

# **The Impoverishment of Forced Migration: The Sudanese Crisis**

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# Introduction

Francis Bok was tall and lean and dark, and spoke English that was surprisingly good for his relatively short time living in the United States, although heavily accented at the time. He works with the American Anti-Slavery Group as a speaker, and I met him not long after he had begun work one summer when I interned there. Francis had been only seven years old when he was forcibly taken from the village market in southern Sudan where he had gone to sell his family's produce. He saw riders from the north sweep into town. They killed many, pillaged and destroyed, and marched him and the other survivors north, to slavery.

The terrible degradations of chattel slavery need hardly be mentioned in detail. Suffice it to say that Francis suffered what no adult should, let alone a child. After a failed attempt in which he was returned to his master, he finally escaped, ten years after his capture. Where was he to go? He had not had proper schooling, nor had any contact with his family in all the time he was gone. He did not know if any of them were still alive, and they had no information about his safety, either. Francis had been taken from everything he had known by conflict. He eventually made his way to a refugee camp in Egypt and, after a few years, to the United States, where, when I knew him, he was waiting for his wife, also a refugee, to be allowed into the country, and to find out whether or not his family had survived.

Migration caused by conflict is a huge yet often under-recognised problem in the world today. Sudan is an area which has some of the highest numbers of displaced persons in the world today, caused by a bloody, long-standing conflict. What follows is an examination of the Sudanese conflict that has caused this massive migration, an overview of forced migration in

general, and an assessment of the circumstances of displaced Sudanese. Finally, there are suggested solutions to improve the lot of displaced persons.

## **Sudan**

### **History of the Conflict**

Sudan has been in conflict since even before its independence from British rule in 1956 (Connell). Khartoum was chosen as the seat of government, despite the fact that northern and southern Sudan had, until that point, been administered separately, a decision which created inequality between the two regions (ibid). There was a lull in the fighting when an agreement reached in 1972 allowed the south some autonomy, but ruler-general Jaafar al-Nimeiri nullified it when oil was discovered in the south (ibid). This in turn inspired the opposition to organise, and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) was formed, and included a military branch, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). The government struggled to maintain control until Omar Bashir led a military coup and established the government of the National Islamic Front (NIF) in 1989 (ibid).

The NIF prevented scheduled peace talks from taking place and embarked on an Islamicisation policy and began rule by decree (Nhial et al.). While officially the government claims to respect other religions, non-Muslims are discriminated against. This includes the application of *Sharia* law, which they do not believe in, their exclusion from some civil and political rights and high-ranking public offices, and the destruction of non-Muslim places of worship (Nhial et al.). All students, regardless of their religion must study and pass exams in Islam to get any school certificate (ibid). That is mostly in the cities, however; in rural areas, education has suffered more.

However, regrettable as these losses are, they are, unfortunately, not the worst. While the situation in Darfur has lately received much attention, the sorts of abuses there are nothing new. The 1993 Nhial briefing states plainly that “[p]eople have been killed, women (and men also) have been raped, 70-year olds have been flogged, limbs have been amputated, bones have been broken through severe torture, property has been confiscated, people’s homes have been bulldozed down and people killed for refusing to vacate their own shelters, Christians have been forced to fight under the slogan of a *jihad* and compelled to shout the war cry of *Allahu Akbar*, *La Ilah ila Lah*, and sick people have been denied the opportunity to seek medical treatment available abroad” (Nhial et al.). It should surprise no one that events as traumatic and terrifying as these should prompt Sudanese to flee their homes.

### **The Nature of the Conflict**

There are, however, other dimensions at play beyond Islamicisation. As hinted above, there is a strong element of power consolidation. The northern Sudanese wish to control the country, its culture, army and resources, and the southern Sudanese want power in those arenas as well. It is overly simplistic to reduce the conflict to mere religious differences, nor is it accurate. Islam is the majority religion in Sudan, and the region of Darfur, well-known now in the news for what is often called a genocide there, is “the only region in the Sudan that is completely religiously homogenous,” and is inhabited by Muslims (Nhial et al.).

Resources are a central part of the violence, and, therefore, central to forced migration in Sudan. Some estimate that two million have died due to oil in the region (Reeves). The government of Khartoum controls oil revenues, both through its power over trade with foreign companies that drill and the pipeline that passes through it to the sea (see Appendix A). (It

should be noted that the path to the Red Sea is a logical one, as to go straight out would not keep the pipeline within Sudan's borders. However, that the placement may have other reasons cannot erase the benefits which, for a long time, the government derived which the southern Sudanese did not.) It is no accident that oil revenues have been a part of negotiations between Khartoum and the SPLM from the start. There is also a likely element of race. Northern Sudanese are "closer" to Arabs, being fairer and related to the Berbers. Southern Sudanese are black African. Bok recounted being taunted with the word for "black" (Bok).

The injustices suffered by southern Sudanese are not only the fault of the government, however, It has largely turned into fight or flight, as the SPLA has been very active and is guilty of human rights abuses as well, including the massacres of unarmed civilians within territory it has controlled (Nhial et al., 113), although it is not its policy and southerners often do not hold the SPLA as accountable as the central government (ibid, 114). Whatever their views of either party, however, the fact remains that Sudan is largely an unsafe place to be, and, because of this fact, thousands have been compelled to leave their homes in search of safety.

## **Defining Forced Migration**

### **Who are Refugees?**

The basic criteria for refugee status is that, under threat of harm, whether from natural disasters or conflict, cross an international border for safety (UNHCR). Refugees fleeing from conflict face additional challenges to survive and thrive after displacement. The physical damage from natural catastrophes often outstrips that of armed conflict. However, natural disasters are self-contained events; once the event is over, rebuilding may begin. Conflict within a country may continue for years or even decades before it is over, and refugees must also

contend with the fact that there are sides to the conflict, and theirs may or may not be the winning one. This creates difficulties for repatriation and long-term healing. Due to these particular concerns, this paper focuses on refugees whose flight is in response to armed conflict.

Modern refugee law has its roots in the post-World War II agreements written in response to the huge European refugee crisis resulting from the concentration camps. Then, as now, refugees were dependent on outsiders for the most basic needs: food, clothing, shelter. Although the post-WWII situation was sizeable and complex, it did occur mostly on one continent (Europe), whereas today's refugees may be found across the world. There are also more complex systems in place for how refugees are cared for.

Refugees are largely from developing nations, and, furthermore, many are from the continent of Africa, which is least equipped to handle them. For a long time, it was felt that the high number of refugees was due to the Cold War proxy wars (Bariagaber). During that period, however, the superpowers had a vested interest in taking care of the displaced, as part of their ideological wars. Since the end of the Cold War, however, the superpowers do not have a strong ideological investment in other countries' internal conflicts. Thus wealthy nations pay less attention to the needs of refugees despite increasing numbers and needs.

Some estimates put the number of refugees globally at 35 million men, women and children today. Over the past two decades, the proportion of refugees from Africa, the poorest continent, has on the whole increased from previous levels. The already-vulnerable are particularly susceptible to harm when displaced, while few refugees experience much stability monetarily or in terms of basic needs.

Once crossing a border, a refugee may be safer than s/he was, but is hardly completely safe. He may be set upon by police for illegal entry, or harrassed by locals. She may have difficulty finding work, or feel compelled to engage in work she would otherwise consider dangerous and/or immoral in order to feed herself. Refugees have often suffered traumatic experiences, have experienced loss of friends and relatives, and have uncertain futures. Ultimate repatriation is the goal of international organizations, but this may not be possible. Not infrequently, refugees live in poor conditions with little ability to change them.

### **Responsibility**

Part of the difficulty in addressing the needs of refugees is the overlapping of responsibility for their conditions. The first person of interest in this equation is, of course, the refugee. He decides, under duress, to betake himself from his home, community, livelihood and social supports in fear of his own wellbeing and that of his family. The refugee is responsible for the safe transfer of her family away from the area of conflict to an ostensibly safer place across a border. Once there, atleast part of her survival will depend on her own ingenuity. It is also the refugee's responsibility to apply for official refugee status to ensure that he cannot be forcibly repatriated.

The country receiving refugees becomes responsible for their wellbeing also. By international agreements, refugees cannot be returned to their country of origin without their consent (the principle of *nonrefoulement*, 1951 Convention). If the refugees are recognised by the UN, the host country is legally bound to allow their continued presence. Even without official recognition, most refugees stay where they are. This exerts pressure on the economy and resources of the host country. The country receiving refugees may or may not be stable before

the influx, and large numbers of a non-citizen population whose lack of basic necessities needs to be remedied can be destabilising even given a pre-existing healthy economy. Refugees do create new markets as well, but resources do not expand proportionally to every new person that arrives, and they may have problems finding work, or may incite anger when they do (as that job is no longer available to a compatriot). There can also be ecological damage due to large numbers overtaxing the land in short order, as happened in Kagera, Tanzania, in 1994 during the Rwandan genocide (Jacobsen).

Once individuals have crossed an international border in their flight, they fall under the mandate of the UN High Commission for Refugees. The UNHCR is responsible for all the paperwork of forced migration, particularly in receiving and reviewing applications for refugee status (Barriagaber), a process which can take one to two years, despite the group recognition allowed in the 1969 Convention (Ghazaleh). It is also in charge of administering refugee camps: seeing to housing, food, water, health and security. This makes the UNHCR both the refugees' judge and their provider (ibid), an steep power gradient that is questionable at the least, and at worst places refugees in a position of near-powerlessness.

The UNHCR often works with non-governmental organisations to provide for refugees' needs. These NGOs are often international aid organisations that enter the host country specifically for the purpose of helping those other than citizens of that country, although, as shall be discussed later, UN and non-UN aid often finds its way to members of the host country. These humanitarian organisations could be considered contract labor for the UN (Barriagaber). Their presence, however, as they are not part of an international governing body, is more



dependent on the benevolence of the host country, and, thus, they are more likely to not extend beyond whatever parameters the host country has set lest they be expelled (ibid).

For some refugees, the journey does not end there. The UNHCR works with ‘developed’ nations to resettle refugees even further afield in some cases. This may be due to longevity of conflict or the presence of particular prejudice in the host country that makes repatriation unlikely. In such cases, the UNHCR coordinates with such states to arrange where they will be settled and who will take responsibility for them. In the United States, the Department of State contracts to accept a certain number of refugees and works with numerous governmental and charitable organisations to establish them all over the country with basic needs and the skills they will need to provide for themselves in the future.†

For most, however, the route is, or is intended to be, circular; repatriation is the ultimate goal of refugee services. Thus the state of origin also has an important role to play as the circumstances that forced individuals from their homes have to be resolved. In cases of natural disaster, this is not likely to be as problematic, as return of citizens may be seen as necessary to be truly recovered from the catastrophe. Armed conflict, however, is a different matter. Those who have fled may have been in the middle of two sides or may have taken sides, and even if the conflict is resolved with power-sharing agreements and whatnot, feelings of loss are not so easily erased. Moreover, it is not a given that factions will come to such accord; there may be winners and losers. This may make refugees reticent to return, or host governments wary to accept them. Even should both sides want repatriation, there will be issues of resettling all over again, as homes may have been destroyed or others may have moved into them.

# Internally Displaced Persons

## Internal “Refugees”

Forced migration does not always cause the migrants to cross international boundaries, however, and, despite the millions of individuals who have been displaced within their own borders, internal displacement has only garnered meaningful attention in the past two decades (Mooney). Last year, the UN estimated the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) at approximately 24.5 million, about half of whom are African (UNHCR 2007). Thus internally displaced persons are those who are obligated to leave their homes but remain within the borders of their country of citizenship and/or residence.

As with refugees, displacement by natural catastrophe requires aid but not in the same manner as those displaced by conflict. While there may be discrimination and systemic injustice in a country with disaster-fleeing IDPs, natural disasters are not caused to target specific populations, even if certain groups are disproportionately affected. Conflict, however, may well indicate that the impetus to flee was especially personal, as groups may be targeted for ‘cleansing’ (Mooney), or removed from their homes for political reasons (e.g. Stalin’s mass deportations of entire ethnic groups to Siberia, a combination of both). Erin Mooney argues that there is a right to not be displaced, as international law prohibits it except for safety reasons in conflict, and suggests that the “very fact of being internally displaced therefore can signal a deliberate abuse of rights” (ibid).

Persons displaced by conflict suffer the same ill effects as do refugees. They are homeless and jobless with limited financial resources. Their families and communities may be

divided and separated, and they are “especially vulnerable to acts of violence and human rights violations, including round-ups, forced conscription and sexual assault” (Mooney). And since they remain within their own borders, it happens that a government that is attacking the displaced or under attack itself is in charge of protecting them and providing for their basic needs (Geissler).

### **Resources for IDPs**

In 1992, the UN Secretary-General put forth a definition in which recognition of internal displacement rested on forced flight. Shortly afterwards, he asked Francis Deng to serve as a Representative of the Secretary-General (RSG) in forming a definition and guidelines (Mooney). Unlike refugees, there is no status to be applied for or granted to be an internally displaced person (Mooney), as they remain, as before, the responsibility of their own country. Since his appointment, however, Deng has given an annual report to the General Assembly of the United Nations and established the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.

Although, as he writes in the preamble to the Principles, they are non-binding, they are “constituent with international human rights and humanitarian law and analogous refugee law” (Introductory Note, Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement). Deng’s definition expands the original Bhoutros-Ghali definition to include those who may be forcibly resettled or evicted, rather than who flee (atleast in part) by choice (Mooney). These Principles are based on human rights theory, rather than those of their rights as citizens, hoping to stand as a bulwark between the displaced and a government that may wish them ill.

However, while the principles outlines are an exceptional statement of human rights, they cannot guarantee any sort of aid to the afflicted. The UN Inter-Agency Standing Committee has

placed the High Commission for Refugees as the center of cross-agency efforts to help IDPs (cf. Viera de Mello's Forward to the Principles). However, all efforts must be coordinated with the government of the country which may well be opposed to all aid. Humanitarian organisations may have lesser or greater success in providing aid, as they have less international clout, but may be more trusted.

## **Groups of Particular Concern**

### **Women**

Female refugees and displaced persons are at special risk as they travel and resettle. They are more likely to be preyed upon, perhaps due to perceptions according women a lower place in society. They may have fled out of particular fear of rape (as may occur during ethnic and/or genocidal conflict), but are also at risk of it as they migrate and settle in new locations. Camps just over the border from or settlements nearby conflict regions may be attacked, leading to rape, injury or death. Many refugee families have only one parent present SOURCE, creating a catch-22 in which a mother with children may be unable to protect or defend her family. Security is a major problem faced by all, but particularly female, refugees (Beyani).

Women also often have fewer viable economic options. Often, it is women who are responsible for childcare and household duties, tasks which do not go away when fleeing or resettling. It is difficult to make money to provide for basic needs while caring for children, but they cannot care for children without basic needs. Humanitarian aid does help, but it does not necessarily reach everyone, particularly in the times immediately following the start of the conflict or where refugees are outside of established camps. Women may come to believe

prostitution is their only choice for providing for themselves and their families. They may also be asked to 'pay' for aid with sexual favors.

Why do women face these challenges especially? It may be because women are under-represented in refugee matters (ibid). This occurs both at the micro-level of the camps, where women may have little voice in the ordering of day to day affairs, and at the macro-level of international refugee organisations, which suffer from a dearth of women leaders. It may also be due to the fact that refugee issues have only lately been considered in light of human rights (Beyani), and that gender has not been identified in UN refugee definitions as a cause for flight or particular risk that may induce flight (ibid). For women to be protected especially, the host country and/or aid agency must recognise women as a group, something which rarely happens (ibid).

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Children are likely the segment of displaced populations at the greatest risk. The youngest are unable to care for themselves or procure necessities, and school-aged to older children have limited economic resources and marketable skills. Forced migration causes a total upheaval for all involved, but can be particularly devastating for children. Loss of home, community, and sometimes family or friends is especially traumatising at a tender age, when there are few other life experiences to compare it to. Education is interrupted without assurance of its timely resumption, or, in some cases, of its resumption at all.

Regrettable as the aforementioned problems are, children face much more pressing ones. There may be no or insufficient food for the family, resulting in malnourishment or poor development (Hick). Disease also gives cause for concern, as undernourished persons are less

able to fight off illness; poor living conditions, limited access to potable water, and crowding all aid the spread of disease, and children are at special risk (ibid), as they are not matured and lose body fat more easily. There is also an increase of child-headedness in family groups (ibid).

One in every three hundred children is displaced; they make up about half of all displaced persons (Hick). They are easy targets for exploitation, especially as much as 5% of any given refugee population consists of children who have been separated from their parents through flight or death (ibid). Girls in particular, but not exclusively, are at risk of rape and sexual assault, as well as prostituting themselves for food or by force (ibid). There have been instances of the torture and murder of children, and some are 'drafted' by sides in the conflict or in conflicts in the host country to serve as soldiers (ibid). The protection of children from these dangers is of paramount importance in addressing issues of displacement.

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### **Forced Migration in Sudan**

#### **Refugees**

There are Sudanese refugees in the Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda (Crisp) and Egypt (Ghazaleh). Refugees in Uganda are subject rules regarding their location; that is, refugee camps are kept not far from the border and only in rural areas, where they are expected by the Ugandan government to subsist off the land there (Mulumba). This makes getting there an arduous process, both for people and services. Mulumba notes the difficulty of collecting data on there as well, since, given their conditions, it is not uncommon for refugees to expect

compensation for being interviewed, and family statistics are hard to measure accurately due to cultural taboos and practices (ibid).

These camps are often located in rural borderland areas, which are often insecure (Crisp). They are far from city and administrative capitals. Difficult access means that it is hard to monitor the situation, as proven in 2002 when a UNHCR delegation visited Mboki, CAR, to find that most health services were completely unavailable (ibid). This visit only occurred after much negotiation with the government, and was escorted by armed guards.

Of all the host countries for local refugees, Egypt is the most 'developed,' and perhaps five million or more Sudanese have fled there. As often happens, most applications for refugee status are denied (Ghazaleh), but the conflict continues, and so they are effectively stuck where they are. One might think that being in a wealthier country would mean a better situation. However, while Egypt is secure from borderland attacks, it has strict laws that make it hard for refugees to work and support themselves (ibid). The result has been the Arba'a wa Nuss slum on the edges of Cairo. They cannot get work permits under the strict laws and are often subject to racism and poor under-the-table working conditions (ibid).

### *The "Lost Boys"*

Approximately 20,000 children and youth fled their homes and crossed into Ethiopia and Kenya by themselves (Hick). Without parents or supervisors, and not truly a cohesive group, they have come to be known as the "Lost Boys" of Sudan (girls are more likely to stay with families due to safety reasons). They have criss-crossed the country, some crossing international boundaries more than once, in search of safety, family, and a new life. Some have died along the

way, and most, at this point, reside in camps in Kenya (ibid). A number have also been granted refugee status and resettled to the United States.

A large number of children without adult care or supervision pose a significant problem for host countries and aid agencies. Ethiopia has tried to provide for them by creating family-like situations in which “three to five children [live] together in each traditional hut under the supervision of a caregiver from their own people” (ibid).

### **Internally Displaced Persons**

In 2007, the UNHCR publication on IDPs estimated that 5.35 million Sudanese are displaced, the largest IDP population in the world. As they remain within Sudan, they are under the authority of the government in Khartoum. As mentioned previously, this is highly problematic, as people may be displaced *by* the government or some other powerful group within the nation (Islam). Many believe that the government is complicit or even possibly behind the attacks on Darfuris in particular but also throughout southern Sudan since the resumption of conflict in 1983 (ibid).

The international community was slow to act in the crisis, and for the people on the ground this has proved costly in an unforeseen way. The UN’s delay in action “gave the Sudanese Government an opportunity to engage the International Organization for Migration, not a UN agency with no protection mandate and experience, for camp management in Darfur” (Islam). The government has also refused to acknowledge that the conflict has humanitarian dimensions rather than being only a civil war, and has even blocked NGO access (ibid).

The UN has been similarly reticent to make any declarations on the state of the crisis, and claimed that recognising IDPs would, in fact, put them in more danger (Islam). However, there



has been UN and NGO presence on the ground that has helped those who manage to flee (Hill et al.) These individuals are safer in numbers, but are largely dependent on aid, rather than adapting and becoming self-sufficient (ibid). The conflict has caused food production to stop in many places and a significant amount of livestock loss (ibid).

There have been some significant strides, even given the initial lack of speed in the UN response. There has been a movement to provide housing materials which then provide jobs and skill building or maintenance opportunities as IDPs build the homes, promoting a local economy (Hill et al.). And female safety has been improved by the donation of efficient stoves, which require less fuel, which means that women do not have to venture outside the camp for wood as often or perhaps at all (ibid). These measures are good but not sufficient in IDP relief in Sudan, as male security has not been taken into account and the conflict continues to rage. Additionally, NGO personnel have come under attack in Darfur, prompting concerns that aid organisations will have to suspend activities there, and perhaps other regions (Thomson).

## **Possible Solutions**

### **The Politics of Aid**

Refugees often are a strain on local resources and the economy of the host nation, particularly in places like the Horn of Africa, which is not known for its great stability. However, some suggest that aid could be used to benefit the host nations and, thereby, create better conditions for refugees. Karen Jacobsen is a proponent of this view. She suggests that making aid pay is a way to improve refugee conditions, while simultaneously helping the local host population and forming a better relationship with the host government.

Jacobsen adopts an economic approach to securing better aid, basically an investment in the host country. According to her, even when aid is focused on refugees, it often finds its way into the local economy. This is done deliberately in many cases as well, under the UNHCR's Refugee Affected Areas program, which builds "improvements in infrastructure in the areas of water, health, roads, etc." (Jacobsen). The idea is that local residents and the government will be more likely to help refugees if their situation is improved as well.

Refugees do place, as discussed earlier, a significant burden on the host countries, many of which are themselves struggling. However, if receiving refugees meant that food and non-food aid were also coming, countries would, naturally, be more likely to accept refugees. Thousands of people streaming over the borders is, in effect, like vinegar in the proverb. But if the UN provides the 'honey' in the form of significant aid, countries are more likely to allow the UN better access and do more as well. Funds can be given to help establish the camp, there can be increased nearby area funding to smooth relations between the camp and citizens, and when it is time for repatriation, money to help close up the camps and fix any environmental degradation.

### **Recognition for IDPs**

Human rights in theory and practice are based on an understanding of human dignity, not national boundaries. The idea that non-interference in a sovereign nation somehow justifies the conditions IDPs find themselves in is unconscionable. Had there been earlier intervention in Rwanda or even Nazi Germany, it is possible many thousands of deaths would have been averted and many lives saved. In the case of natural disasters, sovereignty should be respected, as the government has not targeted a particular population. However, situations like that in Sudan,

where the government is a significant part of the problem, the UNHCR has got to be able to step in with the authority to do so, not with troops, but with resources and protection.

The first and final protection for any individual is the law. Law, and human rights law in particular, is the only plane of true equality, atleast in theory. But regardless of any imperfections in practice and administration, having a legal status is a must for displaced persons. Without some overarching status, the government can continue to persecute or allow to be persecuted the displaced individuals. Legal recognition, on the other hand, would grant the UNHCR and any aid agencies recognised by it first refusal on selecting aid organisations and on enforcing security, settling camps, etc.

A legal status would also mean that IDPs could receive aid without government involvement. In the persistent, decades-long humanitarian crisis in Sudan, there had at times been reports that food aid dropped into the south would be collected up by government-allied militia, which knew where it was because the UN told it. Certainly, the rights of the nation should not be simply trampled upon, which is why legal status is a good middle road between flooding the area with troops or aid personnel or letting IDPs fend for themselves. If they are legally recognised, they have the right to appeal to a higher authority if their rights are abused or their lives endangered by the government or any powerful groups.

### **Reassigning Responsibilities**

As discussed earlier, there is a problem of responsibilities. The UNHCR is the primary agency for aid, and the only agency which can grant refugee status. This presents a serious conflict of interest and provides a lot of opportunities for refugee abuse. UNHCR aid workers

could suggest that, for favors, they would be able to move along an application, even though they likely have little to do with the process. Whether that happens in most cases or only a few, the refugee is in a position of very little power, and concentrating it in one agency only decreases relative power without benefitting the system or individuals in it.

The UNHCR must focus either on refugee assistance or on refugee recognition. Should it focus on assistance alone, a new international agency would have to be created to run the recognition process. This would be costly and likely create at least a temporary further backlog while established. The better option is to leave the international governmental agency the governmental jobs. This would also require significant funds to get caught up on all the backlogged applications, an expansion of staff, and, hopefully, a team to develop and implement a plan for conflict migrant recognition. The only refugee management task they should reserve is repatriation, given the intergovernmental cooperation required. Repatriation is significantly removed from recognition and aid administration, and thus does not present a conflict.

The task of administering the camps could be done by a new agency, but a number of NGOs and international non-profits are regularly involved in such efforts, and have a more stable donation base in some instances, even if it is smaller. A number of such agencies working in concert within UNHCR-established guidelines have the potential to be a much more effective safety net for both refugees and IDPs. By focusing only on advocacy and running a more focused relief effort, everyone will benefit.

# Forced Migration as Poverty

Those who find themselves in conflict zones often face the difficult choice of attempting to maintain their lives in the midst of violence and chaos, at risk to themselves and their families, or to leave their homes and livelihoods and try to find somewhere safer. Yet this decision is itself a destabilising one, and conflicts do not follow neat borders and boundaries. Those who flee may be at risk wherever they go, as targeted groups, or simply because conflict does not restrict bullets to combatants only.

Moving to avoid conflict has significant consequences in terms of material deprivation as well as decreased capability. Refugees and internally displaced persons alike leave behind everything, sometimes with little or no time to gather any belongings, or even to make sure every family member is present. Once on the run, they need to find food, shelter, and sometimes medical care. But, away from their communities, they may not have any way to make money, nor may they have anything worth bartering. Even worse, they may feel as though they must trade themselves for the very goods they need.

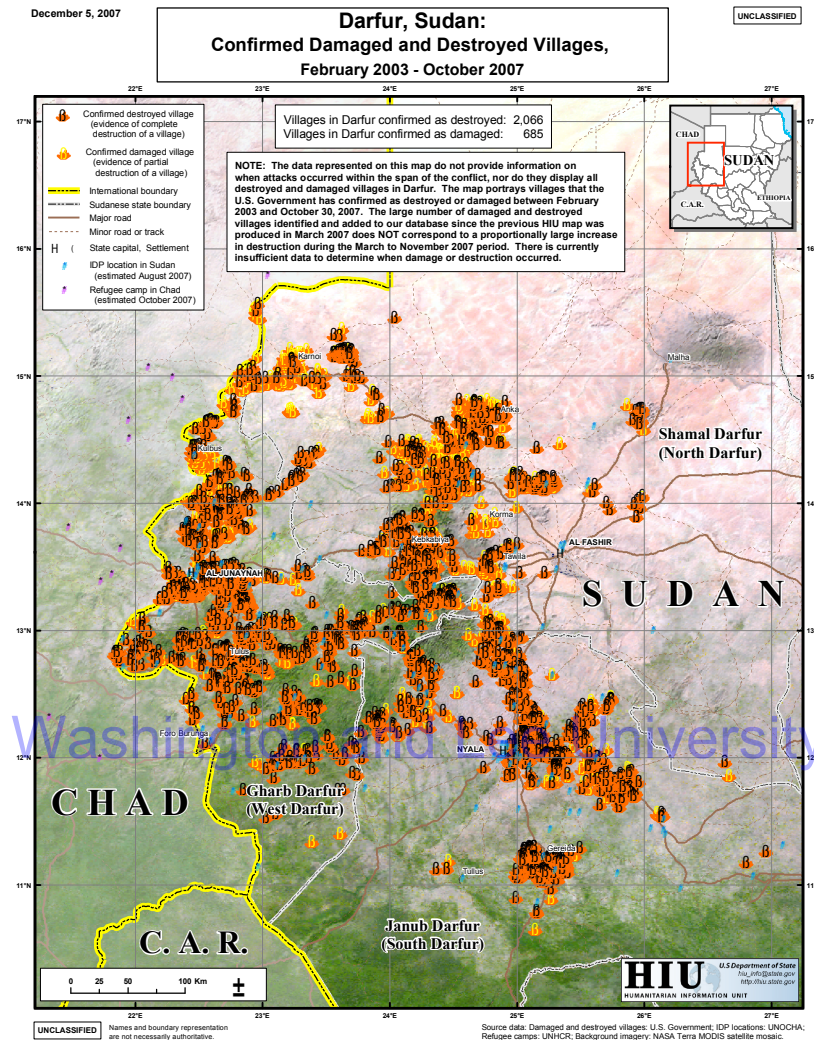
Perhaps even more important than the immediate effects of hunger, cold, etc., for those who get through them are the long-term effects. Children uprooted from schools will find it difficult to catch up and find employment beyond the menial. Many of all ages may have difficulty adjusting due to the emotional and psychological effects of such an upheaval. And many of those may also experience psychological and social effects from the trauma of conflict. These all inhibit a person's ability to participate fully in society, and to provide for him or herself the means by which to live.

## Appendix A: Map of Oil Holdings in Sudan, 2001.



Map from USAID, public domain. Most oil is located within the historic boundaries of southern Sudan; all oil is located in areas of local suppression and armed conflict.

## Appendix B: Map of Destruction in Darfur



Map courtesy Humanitarian Information Unit, U.S. State Department, public domain. These are confirmed attacks only, and are from the time period February 2003 through October 2007. Note the great difference between damaged villages (685) and destroyed (2,066). This reflects, in the author's opinion, incredible efficiency on the part of the militias or a goal of annihilation, either of which is deeply troubling. The former possibility may be the result of the latter.



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