considerable period of delay because of

the overwhelming control of the city council over implementation.

2. It revealed many conflicts between the local political councillors and senior technical officers, but eventually most problems were solved after establishing phase one successfully.

3. The establishment removed some fears related to large-scale site and services projects.

4. The success of the scheme also had a useful political impact which led to more cooperation between the councillors and officials of the city council.

He concluded that the lesson learned from the project may help in the implementation of similar projects in the future.

For Tanzania (Grimes 1984) the approach of self-reliance in housing, as in many other sectors, has failed because of lack of both capital and trained people. It is by now very clear that in countries which have limited resources the efforts of housing urban poor must be directed to the private sector.

The Egyptian's (Soliman 1985) trial shifted from self-help building policy to core housing as a new self-help technique. The core housing system took two forms: either complete core unit or wet core - built part of the house - and leaving the rest of the construction to people's ability to expand their houses as time and finances permitted. Recently, both organised self-help technique and core housing unit became inappropriate as a policy for housing low-income groups. The prevailing alternative approach is the provision of serviced plots, leaving the residents to construct their houses in the

way they like. In practice, the implementation process has taken four types, i.e. provision of incomplete housing, serviced plots, basic services and upgrading of existing squatter settlements or a combination of these policies. El Heker and Ismailia projects in Egypt represent upgrading and site and services combined together in order to improve the existing low-income areas and to develop new housing areas.

Davidson (1984) reported that in Hal el Salaam, Ismailia, a project was carried out to rehabilitate 900 families in 1981. The project aimed to give an example of an alternative approach of housing in Egypt. The scheme represented a position between the very low control over land and much higher free market value of freehold land. The only financial assistance was to provide consultants for the design and technical assistance. The project was financed by both the Overseas Development Administration of Britain, and the Egyptian government.

Finally, we can conclude that the adoption of site and services and upgrading programmes can reduce the high prices of land in big cities, particularly the inner city areas. However, if the authorities ignore the increasing population in the major cities the urban land will become subject to strong speculative pressure and the prices will become very high. So the only choice left to urban poor and migrants is to reside in the peripheries of these cities and build their own dwellings on illegal land which lacks all kinds of public services and facilities.

Consequently some experts have suggested that urban growth must be geared to regional development in agriculture or

mineral resources or decentralisation of industries in different locations where land can be secured at reasonable prices (DOEASA 1984).

5. RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Rural development policy represents another solution to the problem of rehabilitation of migrants because it can help to disperse population over the whole country and help to achieve a balance between rural and urban development. An additional consideration is that it can help to raise the national production and national input from foreign currencies to meet the demands of residents in the country.

Beier (1984) argued that the centralisation of urban activities is due to centralisation of government decision-makers who often favour urban areas against rural areas. To counter this tendency a policy of regional equity is favoured, coupled with decentralisation or at least regional development policies. Beier notes that despite the benefits of this approach most governments are reluctant to pursue it because the task is too big and the changes occur too slowly.

Other writers have suggested that rural development must concentrate on establishing new towns as growth poles. Their purpose is to solve the problem of congested population in the main cities by slowing or stopping the fast rate of urban growth. Of course this experience is derived from western countries such as Great Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, Poland, Soviet Union etc. The new communities in these countries were designed to be self-sufficient in housing,

employment and all other services. Some developing countries have applied such a policy e.g. Mexico, India and Venezuela have all established new centres near big cities to divert part of the migrants from them. The result is that they succeeded to some extent in this direction (U.N. Conference on Human Environment 1974).

Rondinelli 1983 indicated that since the 1970s the emphasis has been to develop middle-sized cities in order to reverse or at least reduce the polarisation of big cities. He envisaged that such intermediate - secondary - cities can be used to promote and establish a more equitable distribution of population and resources than selecting a few growth areas (Potter 1985).

A rural development policy implies more than decentralisation through the creation of rural centres, the ultimate aim of rural development is to increase resources of farms which require improved production, marketing, training and credit facilities (OFECAD 1984).

Velsen (1975) was seeing the problem of urban areas as a consequence of the exodus migrants from rural areas and if the authorities tried to solve this problem, the exodus must be stopped and the rural areas must be viable economically, socially and physically to accept the returning migrants.

The Conference on Human Environment (1974) revealed that there are two ways to control migration patterns either directly or indirectly. The former procedure requires strong control over urban areas including registration of all migrants and their jobs (e.g. China and South Africa). The indirect, and

more popular approach is to influence population movement by manipulating a number of variables such as rural development schemes, establishing new towns and growth poles. These policies can be implemented singly or in combination.

Therefore the rural development programme should be only a part of the population distribution policy. But in many countries programmes have often been carried out without consideration of the impact on the rural settlement system or the local economy. The technical aspects and national economics took precedence over human and environmental considerations (U.N. Conference on Human Environment 1974).

Conyers 1982 (Potter 1985) reported that the principal aim of community development is to raise the standards of living and self-help represents the ultimate component in achieving this aim. Thus, the main initiatives for such development and change must come from members of the community itself rather than from developing workers.

Since the 1960s there has been a considerable debate on growth centres and growth poles strategies. And in practice there are many examples covering all developing countries which applied such strategies e.g. Chile 1960s, Venezuela and Colombia 1969, Cuba 1959, India, China and Kenya, Tanzania and Algeria (Potter 1985).

In Cuba, Havana was the main city, characterised by high rates of rural urban migration and rapid growth of spontaneous settlements. Following the revolution in 1959 Castro developed his reforms adopting socialist lines. He and his colleagues

regarded Havana as an imperialist, privileged and corrupted area and since 1963 they have prohibited further investment in housing and jobs. So the physical fabric was left to deteriorate in order to reduce its attractiveness to potential in-migrants.

China has also, adopted an anti-urban policy. Chang 1982 (Potter) noted that policies have changed periodically after a wide debate favouring deurbanisation. The strategy of the anti-urban approach owed much to the ideology of Mao Tse Tung who had seen urban centres as imperialist. Thus the planning had taken the form of bottom-up and top-down strategy and all efforts were made to promote the self-sufficiency of rural areas. Hence the rural areas were encouraged to develop their own resources and establish their own rural industries.

The Indian community development programme is one of the best known examples. The scheme started in the 1950s, involved the establishment of local councils, supported by teams of technical and different development officers at the village level. The approach followed the ideas of Ghandi who regarded the self-sufficient village as the basic unit of social and economic development (Potter).

It is worth noting that the experience of both China and India shows that public participation in planning is feasible and effective in two very different political and cultural contexts.

The United Nations' Department of Economic and Social Affairs (1984) demonstrated that the policy of anti urbanisation is not feasible because modernisation of

agriculture involves an irreversible decline in the need for rural manpower. Therefore developing countries can not hope to modernise without a steady decline in the proportion of the working population engaged in food production.

Gilbert (1982) has argued that when the concept of growth poles and growth centres became applied by both capitalist and socialist governments it became a cloudy and ill-defined idea. Moreover, in practice it failed to accomplish its promises because it needs a long time to establish a single growth pole centre (Potter).

The Department of Planning in Kenya (OFECAD 1984) has carried out a long-range regional development plan based on the creation of rural-growth centres suitable for the establishment of rural industries. So as to become the nuclei for future growth and to offset the attraction exerted by such big cities as Nairobi.

The World Bank (OFECAD 1984) noted that the experience of growth centres and growth poles in most developing countries was very expensive because of the financial cost and deficit in trained professionals.

Since independence in 1961 Tanzania has embarked on a programme of establishing new villages throughout the country. President Nyerere believed that the village has to be the basic level of social organisation before the benefits of modern developments could be brought to the people (Brain 1976).

He viewed the provision of decent housing for all

Tanzanians as the third objective after food and clothing. In 1972 the cabinet endorsed proposals of national site and services and upgrading schemes all over the country. The main goals of this policy included legalising squatter land holdings, the provision of services, and the facilitation of credit. The project was divided into two phases. Phase one started in 1974, co-financed by the World Bank, and dealt with site and services. Phase two began in 1977, also sponsored by the World Bank, and dealt with squatter upgrading in five towns. Meanwhile the implementation was going on the estimation had shown that the quatters increased so fast during 1974-1980 compared with the previous estimations (Mghweno 1984). Moreover all settlers who joined the scheme were mainly members of the National Party and biased against the best farmers of their home areas. In this scheme women were excluded unless they were accompanied by their families although Nayerere claimed that all members of the community were equal (Brain 1976). The Arusha Declaration defined agriculture the basic element for development, so Ujamaa villages were to be established to fulfil this aim. The three goals concerning Ujamaa villages were to relocate families in nucleated settlements, to introduce communal community in agriculture and to direct the people towards socialism voluntarily (Brebner & Briggs 1982).

Both Algeria 1971 and Tanzania 1967 have adopted rural development strategies aimed at creating village communities. In Tanzania the decision was taken after a long period of argument which started in the early 1960s. Nayerere stressed

that the development of the village was a fundamental prerequisite for effective economy development. But for Algeria in 1965 Boumedienne emphasised rapid industrialisation based on petroleum products. Thus the agrarian reforms were relegated to the second position. Both countries' policies were designed to bring about a radical transformation of their rural societies and to create communal organisation of labour and production. Another similarity between the two policies was the voluntary nature of peasants' participation. Finally, the two strategies facilitated the provision of basic services to residents in these new settlements. Basically, the main difference between the two countries was that the scope of villagisation in Algeria was broader than in Tanzania because Algeria had provided complete urban centres and facilitated job opportunities in places of residence. In both countries the progress and implementation of the policies was slower than proposed. For Tanzania this was due to the voluntary nature of peasants' participation and lack of communication between the administrators and beneficiaries. In Algeria the slow progress was attributed to three factors i.e., the degree of bureaucracy which led to substantial delays, the high cost of building villages and the insufficiency of materials available for construction. Consequently Tanzania had changed its policy after negative results of villagisation during 1974-1976 mainly because of failure in the agricultural production which led to a harsh economic crisis (Brebener & Briggs 1982).

Despite the predominantly voluntary nature of developments

in Tanzania and Algeria, in both countries there was some evidence of coercion. Berbener and Briggs concluded that the experience of both countries has provided lessons for other less developed countries who want to adopt this type. First, the use of force either directly or indirectly can only result in alienation between peasants and officials. Second, the lack of peasants' participation in planning and implementation can only increase this alienation.

Of course rural development policy can contribute with other policies to disperse the population all over the country and help to achieve a balance between rural and urban development. In addition to reducing disparities between rural and urban residents, it raises national production which can help to meet the demands of people in both areas. This objective can be achieved through aggregation of different policies, i.e. establishing agricultural development packages, growth centres and growth poles where natural resources are available and establishing rural industries to manufacture some goods for local consumption and export.

Equally, housing policies must not concentrate only on rural areas and ignore urban residents - take the form of anti-urbanisation - in major cities. Thus it must aim to make balance in socio-economic development to reduce the inequalities between people and lessen out-migration from rural areas.

Consequently, social participation represents the most important component to achieve the principal goals of these policies so as to avoid alienation which is responsible for the

failure of many projects which concentrated only on national economic production and technical aspects and neglected the residents' demands and aspirations. Therefore the authorities and developers must stimulate people to participate voluntarily and avoid any kind of enforcement.

6. CONCLUSION

Most independent countries in the Third World have witnessed, over the last three decades, economic development and population growth concentrated in the main cities. The urban poor and migrants residing in city slums or their peripheries face many problems.

After a considerable period of neglect the governments became aware of these problems and began to change their policies towards new settlers, providing them with land, security of tenure, basic infrastructure and some other services.

International assistance generally came too late and focussed on upper and middle-income groups or other types of urban infrastructure e.g. improving or establishing major roads, electricity supplies or piped water. By the 1970s the international assistance increased levels of investment in urban shelter and began to finance some site and services and squatter upgrading programmes. These changes were attributed to the views of some experts who argued for self-help housing in developing countries.

At the same time, international agencies encouraged developing countries to remove all barriers concerning land

ownership, security of tenure and to reduce the cost of building materials. Moreover, they encouraged the authorities to establish participatory planning bodies to ease public participation in both decision-making and implementation.

In practice, most governments and administrators have been reluctant to tackle the problem of housing for both urban and rural sectors. Instead, they have designed local or regional strategies to cope with the problems of overcrowded cities.

Three distinct phases can therefore be identified in most developing countries i.e. clearance policy, site and services and upgrading and rural development policy.

The principal aim of clearance policy which was most common between 1950 and 1960, was to evacuate the residents and demolish their dwellings using either nuisance laws or legal violence legislations. This demolition and coercion of people moving to urban areas aggravated the housing problems rather than solving them. It was also realised that clearance policies had failed to control urban residence. Thus many countries changed their policies, either to site and services and upgrading or rural development.

The second phase was to undertake site and services and upgrading programmes singly or combined together. This policy started in the 1960s and was attributed to the influence of Turner, Mangin, Abrams and others who supported self-help housing approach. Those experts regarded this policy as a major strategy that suited all developing countries. They rejected the idea of squatters as a drain on the urban economy, and squatter areas populated only by criminals and

disorganised groups. Instead they emphasised the opposite aspects and stressed the potential of the squatters. The model was introduced mainly in low-density housing and neglected the high-rise tenements financed by governments or with the help of international organisations. As a result, it often failed to solve problems concerning water supplies, electricity, transportation costs, basic infrastructures and some other services. Other experts believed that the failure was due to the implementation process which was the responsibility of one agency. Therefore they called for inter-agency participation to avoid duplication and to stimulate other officials and technicians to be involved in such work. Most governments and authors recognised by now that site and services - alone - is often suited to the poor countries which are facing lack of financial resources and of a trained cadre who could carry out the task of rehabilitation programmes. Moreover, the implementation of site and services and upgrading approaches together, has shown that it was successful to some extent, especially in reducing the price of land and lessening the number of squatters, particularly in inner-city areas. This limited success is due to the lack of financial resources to meet the expense of building materials and basic infrastructures. Therefore some other countries and experts have suggested an alternative approach concerning regional development in rural areas.

The last phase is therefore a rural development policy. This policy has taken three forms, i.e. establishing an

agricultural development package, establishing growth centres or growth poles where resources are available and in the end establishing rural industries in these locations. The main aim of this policy is to reduce the congestion of residents in big cities and slow, or stop, out-migration from rural areas. To achieve these goals, rural development policy must not concentrate on developing agriculture without promoting agricultural production. Therefore the emphasis must be directed to increase the resources of the farm which implies improving productivity, marketing, training and credit facilities. On the other hand, such improvements can establish rural industries which help to create growth centres or growth poles.

Rural development policy constitutes only a part of population distribution policy and it can only be carried out successfully if the emphasis is on the impact on rural settlement and local economy, rather than the national economy. Technical aspects often take precedence over human and environmental considerations in most plans in Third World countries.

The experience of many developing countries is that the anti-urbanisation policy is not feasible because modernisation of agriculture leads to a decline in need for rural manpower. When productivity rises and intensive mechanisation is increased, the need for labour simultaneously decreases. Therefore, controlling urban and rural residents needs a combination of policies integrated with national socio-economic plans.

Finally, we believe that the adoption of site and services and upgrading programmes, singly or in combination, together with rural development policy, can help to solve the current situation of housing crisis in urban areas and reduce or stop in-migration to major cities. These policies must go hand in hand and any favouring of one at the expense of others can only exacerbate the problem of rehabilitation rather than solving it.

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CHAPTER (3)

Methodology and Framework

Introduction

This study is concerned with rural-urban migration, with the socio-economic problems confronting migrants who are living on the outskirts of Omdurman and the appropriateness of the solutions which are currently being considered.

Therefore, the major interest is directed to the "fit" between problems and solutions. The principal aim is to specify the exact nature of the problem and to assess the appropriateness of the suggested solutions.

The fieldwork combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches with techniques and concepts borrowed from related disciplines, of sociology, social anthropology and social psychology.

Sociologists have normally relied on objective data gathered from questionnaires for studying rural-urban migration, while social anthropologists and social psychologists have tended to rely on "qualitative data", life histories and multitudinous observations based on social participation. The attraction of qualitative data has been stated by Butterworth as follows:

"Difficulties of definition and conceptualisation and lack of general theory have at least until recently left migration analysis to those who are mainly interested in tables of figures. Such tables are impressive in quantity, but usually tell us little about migration as a process."

P.A. Morrison made a similar point when he noted that prior to

the 1960's ,

"Studies of migration did little more than describe net migration patterns. For analytical purposes these net figures were little more than statistical fictions. There are not net migrants, there are people who are arriving at places or leaving them. Why they are doing so, is central to understanding the dynamics of urban growth and decline " (Butterworth 1981).

The most influential works which use life history material for the purpose of getting at distinctive personality types, were those of Cora Dubois (1944) and Abram Kardiner (1945). They collected life histories in a non-directive manner and avoided the limitation of externally imposed categories. For them, life history provided the best insight into the culture as perceived and felt by people themselves. It has also been argued that it helps to get at the relationships between members of the group and also helps to investigate motivation, values and socialisation (Langness 1965).

The most prominent work based on the life history approach was conducted by Oscar Lewis (1959), who studied five Mexican families trapped in the culture of poverty. His focus was on the family on the grounds that it can bridge the gap between the conceptual extremes of culture and the individual. Lewis made a separate biography for each member in the family, selected social problems to which the family would react and studied the family as a whole through detailed observation of a typical day in the life of the family.

W. I. Thomas (1958) adopted similar methods to study cultural changes of Polish migrants in Europe and America. His

assessment of attitudes and character changes was made on the basis of a study of letters exchanged between families at home and emigrants. He noted that there are only two possible ways to study migrants, either monographically through the whole concrete societies, or through the focus on special social problems which are manifest in migrant groups.

Other anthropologists have focused on social participation in studying migrant adjustment. Mayer (1961) studied behaviour patterns of Xhosa migrants in East London, South Africa. He rejected the stabilisation concept which focused solely on the length of stay in town, instead he was concerned with qualitative aspects of social interaction. He argued that a simple quantitative measure of, for example, length of stay, says little about culture, values, way of life and attitudes.

Since the 1950's many authors, Beal (1951), Lewis (1957), Mangin (1960), Fried (1959) have called for inter-disciplinary research in the urbanisation and migration process (Butterworth 1970).

An example of an integrated quantitative and qualitative approach is provided by Taylor (1966) in his study of migrants from the Durham Coalfield. He argued that one can either accept migrants' own statements or infer motives from a study of objective data and impute motives to migrants or combine subjective accounts with own account based on objective inference. His own solution combined structural characteristics with the account the migrants gave of their motives for migration.

Soliman's study in Alexandria, adopted a mixed or scanning approach. The participants included politicians, professionals and urban poor and the principal aim of the interviews was to explore how the needs of the squatters were perceived and acted upon. A number of case histories were selected from research areas in order to obtain in-depth information which was difficult to obtain in other ways, for example information on the local housing markets, attitudes towards government and professionals and their attitudes towards squatters and local social organisations (Soliman 1985).

Study Framework

The present study of migrants to Omdurman has been influenced by the previous studies and it also seeks to combine qualitative and quantitative methods. It involved questionnaire surveys of migrants and professionals and intensive interviewing to produce ten case histories.

(a) Migrant sample

Three areas were chosen from town peripheries to provide suitable representative communities of migrants.

1. The Western Area eight kilometres from the city centre with access through Souk-Libya and Radmla Streets.
2. The Northern Area situated ten kilometres from the city centre with access through Shingiti, El thora Bal Nos and El Wadi streets.
3. The Southern Area, eleven kilometres from the city centre with access through El Arbasia and Fatalhab Streets.

The residents of these areas represented two types of migrants: displaced and spontaneous. These sub-types refer,

as the names suggest, to the primary reason for their migration, involuntary and voluntary respectively. (Further description of sub-types will be found in Chapter 5.) The displaced majority are living in the Western and Southern areas and very small groups are living in the Northern area. While the majority of spontaneous migrants are concentrated on the Western and Northern areas and small numbers are living in the Southern parts of town.

Because there was no complete list of all households, the researcher instructed interviewers to select one family in each area and then to continue with a family in every fifth house along a pre-determined grid line. The displaced sample includes 250 respondents, 200 from the Western area, (Dar es salaam, Haras 14, 24, 33, 34, 39.) The other 50 respondents were from the Southern area, (Fatiahab and El Shigglah). At the same time 142 from the spontaneous group were interviewed, 92 from Hara 16, and 17 from Umm Baddah, Western area and 50 from Marzog in the North.

The head of the household formed the primary sampling unit and the inquiries were directed to him. This is necessary in a male dominated society like Sudan where women are often reluctant to welcome the interviewers and answer questions in the absence of their husbands. Moreover, it is preferable for questions to be answered by the household heads since the migration of the family in most cases is due to the decision of the head of the household. Accordingly, women represent a small proportion of the overall sample.

The migrant questionnaire (Appendix 1) consists of 63 items to explore personal information, socio-economic conditions, education, migration rural - urban link, adoption and assimilation, perception of the problems and alternative solutions to housing problems. It took an average of forty-five minutes to complete but in many cases the interview went on for much longer, specially when respondents were women or elders. Interviews were conducted in resident locations, that is in houses, by a previously arranged appointment.

(b)Professional Sample

Professionals relevant to the migrant issue were identified in ministries, departments, Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, Refugees' Commission, research units and universities. Out of the original list of 50, 41 interviews were completed. These respondents represented universities lecturers, National Council for Research, Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, Refugees Commission, National Capital Commission, Ministry of Construction and Housing, Ministry of Social Welfare Zakat and Displaced, Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Ministry of Local Government, Ministry of Information, Ministry of Finance and Planning, Ministry of Commerce and Supply and Ministry of Health. Further respondents represented different specialities and educational levels: including sociology, social work, geography, agriculture, economics, politics, administration, environmental studies, labour force, surveys, civil engineers, forestry and microbiologists. The majority with higher education degrees, (7 PH.D holders, 10 MA or MCS, 6 post-

graduate diplomas and 18 awarded BA or BSC Degrees.)

The professionals questionnaire (Appendix 2) consisted of 26 questions on the role of government and political parties, the role of International Relief Aid Organisations, the role of media, perception of the problems and alternative solutions to migrants current problems. Some of the questions were identical to those asked of the migrants. This was deliberate in an attempt to ease the comparison between migrants and professionals. Other questions were included to shed light on their attitudes towards migrants and at the same time explore the roles of government and international organisations.

(c) Family Sample

The fieldworker selected ten families, five from each type of migrant, with the help of sheiks and local leaders. Each family interview took two or three days, according to the number of family members and their availability. The principal aim was to reveal current differences between both types of migrant and to assess the differential adjustment to the new area.

Displaced household heads included a shiekh, a widow, and three others representing different tribes and social statuses. Spontaneous household heads included an educated and rich local leader, a widow and three others from different professions. All families were living in the Western peripheries of town.

The investigator used life history techniques to obtain information and relied on a non-directive manner to get insight into the present socio-economic conditions and housing

problems, as perceived and felt by migrants themselves. Thus the interviewing focused on clarifying attitudes towards urban life, social relations between both types of migrants and social relationships with host population. This was in addition to social contacts with home-people in rural areas or in town. Attention was also directed to explore social change in behaviour, values and aspirations. This kind of investigation needs a degree of intimacy with informants, knowledge of the community and native dialects. The fieldworker found few difficulties in obtaining information because he was originally from the area where the vast majority of families had come from. In addition he had eight years experience as a researcher in a Rural Development Department.

Fieldwork Duration and Expenses

The fieldwork study lasted for five months, from November 1988 to April 1989. During the first month the researcher distributed the professional questionnaires and started training 15 students from the Sociology Department. The vast majority of interviewers were from the Western Region because others who were from the near provinces had planned visits to relatives during the mid-term vacation. The training took 20 hours in five consecutive weeks. The questionnaire items were discussed with the interviewers and the areas to be surveyed were visited prior to carrying out the fieldwork. A standard translation to colloquial Arabic was agreed upon.

The researcher alone was responsible for the families study, and he organised meetings with shiekhs, local leaders and some officials. He was also involved in the collection of

professionals' questionnaires, calling back to clarify some information and collecting other materials.

Omdurman University sponsored all fieldwork expenses and awarded each "life history" family 100 Sudanese pounds as compensation for the time they spent on the interview. Each interviewer student was paid 25 pounds per work day.

Study Difficulties

The fieldwork confronted two main problems. The first concerned the collection of professionals' questionnaires. The researcher spent a long time collecting the completed questionnaires because some professionals were disinterested, some complained that they were too busy and others lost it. The second problem was that some migrant interviewees refused to give information because some local leaders discouraged residents from co-operating. They had assumed that the interviewers belonged to the Housing Department and that the data would be used to evacuate them to the Dar es Salaam area. After some time the researcher succeeded in convincing those who had refused that the information was being collected mainly for scientific purposes, in order to identify their current problems and to illustrate their views towards suggestions for rehabilitation.

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CHAPTER (4)

MIGRANTS TO OMDURMAN: A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT

INTRODUCTION

During the last two decades Sudan experienced a massive rural-urban migration from most parts of the country, particularly from Western and Southern regions, to the national capital. The main reasons for migration were drought and desertification in the West, the ongoing Civil War in the Southern region and continuing inequality in the distribution of socio-economic projects.

The Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (1987) Table (2) reported that during 1986-87, 21% of overall population had been affected by drought and civil war. The most affected regions in the North were Dar Fur, Kordofan and Eastern region; and in the South, Equatoria, Upper-Nile and Bhr El Gazal regions respectively. However, people in these areas had moved to big cities in their regions and then to Khartoum Complex i.e. Omdurman, Khartoum and Khartoum North, or moved from rural areas directly to the national capital.

The United Nations Office for Emergency in Africa (1988) identified streams of movement (Map 3) in the following directions:

1. People from Northern Kordofan and Dar Fur moved either to the national capital or to large cities in Southern Kordofan and Dar Fur provinces.
2. Southern migrants moved to the national capital or to big cities protected by government military forces and then moved again to the capital.

TABLE NO. (2)

DESCRIPTION : REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE AFFECTED BY
WAR AND DROUGHT (IN THOUSANDS)

NO.	REGION	TOTAL POPULATION	NO. OF PEOPLE AFFECTED
1	Greater Khartoum	2.111	716
2	Dar Fur Region	3.188	724
3	Kordofan Region	3.594	636
4	Eastern Region	2.208	600
5	Central Reion	4.090	210
6	Northern Region	1.129	024
7	Equatoria Region	1.748	850
8	Upper Nile	2.041	562
9	Bahr El Gazal	2.689	413
10	TOTAL	22.798	4.735

Source : The Annual Report Of The Commission of Relief
and Rehabilitation 1986 - 1987 p. 25

3. People from the central region moved either to large cities in the area, to mechanised agricultural schemes or to the capital.

4. In the Khartoum Complex new arrivals are distributed among the Three Towns and the vast majority preferred to settle in the peripheries; i.e. people from Southern regions, Southern Kordofan province and Northern region prefer to live in Khartoum or Khartoum North while the majority of Western and Central regions migrants' preferred the vicinity of Omdurman.

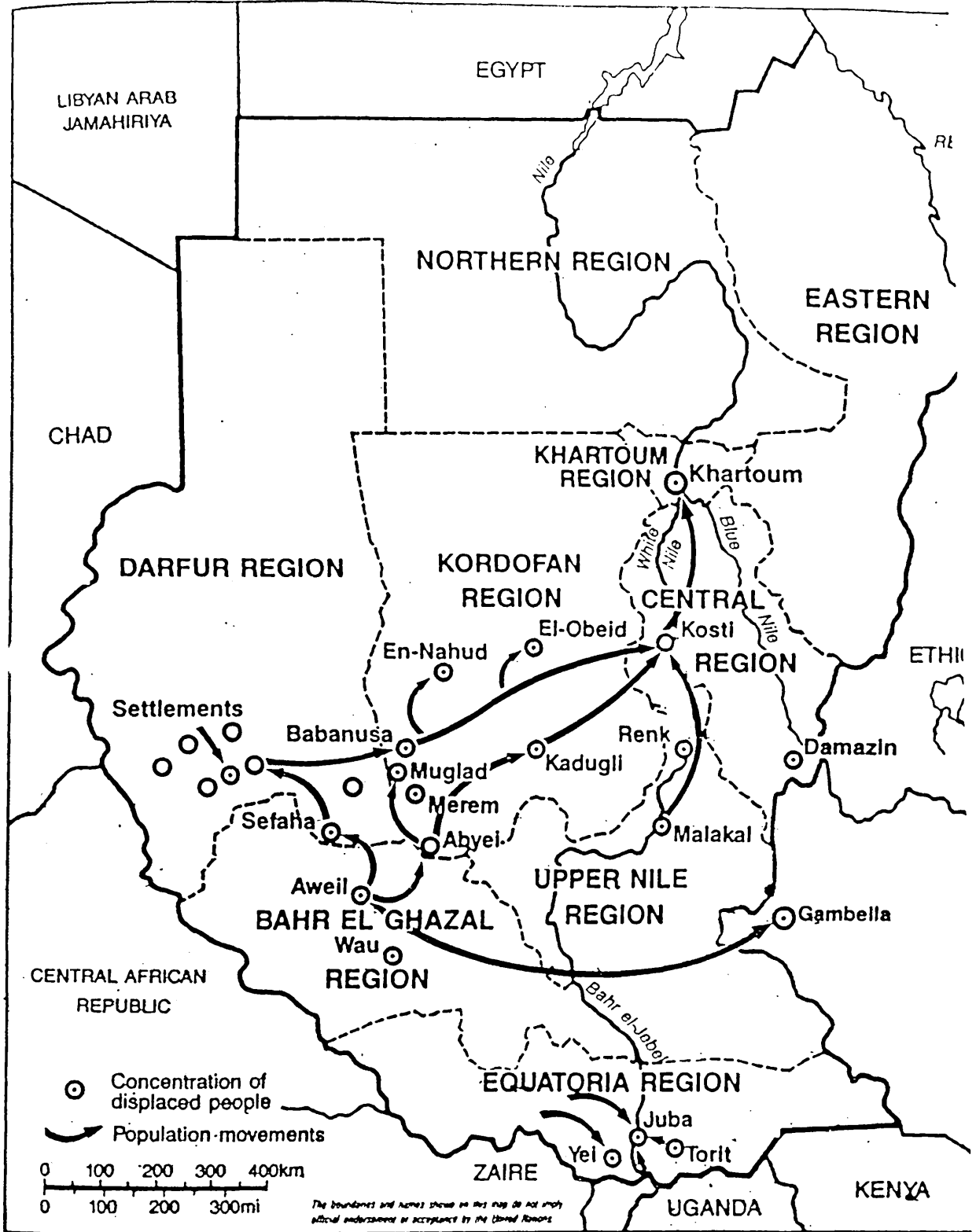
People have a free choice of where they would like to live. Consequently, we tend to find minorities living with their own or neighbouring tribal groups.

Map (4,5), identifies the main localities of displaced people in the capital. In Khartoum town the new arrivals are mostly relocated in the South, South East, and West of the city. In Khartoum North, they are mostly located in the East and North and in Omdurman, the main squatter settlements are found in the Western, Southern and Northern outskirts of the town.

The United Nations Office estimated the new settlements around the capital amounted to 70 or 80 locations. Some sources estimated that in the capital, the squatters increased from 1.3 million in 1983 to 2.5 million in 1984/85. Others estimated the numbers of migrants from the South of Sudan was over two million, from whom close to one million may have reached Khartoum Province.

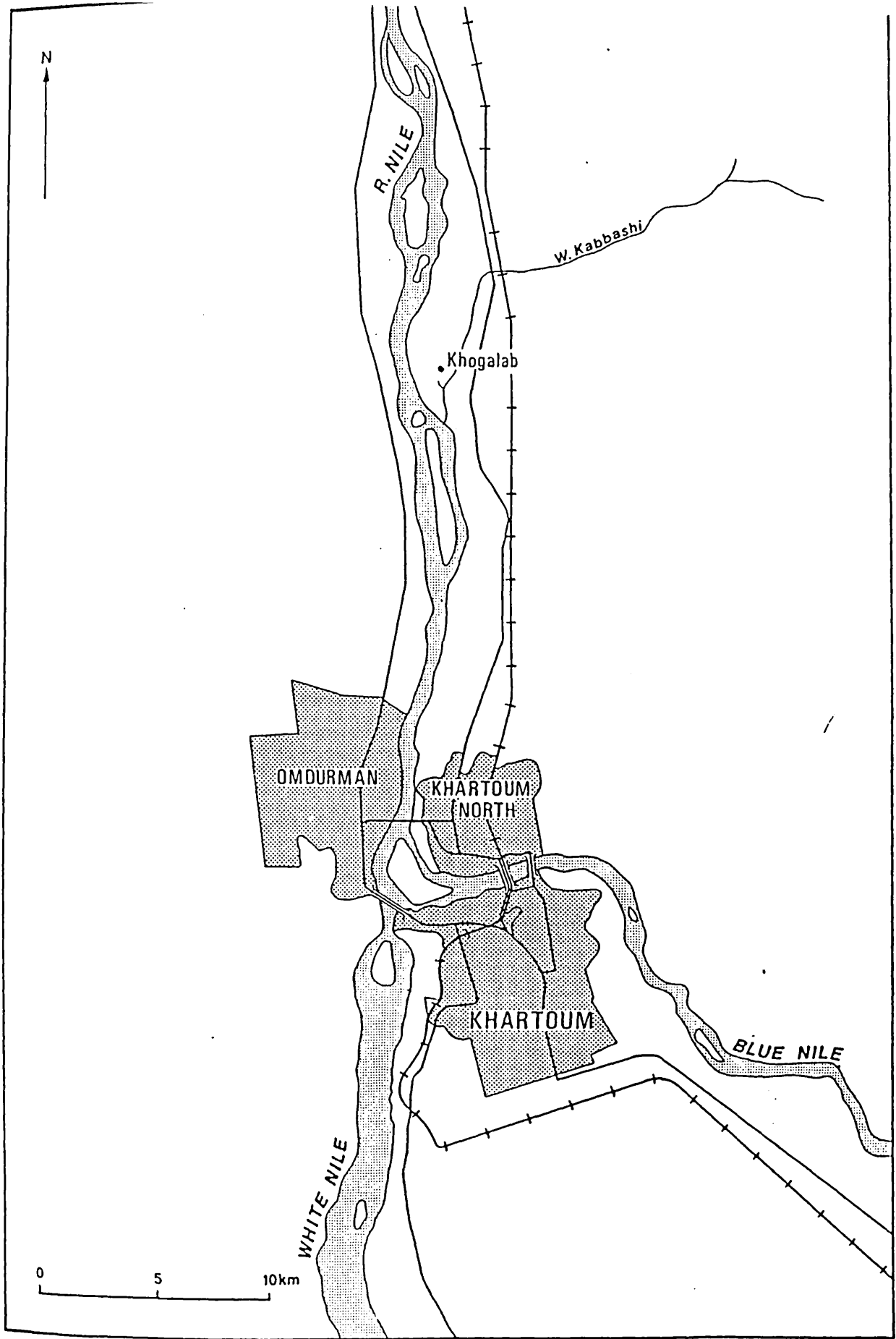
The United Nations Office For Emergency in Africa (table 3) estimated the displaced population in Sudan during 1988/89 amounted to two million, 62% of whom were in the capital. They

DISPLACED POPULATION - SUDAN



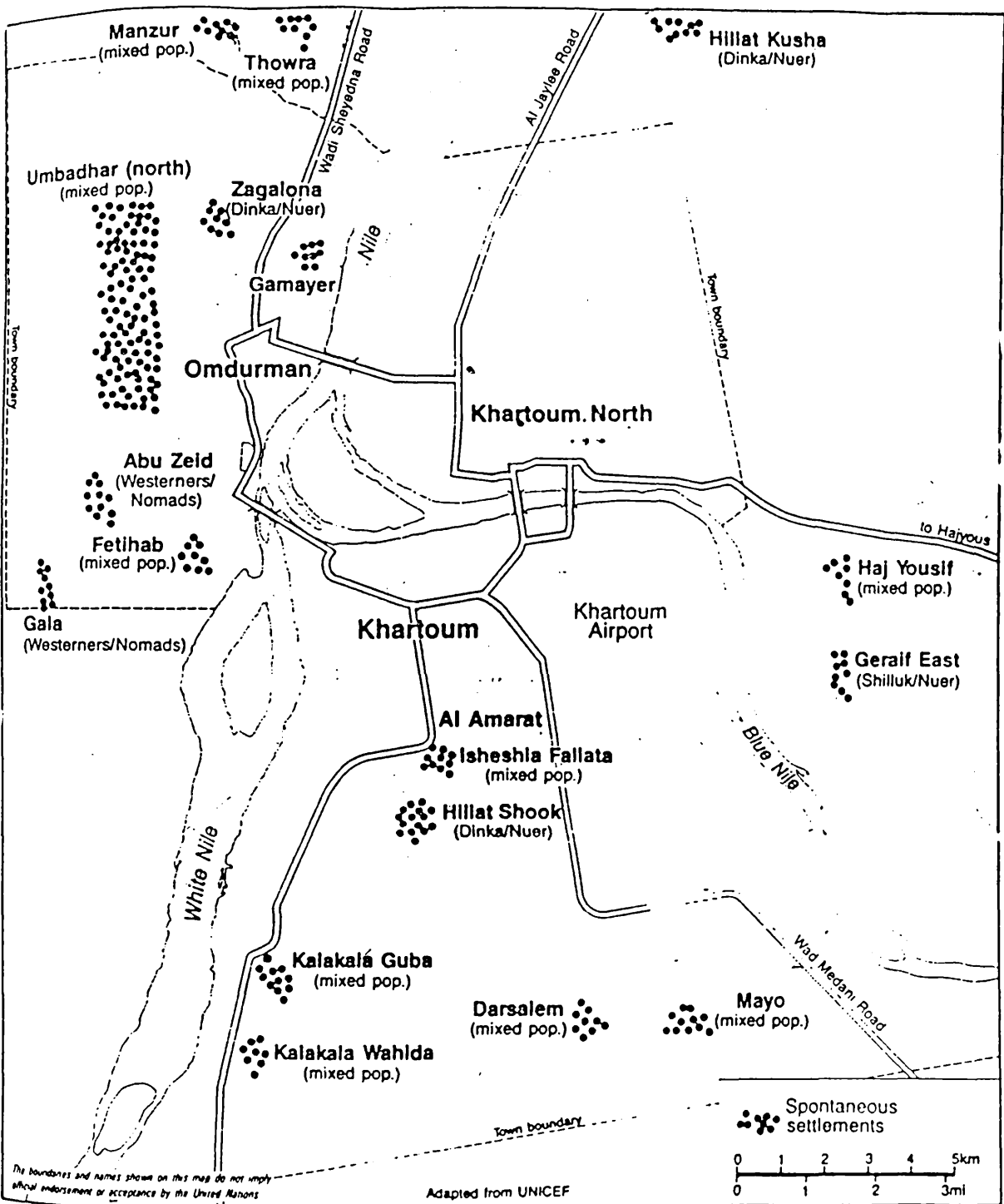
MAP NO. 3506 UNITED NATIONS
OCTOBER 1988

The boundaries and names shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.



Map 4 Location of the study area

MAIN CONCENTRATIONS OF DISPLACED PEOPLE IN THE KHARTOUM AREA



The boundaries and names shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations

Adapted from UNICEF

MAP NO. 3507 UNITED NATIONS
OCTOBER 1988

noted that these estimations were limited to those who can be reached in towns, camps or settlements; i.e. exclusive of those self-settled in urban or rural areas.

Other surveys reported that the above figures were exaggerated and unrealistic. For instance, the Ministry of Social Welfare, Zakat and Displaced carried out a survey (1988) to estimate the size of displaced population living in camps around the capital. The survey team included experts and officials from ministries, departments and commissions responsible for displaced affairs. They reported that the previous estimates were affected by political factors which tended to magnify the numbers in order to attract more donors from international government and non-government organisations. They gave two examples of contradiction i.e. The Relief Committee estimated displaced people from the South as 733 thousand in October 1987, while the Commission of Khartoum estimated the numbers in June 1988 as 1.5 million. In addition they noted that the capital received eight thousand weekly. The fieldworker's team confirmed that some estimations exceeded actual figures of total residents in urban areas.

The 1988 survey results showed that the total number of displaced living in camps around the capital amounted to about 76 thousand. But they acknowledged that about 50% of participants were absent during the fieldwork process because they were working in the towns. Therefore they estimated that people living in camps amounted to between 100 and 150 thousand and those who were living in town, i.e. with relatives or as rented tenants, to 120 thousand.

TABLE NO. (3)

Estimated displaced population in the Sudan *

Province	Sites	Current displaced population fourth quarter 1988	Projected displaced population end 1989 **
S Darfur	Paired Settlements	17,000	35,000
S Kordofan	Abyei El Meiran, Muglad, Babanusa, El Tibbun, Kadugli	52,000	85,000
N Kordofan	El Obeid, El Nahad	15,000	30,000
Central Provinces	Kosti/Kenana, Damazin, Wad Medani, Sennar	100,000	150,000
Upper Nile	Malakal, Renk	80,000	100,000
Behr El-Ghazal	Aweil, Wau	150,000	100,000
Equatoria	Juba, Yei, Torit	170,00	160,000
Khartoum	Khartoum, Khartoum North, Omdurman	950,000	1,200,000
Total		1,534,000	1,950,000

* Limited to those that can be reached in towns, camps or settlements; exclusive of those self-settled in urban or rural areas.

** These estimates are intentionally conservative. As the situation evolves the number of displaced people requiring assistance in 1989 could exceed the above projections.

Adapted from United Nations Office for Emergencies in Africa, p. 20.

Of course both estimates are rather unreliable for two reasons: First, because they maximise the numbers depending on vicious speculation and second, because they minimise the numbers relying on one type of migrants i.e. camp settlers. This fact becomes clear in the following table which shows the population growth of Khartoum Complex at different times over a thirty years period.

TOTAL POPULATION IN KHARTOUM COMPLEX "IN THOUSANDS"

Town	1955/56	1964/65	1973/74	1983/84
Omdurman	114	183	301	649
Khartoum	93	164	349	557
Khartoum North	47	80	150	596
Total	254	427	800	1802

Source : Population and Development in Sudan (1987)
(Internal Migration p.139)

Both former and recent migrants are often mixed together in all localities. Thus it is extremely difficult and unrealistic to separate people in camps from other groups in the area because all are considered by the authorities as illegal occupants.

In September 1988 the Netherland Red Cross carried out a survey on Hara 14 displaced Umm Baddah, West Omdurman. The survey results revealed that in Hara 14 displaced migrants from rural areas were outnumbered by those homeless from other parts of the city. This mixture is likely to be the same for the majority of unplanned areas around Omdurman.

As for the present situation in new settlements, the United Nations Office for Emergency in Africa (1988) explained that displaced populations are generally unable to fend for

themselves and have been forced to move to Khartoum or other large cities to survive. They often arrived in groups and settled onto the land that was normally uninhabited, particularly in places which have a high percentage of people from home area or tribal groups.

The preceding discussion illustrates some of the difficulties of terminology. Ministries and government institutions have used different terms to distinguish one type from another. For example, the Commission of Relief and Rehabilitation (1987) used the term "affected people" to refer to those who moved because of drought and the civil war in the South. The United Nations Office for Emergency (1988) together with the Ministry of Social Welfare, Zakat and Displaced (1988) used the term "displaced" to refer to those who are living in camps or illegal settlements. The Netherland Red Cross (1988) used the concept "city-dwellers" to refer to those who are living in unplanned areas. Other writers have used the term "squatters" to refer to all migrants who are living in the peripheries of Khartoum Complex (Bahjat 1987). Siddig M. Ahmed (1987) used the term "migrants", and Zanab B. El Bakri (1987) used the term "urban poor" and Suhair (1987) used the concept "environmental refugees" referring to the displaced who are living in Omdurman.

2. MIGRATION TO OMDURMAN

The previous discussion has revealed that there is some information about migrants in Greater Khartoum but it is variable in quality and not sufficiently detailed. Therefore

one of the first tasks was to construct a questionnaire for a survey to provide up-to-date details and comprehensive information on migrants to Omdurman.

In this chapter we present a simple descriptive account of the migrants and in the next chapter we will explore some differences within the migrant population.

Initially we used the word migrant to refer to anyone who moved to town permanently or semi-permanently and has, or recently had, owned a house in town. This includes those who had moved individually, with families or collectively from one or more geographical locations within the country and illegally occupied the land: it excludes personal visits, seasonal and temporary "circulators".

The information obtained from the survey will cover the following topics:

1. Area of origin.
2. Age
3. Household situation.
4. Income.
5. Housing circumstances.
6. Amenities.
7. Perception of the problems.

1. AREA OF ORIGIN

Table (4) shows that the majority of migrants had moved from Northern Kordofan and the White Nile provinces: 42% and 21% respectively. These are the main areas of origin for Omdurman because it is the first large city. Furthermore,

TABLE NO. (4)

DESCRIPTION : DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY PROVINCES

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	Northern Kordofan	42
2	White Nile	21
3	Southern Kordofan	8
4	Southern Provinces	6
5	Blue Nile	4
6	Northern Dar Fur	4
7	Southern Dar Fur	3
8	North Province	3
9	Gezira	3
10	Nile Province	2
11	Kassala	1
12	Red Sea	-
13	Capital	3
14	TOTAL	100.0

N = 392

people from these provinces used to come to the city seeking work, medical treatment or to buy commodities.

The results also show a low proportion of migrants from Southern Kordofan and Southern regions. This variation is due to the fact that the majority of migrants from these provinces prefer to live in Khartoum or Khartoum North because the former migrants are settling in the outskirts of these cities.

What is noticeable is that the percentage of migrants from North and South Dar Fur is rather lower than expected, given that this region is situated mainly in the hot desert or semi-desert and has witnessed a long period of drought. Therefore most of the people moved to Omdurman since the early seventies and most found work as shopkeepers or guardians in industrial areas, labourers and petty traders in the city.

Comparing above results with the 1973 census which showed the main sending areas were Dar Fur, Kordofan, Northern and Southern region provinces respectively. Kordofan represented the largest pull area, attracting about 30% of migrants. This confirms other recent estimates which have shown that Northern and Dar Fur province are no longer the largest sending areas. (Siddiq 1987).

Table (5) shows the distribution of migrants to Omdurman by region, and it is clear that the majority have moved from Western and Central Sudan. Map (2) shows the affected areas: severe degradation of natural resources associated with extensive rainfed cultivation, overgrazing, deforestation and burning of grass lands and forest scrub (Suhair 1987).

It must be pointed out that the origins of migrants to

Omdurman do not accurately reflect the origin of those in the capital because most migrants from other regions prefer to live in Khartoum and Khartoum North rather than in Omdurman. This is particularly true of migrants from Southern and eastern regions who have increased dramatically in last few years because of the civil war in the South and the armed conflict in Ethiopia. The second column of Table 5 shows the extent to which those professionals involved with the migrants have a sound and accurate knowledge of their major origins. It is immediately obvious that most professionals assumed that the migrants came mainly from the West and South regions and were unaware of the large numbers coming from the Central region. Secondly, 20% of the professionals believed that migrants came from abroad while the actual figures revealed none came from abroad. Thirdly, the professionals assumed all migrants came from outside, yet we can see that 3% came from other places in Omdurman. Generally, we could say that the professionals are likely to have general but inaccurate knowledge about migrants place of origin.

2. AGE

Table (6) shows the age of migrant household heads: 73% of the respondents were aged less than 44 years. This finding corresponds well with Galal El Din's study 1979, which showed that the majority of migrants to the capital were aged less than 45 years (Siddig 1987). Also a recent survey carried out by the Netherlands Red Cross in Hara 14, Umm Baddah, Omdurman found that 74% of male and 85% of female household heads, respectively, were aged less than 40 years. The youthfulness of

TABLE NO. (5)

DESCRIPTION : DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY REGIONS

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %	PROFESSIONALS
1	West Region	57	78
2	Central Region	28	2
3	Southern Region	6	66
4	Northern Region	5	10
5	Eastern Region	1	5
6	National Capital	3	-
7	From Abroad	-	20

N=392

N=41

Professional does not add up to 100% because of
multiple choice

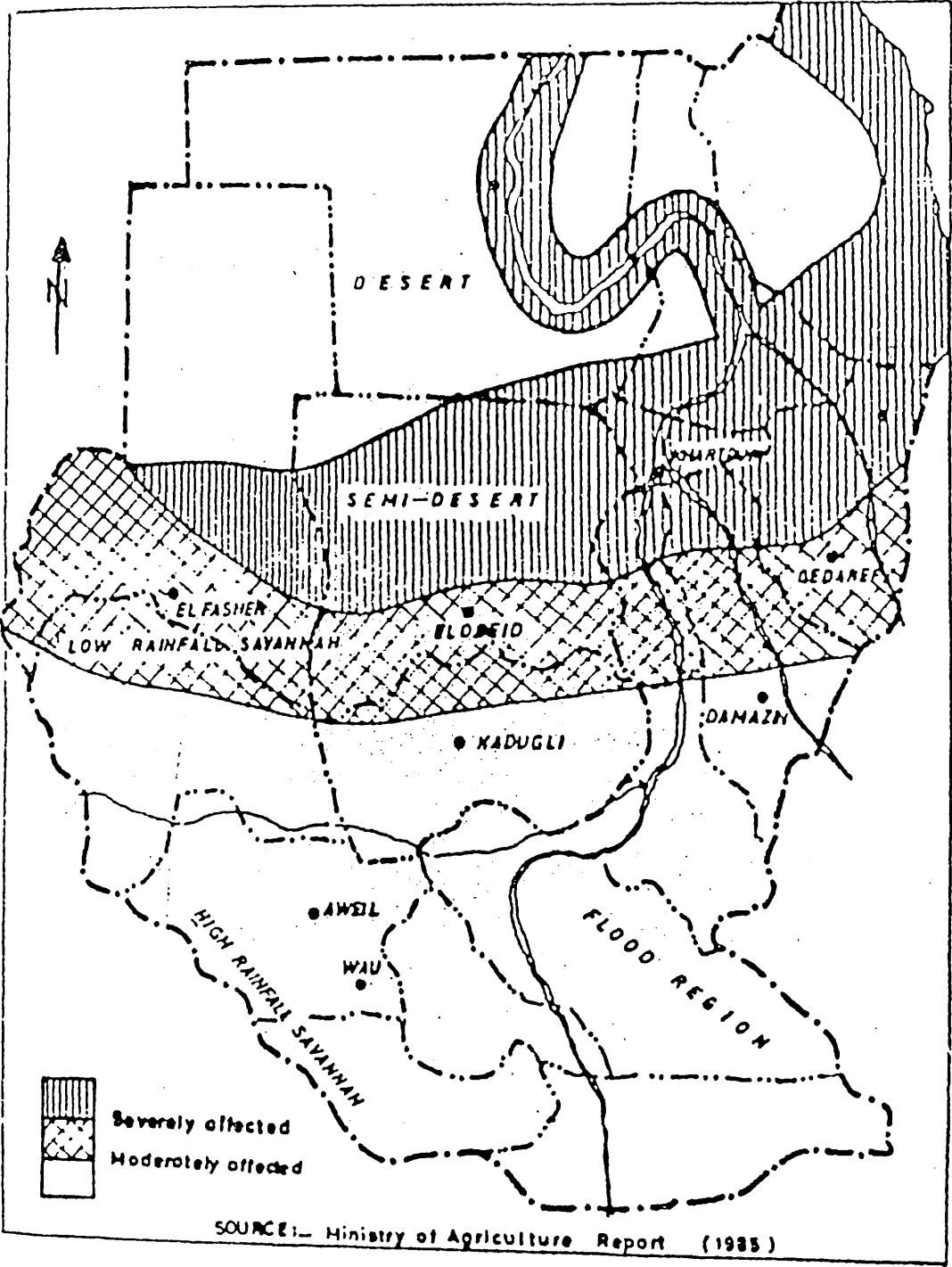
TABLE NO. (6)

DESCRIPTION : AGE OF HOUSHOLD HEAD

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	15 TO 24 Years	5
2	25 TO 34	35
3	35 TO 44	33
4	45 TO 54	19
5	55 TO 64	5
6	OVER 65	3

N = 392

AREAS AFFECTED BY DESERTIFICATION



the migrant population does, of course, have negative implications on both receiving and sending areas i.e. economically, socially, politically and environmentally.

3. HOUSEHOLD SITUATION

A) MARITAL STATUS

Table (7) shows a substantial number of married couples and low percentages of single household heads (widowed, divorcees and deserted). This finding confirms earlier research carried out in the vicinity of Omdurman 1984 (Suhair 1987) which found 75% of respondents were married couples and very small proportions of other categories.

Table (8) shows that the great majority of male migrants are monogamous: 89% of respondent males have one wife, 10% have two wives and only one per cent are married to three wives.

B) NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND FAMILY SIZE

Out of the total number of parent respondents (Table 9), 45% have between 1 and 4 children, 41% have more than 5 children and only 13% have no children. The last group often represents the new married couples. Table (6) showed that 73% of household heads were aged less than 44 years, consequently we can expect that the number of children in this category will increase dramatically in the near future because family planning contradicts with traditions and rural values.

As for overall family size, Table (10) reveals that 35% of participants had a family size less than 5 members. 53% had a family size in the range of 5-9 members and 13% had more than 10 family members. According to the fieldworker's knowledge these figures should be regarded as very conservative because

TABLE NO. (7)

DESCRIPTION : MARITAL STATUS

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	Single	5
2	Married	89
3	Widowed	4
4	Divorced	2
5	Deserted	1

N = 392

TABLE NO. (8)

DESCRIPTION : NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD' WIFE/WIVES

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	One Wife	89
2	Two Wives	10
3	Three Wives	1

N = 331

many migrants have moved from places of origin recently and still expected to receive more relatives in the following few years. One of the main traditions in Sudan is that most married couples' relatives, e.g. elders, sick people, students and job seekers, often join close relatives in town and stay as long as they want until they move voluntarily to home area or elsewhere.

4. INCOME

Table (11) shows that 26% of respondents earn less than four hundred pounds while 74% earn more. This suggests that the majority have found jobs. Generally the earliest migrants found the best paid jobs while the later arrivals found only low paid jobs. The income of those in low paid jobs was generally supplemented by the efforts of other family members e.g. children and sometimes other close relatives who were staying with the family. The majority of respondents Table (12) reported that their income is quite sufficient to support their families while 39% reported that their income is seldom or never enough to meet their basic needs.

Table (13) reveals that the vast majority of informants spend their income on subsistence needs and very few are able to save money. Those who are able to save are those who have gained highly paid jobs or those who have many family members working and collaborating with the household heads.

5. HOUSING CIRCUMSTANCES

Table 14 shows that nearly all of the respondents (93%) own a plot of land and only 7% are living in someone else's

TABLE NO. (9)

DESCRIPTION : NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD CHILDREN

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	None	13
2	1 - 2	20
3	3 - 4	25
4	5 - 6	19
5	7 and more	22

N = 372

TABLE NO. (10)

DESCRIPTION : FAMILY SIZE

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	Less than 5	35
2	5 - 9	53
3	10 - 14	12
4	More than 15	1

N = 388

TABLE NO. (11)

DESCRIPTION : HOUSEHOLD HEAD INCOME PER MONTH

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	Less than L.S 200	5
2	L.S. 200 - 399	21
3	L.S. 400 - 599	30
4	More than L.S. 600	44

N = 378

TABLE NO. (12)

DESCRIPTION : HOUSEHOLD INCOME SUFFICIENCY

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	Often / Always	34
2	Sometimes	28
3	Seldom	12
4	Never	27

N = 381

house (owned by someone in the city or in another city, or by someone who emigrated to one of the Arab oil producing countries). Out of the total number of respondents (Table 15), 72% reported that they had illegally occupied the land, whereas 17% had it awarded by the government. This group largely consists of Dar es Salaam residents who were awarded legal plots but later evicted. A very small proportion bought the land or had it gifted from relatives/friends or obtained it in other ways. The latter three groups represent those who are better off, particularly small traders, middle class citizens in the city or rich people who moved recently from affected areas. These findings reveal that Omdurman migrants often moved to uninhabited land which is owned by the government or individuals in towns, and sometimes they bought land from migrants or city-dwellers who were illegally occupying the land.

6. AMENITIES

As observed in the fieldwork areas most of the earlier migrants are living in houses made from adobe, fire brick, Zinc or Rakubas (often established from grass, wood and used as a lounge and sometimes as a kitchen) and very few living in tents. By contrast, the majority of recent arrivals are living in tents or shelters made from wool (called "Shugag") or grass huts. (See photographs)

All new settlements suffer from shortages of all kinds of services i.e. infrastrucure, schools, water supply, sanitation and environmental health.

TABLE NO. (13)

DESCRIPTION : RATE OF HOUSEHOLD SAVING PER MONTH

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	None	81
2	Less than 1/4	12
3	1/4 TO 1/2	6
4	1/2 TO 3/4	2

N = 381

TABLE NO. (14)

DESCRIPTION : OWN A PLOT OF LAND NOW

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	Yes	93
2	No	7

N=392

TABLE NO. (15)

DESCRIPTION : MEANS OF ACQUISITION

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	Occupied the land	72
2	Grant from the Gov	17
3	Bought the land	5
4	Grant from Relative/Friend	4
5	Other ways	2

N = 385

Table (16) shows that out of the total number of participants 96% reported that they obtain water through Karo-drivers and very limited proportions obtain water through the Red Cross/Red Crescent or had water fetched by family members from public fountains or wells. The vast majority (Table 17) perceived these water prices to be very expensive. The necessity for water and the high prices means that many adult males have found work in water-supply. Some have invested their profits to buy a Karo to generate more income so that they can emigrate abroad or change their present work to a trade in the future.

7. PERCEPTION OF THE PROBLEMS

Table 18 shows that most migrants define the major problems to be housing, child education, health and social services. Factors such as the cost of living, police support, wages and unemployment were mentioned less often. These results suggest that migrants in town are suffering from social rather than economic problems. The right hand column of Table 18 shows what professionals perceive to be the major problems. They list unemployment, housing, health services and cost of living and give less attention to problems associated with social services, child education, police support and wages. These results suggest that most professionals believed that migrants are suffering more from economic than from social problems. This difference in perception is important and will be taken up in a later chapter.

Finally, it will be apparent from the above description of migrants to Omdurman that they are not a homogenous group.

TABLE NO. (16)

DESCRIPTION : TYPE OF WATER SUPPLY

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	Karo - drivers	96
2	Red Cross/Cres	2
3	Other ways	2
4		

N = 372

TABLE NO. (17)

DESCRIPTION : COST OF WATER SUPPLY RATING

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %
1	Expensive/V. Exp	82
2	About right	14
3	Cheap/V. Cheap	4

N = 379

TABLE NO. (18)

DESCRIPTION : PERCEPTION OF PROBLEMS

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %	PROF.	MIGRANTS RANKING	PROF. RANKING
1	Housing	86	88	1	2
2	Child Education	64	66	2	6
3	Health Services	64	85	3	3
4	Social Services	51	71	4	5
5	Cost of Living	46	80	5	4
6	Police Support	45	61	6	7
7	Wages	13	46	7	8
8	Unemployment	9	93	8	1

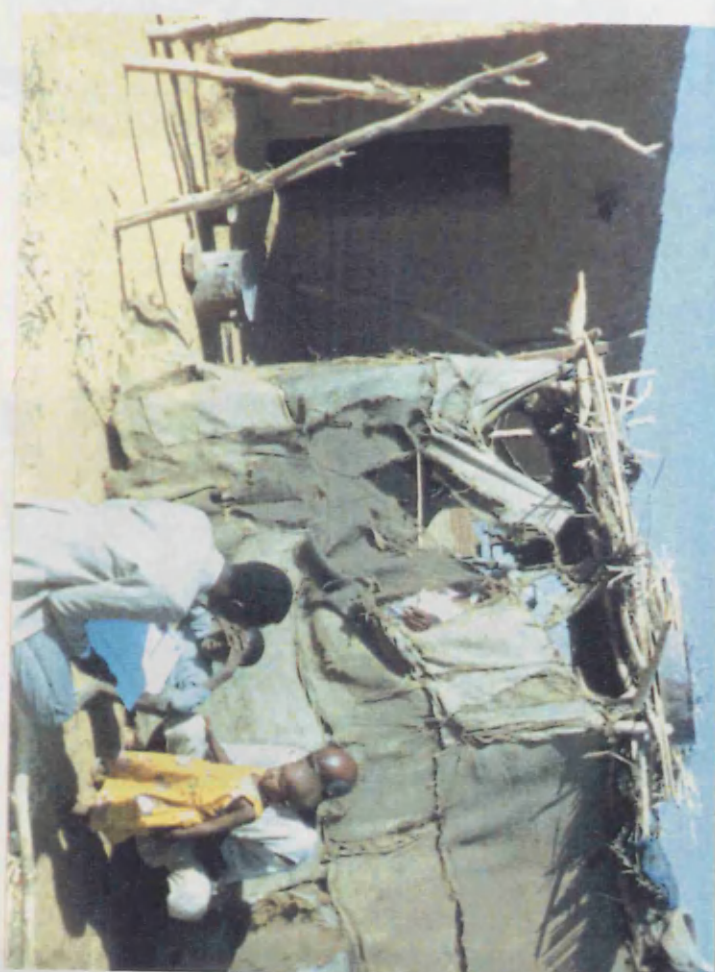
N = 392

N = 41

1 = Highest priority
8 = Lowest priority

Percentage does not add up to 100% because of
multiple choice.

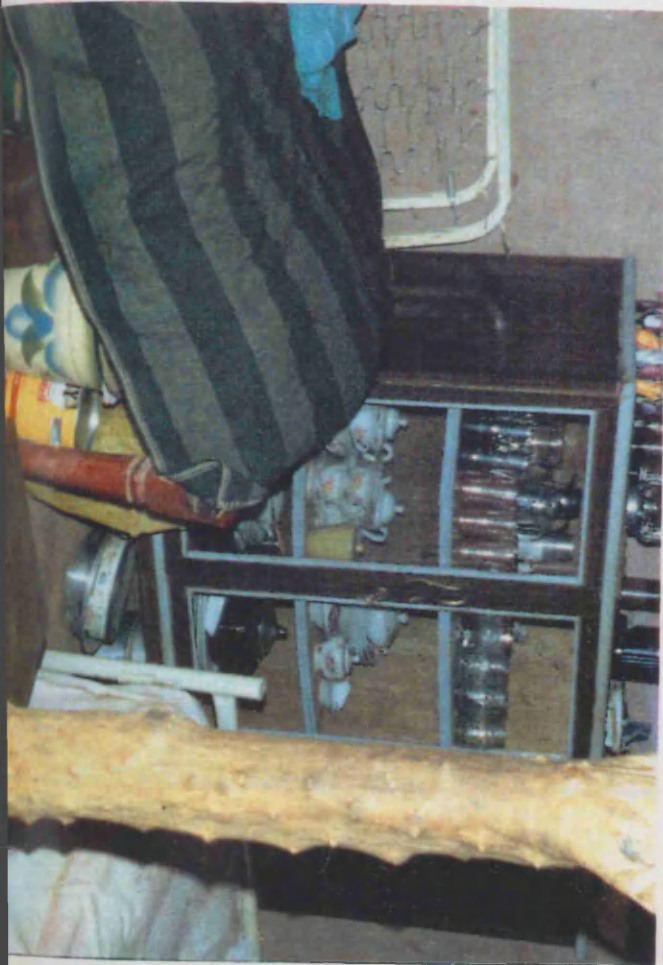
NOMADS DISPLACED RESIDENCES

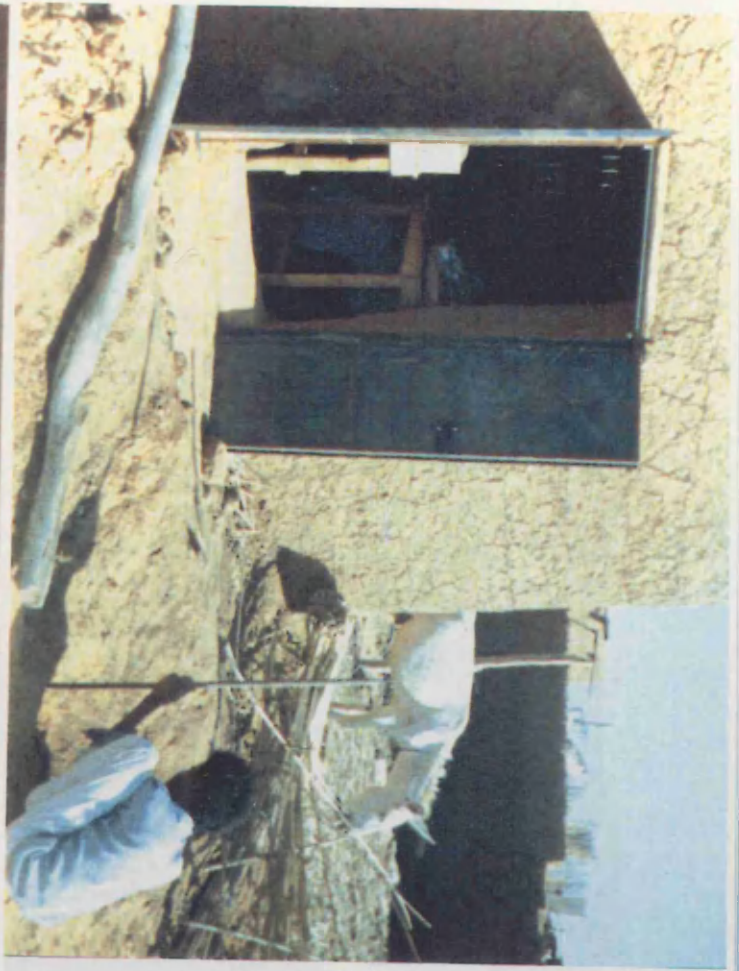






SEDENTARY SPONTANEOUS RESIDENCES







WATER TRANSPORTATION TO DISPLACED AND SPONTANEOUS AREAS



LIBYA AND ANIMAL MARKETS





There is a fundamental distinction between displaced and spontaneous migrants. The next chapter will examine this distinction and the differences between the two types of migrants.

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CHAPTER 5

An examination of differences between displaced and spontaneous migrants

Introduction

This chapter examines displaced and spontaneous migrants who are living in the peripheries of Omdurman. The analysis focuses on both objective measurements and subjective awareness, utilising survey material and the life history method.

Overall characteristics of Displaced Migrants.

The majority of displaced residents live in unplanned localities on the periphery; a minority live in small groups who have occupied planned areas. The vast majority are nomadic or semi-nomadic and only a very small proportion belong to sedentary tribes. Most moved in groups within the last decade and came with their families. They are now encapsulated within certain districts and constitute a community in exile (Meyer, 1961). They maintain a low level of contact with home-people in rural areas, but they often help relatives/friends who have arrived in Omdurman. The majority are illiterate and uneducated. Most have casual jobs, and all members of the family members collaborated to sustain the family. The condition of houses, furniture and amenities is deplorable.

Overall characteristics of spontaneous migrants.

Spontaneous migrants live mainly in planned areas on the outskirts of the town between planned districts and displaced areas. The majority belong to sedentary or semi-nomadic tribes

and very few are originally nomads. Considerable numbers moved more than ten years ago on an individual basis. Most came looking for jobs, or to improve their quality of work. The majority still maintain strong relationships with people in the home-land and they have close ties with the residents in town. Moreover, most have helped relatives or friends who arrived in the city. Most spontaneous settlers are literate, having attended school to different levels. The majority have high-waged jobs; in addition some have other sources of income. The present conditions of houses, furniture and amenities are much better than those in displaced areas and the residents are also more likely to have a generally modernistic orientation.

Objective differences between displaced and spontaneous migrants

In the following section we discuss the objective differences between both types of migrants and identify reasons for and consequences of these differences. This will include detailed examination of differences in tribes, migration, village visits, contact with local community, education, occupation, housing and conditions of household health, houses, furniture, amenities and level of modernity.

(1) Ethnic Composition

Ethnically, the migrants in displaced and spontaneous areas can be classified as nomadic and sedentary respectively. Tables 19 and 20 show the tribal affiliation of household heads in displaced and spontaneous areas. The differences between the two types could be summarised as following:

In table 19 the data shows that in displaced areas 1 in 10

TABLE NO. 19

DESCRIPTION: Tribal membership of Household Heads in displaced areas
(Top ten tribes only)

No.	Tribe	%
1	Dar Hamid	16
2	Gawama	10
3	Shiwahat	10
4	Kababish	7
5	Gaalien	6
6	Southern Tribes	6
7	Hawawir	5
8	Gamoia	3
9	Hassania	3
10	Mussalamia	2
11	Other Tribes	32
	TOTAL	100

N=250

TABLE NO. 20

DESCRIPTION: Tribal membership of Household Heads in spontaneous areas
(Top ten tribes only)

No.	Tribe	%
1	Gawama	11
2	Gamoia	9
3	Gaalien	8
4	Shigia	6
5	Biddaria	6
6	Hammarrn Tribes	5
7	Tgaliir	5
8	Southern Tribes	5
9	Flata (Nigerians)	4
10	Dar Hamid	4
11	Other Tribes	36
	TOTAL	100

N=142

tribes are nomadic tribes. While in table 20, in spontaneous areas 8 out of 10 are classified as sedentary tribes.

The missing tribes in displaced areas are mainly sedentary viz. Shigia, Biddaria, Hammar, Tagali and Flata (Nigerian origin), who immigrated to Sudan a long time ago, to work in agricultural schemes or mainly to visit holy places in Mecca. At the same time, the missing tribes in spontaneous areas were nomadic tribes, for example Shiwahat, Kabahish, Hawawir and Mussalamia.

There are five tribes settled in both areas viz. Dar Hamid, Southern tribes, Gawama, Gamoia and Gaalien. The first two are the only nomadic tribes in both areas, while the other three are sedentary. Distinguishing each in terms of places of origin, Dar Hamid were situated in the north of Northern Kordofan and moved mainly because of drought and famine in native areas. Southern tribes moved because of civil war in the South Region. Gawama lived in the east of Northern Kordofan and since the early seventies, their native area has suffered from shortage of rainfall. Then, the adult males started moving to Omdurman and to other mechanised agricultural schemes in Central Sudan. During severe drought, most families and relatives joined their husbands, sons or relatives who were living in the capital. Some relocated in spontaneous areas and others settled in displaced areas.

As for the Gamoia, the table shows a small percentage of inhabitants in displaced areas, this is because most tribesmen were already living in small hamlets around Omdurman before the recent exodus to town. Most are found, therefore, in

spontaneous rather than displaced areas. The Gallien tribe was originally situated in the North Region; since independence Northern tribes started moving mainly to the national capital and other parts of the country because of drought and shortage of land for cultivation along the banks of the Nile River. Those who moved earlier settled or moved from the city to spontaneous areas, recent arrivals settled in displaced areas.

Breaking down the data, the results show that other displaced tribes amounted to forty-seven, the majority belonging to the nomadic tribes. Other spontaneous tribes amounted to thirty-one, the vast majority belonging to sedentary tribes.

The displaced residents have aggravated the problem of housing in all of the national capital because they have made it difficult to design plans for urban and spontaneous residents, who often settled in planned areas intended for those who are living in the city. However, displaced and spontaneous residents tended to be integrated with older communities. In addition, these new settlements had created many social, economic, political and environmental problems for urban residents, administrators and politicians.

(ii) Migration:

Table 21 examines the time of migration to Omdurman, the figures show that 54% of displaced, 25% of spontaneous participants had arrived during the last nine years. The likely explanation for this difference is that most displaced migrants arrived during the last nine years because of the reasons

mentioned above and settled in uninhabited land. At the same time, the majority of spontaneous settlers migrated more than ten years ago and often had different causes for migration. Most spontaneous migrants settled first in the city and later moved to uninhabited land on the outskirts of town. They did so for five main reasons. First, they joined the old residents in small settlements because they expected that it would be very difficult for the authorities to remove them. Second, the places were near to transportation and social services. Third, the newcomers hoped to obtain legal land in their present places. Fourth, they were suitable places for single people who failed to obtain accommodation in the city, where landlords prefer those who have families. Fifth, some people who had houses in the city rented or sold them and moved in order to obtain another plot of land. Others bought land and built some rooms to rent or fetched some relatives to stay without paying rent. Yet others bought empty land from old residents and waited for prices to rise. Table 22 shows the duration of stay in the present location. The results show that the spontaneous migrants are more likely to have been in the present location for a longer period. This is probably accounted for by the fact that many of displaced husbands, sons and relatives who were living in town before the drought, had moved to join families or tribal people on the outskirts. By contrast, the Gamola tribespeople have had small hamlets in Western areas of Omdurman for many years, and they have been joined by many who escaped from rent in the city or moved mainly to obtain legal plots in these areas. Furthermore, many people moved from

TABLE NO. 21
DESCRIPTION: Time of migration to Omdurman

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
Within five years	8	5
5 to 9 years	46	20
10 to 14 years	25	25
More than 15 years	21	51

Chi-Square: 20.00

N=250

N=142

Significance: 0.2202

TABLE NO. 22
DESCRIPTION: Duration of stay in present location.

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
Within five years	25	12
5 to 9 years	53	43
10 to 14 years	15	36
More than 15 years	8	10

Chi-Square: 20.00

N=250

N=142

Significance: 0.2202

town and other places encouraged by the government announcement of their intention to legalise land holdings in these areas; others moved after frustration with delays in implementation of The Ten Years Master Plan.

Table (23) shows that about twice as many displaced migrants (55%) moved to Omdurman with their families. Most displaced heads of households who moved with families did so during the drought and famine, while those spontaneous migrants who moved with families were mainly people who were living in small towns i.e. employees, soldiers, labourers.

By contrast, a considerable proportion of spontaneous migrants moved alone, most were job seekers, government servants, skilled craftsmen and others. As for the displaced respondents, only 29% initially came alone, most moving during the dry season to work in town. It is noteworthy that very few in both samples came with relatives/friends or with other persons. As for the reason for migration (table 24), 90% of spontaneous migrants and 72% of displaced migrants came looking for jobs. But of course the pushing factors are different; many of the displaced who reported that they came looking for jobs in fact mainly moved because of drought in place of origin. So they move seeking alternative jobs to support families. By contrast, the majority of spontaneous respondents moved looking for jobs and to improve the quality of life and only a very small proportion moved because of drought. The third reason for migration, lack of services, was mentioned more often by displaced than by spontaneous migrants. This difference is attributed to the fact that during the drought

TABLE NO. 23
DESCRIPTION: CIRCUMSTANCES OF MIGRATION

	Displaced %	Spontaneou %
With family	55	36
Alone	29	46
With relatives/friends	15	14
With others	1	4

Chi-Square: 20.00 N=246 N=141
Significance: 0.2202

TABLE NO. 24
DESCRIPTION: Most important reasons for migration (important + very important)

	Displaced %	Spontaneou %
To obtain jobs	72	90
Because of drought	28	4
Lack of services	20	13
To join relatives/friends	8	6
Frequent visitors	7	4
To be near authority	4	-

Chi-Square: 24.00 N=250 N=143
Significance: 0.2424

The percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

most social services deteriorated.

What is noticeable in the above table, is that some displaced respondents revealed that they moved specifically to be near authorities. As far as we know during the severe drought, local government officials in the affected areas failed to help, so most fled to the national capital to survive.

The table also reveals that some displaced migrants were "frequent visitors" to Omdurman before the drought: a result of the fact that displaced native areas were situated in the neighbourhood of Omdurman town, where they used to come to seek medical attention or to buy and sell goods.

(ii) Visits to home-villages

Table 25 shows that 82% of spontaneous migrants, but only 59% of displaced migrants have visited their villages of origin. This is because most spontaneous migrants still have relatives living in native areas which were not affected by drought and famine. Displaced migrants who return do so mainly to cultivate farms in good autumns or because of the death or wedding of a close relative. As far as we know there were small groups who succeeded in keeping animals alive whilst moving to Western/Southern Kordofan Provinces or to the Southern region where pasture and water were available.

As regards the number of visits, (table 26) shows that of those who did visit villages, displaced migrants were almost equally as likely to do so as their spontaneous counterparts. The former represent those who visit villages because of a death or a wedding, while the latter are the regular visitors

TABLE NO. 25
DESCRIPTION: Visited villages

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
Yes	59	82
No	41	18

Chi-Square: 0.000
Significance: 1.000

N=246

N=139

TABLE NO. 26
DESCRIPTION: Number of visits to home-villages

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
1 - 2	39	24
3 - 4	11	16
More than 5	50	61

Chi-Square: 30.00
Significance: 0.2243

N=147

N=114

who moved to cultivate farms during the rainy seasons and came back again. On the other hand the spontaneous migrants who visit their villages regularly do so during holidays, school summer vacations and other occasions.

In (table 27) the figures shows that the majority of both migrant types have helped relatives or friends arriving at Omdurman. Most helped new arrivals with money, accomodation and jobs. However there were slight differences in the kind of help, spontaneous migrants exceeding displaced migrants in providing accommodation because they have enough rooms or shelters to accommodate some relatives, friends or home-village visitors. By contrast, most displaced migrants are living in tents or small cottages, so find it inconvenient to accomodate more than the household members. A slightly higher proportion of spontaneous migrants obtained jobs for other relatives or friends, a difference which reflects their better contacts with urban residents.

But over and above these differences, what is noticeable in the above figures is the strong tendency to provide help for others. This is a reflection of the traditions and customs in native areas, where good hospitality sometimes extends to the slaughtering of a sheep or cow for a guest.

(iv) Contact with local community

Table 28 shows that the majority of spontaneous respondents (70%), affirmed they have extremely good contact with urban residents in the city, compared with only 44% of displaced respondents. The likely explanation of these figures is that spontaneous migrants have stayed for a longer time in town and

TABLE NO. 27
 DESCRIPTION: Kind of help to relative/friend arriving at Omdurman

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
Financial help	77	76
Help with accomodation	67	84
Help to gain job	54	63

Chi-Square: 6.000

N=149

N=106

Significance: 0.1991

Percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

TABLE NO. 28
 DESCRIPTION: Degree of contact with Omdurman citizens

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
Excellent	7	22
Good	36	48
Always/sometimes difficult	20	11
Non-existent	37	19

Chi-Square: 20.00

N=250

N=142

Significance: 0.2202

are more likely to have adopted urban life. In addition, most have permanent jobs. By contrast, most displaced migrants came recently and belong to conservative nomadic tribes. They are very cautious of establishing relationships with urban residents. Consequently, over half did not have any relationship, or had very distant relations, mostly those who had been living in town for some time before moving to displaced areas. We can conclude that spontaneous residents have stronger relations with urban people which the displaced migrants do not have, with the exception of those who were living in town before moving, and old residents in small villages around Omdurman.

(v) Education

Table 29 shows that a higher percentage of displaced migrants are illiterate and if we add those who only attended El Khalwa the proportion rises to around 2 out of 3. By contrast, 61% of spontaneous compared with only 33% of displaced participants attended schools at different levels.

There are clearly great disparities in education level between displaced and spontaneous participants. While most of the former were either illiterate or semi-illiterate, the majority of the latter had some school education (61%). As a consequence, many displaced migrants prefer their children to look after the animals rather than attending school. They believe that school education spoils children and takes them away from home to study in other cities and later to join jobs in government institutions. They believe it eliminates traditions and customs of tribes people, hence most prefer

TABLE NO. 29
DESCRIPTION: Higher level of Education

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
Illiterate	54	32
Khalwa	13	7
Primary School	18	33
Intermediate School	9	15
Secondary School	6	11
Polytechnic College	-	3

Chi-Square: 30.00
Significance: 0.224

N=249

N=142

TABLE NO. 30
DESCRIPTION: Occupation

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
Full-time employed	28	50
Self-employed	64	48
Part-time employed	3	-
Unemployed	4	3

Chi-Square: 12.00
Significance: 0.2133

N=250

N=142

their children to attend only the village Khalwa. Even those who let children attend schools encourage them to leave school early and get married.

Therefore, proceeding with education represents a barrier for those who have planned early marriage.

The situation of spontaneous migrants is very different. They belong to different tribes and provinces; in addition some had been living and working in town for many years. Moreover, they have flexible traditions and customs. Most spontaneous migrants were from educated people in native areas - "aspirers". So it is not surprising for them to seek a better future elsewhere and mainly in the capital. However, flexibility in tradition and customs, in addition to a higher education level, make it easier for them to adopt urban life faster than displaced residents.

On the other hand, the disparities have their roots in the education system in Sudan. There has long been inequality between different regions, and remote areas have received fewer schools than the national capital, North and Central Regions. Consequently, Western, Eastern and Southern Regions have less educated people. Moreover, most pupils in those areas did not have equal opportunities to attend schools and the vast majority of school children are Nazirs', Omdus', traders' and officials' children.

(vi) Occupation

Table 30 shows that the vast majority of both types of migrant have either permanent or temporary jobs and the

percentage of unemployment is very low. As for type of work, the figures show that 50% of spontaneous migrants and only 28% of displaced migrants are full-time employees, while for self-employment the figures are reversed, 48% and 64% respectively. The distinction between employee and self-employed is important. The former represents the educated people who have jobs in government institutions and the army, police or private sector, in addition to some skilled labour. The latter are mostly uneducated, or have fewer skills, which do not enable them to work in government or as skilled labourers. Instead, they have to find their own unskilled employment, often in marginal jobs as part-time labourers.

In table 31, the range of jobs fall into two groups; monthly salaried jobs and a daily income or wage. The first group includes public servants, soldiers and policemen and car/truck drivers. The second includes all other jobs mentioned in the above table. As for the first group, the survey results show that 50% of spontaneous, 30% of displaced participants have monthly wages. This is reversed in the second group, where 47% of the spontaneous migrants and 60% of those displaced have comparatively unskilled jobs. This variation is due to reasons mentioned before. Moreover, the results show that there are two kinds of job missing among spontaneous respondents, namely syphon and fire brick labourers and animal traders. The likely explanation for the first is that this kind of job does not need any skills besides which it is very hard work and nobody would accept such work unless he is forced or has no alternative option. As for the second, the survey

TABLE NO. 31
DESCRIPTION: Migrants' main jobs

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
street vendors	19	15
Public Servants	14	22
Craftsmen	9	11
Tea/ food/ coffee sellers	9	7
Army/police	8	15
Car/ Truck Drivers	8	12
Shop keepers/ petty traders	8	8
Syphon/ fire brick labourers	6	-
Building / building labourers	5	6
Animal traders	4	-
Unemployed	4	3
Other jobs	6	32

Chi-Square: 40.00

N=250

N=142

Significance: 0.257

Percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

TABLE NO. 32
DESCRIPTION: Reasons for living in present place

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
No money to rent in city	45	72
Have no other place to go	39	35
To acquire a legal plot	34	58
The place is close to work	18	12
Bought present land	3	-
Other reasons	20	14

Chi-Square: 30.00

N=248

N=142

Significance: 0.224

The percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

results have shown that most displaced respondents are mainly animal herders and some were working in animal trade in the native areas or used to sell animals in Omdurman, so it is not surprising that for some displaced migrants their work preceded their arrival in the town.

(vii) Housing:

Table 32 identifies the main reasons for living in the present places. If we characterise the salient reason for both types of migrants into two groups, we find the top three reasons include: having no money to rent in the city, having no place to go and to acquire a legal plot. The second group, which received fewer mentions, includes the places close to work, bought land and other reasons.

Comparing displaced with spontaneous migrants the figures show that the former were more likely to maintain the first reason; i.e. they have no money to rent in the city. This is accounted for by the fact that the vast majority of spontaneous migrants have moved mainly to present places escaping from rent in the city. By comparison, relatively few displaced participants have moved to escape from high rents. For the second reason given for living in the present location, both types of migrants gave similar responses. Different factors probably account for this finding. Displaced migrants, who have settled more recently are likely to have few alternative locations, whereas spontaneous migrants represent the urban poor, and because of their limited income and the high rents, preferred to move to the peripheries of the town.

The third reason - move to acquire legal plots - was almost

twice as common with spontaneous migrants as it was with displaced. This is explicable given the fact that they were encouraged by past experience in the early Seventies when the government legalised land holdings to new settlers, eg Umbaddah, El Thoura and Fitaihab. Moreover, recently some politicians and administrators announced that the government will legalise these new settlements. Therefore many people moved from town to the fringes. Some displaced migrants had similar motives, particularly the recent comers who all intend to aquire new plots in present places. They too are influenced by past experience and the new declaration of officials and politicians.

Displaced migrants are more likely to cite nearness to their work place as a reason for present location. This reflects the fact that many of the displaced migrants have found work in places of residence, for example Libya and Abu Zaid Markets. Finally, we can see that both migrant types offered 'other reasons for their present choice of location. Most commonly mentioned in this category was the need of tradesmen and craftsmen to be on hand to protect their properties.

Table (33) shows that only a small proportion receive financial/foodstuff aid. Displaced migrants receive more help from family members and relatives/friends than spontaneous, (27% and 18% respectively). This difference is reversed for help from other sources (2% and 11% respectively). The greater family help in displaced migrants is due to many displaced

wives and children attending work in near by markets or in the city and all collaborating in meeting needs. By comparison, most spontaneous migrants' wives stay at home and the children attend school. At the same time, some others fetch some goods and sell them in the residences.

As for Relief Organisation help, it is not surprising that both displaced and spontaneous receive little help from international government and non-governmental agencies because they concentrate their work on people who are living in camps.

Table 34 elaborates on the way dwellings were built. It shows that both types of migrants depend mainly on themselves in establishing shelters, although spontaneous settlers received more help from friends and relatives (45% and 26% respectively). They were also more likely to be paying for building. The likely explanation for the above results is that spontaneous migrants have more friends or relatives living in town, and are more likely to invite them in the holidays. The traditional system, Nafir, is a kind of community assistance on a reciprocal basis. By comparison, most displaced migrants arrived together in successive waves during a short time and became involved in daily wage work and establishing their own shelter; consequently they have fewer friends or relatives to help. There are other differences too. Spontaneous migrants tend to build mud-rooms while the majority of displaced migrants have dwellings made from grass, plastic, wool and wood. Moreover, many displaced migrant respondents obtained tents from international organisations.

TABLE NO. 33
DESCRIPTION: RECEIPT OF FINANCIAL FOODSTUFF AID (often + always)

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
From family members	23	12
From friends/relatives	4	6
From Executive Council	-	-
From relief Organisations	3	7
From other sources	2	11

Chi-Square: 12.00

N=250

N=142

Significance: 0.2133

Percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

TABLE NO. 34
DESCRIPTION: How household built the house

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
Self help	56	65
With help from relatives/ friends	26	45
Paid for building	17	21
Other ways	19	2

Chi-Square: 12.00

N=238

N=139

Significance: 0.2133

Percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

(viii) Conditions of household health, furniture, amenities, house and the level of modernity

The fieldworker asked the interviewers to evaluate conditions of household health, house, furniture, amenities and the level of modernity before leaving each survey members' house. The survey results (table 35) show that around 1 in 2 were judged to be in good health, with a slightly higher proportion of spontaneous migrants in the healthy category. The condition of houses, furniture and amenities is generally low, though spontaneous properties are much better than those of displaced migrants. This difference reflects earlier identified differences in levels of education, jobs, length of stay in town and social relations with people in town. All of these reasons together made spontaneous respondents much better than those of the displaced.

Table 36 summarises a brief exploration of levels of modernity and it is immediately evident that spontaneous migrants tend to live in houses which reflect a more modern orientation. This finding parallels earlier differences (see above).

Summary of objective differences:

The displaced migrants represent people who moved recently because of drought and civil war and settled in unplanned areas around the outskirts of Omdurman neighboured by spontaneous residents. Most belong to nomadic tribes. They often arrived in groups and settled in places in which they have high percentage of people from home-land or tribal groups. The majority are illiterate and are employed in casual jobs with

TABLE NO. 35
DESCRIPTION: Conditions of household health, house, furniture & amenities

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
Household health	44	52
Condition of house	18	31
Condition of furniture	15	43
Condition of amenities	8	22

Chi-Square: 12.00

N=250

N=142

Significance: 0.2133

Percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

TABLE NO. 36
DESCRIPTION: Household level of modernity

	Displaced %	Spontaneous %
Traditional/ very traditional	62	40
Neutral	32	38
Modernistic/ very modernistic	7	22

Chi-Square: 20.00

N=248

N=143

Significance: 0.2202

Percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice

low skill levels. They are rustic in appearance and behaviour and their houses, furniture and amenities are extremely poor and often very traditional.

Spontaneous settlers mainly live in planned areas designed for residents in town. The majority belong to sedentary tribes and small groups from other tribes in addition to some emigrants from abroad. Most have moved to town individually to improve jobs or to look for better quality of life. Many have moved from other parts of the town to present places to escape from the high rents and also to acquire legal plots of land. The majority have some higher school education and hold the better paid jobs. Most households depend on the household head for income, i.e. his wives stay at home and children attend school. Household members give the impression of being fairly modern and are likely to be similar to urban dwellers. The condition of their houses, furniture and amenities although poor, is much better than that of displaced migrants.

Differences between the spontaneous and the displaced: A biographical approach.

The foregoing account has concentrated on quantitative data from the survey. Early in the study design it was considered important that a quantitative approach had to be supplemented by a qualitative one. Following Oscar Lewis's classic account of Mexican families (Lewis 1959) the fieldworker has attempted a more modest exercise in biographical reconstruction. The circumstances of fieldwork only permitted a more detailed examination of ten families, five from each migrant type. The resulting family profiles are presented below and they will be

followed by a final discussion of differences between the spontaneous and the displaced.

Case Study 1 (Displaced): Musa Holi Mohmed family:

Musa is 40 years old and was born in Mazawad countryside of Hamrat Elwis in Northern Dar Fur which was also the birth place of his parents. His father is married to three wives and has 17 children; 13 sons and 4 daughters, among whom his own mother has three sons. His wife Hawa is 30 years old; her parents were born in Mazawad. Her father was only married to her mother and they have three children, 2 sons and a daughter. Both parents' families belong to Zagawa tribes and Hawa is a cousin to Musa. They married when Musa was 20 years old and Hawa only 11 years old. They have nine children, 4 sons and 5 daughters. In their childhood both parents looked after herds in their homeland. A few years later Musa went to the Gezira agricultural scheme to pick cotton in the dry season and he also visited Omdurman on a number of occasions. While in Omdurman he worked as a labourer in traditional adobe building or concrete construction and returned to his homeland in the rainfall season.

Both Musa and Hawa are illiterate, their elder son completed primary three in the village-school and after moving to the town he now works to help his family. The elder daughter is proceeding with her education in planned Haras - Hara ten ummbadah - besides that she works with her mother in town, and the smaller children stay at home because there are no schools in their present place of residences.

Musa visited his home-village three times to cultivate farms, Hawa visited once to fetch some properties she left at home. None of the children have visited the village since they left, except the elder son who went with his father once to help in cultivating farms. Although they have few visits they still receive some from their former villages looking for jobs, treatment and trade.

The household have been in the present location for six years, during which time they have not been visited by administrators or politicians; only by the social survey team in the course of collecting data for classifying residents. Musa was emphatic that if the decision was to move then to Dar es Salaam site, they will oppose it because Dar es Salaam is far from the city and lacks transportation and social services. He hopes to be awarded land in his present place and later to emigrate to Arab oil producing countries to work and save money to build a good home.

The family members affirmed that living in town is better than home-village because they have jobs and enough money.

Case Study 2 (Displaced): Hamid Adam Hamid family:

Hamid is 38 years old and was born in El Kokait countryside of Bara town, in Northern Kordofan. His parents were also born in the same village. His father is married only to his mother and they have 5 children, 2 sons and 3 daughters. His wife Rabha is 25 years old. Her father is married to two wives and he has seven children, 3 girls and 4 boys. Both parental families belong to the same tribe - Dar Hamid - and live in the same village. Hamid and Rabha married when Hamid was an adult

and his wife still underage. They have six children, 2 females and 4 males. Both husband and wife looked after camels when they were children. In the late Seventies, Hamid emigrated to Saudi Arabia and worked as a shepherd. Two years later he came back and bought animals, but he lost all of them during the drought. Thus the family decided to move to Omdurman along with his wife's parents who subsequently both died in the present place. They said that they moved in successive waves and all settled together in the same place. Hamid had been selected to replace his father-in-law who was tribe sheikh, but he said

"only Nazirs and Omdas stay in the home-land because they have enough money to afford families".

Eventually, he worked in the animal trade in Libya market and later with some money loaned by a relative he established a shop in the residence. When the relative wanted his money back he changed work to sell cigarettes in the market, where he was helped by sons who had by now left school. He receives a total income per day of about 80 pounds. His wife, Rabha, stays at home looking after the small children. He admitted,

"Our tribal custom prohibits females to work with foreigners or in the markets even if other tribes do not".

Both Hamid and Rabha are illiterate, their elder son attended El Khalwa and their youngest completed primary two in the village school; both later left school preferring to work with their father. Hamid has not visited his home-village since coming to town, neither have the children, but Rabha went once because of the death of her grandmother.

Hamid illustrates the fact that the majority of tribespeople move to Omdurman and other big towns in the area, leaving only those who can keep their animals alive by moving to other provinces where water and pasture are available. He reported that the main barriers against moving back home are animal mortality, high cost of living, scarcity of goods and lack of jobs. He added that he thought that people who are living in town will never move back home.

For Hamid the only link with home people in the area is through guests who come looking for jobs; some stay with his family for several days until they find jobs in fire brick manufacturing, syphon digging, or as vegetable sellers, others move to mechanized agricultural schemes. On the other hand, his social relations with urban residents are very weak, the only link being that some come asking for boys/girls to work with them either in houses or business. Some families agree to their children taking up such work, others disagree. Hamid believes that the general hygiene of children is much better than in the past, and despite the fact that his neighbourhood includes multi-tribes, he believes it to be fairly secure, because most residents belong to the same region; moreover it is not attractive to criminals. He added that they had isolated, limited contacts with urban people because he did not like their life style, especially childrearing. He acknowledges that many changes have occurred in accent, clothes, diet, cooking.

Hamid reported that a few months previously many displaced residents had elected a committee to tackle housing problems, scarcity of consumer goods and social services. The committee

members discussed these problems with administrators and politicians. " Unfortunately, " he claimed, " they did not succeed because of the hostility of administrators to the displaced population ".

Consequently, the committee is now asking people to resist any evacuation without suitable solutions to all problems in the areas.

Case Study 3 (Displaced): Fatima Abdallah (Widow):

Fatima is 50 years old, born in El Halbah in the White Nile province. Her parents were living in the same village before they died. Her father was married to three wives and had three children by her mother, 2 daughters and a son. Both parents belong to Kababish tribe and her mother was her father's cousin. When Fatima was a child she looked after cattle and got married when she was 15 years old. She has 6 children, 3 males and 3 females. The elder two daughters are married and live in the native area, and the youngest daughter moved with her. The elder son is married and lives at home, the youngest was working in Omdurman. During the drought her husband died and she then decided to join her son who was working in Omdurman, accompanied by her younger daughter and son. They settled with tribespeople and the youngest son left his residence in town and joined the family. She explained that during their occupation, Housing officials had demolished the dwelling three times. Each time they built again.

She claimed that the principal reason for leaving the home area was drought and famine. They lost all their animals and

since cultivated farms no longer existed, they moved to town to survive. In town she found work as a piece-washer and she buys sugar from planned districts and sells it in the residences. She admitted that she had saved enough money to buy a "Karo" which she had rented to a neighbour to generate income. She also receives some money from the son who left work in Omdurman to join a trader in the South Region and left his wife with the family. She said that she had visited her village twice because of her mother's and cousin's wife's deaths. Her daughter went once to help her brother's wife who was pregnant and the smaller son went several times to cultivate farms. She added that the family often receive relatives from the village seeking jobs and treatment, some stay permanently in displaced residences, others move back during the rainy season and come back again. She exemplifies those displaced migrants whose social relationships are exclusively with neighbours and some relatives in other Haras.

Fatima is illiterate, her smaller son left school after coming to town, her daughter never attended school before because Fatima dislikes girls learning in school. She believes that daughters must stay at home until they get married to cousins. Although she does not oppose her son marrying a displaced or urban woman, she said

" My son has full freedom to marry the woman he likes, but I am responsible for my daughter's future".

She explained that she hoped to obtain a legal piece of land and build a good house, but she will not build now because she is afraid of demolition.

She stressed that displaced population will never move back only to cultivate farms, because they would leave behind those family members who have obtained permanent jobs in the city. She opposes moving to the Dar es Salaam site because it is far from the city and it lacks social services and transportation. Besides, she has spent much money and time in establishing the present shelter.

Case Study 4 (Displaced): Mohamed El Tom Hassan:

Mohmed is 50 years old, born in Saudari, Northern Kordofan. His parents were born in the same village. His father was married only to his mother and they had 9 children, 6 males and 3 females. Most brothers and sisters have recently moved to Omdurman. His wife is 45 years old. His father-in-law is an uncle; he married four wives and had 21 children, of whom Mohamed's mother-in-law had 6, 4 sons and 2 daughters. Both Mohamed and his wife belong to Hawawir tribe; they are cousins and they married when the wife was underage. Both spent their childhood looking after herds in native area.

Mohmed and his wife have nine children, 3 sons and 6 daughters. The elder son completed university education and worked with a shopkeeper in El Thora (planned district), the junior completed primary three in the village school and found work in water-supply and the youngest son attended self-help primary school in the residence. The two elder daughters are married and live in native area, the others moved with the family and stay at home. Before coming to Omdurman Mohamed found work as a guard with his father-in-law, who was a Nazir. Later

he changed work to the animal trade between home-land and North province.

He explained that since 1974 the area experienced successive drought seasons and he started selling animals to support his family. In 1980 he decided to move with the family to Omdurman. At that time his wife was in Omdurman seeking medical treatment and the elder son was in university. He wrote a letter asking them not to come back because he had decided to join them in town. After coming they settled with tribespeople in their present place. In 1983 the home area experienced further severe drought and famine, and all brothers and some sisters moved with their families and settled in neighbouring areas. He said " some of Hawawir tribespeople moved to North province but the majority came to Omdurman."

He started work in the animal trade in Libya-market, his elder and younger sons worked as shopkeeper assistant and water supply respectively. They all collaborated to sustain the family. Mohamed revealed that since coming to Omdurman he had visited his village three times; i.e. on the death of his uncle, to see relatives and for reconciliation between El Kababish and Hawawir tribes. But his wife, sons and daughters have never been back. His sons have not returned because they do not want to move and his wife because she is busy and looks after her mother-in-law who is old and lives with the family. They often receive visitors from the home village, mainly job seekers; some stay with them if places of work are close to residence, others move to other Haras.

As for education, he had learned Quaran in the village

khalwa and most of his sons had attended schools. His wife and daughters are illiterate because he prefers women to stay at home. In relation to forced movement from his present location he reported, " in 1983 Housing officials demolished our dwellings but we built them again with the help of relatives and neighbours." He added that they were also damaged by floods in 1988 and they obtained some tents from Relief organisations. Since then they have stopped building dwellings and live in tents waiting government decision. He was also aware that the residents had elected a committee to represent all tribes in negotiation with officials to solve current problems.

He assured the fieldworker that the vast majority of displaced residents will never move back. He gave as an example the information that one of their tribe Nazir - Hawawir - came and promised people money, animals and some grain but most refused his appeal because their present circumstances were still better than those in native area.

Mohmed is determined to obtain a legal plot in the present place and has refused to move to the Dar es Salaam site unless he is forced to. He explained that Dar es Salaam is a multi-tribe area and most residents are different in traditions and customs from nomadic tribes such as his own.

Case Study 5 (Displaced): Ali Ahmed Mohamed El Nour family:

Ali is 50 years old, born in Umm Garfa, North Kordofan. His parents, parental and maternal grandparents all lived in the same village. His father was married to two wives and had seven children, three girls and four sons. Ali belongs to the

kababish tribe while his wife is from Zagawa tribe. She is 35 years old, her parents and grandparents are living with her husband's family in Umm Garfa. Her father is married to three wives and has 9 children from her mother; 3 boys and 6 girls. Most have moved from the native area to Omdurman and other big towns. She married when she was underage and she and Ali have six children, 3 boys and 3 girls.

Ali explained that before marriage he used to move alone to different cities looking for jobs and he visited Omdurman 8 times before the drought, mainly to find work in syphon and latrine digging. He revealed that during the severe drought in 1983 he was in Omdurman and asked family to come and join him. They lived first in the city and later established a shelter in the present place. A few years later his brother and sister-in-law arrived in the present residence.

Ali continues with his work in syphon digging and both his wife and sister-in-law, who is living with the family, work as clothes-washers in town. His elder son is working as a shepherd in the Blue Nile province, the middle son lives with an uncle in another Hara and the youngest son (9 years old) works as a shoe-shiner in Libya Market. The small daughters stay at home. He told the fieldworker that he obtained about 60 pounds per day, his sister-in-law 20 pounds, his wife about 10 pounds and his shoe-shiner son 10 pounds, in addition to the irregular money that they received from the elder son.

No family members have visited the village since their arrival in Omdurman but they receive visits from villagers looking for jobs or goods from the town. They exchange visits

with other relatives/friends who live in displaced areas, but they have no relatives in spontaneous or urban residences. Consequently they have no social relations with anyone other than fellow displaced migrants.

Most household members claimed that they were better off because of the variety of available jobs. The wife said " we would never move back home even if the current circumstances changed; we would only return to visit relatives ". The family hoped to obtain a legal plot and agreed to move to Dar es Salaam. They revealed that the main problems in the present residence are lack of vital consumer goods, water supply, hospitals and schools. Ali confirmed that most displaced migrants have changed their clothes; that females ignore traditional handicraft; that children and adults watch television and go to movies in town; that some girls who are working in town get married to urban people; and that there are widespread changes in diet and cooking.

Case Study 6 (Spontaneous): Yousif Mustafa El Elbied:

Yousif is 43 years old, and was born in Ruffaa, Blue Nile, Central Region. His parents and grandparents had lived in the same town. His father was married to two wives and had 4 sons and 3 daughters. He had worked as a storekeeper in Gezira Agricultural Scheme.

Yousif is married to two wives, the first is a cousin, 35 years old, the second , also 35 years old, belongs to the Shiggia tribe who lived in North province. The first wife's father is married to three wives and has 9 children, her mother having 4

sons and 3 daughters. The second wife's father is married only to her mother and they have 3 girls and 2 boys. He migrated from North province to South and worked in trade. Yousif has 10 children from both wives.

He completed intermediate school in Ruffaa and found work with his father as a clerk in the Gezira Agricultural Scheme. A few years later he changed to watch-repairing in Managil town - White Nile province. Later he moved to Kassala province and worked on border trade between Sudan and Ethiopia. In 1967 he moved to Upper Nile province and worked with a trader who later married his daughter.

In 1970 he came to Khartoum and returned to work in watch-repairing. He fetched wives and children and lived in El Rukabia, a planned district in Omdurman. With other colleagues he helped establish a workers union. The authorities asked them to obtain Socialist Union Identification (the only party during the Mayo Regime) but refused and was classified as an anti-regimist.

He emigrated to neighbouring countries (Central African Republic, Cameroon, Chad and Nigeria) respectively. In Nigeria he worked first in the border trade (textiles and gold) and later he worked for the Nigerian Global Company. During his stay in Nigeria he established a good relationship with the Sudanese Ambassador who wrote a positive report on his activities. When the ambassador transferred to Sudan he accompanied him and no action was taken against him.

While he was abroad, both wives and children moved to live with relatives in Ruffaa and El Kawa - White Nile. After coming

back he fetched his wives and children and lived in Giraef Garb - Khartoum planned districts - and in 1982 obtained the present location as a grant from a relative. He started work as a business-man selling clothes, shoes, car-carpets etc. He admitted that his average income is about five or six thousand pounds per month.

All his children are attending schools; some have completed intermediate school but have failed to proceed to higher levels. Others are continuing their education in different levels of schools in Ummbadah planned Haras or in the town. For example, the elder daughter, Maha, is 23 years old and she completed intermediate school; the elder son, Ashraf, completed intermediate school and joined his father; Limaa, a daughter of 17, is attending class three intermediate; Khansa, a daughter of 14, class two intermediate; Yasir, son of 13 years, primary five; Khawator, 12, primary five. His first wife completed primary school, the second is illiterate. Both wives and the children sometimes help the father by sewing car-carpets or arranging clothes. While Yousif is too busy all other family members maintain regular visits to relatives in home-villages for different occasions. Besides, all close relatives and friends often visit them and stay for several days seeking jobs or treatment; some adult boys who came to complete procedures for emigration to Arab oil-producing countries. They all admitted strong contacts with urban residents who are often relatives, colleagues or previous neighbours in Khartoum or Omdurman planned areas. By contrast, they all stressed that

they do not have any social relations with displaced people. some children disliked them, others sympathized with their current situation. But the elders resented them because they compete with spontaneous migrants to obtain legal plots, resulting in a delayed distribution of plots.

Yousif explained that when he moved to the present location he found the residents unorganized and he encouraged them to establish a committee and was himself elected as a boss. Under his guidance the committee succeeded in establishing a social club and nursery school and had several meetings with Housing ministry officials in order to solve rehabilitation problems.

He explained that spontaneous migrants are much poorer than displaced and urban dwellers because the former receive help from International, local government and non-government organisations, and the latter have enough money already. Yousif asserted that residents who had been settled in the present place for many years will never move without an acceptable alternative solution. He believes there are only two options, either the authority legalizes present places or it establishes social and health services, transportation and water-supply in suggested site in Dar es Salaam. For displaced residents he prefers a different solution. They could be removed to El Markhiat Mountains - 10 kilometres North West of Omdurman - or repatriated to native areas after the establishment of rural development projects.

He felt that the housing problem has recently been influenced by successive changes of government. There has been a delay in the planning of areas because officials have been

reluctant to implement plans without government instructions. Thus the present situation has encouraged people to establish several committees to face both administrators and politicians. He believes that if the government is to succeed in accomodating the present residents, it must establish new legislation to restrict the development of new settlements, e.g. instant demolition and trials and registering capital residents. Moreover, local governments in rural areas must establish new projects to minimize population movement to the national capital.

Case Study 7 (Spontaneous): Umm Khamis Ali Gadallah (Widow):

Umm Khamis was born in Maliet, North Dar Fur in 1934. Her father belonged to the Zaidia tribe and was married to 3 wives and had 14 children, 6 boys and 8 girls. She was the elder daughter. Her parents moved to Abu Karenka, Northern Kordofan when she was a child. She married in Abu Karenka when she was underage and her husband was 55 years old. He was a clerk for the village borehole and was transferred from central region. Her husband belonged to the Gaalien tribe and his parents and 3 other wives and children are living in Eltraa El Khadraa in central region. She explained that she was forced into marriage by her parents and brothers. She said " it is my fate to have these daughters ".

Later she moved with her husband to Omdurman and lived in El Abbasia - a planned district - where she gave birth to 4 daughters. Eight years later her husband died and she found it very difficult to pay the rent and support her family. So she

decided to move to the present place which was uninhabited.

Umm Khamis and her elder daughter are both illiterate but the others are attending school in Umbaddah planned Haras or in town. i.e. Fatima is 18 years old and attending secondary school class one, Hawa is 16 and is in intermediate school class two and Zainab is 11 and in primary three.

Umm Khamis sells local bread, "El Kisra" - made from grain - and beans, melon seed, etc. The elder daughter is married to a cousin; she sells clothes, shoes, and makes traditional perfumes. The other daughters help their mother during holidays but she admitted that the total income was not enough to meet family needs. Moreover, she does not receive any help from relatives or the government. She accepts that all Western women like herself work because they are used to working on farms or looking after herds in native areas, while women from other regions prefer to stay at home and rely on the husband's income.

Umm Khamis has visited her home-village several times to see her mother and relatives, and other daughters have moved regularly in Summer vacations. They all report that they have strong contacts with urban residents who are neighbours or colleagues and often receive guests from the home-land. By contrast, they have weak contact with displaced people because they live far away from the residences. They only see them when the women come selling sugar or looking for domestic jobs.

They moved to this place 13 years ago and established the dwelling with other neighbours from different tribes. During the Nimiri regime the dwelling was demolished, but they built

it up again. In 1987 the new government decided to legalize land holdings and sent a social survey team to number the residents. They are now awaiting government decision to accomodate them in the present place or to remove them to Dar es Salaam site. Umm Khamis admitted that they will never move to their native area because they have adapted to living in town and all her daughters were born in Omdurman. She said " I do not know what to do if I and daughters moved back home because village living became as darkness for us ".

Case Study 8 (Spontaneous): Ibrahim Ahmed Kharief:

Ibrahim is 45 years old, born in El Fashir - capital of Northern Dar Fur - his parents belonged to the Zagawa tribe and his father married two wives. His mother deserted when he was a child and his father moved with his second wife to El Nihoud, West Northern Kordofan. Ibrahim was left with his mother. His father's wife is 30 years old, her parents and grandparents were living in El Ginana - North Dar Fur - and belong to the Massaliet tribe. Before she was born her parents moved to El Nihoud and later her father married two other wives and he has 20 children.

Ibrahim attended El Khalwa in El Fashir when he was a child; a few years later he found work as a trainee driver of trading-lorries which worked between his home-area and Omdurman. When he was 17 years old he visited his father and stayed for two years, cultivating farms. Afterwards he went to Elobied - capital of Northern Kordofan - and found work as a private driver with a trader. In 1964 he obtained his licence

for driving lorries/trucks, hence he changed work from cars to trade-lorries, between Elobied and the Capital. In 1966 he moved to the Capital and since then he has worked as a bus-driver between North province and Omdurman.

He is married to two wives, the first in 1970. She is a friend's sister whom he used to visit when he was working between Kordofan and Khartoum. They have two daughters, aged 8 and 6 years. He married his second wife in 1986. She is 40 years old and belongs to the Danagla tribe - from the North province - and has a son from her ex-husband. He explained that she is a rich woman and works in trade between Saudi Arabia and Sudan. She did not ask for any money from him. He added that his first wife is unhappy about the second marriage but she did not ask for divorce.

His monthly salary is five hundred pounds, in addition to fifteen pounds pocket expenses per day. Recently he left work because of a dispute with the bus owner who treated him badly and sometimes asked him to swear not to carry travellers. He said "travellers rent helps to solve problems with the police, and with repairs". Now Ibrahim is thinking about emigrating to other Arab countries because some of his relatives/friends have succeeded in saving enough money to buy houses in the city and they have bought cars, mini-buses or buses. His wife has no permanent job but she makes El Kisra and prepares other traditional goods for her mother - who is living with the family - and to sell in near by markets. Ibrahim studied at El Khalwa and learned some Quaran in his home-village; his first wife completed primary two; his second wife completed

primary school level; the two daughters attended self-help nursery and primary school; his mother-in-law is illiterate.

Since marriage he has visited his home-village twice to see his mother, who is still living with his sister. His first wife visited only once because she looks after the children and mother needs to stay at home to protect her dwelling from demolition by housing officials. His mother in law has not made any return visit because she is too old. Both Ibrahim and his wife asserted that they have had good relations with past neighbours, present neighbours and other relatives in town. They receive many guests from relatives who come to sell some goods or to look for jobs or treatment, but they have no social relations with displaced people who live far from the residence.

Ibrahim explained that they first lived in El Radmia Ummbaddah - planned district - and gradually built the present house and moved to it in 1978. He told the fieldworker that his house was bulldozed twice during the Nimiri regime, but they stayed put and built them again.

His wife added that most males concentrated their thinking on land ownership and ignored other vital services; e.g. schools, water-supply, health services and basic consumer goods. As for repatriation to their native area, she said " we have no reason to move back permanently, only to see relatives, and even such visits cost much money because one needs to take presents and if you delay a visit, it becomes more difficult to go ". Both confirmed that all residents agreed not to move

unless they obtain an acceptable solution, and they are awaiting a government decision. As for the situation of the displaced migrants, Ibrahim said " they have the right to decide what they like ".

Case Study 9 (Spontaneous): Fadal Allah El Taib Fadal Allah:

Fadal Allah was born in El Nihoud, Northern Kordofan, in 1944. His father's parents belong to Manasear Sub-Shiggia tribe in North province and they moved to El Nihoud to work in trade. His father is married only to his mother and has 3 boys and a girl. His wife is 35 years old, belongs to Hammar tribe - semi-nomadic - her parents and grandparents were both living in El Nihoud.

Fadal Allah completed primary and intermediate levels in El Nihoud and secondary in Karima - North province. He later left school when he was in second class and found work in the Ministry of Health as a trainee nurse. In 1965 he was awarded a post as a head nurse. He worked first in El Fashir, but because of his mother's death he was transferred to El Nihoud. In 1976 he was transferred again to Khartoum.

He married in 1965 in Khartoum where his wife was living with her grandmother. Later his wife moved with him to El Fashir and El Nihoud and again they came back to the Capital and lived in Hara seven Umm Baddah - planned area - but because of the high cost of rent they bought their present plot, which they moved to in 1979. They have 4 sons and a daughter. The daughter is 22 years old, she completed intermediate school but failed to proceed. The elder son is 19 years old and he is attending secondary school class three, the second boy is 17

years old and attends second class secondary school, the third is 15 and attends class one intermediate school, the youngest is 13 years old, and is enrolled in primary five. His wife has completed primary school.

Fadal Allah's monthly salary is 740 pounds, in addition to irregular money he receives from brothers who are working in Saudi Arabia. He receives no help from family members except from younger sons who work during summer vacation selling cigarettes or mangos and his elder daughter who sews clothes for brothers to sell in a near by market. Fadal Allah admitted that he is planning to emigrate to another Arab country and he expects to receive a contract during the next few months.

He reported that he and the children visited his home village many times; his wife visited only once because the majority of her family members are now living in planned districts in the capital. The family receive guests who are looking for jobs, treatment and others who plan to emigrate abroad. All affirmed that they have strong relations with neighbours, relatives, colleagues or former neighbours in urban residence. On the other hand they have no contact with displaced migrants, whom they believe make life worse: e.g. overcrowding, traffic holdups, spreading disease. Fadal Allah prefers to obtain a legal plot in the present residence because most of his children are attending school in town and if they moved to Dar es Salaam it would become very difficult for him and the children to go to work or schools. He acknowledged that most residents belong to multi-tribes, but the majority are

from Northern Kordofan and they all collaborate to face both administrators and politicians.

He believes that displaced people will never move back to native areas because they have jobs, and although they are not well paid, they do provide more money than is available in home areas. Therefore, if they are deported, they will come back again. He believes that spontaneous migrants must be awarded legal land in their present places and be treated like the residents who were living in similar places in the past. As for displaced migrants, he suggested that they should be removed to the Dar es Salaam site and provided with all basic facilities.

Case Study 10 (Spontaneous): Yousif Taha Yousif:

Yousif is 52 years old, he was born in Damira village countryside of Bara in North Kordofan. His parents and grandparents both lived in the same village, and they all belonged to the Dar Hamid tribe (nomadic). His father was married to 3 wives and had 4 girls and 4 boys, his mother having 2 girls and himself. His wife is 40 years old. She is a cousin. They got married when she was underage. Her parents and grandparents were living in Moyalih countryside of El Rahad - Northern Kordofan. He stayed there for five years with his wife's family and later moved back to his birth place.

During harvest Yousif often moved to Western Kordofan to sell crops. A few years later he changed work to the animal trade between El Halbba - White Nile - and his home-land. In 1966 he was appointed as a guarantor to tribespeople who sold animals in El Halbba market. During the drought of the late Seventies his income decreased sharply and many of the

tribespeople moved to Omdurman. In 1979 he bought his present place from a relative and fetched his family. In 1983 the dwellings were demolished by the government but fortunately his house was not bulldozed because it was located at the edge of the residence. Others stayed where they were and established shelter again.

Yousif learned all the Quaran in his home-village, while his wife is illiterate. Most of their children attended schools in the village El Halbba and some are continuing their education in town. The elder two boys completed polytechnic high college and secondary school. One emigrated to Iraq and recently moved to Libya, while the second son was in Saudi Arabia from 1984 to 1988, when he returned home to work on border trade between Egypt and Sudan. The third boy completed primary six and refused to continue then found work in water-supply, and the youngest son is attending primary five. The elder daughter completed class two secondary school and left education to marry a cousin who died three years later. Now she is attending secondary school class two again. The second daughter is enrolling in class one secondary and the youngest in primary one.

Yousif admitted that his income was unstable but he obtained an average of about 25-30 pounds per day. He admitted that his present income is lower than when he was in his homeland because there are limited numbers of animals to sell in the market. Thus he depends mainly on his sons' income. His wife and daughters stay at home because tribal custom

discourages females working.

He has visited his home-village several times to see his parents, but the rest of the family moved very rarely. He confirmed that they receive many guests from tribespeople, animal traders, job seekers, and pilgrims, in addition to students who are studying in town. The household social contact is exclusively with neighbours and tribespeople in other displaced Haras, or with relatives in town, but they have no social relations with other people in town.

He admitted that although there is much money in town, he spends all the money he obtains in satisfying family needs. Therefore he is unhappy about living in town. He hopes that when his daughters get married he can return home. Both elder daughters are engaged to cousins and want to get married immediately, but his elder sons and wife insist on them completing their education.

The interviewing revealed all other family members enjoying living in town, and hoping to obtain a legal plot and build a good house. His wife would like her daughters to live in Omdurman after marriage and not be forced to move to the homeland, because they have now adapted to urban life.

Displaced and Spontaneous: The Cumulative Evidence

The 10 case studies summarised above supplement the evidence available from the survey to provide a cumulative account of differences between the situation of displaced and spontaneous migrants. These differences can now be summarised in the following: First, in terms of origin and previous mobility, parents and grandparents of spontaneous migrants

experienced more movements in the past. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the majority belong to sedentary tribes and they tend to marry outsiders. By comparison, most displaced migrants being nomads, they tend to marry extended family members, particularly cousins. This marriage-related mobility is reinforced by job-related mobility. Displaced migrant males experienced short-term movements in off seasons, while spontaneous migrant males experienced long-term movements.

Second, in terms of education, spontaneous migrants, both men and women, were more likely to be literate and to have completed some education beyond the village Khalwa.

Third, and related to the differences in education, spontaneous migrants were more likely to be in the better paid and higher skilled jobs.

Fourth, in terms of motives for migration, displaced migrants have (by definition) moved to escape drought and famine while spontaneous migrants (again by definition) tended to move to improve jobs and secure a better quality of life.

Fifth, in terms of migration behaviour, displaced migrants normally moved as a group while spontaneous migrants moved individually. Typically, the household head moved first and then fetched his family.

Sixth, in terms of adjustment, displaced migrants maintain strong social relationships with other displaced migrants in their own or neighbouring Haras. By contrast, spontaneous migrants are more likely to have developed social relations

with other town dwellers e.g. previous neighbours, colleagues and relatives.

Seventh, and finally, there is a tendency for spontaneous migrants to have been living for longer periods in their present locations. The majority of displaced migrants arrived in Omdurman within the last 10 years.

Having completed this summary of the salient differences between displaced and spontaneous migrants, it must be emphasised that the differences are relative rather than absolute. Also, there are a number of respects in which the two groups behave in an identical way. For example, they both offer help to newly arrived kin, they both experience the same problems of unsatisfactory housing, insanitary conditions and poor services. They are also equally opposed to forcible movement and a majority of both groups would like their existing plots of land legalised.

In the next chapter we will rely on both objective data and autobiographical reconstructions to clarify the nature and extent of adjustment to city life.

CHAPTER (6)

ADJUSTMENT TO NEW AREA

INTRODUCTION

Research studies on the adjustment of migrants to the new area have identified contradictory results: on the one hand stress breakdown, frustration etc., and on the other family continuity, community organisation and co-operative effort to adjust to the new life. However, it has become apparent that these contradictory results represent two different responses: some people suffering and others coping with the difficulties and managing to become involved in new communities and institutions (Doughty 1970). Therefore migrants in cities represent two categories. Some migrants are content with city life; others surrounded themselves with fellow villagers or people from the same tribe or region in town and maintain strong ties with people at home "family kinship network" (Butterworth & Chance 1981).

Most African studies have shown that migrants in towns have tended to settle first with relatives or fellow villagers and maintain highly personal sets of relationships. The results of such contacts often intensified tribal consciousness instead of weakening it (Hirst 1975, Gugler & Flanagan 1978, Mayer 1971 etc.). Other writers have revealed that the shift from rural to urban life may increase individual anxiety and stress, which itself was often conditioned by the causes of migration, such as the migrant's cultural background. Consequently the adjustment process has often been seen as a constant struggle to maintain the integrity of family and personal life in new

settings (Hanna & Hanna 1971, Doughty 1970). Migrant efforts to adjust have been expressed in three forms; some became urbanised, others resisted urbanisation and many others responded ambiguously (Mayer 1971). Peil (1984) found that the adjustment of migrants to urban life posed fewer problems in provincial towns with a large proportion of migrants than in heterogenous cities.

The residential locations in towns and distance of migration represents other factors of adjustment; i.e. newcomers are likely to settle near their close relatives or countrymen, for security purposes and to learn the ways of urban life. Thus people will migrate long distances if they have people from home who can help and if there are greater opportunities for work (Peil 1984).

Most research studies have revealed that migrants often maintain strong social relations and loyalty to their home people and this is expressed in many ways; e.g. regular visits to the village, welcome to visitors from the village, help to new arrivals to get a start in the city, sending money and goods back and returning to the village to find a bride or to build a house for retirement. Those who refuse to act in such ways are often confronted by people from their own tribe or region to make them recognise their responsibilities towards the people at home (Gugler & Flanagan 1978).

A number of variables have been shown to affect the adjustment process. Price (1968), in his study of the Southern European migrants in Australia, listed a number of variables:

urban concentration, the role of the ethnic community, political involvement and functions of religious organisations (Brody 1970). Peil (1984) identified other variables: cultural differences between the migrants and the host population, average length of stay in town and resources available to provide the necessities of life. Butterworth (1970) identified two further variables: the nature of the city in which migrants settled and the type of the individual migrant.

Other writers have focused on studying the culture and behaviour of migrants. In his study of migrants to Mexico City, Lewis (1959) concentrated on the culture of poverty which affected participation in the large national culture and created a sub-culture of its own. He studied five families using the life history method. He noted that this method helped to get beyond the structure to the realities of human life and to bridge the gap between culture and the individual.

In his study of migrants to East London, South Africa, Mayer (1971) was concerned with the type of migrants and behaviour patterns rather than the total urban system. He focused on two categories of migrants: townsman (town rooted) and countryman (country rooted). He defined countrymen or country-rooted as representatives of migrants who are in a location but alienated from it; i.e. stay in town but feel as if they have real home-roots in the country. He used the term townsmen or town-rooted to refer to migrants who were born in the country but became town-rooted by deciding to stay permanently in town and co-operating with the local community. Generalising on the basis of this distinction, he suggested

that researchers could rely on structural variables; i.e. social ties and roles played in the town; or they could focus on the cultural aspects and assess adjustment in terms of way of life, involvement in urban institution activities and changes in values and attitudes. Alternatively, and Meyer's own preference, is that the researcher combines both modes together.

Taylor (1966) studied the adjustment of migrants from the Durham Coalfield. He linked both structural and cultural approaches to assess adjustment through three variables: the type of the people who moved, the kind of the area to which they moved and the kind of the area from which they have come. He identified three main types of migrants based on pre-migration characteristics: Resultants, Dissenting and Dislocated. The analysis depended on both individual migrants and the cultural or "subjective awareness". The assessment of adjustment focused on studying the individual migrant and some families through biographical reconstruction; i.e. husbands, wives and children.

The principal aim of this chapter is to assess the adjustment of migrants in Omdurman town. The study combines both structural and cultural approaches and utilises the fundamental distinction between displaced and spontaneous migrants. The previous chapter has defined and identified the differences between the two types. The major concern of this chapter is to see whether the two types undergo different adjustment in new areas and to assess the extent to which each

type becomes adjusted.

To recap, there are some major differences between displaced and spontaneous residents. The former are mostly nomads, congregating in particular districts and constituting a homogeneous community. They are, to borrow Meyer's term, "encapsulate" within their own tribespeople and maintain a higher degree of network connectedness. Most families remain rustic in appearance and avoid involvement with urban people apart from work.

In comparison, the majority of the spontaneous settlers belong to peasant tribes and have settled with different tribes from different parts of the country. They are less homogeneous than the displaced residents. They participate in urban institutions, establish friendship with residents and local people, and tend to avoid any contact with the displaced people. They sometimes visit or let family members visit recreation places in town and most get involved in urban life rather than relying on it for economic necessities.

To provide a structural account, the fieldworker has concentrated on two variables: type of migrants and length of stay in town, and he has excluded both location and place of origin because the majority live in the outskirts of the city and have moved from the same region.

To provide a cultural approach the fieldworker has utilised the life history method of "autobiographical reconstructions": the major focus being on changes in attitudes, values, aspirations, feelings of each family member towards the other and towards the host population.

The remainder of the chapter includes three sections: The first two focused on identification to the new area and the maintenance of the rural-urban link, the third assessing the differential adjustment of migrant families.

2. Identification to New Area

In this section the analysis focuses on the following variables: Satisfaction with urban life, social contacts with town people, attitudes towards work of women and young girls as food, tea and coffee sellers and as domestic servants, and changes in family behaviour.

The guiding hypothesis is that adjustment in each of these respects will vary according to the position of the migrant along a continuum of migrant type and length of residence. (See figure 5)

It is hypothesised that those least adjusted will be those displaced migrants who have recently moved to Omdurman. The second least adjusted group is likely to comprise the long term displaced migrants. The third least adjusted group is likely to comprise recent spontaneous migrants who moved less than ten years ago. Finally, the fourth and best adjusted group is likely to comprise the long term spontaneous migrants who moved more than ten years ago.

Migrants recent and long-term in Omdurman

Table 37 shows that displaced migrants, both recent and long-term accounted for 64% of the overall sample, while spontaneous groups represented 36%. Within the two major types, the recently displaced represent the largest group and

Fig. 5 - Differential adjustment: the hypothesised continuum

MIGRANT TYPE AND TIME

Spontaneous	10 years > < 10 years
Displaced	10 years > < 10 years

TABLE NO. 37

Distribution of Migrant types in Omdurman sample

	No.	%
Spontaneous long term	104	27
Recent spontaneous	37	9
Displaced long term	115	29
Recent displaced	135	35

	N=392	

recently spontaneous the smallest. There are no big differences between the number of displaced and spontaneous long-term groups.

The survey results (table 38) show no significant differences in terms of satisfaction with urban life between recent and long-term displaced, about half of each group being satisfied. Also, there are no differences between recent and long-term spontaneous. Approximately half of each group being dissatisfied with town life. Of course, for each group different factors influence the adjustment process. Many of the recent displaced migrants succeeded in getting a start in town when they found suitable jobs. Other groups were poorly adjusted because of psychological reasons rather than economic; most were living in town before moving to new settlements.

On the other hand, there is a substantial difference (table 39) between both types of migrants, in terms of the percentage admitting satisfactory contacts with urban residents. Those displaced migrants who have been in Omdurman for more than ten years being more than twice as likely to have satisfactory contacts than were those recently forced to move. Moreover, this group is conservative and avoids contact with people in town because they lack confidence and distrust urban residents. By contrast, most of the long-term displaced were living permanently in villages around Omdurman and others moved from town to join families in new settlements. Comparing recent and long-term spontaneous migrants, the former are mainly government servants who were transferred to the capital from small towns. They mostly lived initially in planned

TABLE NO. 38

General satisfaction with urban life

	%
Spontaneous long-term	48
Recent spontaneous	49
Displaced long term	47
Recent displaced	51

Percentage answering fine + easy

TABLE NO. 39

Satisfaction-contacts with urban residents

	%
Spontaneous long-term	72
Recent spontaneous	62
Displaced long-term	56
Recent displaced	32

Percentage answering good + excellent

districts but because of high rents they decided to move to the outskirts. By contrast, the long term spontaneous migrants are mainly poor city dwellers who moved to these areas to obtain legal plots of land.

It is apparent (tables 40 & 41) that the majority of participants overall sample oppose women and young girls working as food sellers or domestic servants. This finding is attributed to the belief that working in markets or in houses of urban people will spoil women and girls. The fieldworker's observation confirmed that the vast majority of male migrants are authoritarian and reject female emancipation. They are afraid that their wives or daughters find work and obtain separate incomes, they will be able to do what they like, and might eventually disobey husbands or parents. Despite this strongly held belief, some were forced by present circumstances to allow some to take up work to help the family.

The results suggest that they prefer women to work rather than girls.

Table 42 illustrates that long-term displaced migrants were more likely to notice changes in behaviour rather than the other three categories. The likely explanation of this finding is that the newcomers were often overcome by the new life and concentrated on finding work, while the long-term displaced were more enthusiastic about changes. Comparing the displaced migrants with the spontaneous, both recent and long-term, the majority reported that they noticed no changes and were happy with current behaviour. This is due to the fact that the latter were often transferred from small towns, while long-term

TABLE NO. 40

Agreeable to women going out to work	
	%
Spontaneous long-term	32
Recent spontaneous	18
Displaced long term	32
Recent displaced	34

TABLE NO. 41

Agreeable to young girls going out to work	
	%
Spontaneous long-term	19
Recent spontaneous	4
Displaced long-term	18
Recent displaced	21

were living in the city. Thus children were born or bred in urban areas and the wives had stayed longer in cities. Consequently, the long-term displaced are more likely to encourage new changes rather than other groups (table 43). The study aimed to explain the differential adjustment of migrant groups. Table 44 shows big similarities between all migrant groups in terms of satisfaction with urban life. As regards social relationships with urban people, the table shows significant differences between recently displaced and other groups, that is to say that recent displaced have the lowest and the long-term spontaneous the highest levels of contacts with people in town. It is also clear that the vast majority of respondents oppose the work of women and girls. The table also shows that while a considerable proportion of migrants have noticed changes in behaviour, few have encouraged these changes.

The literature review provided some confirmation for the above results. Some writers reported that to achieve a high degree of migrant adjustment, places of residence must be planned; accommodation, social services and necessary infrastructure provided, and urban residents must be prepared to accept new migrants (Brody 1970). Others found that conflict between migrants and the host population reduced adjustment to the new area (Taylor 1966). Adjustment has also been shown to be affected by the tendency of some migrants to join home-people in places of residence in the town, (Little 1965, Doughty 1970, Piel 1984). Moreover, Meyer (1961) pointed out that the individual migrant who stays longer in town will

TABLE NO. 42

Aware of changes in family behaviour

	%
Spontaneous long-term	46
Recent spontaneous	38
Displaced long term	56
Recent displaced	39

TABLE NO. 43

Encouraged changes in family behaviour

	%
Spontaneous long-term	15
Recent spontaneous	22
Displaced long-term	36
Recent displaced	18

TABLE (44)

DESCRIPTION : DIFFERENTIAL ADJUSTMENT OF MIGRANT GROUPS

Type of Migrants & Time	1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %	6 %
Spontaneous More than 10 Yrs	48	72	32	19	45	15
Spontaneous Less than 10 Yrs	49	62	18	4	38	22
Displaced More than 10 Yrs	47	56	32	18	56	36
Displaced Less than 10 Yrs	51	32	34	21	39	18

- 1 : Admitting satisfaction with urban life
- 2 : Admitting satisfactory contacts with urban residents
- 3 : Agree to work of women
- 4 : Agree to work of young girls
- 5 : Noticed changes in family behaviour
- 6 : Encouraged changes

not necessarily become genuinely urbanised, because people may remain country-rooted despite long years of continuous residence in town.

Fieldworker observation and survey results confirm that for the majority of respondents, urban identification and resocialisation is limited by a number of factors over which they have no control. These include the illegality of settlements, the high cost and demands of town life and the perceived hostility of local residents and administrators and the lack of social services, transportation and other basic facilities.

Gender Differences in Adjustment: The Position of Women Heads of Households

Women heads of households (table 45) represent a small proportion of overall migrants: roughly 1 in 10. However, they are a different sub-group for whom it is important to elaborate whether adjustment differentials are similar to those found in the sample overall. The small number did not permit an analysis by length of residence, therefore the distinction is simply between the displaced and spontaneous migrant types.

The survey results show no significant differences between both types, with the exception of social contacts with people in town. This difference is explained by the fact that displaced maintain strong relations with relatives. Comparing the women heads of households with the sample as a whole, the major differences relate to attitudes regarding female employment. Female heads of household are, not surprisingly, much more sympathetic towards women and young girls going out

TABLE (45)

DESCRIPTION : ADJUSTMENT OF FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

	1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %	6 %
Spontaneous Women	58	67	83	42	42	33
Displaced Women	43	29	86	54	46	39

N = Displaced 28. Spontaneous 12

- 1 : Admitting satisfaction with urban life
- 2 : Admitting satisfactory contacts with urban residents
- 3 : Agree to work of women
- 4 : Agree to work of young girls
- 5 : Noticed changes in family behaviour
- 6 : Encouraged changes

to work than are their male counterparts. Overall, we can say that both types of women have adjusted to the same degree. The likely explanation of this fact is that displaced women found work in markets or houses in town which resulted in an accelerated adjustment process and become nearer to spontaneous women, despite the differences in circumstances and present situation.

Rural-Urban Contacts

Throughout the foregoing sections, the study suggested another way (figure 6) to demonstrate the degree of social ties between migrant and home-people, in villages or town. Also, to distinguish the differences between displaced and spontaneous settlers. The analysis focused on the same hypothesis as in the previous section, that is the types of migrants and the length of stay in town; the variables included village visits, took presents, sent money back home, helped relatives. friends in town with accomodation, financially, and gave help to find jobs.

Consequently, the argument concentrated on comparison between displaced and spontaneous groups.

Recent and Long-term Migrants Rural-Urban Link

Table 46 analyses migrant visits to home villages. The percentage shows that those recently displaced are least likely to visit their villages. This difference is due to the fact that most recently displaced migrants were pushed by drought and famine in their home-land. Thus, most headed with their families and sometimes with neighbours to Omdurman. A few succeeded in protecting animals by moving to other regions and

Fig. 6 - Rural-urban links: the hypothesised continuum

MIGRANT TYPE AND TIME

Spontaneous	10 years > < 10 years
Displaced	10 years > < 10 years

TABLE NO. 46

Visit to home villages	%
Spontaneous long term	85
Recent spontaneous	70
Displaced long term	72
Recent displaced	49

later moved to villages again. However, some moved to see relatives; others moved mainly to cultivate farms in good planting seasons. As regards the long-term displaced, some were city-dwellers who lived in the suburbs, some belonged to areas not severely affected by drought, others came from affected areas and moved from town to join families or tribespeople. For most of these reasons they retain more visits than the recent displaced.

Recent and long-term spontaneous migrants show a high propensity to visit villages because they have money, and most belong to places which are fairly close to the capital.

Tables 47 & 48 show that very small proportions from both types of migrants took presents or sent money back home. The recent displaced represents the group least likely to send remittances. This is due to the fact that the majority of respondents intended to save money and invest it in other sources to generate income, that is buy a karo, emigrate to an Arab country or build a house.

In town, most participants had helped relatives or friends who arrived in the city. This tendency is derived from rural customs and traditions which enjoin hospitality. Table 49 shows that the recent displaced are least likely to assist in finding jobs while spontaneous long-term are most likely to assist in this way.

Table 50 shows that substantial numbers of migrants helped others with money. Long-term displaced and spontaneous migrants are more likely to help with money than recent groups. This is because they have lived longer in the city and have

TABLE NO. 47

Presents taken to home villages

	%
Spontaneous long-term	38
Recent spontaneous	40
Displaced long-term	33
Recent displaced	19

TABLE NO. 48

Money sent to villages

	%
Spontaneous long-term	18
Recent spontaneous	24
Displaced long-term	20
Recent displaced	15

obtained higher paid jobs. Table 51 shows that the recently displaced are least likely to provide temporary accommodation while long-term spontaneous migrants are the most likely to report this form of help.

Considering all forms of help, it is clear that help with accommodation exceeds financial help and help to find a job. In relation to overall differences between the migrant groups, long-term displaced and spontaneous migrants provide more assistance in finding jobs and help with money, while spontaneous groups provide more temporary accommodation.

Table 52, examines overall differences in the urban link; it is apparent that the recent displaced maintain fewer social ties with home people in villages and town. By contrast, long-term spontaneous migrants maintain strong contacts with home people. This finding contradicts the stereotyped notion that people who have stayed longer in cities tend to reduce visits to home areas.

Before doing the fieldwork, we anticipated that the responses to social ties would be greater among displaced residents rather than the spontaneous, but the results revealed the contrary. Nevertheless, this finding is confirmed by many research studies conducted in different parts of Africa which found that the majority of African migrants in towns often visited villages for important events which required their presence. On the other hand, in town they helped new arrivals with accommodation, money and help to find work. Sometimes they established local or regional associations to defend their rights in town.

TABLE NO. 49

Assisted fellow villager in finding job in town

	%
Spontaneous long-term	49
Recent spontaneous	38
Displaced long-term	40
Recent displaced	25

TABLE NO. 50

Financial assistance to villagers

	%
Spontaneous long-term	59
Recent spontaneous	46
Displaced long-term	52
Recent displaced	40

TABLE NO. 51

Provision of temporary accomodation to villagers

	%
Spontaneous long-term	63
Recent spontaneous	54
Displaced long-term	50
Recent displaced	31

TABLE (52)

DESCRIPTION : MIGRANTS RURAL - URBAN LINK

Type of Migrants and Time	Social Ties with home - land			Social ties with home- people in town			
	1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %	6 %	7 %
Spontaneous More than 10 Yrs 74	85	38	18	74	49	59	63
Spontaneous Less than 10 Yrs 26	70	40	24	73	38	46	54
Displaced More than 10 Yrs 46	72	33	20	71	40	52	50
Displaced Less than 10 Yrs 54	49	19	15	50	25	40	31

- 1 : Visiting village
- 2 : Took presents
- 3 : Send money back home
- 4 : Helped relatives/friends in town
- 5 : Helped to find jobs
- 6 : Financial help
- 7 : Accommodation

Table 53 shows that the rural-urban contact of spontaneous and displaced female heads of households differ in much the same way as found in the sample as a whole. Spontaneous women are more likely to visit villages and to help recent comers than are the displaced. The displaced women visited the villages comparatively rarely because their places of origin were farther away, so visits were more expensive and transportation a difficulty. Also, they had fewer relatives staying in the home areas and more of their family with them in the town. The table also shows that very few from both groups took presents or money. The main reasons were that most have children and prefer to invest money in sources which generate income.

Overall, we can say that spontaneous women have stronger social ties with home-people than displaced women.

Differential Adjustment: Illustrative Case Histories

The following section builds on what has already been established and focuses on behaviour patterns in order to evaluate changes in values, attitudes, habits, aspirations and ways of living. This was accomplished by intensive interviews with ten families, five from each type. The principal aim was to add a qualitative dimension to the previous analysis of adjustment differentials.

Migrant men

Most of the displaced migrant men had worked as casual labourers and moved between town and village before settling permanently in Omdurman. After the drought they arranged for their families to join them. Mostly they were illiterate. The

TABLE (53)

WOMEN RURAL - URBAN LINKS (FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS)

Type and Sex	Social Ties with home - land			Social ties with home- people in town			
	1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %	6 %	7 %
Spontaneous Women	75	17	8	50	17	25	50
Displaced Women	39	18	4	36	11	14	32

N = Displaced 28. Spontaneous 12

- 1 : Visiting village
- 2 : Took presents
- 3 : Send money back home
- 4 : Helped relatives/friends in town
- 5 : Helped to find jobs
- 6 : Financial help
- 7 : Accommodation help

majority of spontaneous migrants also experienced movement to many towns looking for better jobs, but they were mostly accompanied by their families by the time they settled permanently in town. By contrast with those who were displaced the vast majority were literate, some had attended school at different levels and others attended Khalwa in native areas. They had moved to Omdurman earlier and had succeeded in obtaining better jobs than the displaced. All displaced migrant men admitted that living in town was much better than in the native areas, while only some of the spontaneous husbands were totally satisfied. These differences are revealed in the following ~~auto-biographical~~ reconstructions:

Musa Holi, forty years old, syphon/latrine digger admitted:

"Living here is much better than the homeland because in the village the work is very hard and the wages very low. Here, in the town, you can work hard and earn enough so that you can both save and keep your family."

Hamid Adam, forty years old, cigarette vendor, explained:

"We are better off living in town because the place is secure and not attractive to thieves. Most residents are from the same region. Also most people have jobs, earn enough money and you can pray in the mosque."

Modammed Eltom, fifty years old, animal trader, found disadvantages as well as advantages to town life. The advantages included the availability of different kinds of work, plenty of money, extended religious knowledge and being able to pray in the mosque. Disadvantages included the presence of thieves, drunks and prostitutes.

A spontaneous husband who was dissatisfied was Yousif Taha,

fifty-five years, animal guarantor who said:

"I dislike living in town and would prefer to return but my wife and children disagree. I hope to return after my daughters marry in order to care for step-brothers and sisters who are young and have nobody to look after them since their father died."

He explained that village life is better because farming and keeping animals generates income and also many things can be obtained without money which is not possible in the town. He had anticipated that town life would be better but was now convinced that town life spoilt the morals of the women and children and fathers had less time to control the family. He concluded, "I am unhappy living here and hope to return to my village again."

Another spontaneous migrant, Fadal Allah, forty-five years old, head nurse, second class secondary school graduate, admitted,

"In the country you can farm as well as visit the sick in their houses in order to generate income. In addition to this you can live without paying rent in public houses. However, living in Omdurman, especially after the drought, it became extremely difficult to sustain the family unless you emigrate to an Arab country."

The interviewing revealed all spontaneous and most displaced husbands are opposed to women and young girls working selling food, tea and coffee or as domestic servants. Hamid Adam (displaced) claimed:

"Work of wives or daughters is shameful for husbands and fathers especially in markets."

Comparing social relations, the account has revealed that the

social relations of displaced migrants were more exclusively with neighbours, relatives in Hara or other displaced Haras, or people from nearby areas. By contrast, spontaneous migrants tend to maintain strong relations with other residents in town, but all admitted they had no contact with displaced residents. They dislike displaced people because they feel their presence has delayed planning and distribution of plots of land. The fieldworkers confirmed that displaced migrants are very cautious about establish social relations with both spontaneous and town residents, while spontaneous avoid any contacts with displaced and develop contacts and relations with people in town. On the other hand, people in town dislike both kinds of migrants, attributing to them all problems of housing, social services and deterioration in infrastructure. These attitudes are revealed in the following interview selections:

Ali Ahmed, (fifty years old, displaced husband)

"We have no time to establish friendships with spontaneous or urban residents, because we need this time to work".

Hamid Adam, (displaced migrant husband)

"The only relation between displaced and people in town, is they come and ask for women or children to work with them. Some agree, others refuse."

Fadal Allah (spontaneous migrant, head nurse)

"Displaced people create many problems for both spontaneous and local people; for example, shortages in bread and sugar which they bought and sold in the area in the "black market", overcrowding in transportation. Also town life spoiled their tradition and customs."

Yousif Mustafa, (fifty years old, spontaneous migrant,

business man)

"The displaced earn more than spontaneous because the whole family joined in work, in addition to help they receive from relief organisations, whereas spontaneous families depend mainly on husbands' income. Spontaneous families respect traditions and customs while displaced ignore them. The deviance starts in the markets or urban houses where women and girls are attracted into sexual relations by customers or town persons."

The above evidence suggest that the adjustment process varies between both categories: that is to say that the spontaneous husbands are more adjusted than the displaced who have to surmount greater problems.

2. WIVES

Most displaced wives are illiterate and moved from villages to Omdurman to find work in washing clothes in town houses. By comparison, most spontaneous wives left school at primary level, and moved from small towns to become unemployed housewives in Omdurman.

Both displaced and spontaneous wives have varing attitudes towards female work and education.

Umm Khamis, (spontaneous) fifty-five years old, household head, widow, food seller:

"Most women from the west region used to work in the native areas, especially in farms or looking after cattle and often had a separate income. When they moved to town they became involved in work, but those from other parts preferred to stay at home and depend on the husbands income."

Umm Salama, (spontaneous) thirty five year old wife of Fadal Allah, revealed she disliked the idea of displaced women and

young girls working in the market because it weakened their morality. She added:

"Before displaced came to live in town it was very cheap and one could save money from one's salary but now life has become complicated and nobody can save money for future needs."

Both types of wives also vary in their acceptance of girls education. Spontaneous wives are more likely to accept their daughter's education. They hope that both girls and boys will proceed in their education and find work in government ministries or as doctors, lawyers, engineers or officers in the army.

By comparison, displaced wives were more likely to dislike education, especially for girls. They prefer girls to stay at home waiting for future husbands because they believe that when girls are educated and work in government they become independent and challenge male authority. Of course there are some who have changed such beliefs after coming to town, as revealed in the following quotations.

Fatima Abdullah, (displaced) head of household, widow, fifty years old, clothes washer and sugar seller:

"I dislike girls, education and do not agree to my daughter attending school, and being awarded certificates and gaining work in government institutions. I prefer my daughter to stay at home because I dislike school girls behaviour, especially loitering in streets. Those displaced people who let daughters attend school, are only imitating people in town."

El Niema, (displaced) Mohammed Eltoun's wife:

"Males believe girls' education releases and encourages them to oppose their decisions and people prefer to leave after

primary school. I believe education increases girls knowledge and capabilities in domestic work and prepares them for a better future, but the final decision is always with the men."

The attitudes of these displaced wives is mainly accounted for by the fact that they are mostly nomads. They are conservative and practice restricted forms of marriage.

The interviewing revealed that all displaced wives are married to cousins while the vast majority of spontaneous wives are non-relatives.

Certainly, displaced wives do not believe in a free selection in marriage. Most hope that their children, especially girls, will get married to cousins because this is the norm in nomadic tribes and children must obey tribe tradition and customs. El Niema, wife of Mommed Eltoun, claimed:

"Displaced people will never accept daughters marrying urban people even if they are richer. Daughters must get married to cousins in Hara or from home-village because this is the norm for the nomadic people and girls have no option, even if they had lived in town for many years."

The majority of spontaneous wives support free selection in marriage and most were married to non-relative husbands. They prefer children to marry non-relatives, because they believe marrying relatives creates many problems to both families. Fatima Hamza, (spontaneous) wife of Yousif Mustafa said:

"I do not believe in inter-marriage because foreigners often respect foreigners and in many cases inter-marriage creates problems. I strongly support my daughters marrying outside the family."

As for social contacts with rural areas, the account revealed displaced migrant wives visit villages rarely, only to fetch valuable possessions or because of the death of a close relative. In comparison, the majority of spontaneous wives retain regular visits; to see relatives, attend wedding ceremonies, or ceremonies surrounding the death of a close relative. Both groups of wives admitted they receive guests from the village looking for work, seeking medical treatment or planning to emigrate etc.

Most displaced wives maintain strong social relations with relatives, neighbours and other tribespeople in other Haras and have no contacts with either spontaneous migrants or indigenous townspeople. Most admitted they did not see Omdurman or Khartoum or Khartoum North, others reported they visited hospitals or went there looking for work.

By contrast, most spontaneous wives admitted that they have strong relationships with women living in the town. These can be relatives, friends or previous neighbours and sometimes they marry people in town. But all admitted they have no relations with displaced women.

Their feelings towards one another are expressed in the following quotations:-

Fatima Hamza, spontaneous housewife:

"We have no relationships with displaced women because they are different in traditions and customs and behaviour. They come looking for work or selling sugar, and we dislike their appearance."

Hawa, wife of Musa Holi, (displaced) said:

"Living here is better, because in the villages there are no schools, no money to buy clothes and if your child is sick there is no hospital near by, the only transport is a camel or a donkey and sometimes the child dies before reaching the nearest clinic."

Zahra, wife of Ali Ahmed, (displaced) revealed different reasons:

"Working hard in town, one receives plenty of money, while in the the villages one receives a pittance. Children in native areas usually look after cattle but in town they work and obtain money which helps the family financially."

As for recreation and enjoyment, all spontaneous migrant wives admitted they did not restrict their children from going to entertainments in town, or arranging journeys to the suburbs of the capital. In addition they might visit parks, cinemas, the zoo and sometimes attend parties in residences in town. On the other hand, most displaced wives reported that they advised their children not to attend these places. But they do like to attend parties in Hara or other displaced Haras. At such parties they often invited singers from town and boys and girls dance and children enjoy themselves. Some celebrate a special day for traditional songs and dance.

To summarise the above we could say that displaced wives are more traditional and more encapsulated in displaced localities and maintain very weak contacts with both spontaneous and indigenous towns-women. Consequently, they have adjusted to a lesser extent than the spontaneous wives who are often modernistic and more liberal in their contacts with local people. This difference was strengthened by observation

during fieldwork. Overall, it can be said that displaced wives have changed in material culture rather than behaviour.

Contrasting displaced wives with husbands, the interviewing revealed displaced husbands were more adjusted than women because they had experienced many towns before settling in Omdurman. They had all gained jobs in town and associated with different types of people. All wives, on the other hand, moved directly from the villages and settled in displaced localities; they visited the town only seeking medical treatment or work. Despite these differences between displaced men and women, both adjusted less than spontaneous husbands and wives.

Comparing spontaneous husbands with wives, the fieldwork revealed no significant differences. Both were born in small towns and lived together in different towns, settled in Omdurman for many years before moving to new settlements; in addition both had attended school.

3. BOYS

The fieldwork revealed that most displaced boys were born in home-villages, the majority were illiterate and very few attended village schools; most did not continue their schooling when they arrived in town and gained work in water-supply, cigarette vendors or animal watchers in the animal market. By contrast, most spontaneous boys were born in small towns or in Omdurman, the majority attended schools in home areas and proceeded with their education after coming to town. Some completed secondary or intermediate levels; others proceeded in education or planned to emigrate to Saudia Arabia

and only one was working in water-supply. Attitudes of both displaced and spontaneous boys are revealed in the following quotations:

ElNour, (displaced) eighteen years old, who completed primary 3 in village school and gained work in water-supply in town admitted:

"I am unhappy to work in water-supply because it has no future, I would prefer to work as a car mechanic or in trading. If family circumstances changed, I could change my work."

Othman Mohammed, (displaced) eighteen years old, also completed primary 3 and working in water-supply said:

"I am planning to emigrate to Saudia Arabia because some friends and relatives emigrated and succeeded to save money and invest it in Libya Market."

Ashraf Yousif, (spontaneous) nineteen years old, completed intermediate school and who works with his father admitted:

"I am not happy working with my father and hope to proceed with my education again. Life without education is nonsense. I dislike the thought of moving abroad because my friends have told me about their suffering and humiliation. The humiliation they faced exceeded the money they obtained."

As for the attitude towards work of women and young girls in markets or houses, both types admitted work spoiled both women and girls. El Nour, (displaced) said:

"Women and girls are weak and can not protect themselves from urban peoples' sexual advances, especially the younger girls. Town is full of vulgars who may persuade girls to have sexual relations."

Othman, (displaced) admitted,

"Girls often work because of their father's

death, because the family has moved or because of a wife's sovereignty which forces her husband to agree."

Both displaced and spontaneous boys revealed different satisfaction with urban life. All displaced boys admitted they were better off in town because they obtained jobs and had separate income, and most planned to emigrate to an Arab country and save money to invest in trade or buy houses. Most were encouraged by relatives who were working abroad and send money and clothes back home. Moreover, they admitted they wear better clothes, have better food and most have changed from traditional dialect to the urban one. By contrast, the majority of the spontaneous boys were unhappy with their present residence: their houses were too small, they lacked services and entertainment.

The interviewing revealed that most displaced boys maintained social contacts exclusively with home people in the Hara or in other Haras, but did not exchange visits with spontaneous or urban boys. Also they only visited the capital when seeking work or when fetching goods to sell in local markets. Neither did they visit places of recreation in town, and entertain themselves by watching television in a neighbour's house or a video in the local market, the so called "Umm Dafaso" where one pays a pound per ticket.

In comparison, spontaneous boys were quite satisfied with relationships with residents and urban boys who were often colleagues or previous friends in town. They felt out right hostility towards the displaced boys.

Ashraf Yousif nineteen years old, who completed intermediate

school, commented:

"Displaced boys like to be isolated and dislike people in town and in the spontaneous settlements because they lack confidence to develop such relationships and their dialect is not understood by spontaneous or the town boys."

Etaieb Fadal Allah, explained that displaced boys dislike friendships and prefer to concentrate on work and collecting money. Amaad Fadallah, fifteen years old, admitted dislike of displaced boys because they were thieves inhaling benzine and smoking cigarettes. He said, "They have dirty clothes and bodies and the women and girls behave unacceptably."

Most spontaneous boys admitted they owned televisions, attended social clubs and belonged to football teams. During national ceremonies they arranged journeys to the suburbs and they visited recreation places in addition to wedding parties in Hara or in town.

The researcher wished to identify attitudes towards marriages with relatives so he asked all adults (boys and girls) about their preferences in marriage, in order to find any differences between parents and children in this respect. The outcome of the interviews showed that most displaced boys tended to get married to cousins but preferred those who were living in town rather than the villages. They had such a preference because such girls are skilled in cooking, wear fashionable clothes and can speak the local dialect.

In comparison, the vast majority of spontaneous boys prefer to marry non-relatives, preferably those who are educated. Salah Fadal Allah, second class secondary school said:

"I prefer to marry from outside because relatives' marriages often create problems for both families and damage social relations."

Hafiz Yousif Tahat twenty-five years old, completed secondary school, belonging to a nomadic tribe admitted, "I believe in intermarriage but do not oppose marriage from outside." He explained that the inter-marriage system prevails even among educated nomads because they respect tribes' traditions, customs and their socio-economic standards.

The fieldwork illustrates that most displaced boys had never visited villages since coming; only a few who moved with their father to cultivate farms or fetch some possessions while spontaneous boys often visited home towns in school holidays and very few do not visit the village because they are too distant.

Overall, it can be concluded that spontaneous boys are more adjusted to urban life than are the displaced because they are different in place of birth, education, ethnic origin, contacts with home people and people in town. Despite adapting and enjoying living in town, changing their clothes, food, and dialect, displaced boys are still more conservative.

4. GIRLS

In the displaced families sampled, there were only two girls over the age of fifteen years. This confirmed the assumption that most displaced girls get married while they are under age, according to nomadic customs. Both girls, Raddina, fifteen years and Hawa, twenty years, moved with their families from villages to town during the drought. Raddina moved with her

mother to join her brother who was working in Omdurman, while Hawa moved with her sister and brother to join a brother-in-law in town. Both were unmarried and illiterate.

Hawa gained work washing clothes in town and Raddina stayed at home because her mother was opposed to girls working. The latter admitted to the fieldworker that she was unhappy with her mother's decision and said: " I am mature enough to protect myself."

She explained that her mother would not agree to her attending school or evening classes because she disliked education and preferred her daughter to stay at home to wait for a future husband.

On the subject of living in town, Raddina said,

"In town there is money without social relations and in villages there are strong social relations without money. Women in native areas look after cattle, make handicrafts and rear children, whereas men carry out the jobs and support families but in town, the whole family could work and earn money".

In comparison, the spontaneous girls had mostly been born in Omdurman, all attended schools at different levels, some completed intermediate level and stayed at home because parents disliked them going to work in the government offices. Some others still, completed secondary school and hoped to attend university and most of them admitted they aspired to become doctors, lawyers, or nurses. Usually they visited home villages during school holidays though a few said they disliked village life.

Both displaced girls maintained strong contact with girls

in Hara or other Haras but they had no contact with spontaneous or urban girls except through work. Hawa, said:

"Some people in town are kind but some dislike displaced women and treat you like an animal. Women who work in town change to the urban dialect and gradually forget the previous one. The elders in the Hara, especially the men, dislike this changing of dialect and consider it a bad habit."

On the other hand, spontaneous girls said they have strong social relations with residents and girls in the city; mainly school colleagues, old friends or relatives in planned districts but they have very little contact with displaced girls. Intisar Fadalallah, twenty-two years, who completed intermediate level revealed that there are many cases of marriage between spontaneous and town residents but none between spontaneous and displaced. She admitted,

"Displaced girls have no time to develop friendships and spend all their time in work. I dislike displaced women and girls behaviour and work."

Maha Yousif, twenty-three years, who completed intermediate school, explained she disliked displaced women and girls who visited them seeking work because they were very dirty, both clothes and bodies and they spoke with such a difficult accent.

Monira twenty-five years, illiterate, said,

"Displaced women and girls do not smell nice although they are very pretty."

As for marriage, displaced girls admitted they will marry cousins or relatives because they respect the decision of their elders, while all spontaneous girls believe in free selection in marriage and reported that parents will never force them to

marry a cousin or relative.

Generalising, it can be concluded that boys were more adjusted than girls. However, both spontaneous boys and girls were more adjusted than displaced boys and girls.

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CHAPTER (7)

REHABILITATION POLICIES AND SOLUTIONS

1. INTRODUCTION:

Before concentrating on the specific solutions relevant to the situation of Omdurman migrants, it is useful to review more general approaches to the problem. A number of commentators have identified a phased approach in most developing countries.

(1) Phase one, occurring immediately after the independence of most developing countries; directed shelter provision policies to provide houses/plots to upper and upper-middle classes who were mostly working in government institutions or the private sector. The resulting housing was mainly outside the reach of low-income groups who were left to build up their illegal dwellings on the peripheries of large cities. Thus, in El Salvador, Bamberger (1984) concluded that the shelter programme was available only to middle and upper classes and the government failed to face urban land problems and upgrade informal housing. In India, McAuslan (1985) revealed that there were many public sector agencies working in financing houses but most concentrated on providing credit to upper and upper-middle classes. In Nairobi there were four institutions involved in housing provision but most met the needs of high income groups, i.e. government staff, and very little was directed to squatter settlement (Chance 1984). McAuslan showed that most upper-middle income groups in Nairobi moved out from their houses and rented them to five or six families so as to pay subsidised rents to the city council. Although Nigeria adopted decentralisation, the implementation reflected the bias

of policy-makers; i.e. the policy concentrated on improving roads, establishing new developments around Lagos and other infrastructure and ignored the mass of urban dwellers (Hardoy 1981). Also in post-independence Tunis the middle class citizens who replaced the Europeans in the modern part of the capital were awarded cheap loans for private construction and the Public Housing Agency discriminated against urban poor (McAuslan).

The preceding examples reveal the bias of policy-makers and administrators against urban poor which led them to adopt demolition policy and eventually to evacuate poor urban residents.

(ii) Phase two represents the clearance policy which took place after the illegal settlements had developed and had created serious socio-economic, political and environmental problems for the host population. The politicians and administrators had to rely on legal measures to establish nuisance laws in order to remove new settlements. The results of demolition policy were both unpopular and unsuccessful. The conference on Human Environment (1974) stated that a clearance scheme without an alternative could only exacerbate the problem of housing. If the bulldozers were sent in before provision of alternative residence had been achieved, the displaced people simply moved to start again somewhere else. Grimes (1984) explained that squatter settlement situations were aggravated by a cycle of demolition and redevelopment schemes in their places. He gave an example from Manila in

1968 where a fifth of the metropolitan area was invaded by squatters, the government succeeded in clearing some of the central squatters' settlements, the result was that 40% had returned to another squatting area close to the city. In Chile it was reported that the violence towards squatters and clashes between them and police were a permanent feature of life during the Pinochet regime (Gulati 1985).

Kazemi (1980) reported from Iran (Gulati) that forcible eviction and violence towards squatters often occurred during the Shah's rule. In Pakistan, after initial enthusiasm for removal, the lesson was learnt that removing squatter houses on the outskirts of cities was "a futile" approach (Sikander 1978).

In Accra 1960 (Peil 1984) government researchers who tried to collect data from squatters' areas were stoned. The Zambian government decided to destroy the biggest squatter settlement in Lusaka and while they succeeded in demolishing some 571 houses, the cabinet ministers pronounced that there were still 90 thousand newly arrived "uninvited guests" (Velsen 1975).

(iii) Phase three took place after the failure of demolition policy, consequently many governments changed their policies to meet the demands of the urban poor and new arrivals. Many countries adopted site and services and upgrading schemes, either singly or in combination. Others undertook rural development policy which included establishing agricultural projects, industrial growth poles or growth centres. The former aimed to settle urban poor and new migrants who were living on the outskirts of cities, the latter

aimed to disperse the population over all regions following the establishment of agricultural projects, basic facilities and social services.

The adoption of site and services and upgrading approaches is attributed to Turner, Mangin and others whose writing led to the emergence of a new philosophy of housing. This new approach was built on the success of low-income groups in building their own dwellings and providing basic services in the face of opposition from government and professionals. Turner, regarded as the leading writer in this field, called for a "balanced housing strategy" for low-income groups. This involved assisting self-builders and giving them plots of land in appropriate places in the expectation that such settlements would improve progressively over time. He explained that housing standards proposed by authorities were often beyond the capability of low-income residents and self-help housing was the principal approach suited to all developing countries. Since 1960, many governments and international agencies e.g. World Bank, IDA, WHO, American and Swedish governments have been influenced by Turner's ideas and began to understand urban poor situations and participated in launching loans to many governments (Potter 1985).

There are two main criticisms of Turner's model. First, it concentrates on low-income density housing in urban layouts and ignores high-rise construction sponsored by governments or international governments/agencies. Second, the implementation did not solve the problem of basic facilities. Consequently,

many writers have suggested that these approaches must be complemented (Conference on Human Environment 1974, Gilbert and Guglen 1982 , Patten 1985). They attributed the failure of site and services to the establishment of houses regardless of basic facilities, and also the failure of upgrading to the lack of financial and human resources to build sufficient dwellings for all urban poor in need. It is appropriate to give some examples of implementation of the above policies.

An experiment at Mexico City demonstrated that site and services had limited success because the instalments for the land were very high and government was reluctant to intervene in the land market (Ward 1984). In El Salvador, Dwyer noted that site and services and upgrading schemes, sponsored by the World Bank, concentrated on providing government houses. Also in Caracas the government sponsored high-building, but very little was directed to the urban poor who lived in the city peripheries (Potter 1985).

The Zambian government adopted first the upgrading approach and built houses for those who were working for a short-time in the mines while their families remained in villages. Later many families moved to the cities. Thus policy-makers changed the upgrading system to serviced plots (Grimes 1984).

In Nairobi, the city council established Dandora Community Development project in 1975 through multi-lateral loans between government, the World Bank and the IDA. The project implemented 6 thousand serviced plots during a seven year period, but compared with the housing deficit it was a "drop in the ocean" (Chance 1984).

In Dakar the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development first sponsored site and service and upgrading schemes but the World Bank reported that most of population were too poor to qualify for the project (Gugler & Flanagan 1978). Also the self-reliance approach in Tanzania has failed for lack of both capital and trained cadre (Grimes 1984).

The Egyptian trial in El Heker Ismailia project was sponsored by the British Overseas Development Administration. The project represented a shift from self-help building policy to core housing "completed core or wet core" and left the rest of the construction to people's ability to expand houses in their own time. Both techniques became inappropriate to meet the needs of low-income groups, so the only alternative left was to provide and service plots and leave residents to construct houses in the way they liked (Soliman 1985).

The preceding paragraphs have revealed the failure of either upgrading or site and services if they were implemented singly. However, most writers, government officials and international agencies have recently called for the combination of both approaches. It has been recognised that government must provide legal land in suitable places supplied with basic facilities, i.e. self-reliance, or depend on some kind of help from international governments or agencies and leave residents to improve houses over-time.

2. SEARCH FOR NEW POLICIES

Another solution to the rehabilitation of urban poor has been to adopt a rural development policy so as to disperse

population over the country. Some writers have argued that the centralisation of government institutions and decision-makers has favoured urban residents over the rural population. Others regard regional equity as the main objective and call for a decentrealisation or at least regional development policy (Beier 1984). This policy must not concentrate on developing agriculture without promoting agricultural production i.e. improving production, marketing, training and credit facilities (OFECAD 1984).

The conference on Human Environment (1974) concluded that to disperse population and control migration, governments can only influence "directly or indirectly". Those adopting the first rely on strong legislative control over urban areas e.g. China and South Africa. Those adopting the second attempt to influence population movements by manipulating a number of variables, i.e. establishing rural development schemes, establishing new towns or growth centres. These policies should be implemented singly or in combination.

On the other hand, some writers and organisations have discouraged such a policy. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (1984) explained that the policy of anti-urbanisation is not feasible because modernisation of agriculture implies an irreversible decline in the need for manpower. Gilbert (1982) argued that the concept of growth poles and growth centres had failed in practice because it takes too long to establish a single growth centre. Moreover, the World Bank reported that the establishment of growth centres in most developing countries was very expensive (OFECAD

1984).

In practice, some developing countries have adopted an anti-urbanisation policy, e.g. Cuba since the revolution of 1956. Castro regarded Havana as an imperialist and corrupted city, and introduced an anti-urbanisation policy which resulted in a deterioration of the physical fabric of the city. This reduced the alternatives of potential migrants. Mao Tse Tung adopted the same policy in China in 1949, and it took the form of "bottom-up" and "top-down" Chang 1982 (In Potter 1985). In India, Ghandi adopted a community development programme and called for the self-sufficient village which was regarded as the basic unit for socio-economic development. In both China and India the experiments reflected the effectiveness of public community participation in a wide variety of political and cultural contexts (Potter 1985).

In Kenya the government set up regional development plans based on the creation of rural growth centres provided by rural industries in order to become the nuclei for future growth and to offset the attraction exerted by big cities. But government failed to achieve the proposed goals because of lack of finance and trained officials (OFECAD 1984). Also in Tanzania the government embarked on establishing new villages throughout the country, because Nyerere believed that the village was the basic level of social organisation and represented the third objective after food and clothing. The project was co-financed by the World Bank. While the policy continued it was clear that the number of squatters had increased much faster than before.

Moreover, most beneficiaries from the project were National Party members and most women were excluded unless they were accompanied by family (Brian 1976). Tanzania later changed these policies in the light of negative results from villageisation and accompanying failure in agricultural production. (Berbner 1982).

From this review it is clear that the adoption of site and services and upgrading approaches have failed to achieve their principal goals. The former failed because of lack of capital and trained officials and insufficient control of the urban land market. In addition the minimum instalments for land were too high for the urban poor. The latter failed because the number of houses implemented through bilateral or multi-lateral loans were very few compared with housing deficit, because most of the population in large cities were too poor to qualify for such projects and because most schemes were directed to government servants.

Similarly, the decentralisation of regional planning has not been successful because of lack of money and trained cadre. Additional considerations are governments' failure to stem migration while the implementation process was going on, and the tendency for such schemes to benefit only government servants or members of political parties while ignoring the mass of urban poor. Moreover, some scholars and international organisations have discouraged such a policy because modernisation of agriculture implies redundancy in manpower and also because the establishment of growth poles/centres was very time consuming and expensive.

It is very clear by now that governments must establish national settlement policies linked with socio-economic development plans to settle urban poor who are living in cities. They should provide them with basic facilities and leave them to improve dwellings over time. Simultaneously, they should adopt decentralisation or regional development plans and establish rural development schemes co-financed by international loans or the private sector, depending mainly on intermediate technology to reduce the cost and to stem or minimise migration to large cities.

3. SUDAN REHABILITATION POLICIES

Since independence in January 1956, Sudan has had no national settlement policy. However, all land publicly owned and most large cities have their own master plans. The government has followed a site and service approach in which urban areas are classified into three categories; i.e. first class plots available to senior officials and rich residents, second class plots obtainable by employees and senior labourers, in government or private sector, and public middle class. The third class plots are directed to lower class residents who have permanent jobs and have been supporting families for at least ten years (Hardoy 1981). The government proposed ten years as the minimum period for living in the capital with their family. Thus most migrants fetched their families and lived in cities and spontaneous settlements have grown very rapidly in the peripheries of the capital and other large cities.

Between 1961-1967 the government adopted an upgrading approach and established one thousand plots each in the towns of Khartoum and Khartoum North. The beneficiaries were mainly from the working class who had sustained families in the town for more than ten years. The trial failed because it did not satisfy the housing needs of those urban poor who were not employed in the civil service (Abdelrahman 1979).

Since the early seventies many people from rural areas began to move to the capital looking for jobs, and most settled inside or on the peripheries of the national capital. Thus the government adopted a rural development approach in the six-year Socio-economic Development Plan (1977-1982). The main objectives of the plan were to establish equality among all people, and regions, to achieve social justice through income distribution between low-income and rich urbanites and to raise the general standard of living of all people.

The six-year plan failed to achieve the envisaged goals because of lack of foreign currency and trained professionals. Later, the government abandoned such a rural development policy and adopted sectoral policies to deal with migration and migrants' problems.

To explore the actual size of the migrant population living in the outskirts of the capital, a team from the Housing Department mounted a survey in 1982. The team estimated that there were 96 squatter locations surrounding the capital. This was regarded as unacceptable and the military regime decided to demolish these locations. The clearance operations started

on the 28th of December 1983 and lasted for eight months. Before eviction took place, residents were classified and those who were entitled - living for ten years - to their own land were awarded master plan application forms in order to compete with other urban residents (Bahjat 1987). The clearance policy failed after facing resistance and violence between soldiers and occupiers who stayed in their places and re-established occupation of their original dwellings.

The Transitional Civil Government, 1985 - successor of the military regime - understood the deplorable situation of urban poor who were living in these areas and issued the decree number 71/85, establishing the Executive Body for Squatter Treatment. So that it might deal with the problem of both displaced and spontaneous settlers, the Executive Body was linked with the Ministry of Housing and provided with expert officials and a separate budget.

The Executive Body classified squatter settlements into three types:

- 1 - Organised squatter settlements - spontaneous areas
- 2 - Illegal extension of suburbs - displaced areas
- 3 - Luxurious squatter settlements - those who built high buildings on agricultural land in the peripheries.

The Executive Body framework dealt with the first two types and left the third to the government to decide on. As for the first type, the decision was to organise the old squatter settlements and award the residents plots in the present places. The Housing Minister established initially seven administrative committees in Omdurman, the largest of the old

squatter settlements. Each committee included eight members, four professionals and four representing the residents. The authorities suggested five years as a minimum period for staying with their family in the present location, otherwise they would be removed to an absorption area.

In the second type, the policy aimed at legalising new localities and providing shelter for entitled residents in absorption areas. The Minister of Housing instructed the Executive Body to carry out social surveys in displaced localities and to classify residents into three categories viz: refugees, who were transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, the new displaced, (less than one year) who were transferred to the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission and those who had settled for more than a year, who were removed to absorption areas.

The Executive Body, with the help of other departments within the Ministry of Housing, prepared three absorption areas around the Three Towns. Each was called Dar es Salaam. The total number of planned plots was 50 thousand, distributed as follows: Omdurman - 30 thousand (the distance from town 6 Km), Khartoum North - 10 thousand (the distance from town 10 Km) and Khartoum - 10 thousand (the distance from city 20 Km) (Bahjat 1987).

The Head Surveyor of Dar es Salaam Omdurman told the fieldworker that the proposed area (216 sqm) was approved by all officials concerned and based on the experience of earlier upgrading schemes in Khartoum and Khartoum North. He argued

that if the area was increased to 400 sqm - the normal size of plots in Sudan - they would need double the area to accommodate the same number. He explained that the 26 thousand plots were divided equally into two phases, each including basic facilities e.g. schools, health centres, social clubs, mosques and small markets. He said that they advised the government not to evacuate people before implementing basic facilities but the government ignored their advice and moved people and supplied them with tents. This restriction of lease only to those who were already moved, led some to sell their plots and resettle in other displaced residences.

Under the continuous pressures of migrants to the capital because of the on-going civil war in the South and shortages of food in the western regions, the Ministry of Social Welfare, Zakat and Displaced, has elaborated another policy for recent migrants. This policy was approved by the Cabinet on 3rd of November 1988 and includes three independent parts:

- 1 - Providing displaced settlers with basic needs in places of residence throughout the country.

- 2 - Establishing reception centres at inter-regional boundaries to stem migration and to settle people as close as possible to their original homes.

- 3 - Resettling displaced settlers in a participatory and voluntary fashion close to their homes.

The government encouraged the ministries concerned to carry out the first two parts immediately and the third will be implemented in the medium-term (UNOEA 1988). The success of this most relevant policy is threatened by fragmentation.

The United Nations Office for Emergency in Africa (1988) reported there were different ministries and institutions responsible for displaced affairs i.e. Ministry of Social Welfare, Zakat and Displaced, Ministry of Refugees Affairs, in addition to technical ministries of Health, Irrigation, Transport and Administrative Affairs in different regions. Moreover, there were two commissioners; one in the Ministry of Social Welfare, the other in the Ministry of Refugee Affairs who carried out operational activities.

It will be apparent from the above that the government had no consistent national settlement policy, following a master plan approach after the failure of upgrading and rural development approaches. It is now clear that the master plan policy has failed to provide urban poor and migrants with sufficient shelters. Consequently illegal settlement developed and extended all over the national capital.

Following the election of the new democratic government in 1986 the problem has been aggravated by masses of people moving from South and West regions because of shortages of food. Consequently, recent government policy has concentrated on supplying newcomers with relief aid instead of establishing one administration to deal with the problems of migrants. It has established many ministries and institutions and this has resulted in conflicts between senior officials. The problems of displaced and spontaneous settlers have been exacerbated by the cycle of changes of ministers and governments; between 1986 and June 1989 the cabinet changed four times, because of which

rehabilitation policies already approved have been delayed.

As observed in Omdurman outskirts areas, both administrative committees and social survey teams which were established to deal with the problems of rehabilitation were working so slowly and there was no fixed timetable to finish their work. Thus most residents in these places were disappointed. A recent survey which was carried out (1988) by the Netherlands Red Cross in one of the Omdurman displaced settlements described the current situation of migrants as follows:

"At present it is still unclear what the future of the different unplanned areas will be. Will the planning process start and be finished? Will the area be reallocated? If so, where? and if so, would all inhabitants be involved? To create clarity on the mentioned and associated matters is the complicated task which faces the policy and decision making system. Of course for the affected population it is to be hoped that clarity about their future will be reached soon".

4. AN EMPIRICAL APPROACH TO POLICY ALTERNATIVES

One of the objectives of this study is to assess the acceptability of some suggested solutions to both displaced and spontaneous settlers who are living in peripheries of Omdurman, and to compare their views with those of the professionals. The main purpose of this exercise is to assess the extent to which the professional views are based on accurate knowledge.

Five solutions, each associated with different options, were suggested:-

- 1 - Assimilation of displaced and spontaneous settlers in the city.
- 2 - Settlement on legal plots of land outside the city.
- 3 - Repatriation to area of origin.
- 4 - Resettlement in new agricultural schemes.
- 5 - Removal to old agricultural schemes.

These five solutions covered all the alternative suggestions proposed by beneficiaries, politicians and administrators.

The survey results (Table 54) show that the best two solutions for both migrant types are assimilation in the city or awarding plots of land outside the city; i.e. 74%, 64% respectively. Displaced respondents have similar responses to the first two solutions, while 82% of spontaneous respondents preferred assimilation in the city and 54% preferred plots outside the city. As for the other three solutions, the figures show very weak responses and no differences between the two migrant types. On the basis of this evidence there can be no doubt that the majority of displaced and spontaneous settlers prefer to resettle in the city or in legal plots outside; spontaneous respondents preferring the city rather than outside. The likely explanation of this difference is that spontaneous settlers are living close to the city and most had moved because of the high cost of rent or to obtain legal plots in their present locations. So it is not surprising that the majority preferred the first solution. By contrast, most displaced migrants had moved recently from rural areas to settle on the outskirts because they were the only uninhabited

TABLE NO. (54)

DESCRIPTION: The two solutions preferred by migrants for rehabilitation.

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %	DISPLACED %	SPONTANEOUS %
1	Assimilation in the city	74	69	82
2	Plots outside the city	64	70	54
3	Repatriation to native areas	8	8	8
4	Establishing new agri. schemes	8	8	8
5	Shift to established schemes	1	1	1

Chi-square: 15.00

N = 392

N = 250

N = 142

Significance: 0.2414

The percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

TABLE NO. (55)

DESCRIPTION : The two solutions preferred by migrants and professionals for rehabilitation.

NO.	VARIABLE	Displaced %	Spont %	Migrant Overall %	Professional %
1	Assimilation in the city	69	82	74	7
2	Plots outside the city	70	54	64	22
3	Repatriation to native areas	8	8	8	51
4	Establishing new agri. schemes	8	8	8	71
5	Shift to established schemes	1	1	1	44

N=250

N=142

N=392

N=41

The percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

places and most of them preferred to obtain land in present localities which represent the natural extension of the city.

The preferences of migrants, both spontaneous and displaced have to be compared with those of professionals. (Table 55) there are clear differences between migrants and professionals. The most preferred solutions reported by professionals are, respectively establishing new agricultural schemes, repatriating the migrants to native areas and removing them to old agricultural schemes. By contrast only 7% preferred assimilation in the city and 22% assimilation in plots outside the city.

4.1 PREFERENCES FOR ASSIMILATION IN THE CITY:

Table (56) shows that 62% of migrants overall support settlement in present localities. Contrasting displaced with spontaneous informants the percentage revealed spontaneous exceeding displaced; i.e. 73%, 65% respectively. However, in other options the results show lower proportions and no significant differences between both types of migrants.

What is noticeable is that most migrants preferred present places rather than other alternatives; this is particularly true of spontaneous migrants.

In the areas where fieldwork was conducted, the majority of displaced believed that they have the right to obtain legal land and refused to be classified as displaced. Most admitted to the researcher that they are Sudanese like the others. In interviewing some local leaders they revealed resentment against both people in town and professionals, i.e. politicians and administrators, and defended their right to be awarded

TABLE NO. (56)

DESCRIPTION : Preferences of migrants for assimilation in the city.
(agree + strongly agree)

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %	DISPLACED %	SPONTANEOUS %
1	Present location	62	56	73
2	West Omdurman	18	18	16
3	North Omdurman	12	10	15
4	South Omdurman	10	12	8
5	Other places	2	2	3

Chi-square: 20.00

N = 392

N = 250

N = 142

Significance: 0.2202

The percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

TABLE NO. (57)

DESCRIPTION : Preferences of migrants and professionals
for assimilation in the city.

NO.	VARIABLE	Displaced %	Spont %	Migrant Overall %	Professional %
1	Present location	56	73	62	2
2	West Omdurman	18	16	18	5
3	North Omdurman	10	15	12	-
4	South Omdurman	12	8	10	2
5	Other places	2	3	2	2

N=250

N=142

N=392

N=41

The percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

legal plots in present places and refused to evacuate to absorption areas. On the following pages we give some examples of auto-biographical reconstructions of some local leaders.

Shiekh Ahmed, 60 years old, Hara 24 displaced Umm Baddah, admitted:

"The government decided to remove the residents to Dar es Salaam without compensation for present buildings and most people rejected this decision". He added "We appeal to the government to abandon this decision because our home areas do not accept us and now government do not accept our living in these places. Thus the only alternative left is to seek another country to accept us as citizens". He said "execution is better than moving to Dar es Salaam".

Shiekh Abdellah Hassan Atiah, 60 years old, Hara 34 displaced Umm Baddah confirmed what Shiekh Ahmed had said and added:

"Establishing a new house takes two or three years and building materials were very cheap at that time but have now become very expensive. So most residents oppose any kind of demolition without suitable compensation".

Shiekh El Raih, 40 years old, moved to Dar es Salaam, admitted:

"We were living spontaneously like others but the authorities discriminated against us and favoured the old settlers and decided to give them legal plots in places of residences and removed us to Dar es Salaam". He explained another kind of discrimination; that the professionals decided to award old residents 400 sqm for each family contrasting with 216 sqm for displaced which was inadequate to establish a suitable house for families. Moreover they decided to demolish dwellings before building houses".

Consequently, some displaced residents became very resistant to the social survey. Thus in Hara 17 displaced Umm Baddah the students and researcher confronted many problems from residents and some refused to give information, suspecting

that we belonged to Housing Survey teams. According to fieldworker observation, there are some well-built houses. Therefore demolition without compensation is unreliable because people spent a long time and a lot of money to establish these houses.

There is no doubt the Transitional Government decision to give older residents legal plots and remove newcomers to absorption areas without compensation was unjust because they all illegally occupied the land. However, the result of this decision was to make displaced migrants sell their plots before moving; some moved to other displaced Haras and those who moved to Dar es Salaam were faced with many complexities: i.e. shortage in basic facilities and social services.

Compared with the professional (Table 57), the figures show the total responses representing 11%. This meant that the vast majority of the professionals sample rejecting this solution.

4.2 PREFERENCES TO PLOTS OUTSIDE THE CITY

Table (58) reveals that 58% of all migrants would accept Housing planners' sites if they were supplied with basic services. Contrasting displaced with spontaneous migrants, the percentages are similar - 63%, 50% respectively. The table also illustrates a lower response to other options. This fact is explained by the finding that most of those from both samples agreed to move to Dar es Salaam if social services were provided. But the present condition of Dar es Salaam is far from being well provided and few people want to move there.

Comparing the above results with professional respondents

TABLE NO. (58)

DESCRIPTION: Preferences of migrants for plots outside the city.
(agree + strongly agree)

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %	DISPLACED %	SPONTANEOUS %
1	Sugg. sites supp. with serv.	58	63	50
2	Sugg. sites not supported	13	16	8
3	New sites supported with serv.	10	12	5
4	Other sites	1	2	-

Chi-Square: 12.00

N = 392

N = 250

N = 143

Significance: 0.2133

The percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

TABLE NO. (59)

DESCRIPTION: Preferences of migrants and professionals
for plots outside the city.

NO.	VARIABLE	Displaced %	Spont %	Migrant Overall %	Professional %
1	sugg. sites supp. with serv.	63	50	58	20
2	Sugg. sites not supported	16	8	13	5
3	New sites supported with ser.	12	5	10	12
4	Other places	2	-	1	-
5					

N=250

N=142

N=392

N=41

The percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

(Table 59), only 20% of the professionals agreed to rehabilitate migrants in sites supplied with the necessary services. Other options received very low support and it is interesting that both migrants' types and professionals gave a weak reaction to Housing planners' sites without basic services.

It is very clear by now that resettlement policy must not concentrate on providing land without supplying infrastructure and basic services. Moreover, any policy which does not take into consideration this aspect could aggravate the problem rather than solving it. Currently, displaced migrants who are forced to move to Dar es Salaam either resist eviction, accept it and eventually sell the land, or move and suffer in the new residence.

4.3 PREFERENCES FOR REPATRIATION TO NATIVE AREAS

The survey results (Table 60) show that only 11% of migrants preferred this solution. The vast majority of migrants refuse to repatriate to their homeland, even if the authorities established rural development projects or agricultural schemes. This is confirmed by fieldworker observations in the area; most migrants never think of moving back home permanently even if the current circumstances have changed. Most displaced respondents admitted that they are better off at present places; i.e. they have jobs and enough money to support their families. For instance Shiekh Ibrahim Ahmed, 60 years old, one of Dar es Salaam's local leaders admitted:

TABLE NO. (60)

DESCRIPTION : Preferences of migrants for repatriation to native areas.
(agree + strongly agree)

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %	DISPLACED %	SPONTANEOUS %
1	After est. rural dev. proj.	6	7	4
2	After est. agricultural sch.	5	4	6
3	Before any schemes.	-	-	-
4	Other projects	-	-	-

Chi-square: 8.00

N = 392

N = 250

N = 142

Significance: 0.2381

The percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

TABLE NO. (61)

DESCRIPTION : Preferences of migrants and professionals
for repatriation to native areas.

NO.	VARIABLE	Displaced %	Spont %	Migrant Overall %	Professional %
1	After est. rural dev. proj.	7	4	6	42
2	After est. agricultural sch.	4	6	5	32
3	Before est. any schemes	-	-	-	2
4	Other projects	-	-	-	5

N=250

N=142

N=392

N=41

The percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

"Most people who were motivated by Nazirs, Omdas and government officials returned because of lack of basic aspect of living at home and some moved mainly to obtain the assistance promised and eventually came back again".

Shiekh El Riah, Dar es Salaam, confirmed what shiekh Ibrahim had said and added:

"Some of the Kababish tribespeople moved because they were encouraged by Nazirs and each family awarded five hundred pounds, some grain and consumer commodities. Most came back again". He calls these inducements "spontaneous alternatives".

Moreover, for those spontaneous settlers who have permanent jobs; e.g. in government institutions, private sector or as manual labourers, it is very difficult for them to move and leave these jobs.

By comparison, as shown in Table (61) 81% of professionals supported repatriation: 42% after establishing rural development projects, 32% after making new agricultural schemes, 5% after establishment of other projects and only 2% supported moving before the establishing of any scheme.

It is very clear from the above figures that there is a significant difference between the views of migrants and professionals concerning repatriation to native areas. This was recently confirmed by most research carried out by independent experts, officials and university lecturers. They have mostly recommended repatriation as an urgent policy and encouraged the government to adopt a rural development approach to slow down the rapid growth of large cities. For example, Zanab B. El Bakri and others (1984) and Siddiq M. Ahmed and others (1987), both recommended that the government establish

agricultural and industrial schemes in rural areas and encourage rural residents to produce subsistence and cash crops simultaneously. They argue that industrialization should be shifted from large cities to medium and small towns in the regions, to reduce the economic and social disparities between the capital and other cities. They recommended a role for the private sector in this move to rural areas, particularly in the field of cottage industries and the establishment of co-operative committees provided with credit, marketing and other facilities.

The above strategy is, of course, very important in any attempt to minimise migration to the capital but at the same time it cannot solve the problems of those people already settled in the outskirts of the capital. It is clearly very difficult, almost impossible, to forcibly remove such people to their home-land. We have seen in the above results that the residents absolutely rejected moving back home; thus the only alternative solution is to rehabilitate present migrants as quickly as possible because the problem is constantly exacerbated. At the same time the government must set up a national socio-economic development plan and adopt a rural development approach linked with national settlement policy to minimise migration to the capital and other large cities.

4.4 PREFERENCES FOR MAKING NEW AGRICULTURAL SCHEMES

Table (62) shows that overall only 6% of the migrant responses supported the establishment of new agricultural schemes. with only 9% of displaced and 10% of spontaneous migrants preferring this solution. It is clear that the vast

TABLE NO. (62)

DESCRIPTION: Preferences of migrants for creating
new agricultural schemes.

NO.	VARIABLE	MIGRANTS OVERALL %	DISPLACED %	SPONTANEOUS %
1	On the White Nile	4	4	3
2	On the Blue Nile	1	1	1
3	On the Nile River near capital	-	1	5
4	On other places	1	2	1

N = 392

N = 250

N = 142

The percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

TABLE NO. (63)

DESCRIPTION: Preferences of migrants and professionals for
creating new agricultural schemes.

NO.	VARIABLE	Displaced %	Spont %	Migrant Overall %	Professional %
1	On the White Nile	4	3	4	44
2	On the Blue Nile	1	1	1	49
3	On the Nile River near capital	2	5	-	22
4	On other places	2	1	1	17

N=250

N=142

N=392

N=41

The percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice.

majority of both types of migrant are uninterested in such a move even if the authorities established new agricultural schemes.

Comparing the above responses with those from the professionals, Table (63) it is clear that there is a huge difference of options, professionals are generally in favour: 49% suggesting establishing new agricultural schemes on the Blue Nile, 44% on the White Nile, 22% on the Nile River and 17% in other places. As for those who suggested other places, some proposed schemes on virgin rainfed areas where land is suitable for mechanised agriculture and there is no tribal friction existing. Others reported that it is a suitable time to develop native areas of migrants because they used to oppose development programmes in the past.

Certainly, establishing new schemes in rural areas requires huge capital; "foreign and local currencies", which is very difficult to manage under the present circumstances. Moreover, it takes a long time to implement a single agricultural scheme, so the easiest and most feasible solution would seem to be to rehabilitate the arrivals in the capital, and to do this the government should seek other solutions as quickly as possible, in order to minimise or stem further migration.

4.5 PREFERENCES TO OLD AGRICULTURAL SCHEMES

The survey results (Table 54) show that only one percent in both groups of migrants supports a shift to old agricultural schemes, while 44% of professional participants agree to this solution. In Table (64), which is concerned with the professional sample, we noticed no significant differences

DESCRIPTION : Shift to established agricultural schemes.
 "Professional sample".

NO.	VARIABLE	PER CENT %
1	Gedarif agri. schemes	32
2	El Girba agri. schemes	32
3	El Rahad agri. schemes	31
4	El Suki agri. schemes	29
5	El Ginied agri. schemes	22
6	Gezira agri. schemes	20
7	Managil agri. schemes	20
8	Other projects	29

N = 18

Percentage does not add up to 100% because of multiple choice

between schemes which were suggested to rehabilitate migrants. But despite that, the top three schemes were Gedarif mechanised agricultural schemes, El Girba and El Rahad schemes respectively.

5. Summary

Giving due consideration to what has been discussed above, we could assert that there are significant differences between migrant and professional views according to the solutions discussed in the previous arguments. This fact becomes clear when ranking order of choices of all samples involved in this study:-

Rank order of choices of migrants (displaced and spontaneous) and professionals

Rehabilitation Solution	Displaced Ranking	Spont. Ranking	Proff Ranking
Assimilation in the city	4	5	1
Settlement and plots outside the city	5	4	2
Repatriation to origin home land	2	2	4
Resettlement in new agricultural schemes	2	2	5
Removal to old agricultural schemes	1	1	3

1 = least preferred. 5 = most preferred

The above table reveals the extent of conflicts between migrants and professionals and also shows no significant differences between the two types of migrants. Comparing the top three solutions of professionals with migrants overall, the

survey results reveal that the former preferred resettlement in new agricultural schemes, repatriation to native areas or removal to old schemes respectively. While the latter preferred assimilation in the city or to be awarded plots outside the city, rather than other solutions which received very small proportions. These findings explain the current conflicts between professionals and migrants which resulted in delaying the implementation of approved policy concerning displaced and spontaneous settlers. It is suggested that the professional views are unrealistic and not feasible because once people have left their original places, obtained a permanent source of income and have adapted to living in town, it is very difficult to remove them elsewhere. Accordingly, the best solution is to give migrants legal plots and leave them to improve dwellings over time "piecemeal". Of course, other solutions are useful to minimise or stem migration in the long term, particularly for those who are still living in rural areas, and it can help to attract some returnees for various different reasons to home-areas.

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CHAPTER (8)

CONCLUSIONS

This study had two main objectives. The first was to explain the demographic and socio-economic conditions of migration. The second was to examine the feasibility of suggested solutions for rehabilitation. The conclusion contains a summary of the study findings, the empirical and theoretical perspectives and the policy and framework of action and recommodation.

Study Findings

As for the first objective chapter 4 described migrants to Omdurman: most came from the West and Central Regions and the majority were fairly young, had only one wife and around 4 children. Overall, most had between five and nine family members. The vast majority of households earned more than 400 Sudanese Pounds monthly and felt that their income was often enough to meet their needs. The majority owned their own houses. As far as the migrants themselves are concerned the main problems are: illegality of settlements, lack of schools, health and other social services. By comparison, they were relatively unconcerned about the cost of living, police support, wages and unemployment.

The efforts in Chapter 5 were directed to explore the fundamental differences between displaced and spontaneous migrants. The results have shown that the majority of displaced migrants were originally nomads and most spontaneous migrants belonged to sedentary tribes. While both types of

migrant confirmed that they migrated for work, the detailed motives which stimulated each group to migrate differed. The investigation revealed that spontaneous migrants were more educated and more involved in full-time employment in the public and private sectors. The displaced migrants were more likely to be self-employed and to have more casually orientated jobs.

One notable finding was that a very small proportion of each type of migrant (3% and 4% respectively) were unemployed. Also it was confirmed that very few received help from other sources.

The main reasons for living in the present places were having no money to rent a house in the city, having no other place to go and hoping to acquire a legal plot of land. Spontaneous migrants were more likely to acquire a legal plot of land and they were more likely to receive help from relatives or friends in erecting and sometimes paying for the building. Spontaneous migrants were also more likely to make regular visits to their villages of origin. As for contacts with the host population, the majority of spontaneous respondents reported that they had good contacts, while only a small proportion of displaced migrants enjoyed such contacts. It is likely that this difference reflects differences between the two types in their cultural conservatism, displaced migrants being generally more conservative.

According to the interviewer's assessment, around half of household heads appeared to be in good health, but the living standards of most migrants were appalling.

The family case histories supplement the evidence available from the survey to provide a cumulative account of differences between the situation of displaced and spontaneous migrants. The interviewing revealed that parents and grandparents of spontaneous migrants experienced long-term movements in the past and tended to marry outsiders. By contrast, displaced migrants experienced short-term movement in the off season and tended to marry extended family members, particularly cousins. Spontaneous migrants, both men and women, were more likely to be literate and have completed some education beyond the village khalwa. Thus, in town they were more likely to be in the better paid and higher-skilled jobs. In terms of motives for migration, displaced migrants have moved to escape drought and famine while spontaneous tended to move in order to improve jobs and secure a better quality of life. The former moved as a group while the latter moved individually. In town, displaced migrants maintain exclusive social relationships with other displaced migrants in the same Hara or other Haras. By comparison, spontaneous migrants are more likely to develop social relations with other town dwellers.

In all these respects it is important to note that the above differences are relative rather than absolute.

In assessing the adjustment of migrants in Omdurman (Chapter 6) the study utilised the previous distinction between migrant types and lengths of stay in Omdurman. Four sub-groups were identified on the basis of hypothesised adjustment:

displaced migrants who had recently moved to town were regarded as the least adjusted, followed by the long-term displaced, recent spontaneous migrants and the fourth and most adjusted, long-term spontaneous migrants.

These predictions were broadly confirmed by the study. Taking contacts with native Omdurman residents as a measure of adjustment, the recently displaced had the lowest level of contacts while the long-term spontaneous had the most contacts.

Regarding the analysis of social ties with the home-village, it was found that the recent displaced maintained fewer social ties (in all respects) with home people in villages while long-term spontaneous migrants maintained the highest contacts.

As regards the second objective (Chapter 7), the study examined the five hypothesised solutions for rehabilitation. As far as the migrants were concerned the best two solutions were to be integrated in the city, or awarded legal plots of land outside the city. Other alternatives were rarely chosen. Distinguishing displaced from spontaneous migrants, the data showed displaced had similar responses to both solutions while 82% of spontaneous preferred integration in the city rather than legal plots outside the city (54%).

As for professionals, their favoured solutions were, in order, establishing new agricultural schemes, repatriating the migrants to native areas and removing them to old agricultural schemes.

The new schemes suggested by professionals were to be established on the Blue Nile, White Nile, River Nile and very

few suggested other places. As for repatriation, they preferred repatriation after establishing rural development projects, or after making new agricultural schemes. What is noticeable is that only 2% supported moving before the establishment of any schemes. As regards removing to old schemes, the data showed no significant differences between schemes suggested for rehabilitation. But the top three were Gedarif rain-fed mechanised agricultural schemes, El Girba and El Rahad irrigated schemes respectively.

The Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives

In the following, we discuss the findings of the first objective in relation to similar empirical studies and relevant social theories concerning rural-urban migration, and in the next section we discuss the findings of the rehabilitation solution in the light of the policies for a framework of settlement.

The following argument is confined to some major concepts used in rural-urban migration studies and main social theories, which explain the process of social change in new urban settings. The concepts include push factors, selectivity, marginality, present conditions of migrants, rural-urban link, and adjustment to the new area.

It is very important to note that the present findings confirm what has been found in a number of previous expert studies. The survey demonstrates that while the main push factors are economic, the spontaneous migrants moved for jobs and to improve their quality of life, whereas the displaced

fled from famine to survive. Both types of migrant created large scale socio-economic and political problems in the receiving and affected areas. As for selectivity of migration, the findings showed that the majority of informants tended to be young in age. Spontaneous migrants were more likely to migrate individually, to be literate and become involved in the best paid jobs, while displaced migrants were less likely to do these things. These findings were only to some extent anticipated by previous research. For example, it is widely believed that among migrants arriving in urban centres, the only selective factor seems to be that of age. The present research shows this not to be the case and it confirms the proposition of education as one of the major selective factors (Butterworth 1981).

The literature concerning present socio-economic conditions of migrants in urban centres contains contradictory views. On the one hand, squatters are seen as parasitical and marginal to the economic life of the city, and on the other they are seen as fairly integral. The findings of this study supported the second view and the results obtained from participants show that the vast majority earn more than 400 Sudanese pounds per month and report incomes enough to match subsistence needs. Although the majority of displaced, and considerable numbers of spontaneous migrants are involved in lower paid jobs, the survey found that 93% of participants owned their present houses, in illegal places, and were often self-dependent or helped by some relatives or friends. Very few paid for building work.

Having said that, the present places lack infrastructure, transportation and social services and properties are very poor and basically traditional. The empirical studies carried out in different countries of the developing world used different concepts to define such settlements: viz., spontaneous settlements, squatter settlements, unauthorised settlements, unplanned settlements etc.. Gilbert and Gugler (1982) pointed out that any definition of such settlements falls normally into two or more of the following; settlements built by families, suffering from a degree of illegality, places suffering from lack of infrastructure and social services, and settlements occupied by the urban poor. They added that these definitions which are neither tight nor concise could eliminate most non-spontaneous settlement forms.

As for social relationships with home, the results contradict stereotyped notions that recent migrants often have strong social relationships with home-people. This is to a large extent true in cases of normal rural-urban migration, but those pushed by natural causes or armed conflict maintain less contact with relations because, in most cases, they all moved out together. Concluding this section, we intend to locate the present findings in the context of the main macrocosmic theories of social change in urban centres. Historically, the most powerful typology of social change has been presented by Tonnies when he argued that change, from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* constituted the fundamental process of change in society. Other social scientists had similar notions. Durkhiem

used the term "mechanical solidarity" and "organic solidarity" to specify the main direction of change and Maine, Weber, Becker and Parsons used similar concepts. These concepts are helpful in specifying the major direction of change in migrants to Omdurman.

Children among both types of migrants adjusted with relative ease, but among elders, those who migrated spontaneously were more likely to adjust more quickly than those who had been displaced. However, even among the spontaneous migrants, there are often ambivalent feelings. Some people move to towns and still remain indebted to home-people and remain loyal to rural areas, in spite of living in town for their whole life-time. Therefore the researcher suggests a spectrum which includes three types of rural-urban migration. First, a minority who remain rustic and carry the feeling of community in exile. Second, a majority who have ambivalent attitudes towards both home-people and urban residents, and third, a minority who become involved in urban life and ignore rural behaviour and traditions. It is suggested that this spectrum represents migrants' groups in Sudan, and to a lesser extent, rural-urban migrants in most African countries.

Policy Framework of Settlements

One of the most significant findings to have emerged from this study is in relation to the solutions to the problem. The professionals are more likely to support national or regional development while migrants advocate local solutions. The professionals want the migrant to move away, the migrant wants

to stay put.

This fundamental difference poses two questions. First, how does the government limit or stem migration from rural to urban centres? Second, what can it do to rehabilitate those who are living in the peripheries of town?

As for the first question, the government policy is directed to keep migrants in their original places. Where this is impossible it wants to establish resettlement centres near large cities and to provide them with food rather than basic facilities, infrastructure and suitable rural development projects. The consequences of such policies increased the numbers of migrants to the national capital and other large cities. Because of a stagnant economy, there are limited jobs and income opportunities.

As regards the second question, the government is under constant pressure from migrants to legalise land holdings for spontaneous migrants and to remove displaced migrants to an absorption site suggested for this purpose. All the evidence collected in this thesis supports such a dual strategy. The life situation and circumstances of spontaneous migrants are different from the life situation and circumstances of displaced migrants. Most important of all, they have different orientations to their present locations; spontaneous migrants being more positively oriented. Legalisation of their plots would stabilise their situation and further increase their integration into the social structure. The same cannot be said of displaced migrants, whose commitment to their present locations is much weaker. They could only benefit from movement to planned and prepared sites.

The experience of many countries (Chapter 2) has shown that policies of site servicing and upgrading have to be combined with a policy of rural development.

Rehabilitation is a multi-dimensional process which requires macro and micro-scale strategies. The first must be based on integrated rural development packages and the second must aim to rehabilitate migrants in a humanitarian manner. The first must attempt to slow down the growth of cities while the latter must attempt to resettle the migrants who have arrived in cities. To achieve these goals a comprehensive framework is necessary to guide rehabilitation. Also other issues associated with such a framework must be solved; i.e. Land ownership, provision of low cost construction materials, besides using natural and human resources and encouraging people to participate affectively in the task of providing their shelter (Mohogunje 1978). The Habitat Conference on housing provisions (Hardoy 1989) encouraged developing countries to adopt national, regional and local policies. It recommended that governments establish national settlement policies responsible for formalising and implementation of shelter provision, which would be integrated with a national socio-economic development plan. Land management should be subject to public surveillance and provide adequate shelter, infrastructure and social services.

Thus the framework policy must be broader, must encompass both rural and urban sectors and make them grow in harmony

(OECD 1984).

Macro - Scale Policy

At national level, regional equity is regarded as a desirable goal. This often takes the form of an anti-urbanisation policy to halt rural exodus and to concentrate on developing agriculture and giving villages priority in socio-economic development (UNDESA 1984). Others call for establishing growth centres. Of course rural development can help to disperse population overall but it must not be considered separately from urban development. Therefore the balance between rural and urban centres is desperately needed, since a dichotomy between rural and urban development is not feasible in practice (Gulati 1985, OFECD 1984).

The Sudan shows that the investment in agriculture was mainly concentrated along the Blue Nile, White Nile and Nile River, and industries, administrations, commerce and education and other facilities are mainly found in the capital or very few major cities. It is common knowledge that natural and human resources must be integrated in any developmental plan. This means that planning based on economic, social and environmental considerations represents the essential components in any national socio-economic plan. Thus agricultural activities, animal production, forest department and pasture sectors must be integrated. According to the researcher's experience these sectors lack coordination and there is almost out right hostility between professionals which has resulted in the deteriorating of the natural

environment. What the government needs urgently is a comprehensive management body for all natural resource sectors.

Micro-Scale Policy

This policy should be focused on relocating migrants in the capital and other large cities and assistance with necessary social services, infrastructure and provision of vocational training in the urban centres. What is necessary is the "Transit-training-cum-employment camp" (Ramachandran 1972).

Framework of Action and Policy Recommendation.

Giving consideration to what has been discussed previously the following framework of action is an endeavour towards an integrated formal action. These recommendations if accepted may help to minimise numbers of migrants to large cities and help to accommodate those who are living in towns. Apparently, migrants' problems demand comprehensive co-ordination among all bodies involved. Therefore the following recommendations are directed at national, regional and local strategies in order to formulate precise policy to suite present and future needs.

National/Regional Strategy

1. At national and regional levels the strategy should be directed to reduce economic and social disparities between urban and rural areas. This is likely to be achieved through adopting decentralisation or regional developments and encouraging the private sector to move to rural areas, particularly in the field of small projects and manufacturing.
2. The government must establish as a matter of urgency a "Ministry of Migration Affairs" responsible for policy co-ordination, planning, and programmes to cover all activities

relating to migrants. This will include developing general policy regarding migrants' problems, undertaking research studies to enumerate migrants, adopting a national settlement plan for both rural and urban areas and approving national and international organisation programmes concerning human and natural resources mobilisation. The suggested ministry should include all relevant government departments, viz. Commission of Refugees, Commission of Relief and Rehabilitation, Commission of Displaced, Executive Body for Squatter Treatment and Department of Emigrants' Affairs. There should be positive co-ordination with other ministries such as the Ministry of Housing, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of National Resources, local government, Finance and Economic Planning and the National Capital Commission.

3. Efforts should be directed to establishing a ministry for natural resources and a national resources council. This ministry would have responsibility for environmental policy. The executive body would include the department of animal production, pasture, forest department, soil conservation and desertification unit and other related sections in different ministries. It would collaborate with the Ministry of Agriculture. The main objective would be to ensure balanced development at national and regional levels.

4. The government should intervene positively and make radical changes in the land ownership laws of 1930, and re-examine inheritance land rights and the speculation system.

5. The state should use all possible means to develop paved

roads, infrastructure and improve basic services in both rural and urban areas and to stimulate public participation through a self-help campaign.

6. Efforts should be directed to making building material more readily available and to encourage the use of natural materials by poor residents and of improvements through natural technology.

Local Strategy

Since the financial resources and trained cadre are not currently available to undertake large-scale programmes, the government must adopt a community development approach and seek help from international organisations. The main aims of such programmes should be focused on the following:-

1. Rehabilitation of migrants who are living in the capital in favourable locations in the outskirts provided with the necessary infrastructure, social services and vocational training.
2. Government should use all possible means to stop luxurious buildings in the peripheries which are established mainly on agricultural land owned or inherited by city dwellers.
3. Revise town land laws to reduce the misuse of land which exists at present.
4. Re-examine the present system of classifying land to first, second and third class. Obviously, the first two classes are mainly directed to accommodate the middle and upper class in the public and private sectors, whereas the majority of beneficiaries have not enough surplus income to build houses in appropriate materials. As a result they often sell lots to

speculators and buy land in third class areas. The appropriate solution would be to award instead flats in inner city areas (high buildings) designed for this purpose, co-financed between government and international aid. Most are qualified to pay instalments instead of paying rent to landlords. This of course minimises the expansion of the capital and eases the provision of basic facilities in addition to other benefits.

At the same time, government could sell these areas of auction, and many residents (rich and emigrants) could pay the prices asked. This might reduce present prices and the money obtained help to establish new tenements. As regards the urban poor, they could build their lots in third class areas according to the present system; that is from mud or whatever natural resources which are available.

Finally, it is clear from the above argument that the proposals for slowing down migration and rehabilitating migrants demands a comprehensive programme. Moreover, with its limited resources the government cannot solve all the problems of migrants without international assistance; viz. World Bank, IDA, Overseas Development Administration etc. What has been observed in Sudan is that most of these organisations concentrated their activities on providing foodstuffs rather than infrastructure, social services and vocational training in both rural and urban centres. This has resulted in a dependence on food aid, while food production and the national economy has deteriorated. Therefore policy must be changed to

participate in investment in larger-scale programmes and community development.

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Migrants and their Rehabilitation
A Case Study of Omdurman
Sudan

Migrants' Questionnaire

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Questionnaire

Migrants and their Rehabilitation A Case Study of Omdurman Sudan

This questionnaire is designed to describe the socio-economic problems of migrants and the appropriateness of solutions to their current situation.

Type of migration:

Location:

Name of interviewer:

Date of interviewing:

Date of revision:

No.

--	--	--

Questions

Please indicate by check (✓) the appropriate alternative:

Section One: Personal information:

(1) From which province did you come?

- 1 - North Kordofan _____
- 2 - South Kordofan _____
- 3 - North Darfur _____
- 4 - South Darfur _____
- 5 - White Nile _____
- 6 - Blue Nile _____
- 7 - Grezira _____
- 8 - Nile province _____
- 9 - North province _____
- 10 - Kassala _____
- 11 - Red Sea _____
- 12 - Southern Region _____

(2) What is your tribe?

- 1 - Kababish _____
- 2 - Dar Hamid _____
- 3 - Zaghawa _____
- 4 - Hawawir _____
- 5 - Gamoyia _____
- 6 - Gawama _____
- 7 - Kowahla _____
- 8 - _____
- 9 - _____
- 10 - _____
- 11 - _____
- 12 - Other : _____

Section 2 : Social perspective = opinions, family solidarity
Interrelationship and attitudes =

- (1) What do you think of the work of women and young girls as sellers of food, tea, coffee and as domestic servants?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1 - Women as sellers of food, tea and coffee	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2 - Women as domestic servants	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3 - Young girls as sellers of food, tea, coffee	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4 - Young girls as domestic servants	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

- (2) Do you get financial assistance or foodstuffs from your household members, relatives, friends, Executive Council or Relief Aid organisation? Please check (✓) all that apply :

	Always 4	Often 3	Sometimes 2	Seldom 1	Never 0
1 - Wife/Wives	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2 - Adults	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3 - Young girls	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4 - Children	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5 - Elders	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6 - Friends	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7 - Relatives	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8 - Executive Council	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9 - Relief Aid Organisation	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

10. Other :

Questions to D.S. :

(3) Do you have some friends or relatives in S.S.?

1 - Yes _____ 2 - No _____

(4) Do you think some of the residents have moved to S.S.?

1 - Yes _____ 2 - No _____

If the answer is Yes ask (5)

(5) What are the important reasons for their moving?

Please check (✓) all that apply :

	Very Important	Import- tant	Neutral	Unimp- ortant	Irre- levant
1 - To join relatives	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2 - To join friends	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3 - They bought plots of land	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4 - To be near the relatives	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5 - To be near tribe people	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

6 - Other :

Questions to S.S. :

(6) Do you have some friends or relatives in S.S.?

1 - Yes _____ 2 - No _____

(7) Do you think some of the residents have moved to S.S.?

1 - Yes _____ 2 - No _____

If the answer is Yes ask (8)

(8) What are the important reasons for their moving?

Please check (✓) all that apply :

	Very Important	Import- tant	Neutral	Unimp- ortant	Irre- levant
1 - To obtain assist- ance from Relief Aids Organisation.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2 - To obtain assist- ance from Executive Council	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3 - To obtain a plot of land.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4 - To join relatives or friends	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5 - To be with natives	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6 - Because it is safe	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7 - Other:					

Section 3 : Economic Conditions :

(a) Occupation :

(1) What is your job?

- 1 - Employed _____
- 2 - Self-employed _____
- 3 - Part-time employed _____
- 4 - Unemployed _____

If answer is 1- 2- or 3- ask (2)

(2) What is your kind of job?

- 1 - In the public Service _____
- 2 - Soldier _____
- 3 - Policeman _____
- 4 - Craftsman _____

(2) Contd.

- 5 - Tea and coffee seller _____
- 6 - Food Seller _____
- 7 - Street Vendor _____
- 8 - Catering Service _____
- 9 - Car/Truck Driver _____
- 10 - Trader _____
- 11 - Farm-Labour _____
- 12 - Domestic Servant _____
- 13 - Other :- _____

(b) Incomes

(3) What is your monthly wage? (Sudanese pounds)

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 - Less than 100 _____ | 2 - 100 - 200 _____ |
| 3 - 200 - 300 _____ | 4 - 300 - 400 _____ |
| 5 - 400 - 500 _____ | 6 - 500 - 600 _____ |
| 7 - More than 600 _____ | |

(4) Is your income usually sufficient to sustain the family?

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1 - Always _____ | 2 - Often _____ | 3 - Sometimes _____ |
| 4 - Seldom _____ | 5 - Never _____ | |

(5) Do you save some money from your monthly income?

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 - None _____ | 2 - Less than $\frac{1}{4}$ _____ |
| 3 - $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ _____ | 4 - $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$ _____ |
| 5 - $\frac{3}{4}$ - All _____ | 6 - All _____ |

Section 4 : Education

(1) Did you attend school before?

- | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| 1 - Illiterate | _____ | 2 - Khalwa | _____ |
| 3 - Primary School | _____ | 4 - Intermediate School | _____ |
| 5 - Secondary School | _____ | 6 - Polytechnic | _____ |
| 7 - University | _____ | | |

Section 5 : Migration

(1) When did you come to Omdurman?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| 1 - Less than five years | _____ | 2 - 5 - 9 | _____ |
| 3 - 10 - 14 | _____ | 4 - 15 - 19 | _____ |
| 5 - More than 20 | _____ | | |

(2) What are the most important reasons that pushed you to migrate to Omdurman? Please check (✓) all that apply:

	Very Important	Important	Neutral	Unimportant	Irrelevant
1 - To obtain job	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2 - Lack of food at home	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3 - Drought	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4 - To join relatives/ friends	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5 - Usually come to sell animal	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6 - To be near the authorities	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7 - Lack of Services	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8 - Other :	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

(3) With whom did you come?

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|
| 1 - Alone | _____ | 2 - With friend | _____ |
| 3 - With relative | _____ | 4 - Family | _____ |
| 5 - Others : | _____ | | |

(4) Did you have some relatives or friends before your arrival?

- | | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| 1 - Yes | _____ | 2 - No | _____ |
|---------|-------|--------|-------|

If he answers Yes ask (5)

(5) Do you receive some help from relatives/friends?

- | | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| 1 - Yes | _____ | 2 - No | _____ |
|---------|-------|--------|-------|

If he answers Yes ask (6)

(6) What kind of help? Please check (✓) all that apply:

- | | |
|--------------------|-------|
| 1 - To find job | _____ |
| 2 - Financial help | _____ |
| 3 - Accommodation | _____ |

Section 6 : Rural-Urban links

(1) Have you visited your village since you arrived?

- | | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| 1 - Yes | _____ | 2 - No | _____ |
|---------|-------|--------|-------|

If Yes ask 2, 3.

If No ask 4.

(2) How many times did you visit your village?

- | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|-------|
| 1 - Once | _____ | 2 - Twice | _____ | 3 - Thrice | _____ |
| 4 - Fourth | _____ | 5 - Fifth | _____ | 6 - More | _____ |

3) Do you often take presents with you when you visit your village?

- 1 - Always _____ 2 - Often _____
 3 - Sometimes _____ 4 - Seldom _____
 5 - Never _____

4) What are the most important reasons that prevented you from visiting your village? Please check (✓) all that apply.

	Very Important	Important	Neutral	Unimportant	Irrelevant
1 - Dislike the village life	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2 - Have family problems	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3 - Have no time to go	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4 - Have not enough money	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5 - Refusal	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6 - Other :	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

(5) Do you usually send some money to your family or relatives?

- 1 - Always _____ 2 - Often _____
 3 - Sometimes _____ 4 - Seldom _____
 5 - Never _____

(6) Have you helped some relatives or friends who arrived at Omdurman?

- 1 - Yes _____ 2 - No _____

If the answer is Yes ask (7)

(7) What kind of help? (Please check (✓) all that apply.)

- 1 - To gain job _____
2 - Financially _____
3 - Accommodation _____

Section 7 : Adaptation and Assimilation

(1) What do you think of town life?

- 1 - Fine _____ 2 - Easy _____
3 - Delicate _____ 4 - Difficult _____
5 - Bad _____ 6 - Other _____

(2) What is your contact with Omdurman's citizens?

- 1 - Excellent _____ 2 - Good _____
3 - Sometimes difficult _____ 4 - Always difficult _____
5 - Non-existent _____

(3) Do you notice some changes in your family behaviour after coming to Omdurman?

- 1 - Yes _____ 2 - No _____

If Yes we ask (4) and (5).

(4) What are the most important changes? Please check (✓) all that apply.

	Very Important	Important	Neutral	Unimportant	Irrelevant
1 - Imitate urban style of life	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2 - Did not respect the previous traditions and customs	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3 - Learn new job skills	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Contd/...

(4) Contd.

	Very Important	Important	Neutral	Unimportant	Irrelevant
4 - Acquire new customs and traditions	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5 - Do not obey your advice	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6 - Very clean in clothes and body	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7 - Knew new style of cooking	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

8 - Other:

(5) Did you take any action to stop these changes?

- | | | | |
|--------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| 1 - No action | _____ | 2 - Encourage them | _____ |
| 3 - Advised them | _____ | 4 - Warned them | _____ |
| 5 - Punished them | _____ | | |
| 6 - Other (state): | | | |

Section 8 : Housing

(1) Why do you live here?

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|
| 1 - Have no money to rent in the city | _____ |
| 2 - Have no other place to go | _____ |
| 3 - To acquire a plot of land | _____ |
| 4 - Bought a plot of land | _____ |
| 5 - The place close to work | _____ |
| 6 - Other (state): | |

(2) Do you like living here?

1 - Yes _____

2 - No _____

If Yes ask (3)

If No ask (4)

(3) What do you like about living here? Please check (✓) all that apply.

1 - The residents from native areas _____

2 - The residents from the same tribe _____

3 - You have some friends _____

4 - You have some relatives _____

5 - Availability of Social Services _____

6 - Availability of transportation _____

7 - Other (state) : _____

(4) What do you dislike about living here? Please check (✓) all that apply.

1 - The residents are not from native area _____

2 - The residents are not from the same tribe _____

3 - You have no friends or relatives _____

4 - There ~~are~~ no Social Services _____

5 - There is no trnasportation _____

6 - Other (state) : _____

(5) How long ^{have you been} in this place?

1 - Less than five years _____ 2 - 5 - 9 _____

3 - 10 - 14 _____ 4 - 15 - 19 _____

5 - More than 20 _____

(6) Do you apply to own a plot of land?

1 - Yes _____ 2 - No _____

If Yes ask (7), (8), (9). If No shift to Section 9.

(7) What is the result of your application?

1 - Approved _____ 2 - Rejected _____

3 - Still Waiting
the decision _____ 4 - Other: _____

(8) If you are awarded a plot of land will you move?

1 - Yes _____ 2 - No _____

If No ask (9)

(9) Why you will not move?

1 - You have no money to build it _____

2 - You owned a good house now _____

3 - If the plot is far from the City _____

4 - If there is no transportation _____

5 - If there is no Social Services _____

6 - Other (state): _____

Section 9 : The Dwelling

(1) Do you own any plot of land now?

1 - Yes _____ 2 - No _____

If Yes ask (2).

(2) How did you acquire this plot?

- 1 - Bought it from seller _____
- 2 - Occupied the land _____
- 3 - Grant from relative _____
- 4 - Grant from friend _____
- 5 - Grant from the authorities _____
- 6 - Other (state): _____

(3) Do you own this house?

- 1 - Yes _____
- 2 - No _____

If No ask (4)

(4) What is the situation of your residence?

- 1 - Owned-shared with others _____
- 2 - Renting tenant _____
- 3 - Other (state): _____

If the house Owned or
Owned-shared ask (5).

(5) How did you build the house?

- 1 - Self-help _____
- 2 - With the assistance of relatives _____
- 3 - With the assistance of friends _____
- 4 - Pay for building _____
- 5 - Other (state) : _____

Section 10 : The Amenities (Water Supply and Cooking)

(1) How do you obtain water?

- 1 - Piped water private _____
- 2 - Public underground well _____
- 3 - Public fountain _____
- 4 - Public water trucks _____
- 5 - Traders water trucks _____
- 6 - Other (state): _____

(2) Do you pay for the water?

- 1 - Yes _____ 2 - No _____

If Yes ask (3)

(3) Do you feel that it is:

- 1 - Very expensive _____ 2 - Expensive _____
- 3 - About right _____ 4 - Cheap _____
- 5 - Very cheap _____

(4) Where do you usually cook your food? Please check (✓) all that apply.

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
1 - In the kitchen	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2 - Inside the rooms	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3 - In the open space inside the house	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4 - In the open space outside the house	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5 - Inside the tent	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6 - In the open space outside the tent	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7 - Other	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Section 11 : Health

(1) How do you rate your health?

1 - Excellent _____ 2 - Good _____ 3 - Poor _____

4 - Very poor _____

If Poor or Very poor ask (2)

(2) What is the problem? _____

Section 12 : Perception of Socio-economic Problems

(1) What are the most important problems you want the authorities to solve immediately? Please check (✓) all that apply.

	Very Important	Important	Neutral	Unimportant	Irrelevant
1 - Housing	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2 - Unemployment	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3 - Child Education	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4 - Social Services	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5 - Cost of living	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6 - Wages	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7 - Health Services	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8 - Police support	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9 - Other (state):	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Section 13 : Alternative Solutions (Rehabilitation) preference of solutions and rehabilitation options

(1) Please select the best two solutions from the following:

- (a) Assimilation in the City. _____
- (b) Plots of land outside the City _____
- (c) Shift to established agricultural schemes _____
- (d) Establishing new agricultural schemes _____
- (e) Repatriation to native area _____

(2) Please specify your options from the following? Please check (✓) all that apply.

(a) Assimilation in the City

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1 - Place of destination	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2 - North Omdurman	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3 - South Omdurman	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4 - West Omdurman	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5 - Other : What new suggestions do you have? Please discuss below.					

(b) Plots outside the city

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1 - Housing planners site	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2 - Housing planners site supplied with all services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3 - New site supplied with all services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4 - Other: What new suggestions do you have? Please discuss below.					

(2) Contd.

(c) Shift to established agriculture schemes

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1 - Gezira	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2 - Managil	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3 - El Rehad	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4 - Gadarif	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5 - Suki	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6 - Girba	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7 - Genade	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8 - Sugar Schemes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

9 - Other : Please clarify your new suggestions below.

(d) New agricultural schemes

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1 - On the Nile near the Capital	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2 - On White Nile	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3 - On Blue Nile	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

4 - Other: Please specify your new suggestions and discuss it below.

(2) Contd.

(e) Repatriation to native areas

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1 - Move after estab- lishing rural development projects (package)	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
2 - After establishing agriculture schemes	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
3 - Before establishing agriculture schemes					

4 - Others: What new suggestions do you have? Please discuss below.

INTERVIEWER

Section 14: Ratings before leaving

(1) Please give your rating of the following:

	Excellent	Good	Poor	Very Poor	Irrel- evant
1 - The condition of the house	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
2 - The condition of the furniture	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
3 - The condition of the amenities	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
4 - General health of household					

(2) Considering all aspects of this household (dress, food, furniture etc.) specify level of modernity.

- 1 - Very traditional _____
- 2 - Traditional _____
- 3 - Neutral _____
- 4 - Modernistic _____
- 5 - Very modernistic _____

Thank you very much for your help and co-operation.

Migrants and their Rehabilitation
A Case Study of Omdurman
Sudan

Professional Questionnaire

Contents:

- Section One : General Information
- Section Two : The Roles of Government and Political Parties.
- Section Three: The Role of International Relief Aid Organizations.
- Section Four : The Role of Media.
- Section Five : Perception of Socio-economic Problems of Migrants.
- Section Six : The Alternative Solutions (Rehabilitation Suggestions).

Introduction

This questionnaire is designed for you to describe the socio-economic problems of migrants and appropriateness of solutions to their current situation.

Notice

The completed questionnaire will ^{be} processed automatically by equipment which summarizes the answers in statistical form so that individuals cannot be identified. To maintain this complete confidentiality, please do not write your name anywhere on the questionnaire.

Ministry : _____

No.

Department: _____

Occupation: _____

Speciality: _____

Degree : _____

Date of Revision : _____

Date of calling Back: _____

Questions

Please answer the following questions by check (✓) or explain your views or both where applicable.

Section One: General Information

(1) From which region do most of the migrants come?

- | | |
|-------------------|----------|
| 1- North Region | 1- _____ |
| 2- South Region | 2- _____ |
| 3- West Region | 3- _____ |
| 4- East Region | 4- _____ |
| 5- Central Region | 5- _____ |
| 6- From abroad | 6- _____ |

(2) When did most of the migrants come to Omdurman?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| 1- Less than five years | _____ |
| 2- (5 - 9) years | _____ |
| 3- (10 - 14) years | _____ |
| 4- (15 - 19) years | _____ |
| 5- more than 20 years | _____ |

(3) What were the most important reasons for migration?

Please check (✓) all that apply:

	Very Important	Important	Neutral	Unimportant	Irrelevant
1/ To obtain Jobs	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2/ Lack of food	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3/ Lack of seivices	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4/ Drought	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5/ To join relatives and friends	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6/ To join ethnic tribes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7/ To be near the authorities	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8/ Inequality in the distribution of national wealth	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9/ Injustice in distributing development projects	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

10/ Other, please specify below:

(4) Do you believe that the local community has gained any benefits from the migrants?

1- Yes _____ 2- No _____

If Yes answer (5)

If No answer (6)

(5) To what extent have different parts of the local community benefited from migrants? Please check (✓) all that apply

	<u>Very great</u>	<u>Great</u>	<u>Some extent</u>	<u>Little extent</u>	<u>Very little</u>
1/ Working in industries	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2/ " in building schemes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3/ " as craftsmen	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4/ " as guards/watchman	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5/ " as domestic servants	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6/ " as Shepherds	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7/ " in catering services	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8/ " as street venders	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9/ " as shopkeepers	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

10/ Others, please specify below:

(6) Why do you believe that the local community have not gained any benefits from migrants? Please check (✓) all that apply

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Unimpor- tant</u>	<u>irre- levant</u>
1/ Compete with citizens for scarce jobs.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2/ Increase demand for consumer goods	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3/ Decrease Wages of labour	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4/ Heavy burden on services	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5/ Carried new diseases	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6/ Create security problem	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7/ Make the city scene disgusting.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8/ Make the markets un- organized	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

9/ Others, please clarify below:

(7) Is there any contact between the migrants and Omdurman citizens?

1- Yes _____ 2- No _____

If Yes answer (8)

If No answer (9)

(8) To what degree of strength is the contact between the migrants and Omdurman citizens?

1- Very strong 2- Strong 3- Neutral 4- Weak 5- Very weak

(9) Why do you think there is no contact between the migrants and Omdurman citizens? Please Check () all that apply.

a) Regarding migrants:

- 1- They are very cautious to involve in urban life. 1- _____
- 2- They suspect the citizens unacceptance. 2- _____
- 3- They dislike urban life. 3- _____
- 4- Others, please explain below:

b) Regarding Omdurman citizens:

- 1- The general Hygiene and appearance of migrants are disgusting. 1- _____
- 2- The behaviour of migrants is unacceptable. 2- _____
- 3- They regard the migrants as criminals 3- _____
- 4- They regard the migrants as a cause of shortages in goods, foodstuffs and services. 4- _____
- 5- They believe that the migrants are carrying transferable diseases. 5- _____
- 6- Others, please specify below:

Section two: The Role of government and political Parties

(A) **The Role of government:**

(1) Has the government any national settlement policy?

1- Yes _____ 2- No _____

If Yes answer (2)

If No answer (3)

(2) What are the contents of the national settlement policy?

Please check () all that apply.

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1- The formulation and implementation of master plans | 1- _____ |
| 2- Integration with national socio-economic development plans | 2- _____ |
| 3- The provision of high quality houses | 3- _____ |
| 4- The legalization of land holdings | 4- _____ |
| 5- Others, please clarify below | |

(3) Why do you believe the government has not any national settlement policy? Please check () all that apply.

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 1- The government has not yet faced the urban land problems. | 1- _____ |
| 2- There is no explicit policy towards resettlement. | 2- _____ |
| 3- The government is reluctant to intervene in the land ownership. | 3- _____ |
| 4- The policy-makers are biased against the migrants. | 4- _____ |
| 5- Others, please mention below: | |

(4) Have the government taken any decision to solve the migrants problems?

1- Yes _____ 2- No _____

If Yes answer (5)

If No answer (6)

(5) What are the contents of that decision? Please check () all that apply.

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1- legalizing the migrants land holdings. | 1- _____ |
| 2- Supplying the migrants with foodstuffs, clothes, etc. | 2- _____ |
| 3- Supplying the migrants with social services. | 3- _____ |
| 4- Establishment of new administration to tackle the problem. | 4- _____ |
| 5- Suggesting new settlement sites outside the city. | 5- _____ |
| 6- Keeping them where they are living. | 6- _____ |
| 7- Others, please discuss below: | |

(6) Why has the government not taken any decision to solve the migrants' problems. Please check (✓) all that apply.

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 1- The government has not got any clear policy. | 1- _____ |
| 2- The government has not got the statistical data explaining the bulk of the problem. | 2- _____ |
| 3- The government is not interested in solving the migrants' problem. | 3- _____ |
| 4- Others, please specify below: | |

(B) **The Role of the Political Parties:**

(1) Which of the political parties has policies for solving the migrants' problems? Please check all that apply.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| 1- Umma National Party | 1- _____ |
| 2- Union Democrat Party | 2- _____ |
| 3- Islamic National Front. | 3- _____ |
| 4- Communist Party. | 4- _____ |
| 5- Baa's Arabic Social Party. | 5- _____ |
| 6- Sudanese National Party. | 6- _____ |
| 7- Southern Region Parties. | 7- _____ |
| 8- None | 8- _____ |
| 9- Others, please mention below: | |

If Any of the parties has got policies answer (2).

If None answer (3).

(2) What are the contents of those policies?

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 1- Legalizing the migrants' land holdings. | 1- _____ |
| 2- Assimilation in the city. | 2- _____ |
| 3- New sites outside the city. | 3- _____ |
| 4- Rehabilitation in the established or
new agricultural schemes. | 4- _____ |
| 5- Repatriation to native areas. | 5- _____ |
| 6- Others, please discuss below: | |

(3) Why do you believe that the political parties ^{have} no policies to solve the migrants' problems? Please check (✓) all that apply.

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1- They want to keep them where they are for the benefit
of their votes. | 1- _____ |
| 2- They are not interested in such a problem. | 2- _____ |
| 3- They are looking at the problem as an ordinary problem. | 3- _____ |
| 4- They have not got statistical data about the migrants. | 4- _____ |
| 5- Others, please specify below: | |

Section Three: The Role of International Relief Aid Organizations

(1) Do you believe the international relief aid organizations participate in solving the migrants problems?

1- Yes _____ 2- No _____

If Yes answer (2), (3) and (4).
If No move to Section Four.

(2) In what arenas do you believe the international relief aid organizations participate? Please check ~~X~~() all that apply.

- 1- Supplying the migrants with food and clothes. 1- _____
- 2- Supplying the migrants with medicine and treatment. 2- _____
- 3- Supplying with tents and blankets. 3- _____
- 4- Others, please specify below:

(3) Do you think that all international relief aid organizations can do is to eliminate the deprivation of migrants?

1- Yes _____ 2- No _____

If No answer (4)

(4) In what other fields do you think international relief aid organizations can help? Please check all that apply.

- 1- In rehabilitation programmes. 1- _____
- 2- In rural development projects. 2- _____

- 3- Encourage the experts to carry out scientific researches. 3- _____
- 4- Funding or implementing the proposed projects. 4- _____
- 5- Supplying equipment, material and experience. 5- _____
- 6- Others, please discuss below:

Section Four: The Role of the Media

- (1) Do you believe the media have accurately reflected the migrants' problems?

1- Yes _____ 2- No _____

If Yes answer (2)

If No answer (4)

- (2) To which of the following do you think the media have reflected the migrants' problems? Please check () all that apply.

- 1- To national public opinion. 1- _____
- 2- To the authorities. 2- _____
- 3- To international agencies. 3- _____
- 4- To international governments. 4- _____
- 5- To international public opinion. 5- _____
- 6- Others, please specify below:

- (3) To what extent do you think the media have accurately reflected the migrants' problems.

1- Very great 2- Great 3- Some extent 4- Little 5- Very little

- (4) Why do you think the media ^{have} not accurately reflected the migrants problem? Please check (✓) all that apply.

- 1- The government ^{is} reluctance to announce the problem. 1- _____
- 2- The government has not clear strategy to solve the problems. 2- _____

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 3- The administrators do not initiate steps towards solving the problem. | 3- _____ |
| 4- Shortage of media technicians. | 4- _____ |
| 5- Lack of media equipment. | 5- _____ |
| 6- Shortage of media employees | 6- _____ |
| 7- The media officials are not interested in the migrants' problems. | 7- _____ |
| 8- Others, please mention below: | |

Section Five: Perception of Socio-economic Problems of Migrants

(1) What do you think are the most important problems confronting the migrants of Ondurman? Check all that apply.

	<u>Very</u> <u>important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>	<u>Irrelevant</u>
1- Housing	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2- Unemployment	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3- Child education	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4- Social services	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5- Cost of living	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6- Wages	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7- Health services	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8- Police support	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9- Others, please specify below.					

Section Six The Alternative Solutions (Rehabilitation Suggestions)

We hypothesized below alternative solutions for both types of migrants in the camps and spontaneous settlements which have been relocated in Ondurman. We are seeking the best solutions to their current situation. We are suggesting below alternative solutions and options, we would like you to select the best two solutions and the applicable options. Please mention any new suggestions or ideas below each solution you have chosen.

(1) Please select the best two solutions from the following:

- (a) Assimilation of the migrants in the city. (a) _____
- (b) supply them with plots of land outside the city. (b) _____
- (c) Remove them to established agricultural schemes. (c) _____
- (d) Establishing new agricultural schemes. (d) _____
- (e) Repatriation to native areas. (e) _____

(2) Please specify your options from the following solutions:

(a) Assimilation in the city	Strongly Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	<u>agree</u>	_____	_____	<u>disagree</u>
1- In present location	_____	_____	_____	_____
2- North Omdurman	_____	_____	_____	_____
3- South Omdurman	_____	_____	_____	_____
4- West Omdurman	_____	_____	_____	_____

5- Other, please specify your new suggestions below :

(b) Plots of land outside the city	Strongly Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	<u>agree</u>	_____	_____	<u>disagree</u>
1- Housing planner site	_____	_____	_____	_____
2- Housing planner site supplied with all services	_____	_____	_____	_____
3- New site supplied with services	_____	_____	_____	_____

4- Others, what new suggestions do you have? Please discuss below:

(c) Shift to established agriculture & schemes	Strongly <u>agree</u>	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly <u>disagree</u>
---	--------------------------	-------	---------	----------	-----------------------------

1- Gezira	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2- Managil	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3- El Rahad	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4- Gedarif	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5 El Suki	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6 El Girba	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7 Elginied	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8 Other Agri. Projects	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

9 Others; specify your new suggestions below:

(d) Establishing new agricult- ural schemes	Strongly <u>Agree</u>	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly <u>Disagree</u>
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1- On the Nile near the capital	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2- On the White Nile	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3- On the Blue Nile	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

4- Others please specify below:

(e) Repatriation to native areas	Strongly <u>Agree</u>	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly <u>Disagree</u>
1- Move after ^S establishing rural development projects.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2- After establishing new agricultural schemes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3- Before establishing any projects	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4- Others, please discuss below:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

(3) If you have any other alternative solutions please state below:

Thank you very much for your help and cooperation.

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