Bachelor Thesis

Protracted Internal Displacement

A Case Study of Darfur IDPs

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Abstract

Devastating violence and conflicts in different regions around the world have led to the displacement of millions of people. Some of them crossed international borders and became refugees in other countries either in camps or urban settings. While large numbers of those who have been driven by conflicts, remained displaced in their own countries. Often, once a conflict starts thousands of people begin to flee violence leaving behind not only their place and belongings, but an entire life. Usually the onset of displacement marks the beginning of an indefinite journey of vulnerability, poverty, and dependency on what governments and aid agencies can afford to help. It could be easy to identity when and where this journey has started, but it is rather difficult to predict how long it will take for millions of people to restore the lives they used to have before. All these aspects which highlight the setting in which the IDPs exist are among the major characteristics discussed in this study.

Researches and humanitarian agencies acknowledge the inability of humanitarian response to bring durable solutions to the internal protracted displacement. Overlapping circles of conflicts along with political intransigence and chronic development problems have often narrowed the opportunities for achieving sustainable solutions. The guiding principles on internal displacement see the solution to the problem in return, relocation or local integration. However the different realities of protracted displacement could even be more challenging when the time comes to practical implementation of these three choices.

In order to explore the complexity of the protracted internal displacement this study presents with the help of prospect theory one of the cases of prolonged displacements in western Sudan. The displacement in Darfur began in 2003 resulting in one of the grave humanitarian situations in the world. The findings demonstrate that despite the relatively available resources to support unblocking the long displacement of more than 2 million persons, yet the process is obstructed by many factors. Insecurity and the complex land rights in the region are some of the prominent findings that constitute impediment to reaching a durable solution.

Key words: Protracted internal displacement, IDPs, durable solutions, security, Land, Darfur.
# Table of Contents

Abstract ......................................................................................................................... 2  
Table of Contents ......................................................................................................... 3  
List of Abbreviations .................................................................................................... 4  
1. Introduction ............................................................................................................. 5  
1.1 Research Problem ................................................................................................. 5  
1.2 Objective and Research Questions ....................................................................... 6  
1.3 Relevance of the Study ......................................................................................... 6  
1.4 Analytical framework ........................................................................................... 7  
1.5 Methodological Framework .................................................................................. 8  
1.6 Limitation and Delimitation .................................................................................. 8  
1.7 Ethical Consideration ............................................................................................. 8  
1.8 Structure of Thesis ................................................................................................ 8  
2. Analytical Frame ..................................................................................................... 10  
3. Methodology ........................................................................................................... 12  
4. Literature Review ................................................................................................... 14  
4.1 Conceptualization and Definition ........................................................................ 14  
4.2 Between IDPs and Refugees ................................................................................ 15  
4.3 IDPs and Conflict a Complex Relation ............................................................... 16  
4.4 Different Impacts of Protracted Displacement .................................................... 16  
4.5 Long-term Displacement as Challenge for Peace and Security ......................... 17  
4.6 Pursuit of Durable Solutions ............................................................................... 17  
5. Background ............................................................................................................. 20  
6. Findings .................................................................................................................. 22  
6.1 Land in Darfur ...................................................................................................... 22  
6.1.1 Central Role in the Conflict ............................................................................ 22  
6.1.2 Historical background .................................................................................... 22  
6.1.3 How land rights emerged in Darfur ................................................................ 23  
6.1.4 Land Grabbing and Occupation .................................................................... 24  
6.2 Security Situation ................................................................................................. 25  
6.3 Impacts of Displacement ...................................................................................... 26  
6.3.1 Dependency on Aid ........................................................................................ 26  
6.3.2 Social economic Impacts ................................................................................ 26  
6.3.3 Urbanization trend in progress ........................................................................ 27  
6.3.4 IDPs Engagement in Political Sphere ............................................................. 27  
6.4 Return and Relocation of Darfur IDPs .................................................................. 28  
7. Analysis ................................................................................................................... 30  
7.1 Loss aversion ....................................................................................................... 30  
7.2 Endowment Effect ............................................................................................... 31  
7.3 Aspirations, expectations, social norms and comparisons .................................... 32  
8. Conclusion and Recommendations ......................................................................... 35  
References .................................................................................................................. 37
List of Abbreviations

AMIS - African Union Mission in Sudan
DPA - Darfur Peace Agreement
HAC - Humanitarian Aid Commission
ICC - International Criminal Court
IDMC- Internal Displacement Monitoring Center
IDPs - Internally Displaced Persons
JEM - Justice and Equality Movement
NISS - National Intelligence and Security Services
OCHA - Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OHCHR - Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
QIPs - Quick Impact Projects
RSF - Rapid Support Forces
SDGs - Sustainable Development Goals
SAF - Sudanese Armed Forces
SLA - Sudan Liberation Army
SLA/AW - Sudan Liberation Army/ Abd alwahid Nur
SLA/MM - Sudan Liberation Army/Minni Minawi
UNAMID - United Nations-African Mission in Darfur
UNHCR - United Nations High Commission for Refugees
VRRC - Voluntary Return and Reintegration Committee
1. Introduction

1.1 Research Problem:

Successive and violent conflicts in different regions of the world have become one of the disturbing features of our contemporary world. The persistence and severity of these conflicts is not only resulting in massive human and infrastructure destruction. These conflicts have left behind a heavy legacy of human suffering and many local, regional and international repercussions. Among these many problems the massive and long internal displacement comes in the front of the challenges faced by international community.

According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center IDMC 40 million people are recorded as displaced because of conflicts and violence in 57 countries at the end of 2017. Most of them remain vulnerable due to their displacement, with no foreseeable durable solution (IDMC, 2017). Furthermore according to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees the levels of new displacements in 2017 continued to go far beyond any returns or solutions (UNHCR, 2017).

Prolonged periods of conflict–related internal displacement situations have been a common feature that characterizes many cases of displacements in different part of the world. This reality can be seen in many places for example in Democratic Republic of Congo DRC, Sudan, Iraq and recently Syria and Yemen (IDMC, 2017). Most of these displacement situations started to take shape in the wake of violent conflicts and continued to exist, affecting and being affected by the course of conflicts resulting in grave humanitarian consequences.

The literature and research on finding durable solutions to the problem of protracted internal displacement provide a wide range of discussion and experience. The debate on the issues largely acknowledges the inability of short- term response to bring durable solutions. It has also reflected different directions on what constitutes the solutions and how they can be defined as well as what elements should be prioritized for the way ahead towards sustainable solution.

Zetter and Long, (2012) highlight the need for rethinking what is meant by durable solutions for protracted displacement. They are inclined to giving special consideration to the particularities of each case. They are particularly interested in studying IDPs as a subject in terms of behavior in informing solutions.

While return is one of the solutions emphasized by government and other international actors, Ferris and Halff (2011) point to local integration as preferred choice for IDPs. Additionally Amado (2016) highlights the counterproductive relation between return and local integration particularly when return is viewed as a main pillar of peace process, thus transformed to peace indicator and how this perception affects local integration prospects. Harild, (2016) on the other hand describes the first step of fundamental change to bring about solutions that “all actors accept that displacement is predominantly a development issue with a humanitarian element- and not the way around”(Harild,2016,p.2) Kăin and Chapuisat (2017) conclude that protracted internal displacement is primarily a development and political challenge with
humanitarian element, their approach calls for pursuit of collective outcomes to reduce the risk and vulnerability of IDPs as the way for durable solutions without even waiting for the conflict to be fully resolved. Some opinions seem to be converging but still there is no clear conclusion about what is the more likely viable solution among the three classical solutions stipulated by the guiding principles of internal displacement, return, local integration or relocation. Therefore it could be assumed that the debate on the topic has come with different propositions that might not precisely address all contexts. This can also make room for more research and examination on the applicability of the three options on different cases. Even with the considerable number of research programs that approached the topic still the dynamics and the particularity of the different IDPs contexts and how the IDPs could be making their choices and what factors can affects these choice is an area that need more research. The context of Darfur IDPs which has been chosen as case study for this research could fit into other research in many ways; it could also serve the aspect of the particularity and fills some the gaps in this respect.

1.2 Relevance of the Study

Considering the persistence of IDP situations in different parts of the world throughout the last five decades despite the tremendous resources and efforts to bring solutions, coupled with the ongoing process following the course of conflict, the demand for finding way out is on increase. The problem has been approached on different levels including humanitarian responses and political processes. Varying degrees of results have been reached, ranging between relative successes, mitigation and stalling in many cases. The internal displacement in Darfur is one of these persistent complex humanitarian situations that have international, regional and local implications on security and development and resources (Adam, 2018). Furthermore, the profound impacts of protracted internal displacement are not only limited to IDPs but also they extend to the host communities, local/sub- national governments and countries as a whole. Protracted displacement also has major consequences on humanitarian response efforts and the achievement of the SDGs. Looking into the roots of the problem makes it difficult to ignore key elements like development, conflict and politics (Kāín and Chapuisat, 2017).

1.3 Objective and Research Questions:

Given the particularities that characterize each case and the different starting points for what would lead to durable solutions and departing from these two points, this thesis by using Darfur IDPs as a case study tries: through desk study and drawing on available literature to achieve the following objectives,

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1 Principles 28 to 30 of the Guiding Principles which are 30 standards that outline the protections available to internally displaced people (IDPs). They detail the rights and guarantees relevant to the protection of IDPs from forced displacement to their protection and assistance during displacement up to the achievement of durable solutions (IDMC, 2018).
Firstly, to evaluate the suitability of the three options suggested by the guidelines on internal displacement within the context of Darfur IDP. The aim will be shedding light on the context in which the IDPs could be making their choices and the surrounding factors and developments which might affect this process.

Secondly, to contribute to a better understanding of the complexity of protracted internal displacement in the selected case, by highlighting some of the aspects in which the case study could provide to the wider problem of protracted displacement. Further the displacement in Darfur has been one of the long standing situation of internal displacement which can be relevant as a case study and fit into the topic of protracted internal displacement. To achieve the above, this thesis aims to finding answers to the following questions:

- How protracted internal displacement is perceived in a global setting and what are the prospects for solutions?
- In which way could the IDPs in Darfur frame their choices when they think about ending displacement?
- What are the factors that can affect IDPs in Darfur in framing their choices between return, relocation and reintegration?

The questions of this research are motivated by the unique situation suggested by the case study. Where the findings indicate that the IDPs in Darfur have been reluctant to leave the camps and end their displacement despite the considerable efforts and resources invested in finding alternatives for their displacement. The majority of them preferred to stay in the camps instead of moving to the model villages built in different areas which comes as part of the durable solutions for the IDPs in Darfur. Why and how this decision has been made as well as the underlying conditions for this choice are some of the questions this research is trying to answer.

1.4 Analytical Framework

The analytical framework which will be used to analyze the findings of this study is drawing on some of the concepts established by the prospect theory which was developed by psychologists Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman in 1979. The Prospect Theory describes how people select alternatives where risks are involved. The theory is also about how people make their decisions based on the potential of loss and gains from a reference point rather than a final result (Levy, 1997).

Loss aversion, endowment effect and status quo are some of the important concepts associated with the theory. These three criteria will be useful in analyzing the findings in order to find answer to the question of how the IDPs in the context of the selected case study could frame their choices when they have to choose between different alternatives.

While according to the theory expectations and aspirations of individuals can also influence the framing of reference point when decisions are taken, this part will also help in analyzing and understanding the position of the IDPs from the solutions suggested to them.
1.5 Methodological Framework

The chosen methodological framework for the conduct of the study is a qualitative abductive desk case study approach. The study will draw on the existing literature as the process will entail relying on secondary sources of data. For consideration related to time and accessibility to the field, this research has found that desk study is one of the possible methods in which it could be carried out. This process includes text analysis from different sources, such as scholar articles, UN agencies and organizations’ reports and news and media reports. When studying the texts about the IDPs in Darfur, one also has to be aware of the perspective of the author as it might influence what is considered and emphasized in the text.

The selection of the case study was based on the relevance of the case to the topic being discussed, as the IDPs in Darfur could fall within the category of protracted IDP situations (Käin,& Chapuisat,2017) With the use of the selected analytical framework the aim will be exploring the underlying conditions that influence IDPs in framing their choices and how they contribute in that process.

1.6 Limitations and Delimitation

As this thesis is a desk study the scope of the research will be limited to the accessible range and amount of literature and documents on the topic. Furthermore in connection to the chosen case study, the research on the topic will be confined to the case study as well as the IDPs who exist within the Darfur states and who have been displaced by the conflict in 2003. Further the study does not assume the generalizability of the finding to all cases of internal displacement. As protracted displacement could result from other factors such as natural disasters and drought, this research will be delimited to the conflict-induced internal displacement. The findings only are relevant for Darfur and no other cases but still interesting to understand the issue. The prospect theory is a broad theory and has many criteria and concepts, however the analysis will be delimited to the selected criteria and concepts.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

As the research will be a desk study and does not include any field work or direct interaction with certain group therefore it does not merit any ethical considerations.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

In the second chapter, the analytical framework used in the study is presented in more detail. The major criteria selected for guiding the analysis are also highlighted with pointing out to the way in which they will be operationalized. In the third chapter the methodology is
introduced, where the methods used in the study is defined as well the justification for the use of the methods. The data collection is further considered in this chapter.

The fourth chapter explores and reviews a range of different literature generated by many researches on the topic of protracted internal displacement. The fifth chapter gives a background about the case study; it includes an account of the developments of the situation in Darfur since the eruption of the conflict in 2003. The Sixth chapter consists of the findings, which presents a description of the relevant factors to the displacement in Darfur and the past, current and future interplay of these factors in relation to the IDPs in Darfur. The seventh chapter includes the analysis of the findings by using the selected framework and the final chapter presents the conclusion and the recommendations.
2. Analytical Frame

Prospect Theory
This part explains and introduces more in details the analytical framework which will be used as an analytical tool for analyzing the findings. The focus here will be on highlighting and defining these concepts and criteria from the prospect theory as well as the way in which these concepts will be operationalized throughout the analysis.

Back in 1979 Danell Kahneman and Amos Tversky, psychologists looked into how people form decisions in situations that involved levels of uncertainty. They came up with the so-called Prospect Theory; it was further developed in 1992 followed by a considerable amount of literature. According to Levy 1997 prospect theory describes how individuals make a choice between probabilistic alternatives where risk is involved and the probability of different outcomes is unknown. Substantial experimental evidences suggest that there are a number of aspects in which people do not behave according to the assumptions of the predictions of the expected utility.

Levy (1997) adds, Kahneman and Tversky argue that people are more sensitive to change in assets than to net assets level, in other words they are sensitive to gains and losses from a reference point rather than to level of wealth and welfare. They also make the point that, losses cause greater impact than does an equivalent amount of gain, and this could be applied to situations in which both choices offering the same outcome, an individual will chose the option with perceived gains,” it is better not to lose $5 than to find $5”

Reference dependence is a key analytical assumption in the prospect theory, it is understood in a way that when people think in terms of gains and losses, they start form some kind of reference point, or a baseline from which individual starts, then gains and losses are compared to this point.

Endowment concept is also important element highlighted in the theory, where people tend to value what they have more than “comparable things that they do not have”. The reason for people overvalue what they currently possess was shown by laboratory tests in which the concept of endowment effect was established. Loss aversion and endowment effect hypothesis are supported by the observed propensity towards status quo. This was reflected in a number of experimental and field studies of consumer and investment behavior (Levy, 1997)

Individuals would rather stay in the status quo if they define it as their reference point when they frame decisions, however “if the reference point is not congruent with the status quo in such situation the theory suggests moving away from the status quo”.

According to Levy, (1997), Kahneman and Tversky admitted that the reference point can be influenced by expectations, aspirations, social norms and comparisons, while they argue that “the reference state usually corresponds to the decision maker’s current position”

There have been different levels of acceptance and rejection among scholars with regard to prospect theory as it had created an ongoing debate on the conceptual status of the theory. While the validity of the experimental evidences have been questioned by some rational
choice theorists, other theorists admitted that the findings may be valid, they insist that they can be incorporated within expected utility or rational choice more broadly (Levy, 1997)

Although, Prospect Theory was developed in a different context, it still can be connected to the everyday choices that being is made by many in situations that are characterized by risk and uncertainty and with different levels of probability.

Most of the IDPs who have been caught in protracted displacement usually come to certain point during their flight where they face some kind of cross roads that suggested by the so called durable solution. The typical nature of these solutions usually carries a variety of choices in which IDPs should make in order to mark the end or begin the process of ending that journey of being displaced persons. A careful decision making process will certainly be in play within likely complicated reality suggested by the different contexts of internal displacement situations.

Ending displacement if considered from different angles it would certainly necessitate a process of choice making from the part of the IDPs due to the fact that they play a major role in this regard, if it is to be considered in line with the guiding principles of internally displaced persons.

As far as the IDPs are concerned, durable solutions always viewed in terms of choices between either moving or sticking to the status quo whether that reality meets their aspirations or not. Due to security and political uncertainty, choice making becomes even more complicated. The relevance of prospect theory could be manifested many in aspects such as loss aversion when IDPs acting just like any other human do not want to get into situations that involve loss while endowment effect could be seen when the IDPs value what they have achieved in different terms during their flight thus, they tend to stay in the status quo as suggested by the theory. The concept of individual having a reference point or a baseline against which they measure losses and gains could also help in understanding variations in IDPs' reference points when they have to make choice at certain point of time and how this reference point can be framed based on the realities which suggest different situations and scenarios. Within the theory also, Kahnman and Amos conceded that expectations, aspirations, social norms, and social comparisons can also influence the framing of the reference point, this part can also help explain some of the realities and behaviors of IDPs in shaping and formulating their choices.

Therefore this thesis will draw on this part of prospect theory in its analytical framework, however, the theory in this research will not be empirically implemented in the context of the IDPs in Darfur, rather it will be used to illuminate and help in studying and analyzing the context in which IDPs frame their choices in relation to whatever propositions that might come as part of durable solution.

From the perspective of this research, prospect theory will help highlight many aspects in the selected case study, among which dynamics of the displacement situation in Darfur. That why, solutions, can take different starting points based on the particularities and the development suggested by each condition? Loss aversion, endowment effect and status quo as well as aspirations, expectation, comparisons and social norms are the criteria and concepts that will be used in analyzing the materials in the analysis chapter.
3. Methodology

The chosen methodological framework for the conduct of the study as mentioned in the introduction is a qualitative abductive desk case study approach. For consideration related to time and accessibility to the field, this research has found that desk study is one of the methods in which it could be carried out. Bryman 2012 with the use of abductive method the researcher grounds a theoretical understanding of the context and the people being studied in order to describe and understand the perceptions of those within this context (Bryman, 2012). Additionally, Danermark, Beth, et al.2001 argue that “abduction is more associated with a way of viewing the relation between science and reality” suggesting that there is no ultimate true theories but at the same time not negating the possibility of increasingly improving knowledge in two senses. First, redescrpitions can provide deeper knowledge about the particular case under study, second one can also test, modify, and ground theories about general contexts and structures by relating these theories to ever new cases” (Danermark, Beth, et al.2001, p. 94)

Abductive method is applied in this part since one of the aims of the study is to understand the mechanism that shapes IDPs perceptions and influences them in framing their choices and how these choices are affected by the context. This is being implemented by starting from a certain theoretical frame where the analysis of the findings is guided by four criteria drawn from this theoretical frame.

The choice of qualitative method is encouraged by the exploratory nature which allows this study to provide a wide range of detailed information necessary for understanding the topic of internal displacement at different levels. According to Greswell,(2104) qualitative research allows asking at least central question and several sub-questions such as how and what as well the use of exploratory verbs such as: explore, understand or discover (Greswell,2014)

While the study also entails providing a detailed description of the context and the inter-play between the different actors.  Bryman 2012 also admitted that “many qualitative studies provide a detailed account of what goes on in the setting being investigated, these details are frequently important for the qualitative researcher, because of their significance for their subjects and also because the details provide an account of the context within which people’s behavior takes place” (Bryman 2012,p.401)

The selection of the case study was based on the relevance of the case to the topic being discussed, as the IDPs in Darfur could fall within the category of protracted internal displacement situations (Kāin and Chapuisat, 2017). According to Bryman(2012) the use of case study in qualitative research involves detailed and intensive analysis of a single case, it provides tools for researchers to study complex phenomena within their contexts it is also one of the designs used in sociology (Bryman,2012,p.66). By examining Darfur IDPs, the case suggests a complex situation that requires going more into some details and backgrounds. Also other consideration such as the period and the magnitude of the displaced persons as well as the efforts invested to address the crisis were also considered in selecting Darfur IDPs as a case for this research. Researcher’s past professional experience and geographical
proximity to the IDPs in Darfur is one of the considerations that also encouraged the selection of the case study. However the research does not assume the generalizability to all similar cases, rather it will highlight some aspects in the overall topic of protracted internal displacement and add to more to the ongoing debate on the issue.

**Sources of data and information**

As the research is carried out as a desk study it will draw on analyzing the existing literature as the process will entail relying secondary sources of data. In order to answer the first question regarding the debate about the IDPs in a global setting, the study relied mostly on a number of electronic peer-reviewed articles dealing with the topic from different angles and in this regard (One Search) of Linnaeus University library is one of the tools that provided the study with a wide range access of scholarly articles in the topic.

Additionally, Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IMDC) is one of the data sources concerning the IDPs. Since its establishment in 1998 the center has emerged as one of the specialized centers on internal displacement at the global level. The study also used information from different UN agencies reports such as Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), and United Nations –African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) and The Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement as well as Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (OHCHR). These international institutions work or have closely worked with IDPs including the region of Darfur where the case study is located.

For purpose of more balanced viewpoints on the conflict in Darfur the study also used the book of John Unruh (2016) which deals in depth with the land issue in Darfur- a subject that has strong relevance to the conflict in the region. With same purpose the study also used some news reports from an online sources such Sudan Tribune and Radio Danaga , both sources have been regularly following up the situation of the IDPs in Darfur. Relief web is also among the news source consulted in the research, it is a web-based source of information and news that has special focus humanitarian field a round the world.

The analytical frame used in the research and which was drawn from the prospect theory was useful in understanding the environment and the context in which the IDPs might frame their choices between return or local integration, it was also useful in drawing some of the conclusions that reached by analyzing the findings.
4. Literature Review

In this part of the research the study will explore and review a range of different literature generated by many researches on the topic of protracted internal protracted displacement. The review will cover different aspects as well as the global setting in which the IDPs have been found. The aim is also to provide an overview of the problem of internal displacement and the prospects of solutions. It is mostly based on scholars’ views and the experiences of relevant institutions.

4.1 Conceptualization and Definition

In trying to conceptualize the term protracted displacement Käin and Chapuisat,(2017) argues that there have been no consensus as to when displacement becomes protracted, but it is still possible to identify some basic notions that commonly have association with protracted displacement as they are also relevant to conflict and disaster. According to Käin and Chapuisat some opinions see protractedness as a matter of duration which suggests that displacement becomes protracted after one, three and five years. While other notions viewed it in terms of IDPs’ inability to return to their former homes and they are awaiting to be relocated. As noted by Käin and Chapuisat the strength of this approach rests on the focus on the IDPs need to find solution to end their plight but at the same time ignores the internationally accepted option of possible local integration. Further other approach and in order to frame the protracted displacement takes the need of continued humanitarian assistance after the departure of humanitarian actors as a criteria to identify protracted displacement (Käin and Chapuisat,2017).

Earlier in 2007 following the rap up of the Experts Seminar on protracted IDP situations which was held in Geneva, the participants brought the issue to the center of debate and there was a consensus on the frame within which protracted IDP situations fall. Accordingly, the description of the problem identified two main elements that characterize protracted displacement. Firstly, the blockage of the process of finding solution, secondly, the IDPs are marginalized as consequence of violations or lack of protection of human rights, including economic, social and cultural rights.(Experts Seminar on Protracted IDP Situation, 2007)

Although the issue has been part of the reality experienced by many of those who have been involved in the humanitarian field, however the concept of protracted displacement was clearly crystallized by the Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs OCHA in its commissioned study of 2017. The study singled out protracted internal displacement situations as primarily a development and political challenge with humanitarian elements. According to the study the term protracted displacement refers to, “IDPs who are prevented from taking or are unable to take steps for significant periods of time to progressively reduce their vulnerability, impoverishment and marginalization and find a durable solution”(Ibid, p.6)
4.2 Between IDPs and Refugees

According to the Guiding Principles on Internal displacement, internally displaced persons are defined as,

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

According to Mundt and Ferris (2008) despite the fact that IDPs might have been displaced and forced to leave their habitual places due to the same reasons that refugees do, the main difference between the two categories is that IDPs unlike refugees have not crossed international borders. Refugee status is based on persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution for five reasons – race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion. However when it comes to status and legal definition, IDPs can not claim refugee status or be given status comparable to refugees even if the reasons behind their displacement can be attributed to, violations of human rights, generalized violence and natural or human-made disasters. Mundt and Ferris argue that, the Guiding Principles on internal displacement is a descriptive, not a legal definition when IDPs are viewed from this perspective.

It is easy to identify some links between internal and cross-border displacement, however the exact dynamics that explain "how someone who is an IDP one day can become a refugee, an asylum seeker or an international migrant the next are still unclear (GRID, 2017).

Other significant differences can be noted which can have implications on the durable solutions. Mundt and Ferris (2008) note that refugees issue have found large share of scholarly research, jurisprudence and legal review due to the long presence of 1951 convention and the subsequent establishment of UNHCR as a guardian for this convention.

While on the other hand IDPs do not have specific UN agency that can serve as a guardian for the guiding principles on internal displacement (although the Representative of the Secretary-General on the Human Rights of IDPs often can act within his/her capacity to take on this task. Further IDPs and according to the definition they are practically unable and unwilling to gain the protection of their national authorities, ironically in their situation the task of protection falls within the jurisdictions of the same national authorities which might be the reason behind their displacement.

Different conflicts in various contexts usually generate both IDPs and refugees. Experience also reflected variation in the number of both IDPs and refugees in relation to specific conflict. As noted by Ferris and Mundt 2008 in some cases of conflict- induced displacement the IDPs outnumber the refugees as in Sudan during the civil and Turkey. In cases such as Colombia, Chechnya Georgia and Tajikistan, the number of refugees is overshadowed by massive internal displacement. Usually reasons such as soft and hard borders control as well as the geographical factors can also contribute to whether the affected populations move inside the country and be defined as IDPs or cross international borders and then be defined as refugees (Mundt and Ferris, 2008). It was also evident at the end of 2014 when the number of internally displaced persons globally almost stood twice the
number of refugees. The recent example of Syrian refugees which has passed 4 million, the UN in 2015 estimated that a further 7.6 million have been displaced within Syria, unable or unwilling to leave the country (Bohnet et al. 2018).

4.3 IDPs and Conflict a Complex Relation

The inevitable linkage between IDPs and conflict is contributing to creating complex situations within the sphere of the internally displaced persons worldwide. Neil (2009) argues that IDPs are always liable to violence and human rights violations due to the fact that in most cases they remain close to the conflict zones (Neil, 2009). IDPs can also contribute to the transformation of conflict to other peaceful zone as Bohnet et al, (2018) indicate that, through the militarization process of IDPs population and their camps they can take part in the conflict diffusion whereby they become both victims and agents. He further cites the case in northern and eastern Sri Lanka, due to the advantageous locations provided by the IDP camps, rebels used them as launch -pad for their operations where other parts are destabilized as result. In the same line of intricate relation between IDPs and conflict actors Ruaudel (2013) notes the complex relation between IDPs and insurgent groups. He argues that some armed non-state actors might trigger displacement in order to control, protect or create support base for themselves. He describes this kind of relations as “exploitive and predatory”. According to Ruaudel the relation is built around a range of different attitudes that embraces tolerance, acceptance, mutual support and solidarity.

4.4 Different Impacts of Protracted Displacement

Kalin and Chapuisat, (2017) note that protracted displacement leaves IDPs in a situation of vulnerability that make them exposed to numerous protection problems that often grow over time, particularly when humanitarian assistances are reduced or come to an end, and when IDPs’ specific needs are not sufficiently addressed within the next phase of peace planning process.

One of the problems that IDPs face as result of lack of training and skills is that they do don’t have any comparative advantages when it comes to competing in labor market that why they end up relying aid. Long-term safety, security and freedom of movement also pose challenge to the IDPs as well as the hostile relation with host community in addition to infiltration of criminal elements in the IDP camps besides the forced eviction from land and shelters. Long periods of displacement can also have different levels of impact on the IDPs while some of them might develop coping strategies depending on the context, others might not be able develop these coping strategies. There are a wide range of impacts that can affect IDPs in different ways both socially and economically. Being in different or a new context IDPs usually have difficulty in being integrated socially in the host community that why their participation in public affairs at all levels on equal basis can be affected or reduced. Other effects can also extend into political, cultural and religious practices.

Additionally, not only the IDPs affected by prolonged displacement, host community shares the burden as well. In most cases, IDPs leave behind all their belongings, properties and most
of livelihoods means and they have to share the host community the available resources especially if there had already been family or tribal ties between the two categories. Also the massive influx of IDPs on certain places under limited and fluctuated humanitarian response contributes huge pressure on local authorities (Kāin and Chapuisat, 2017)

However in some case some positive impacts have been observed, especially on child education and access to some services which otherwise could not have been attained in the rural areas that IDPs come from and that due to the mobilization and concentration of relief agencies. It has been noted by IDMC (2015) that in the case of Pakistan, where displacement contributed to providing children from FATA and KP with better-quality schooling which was not possible in other parts of the country (NRC/IMDC, 2015).

4.5 long-term Displacement as Challenge for Peace and Security

Failure to deal properly with protracted displacement could jeopardize peace and security, considering the peace dividends that should not only benefit the center and a handful elites, UN expert panel on peace operations in 2015 warned of the lack of inclusion of ex-fighters, refugees and displaced people. The panel noted that, the exclusion could have potential threat to the sustainability of peace in the short and longer term. Ignoring the durable solutions for IDPs, for instance, might lead them to reject peace agreements and possibly creates and nurture latent disputes and grievances which can constrain peace building. The grievances and demands of IDPs if not addressed sufficiently would certainly lead to future relapse in conflict (Kāin and Chapuisat, 2017).

Additionally, O’Neill, (2009) argues that, it is impossible to achieve sustainable peace and development while there is still a population that is rootless, dependent on foreign aid and with strong resentment and enmity towards those who caused their displacement. Conditions and prospects of IDPs are key indicators of whether peace will be solid and development will take off, or "whether conflicts will re-emerge and another spiral of violence will ensue”

4.6 Pursuit of Durable Solutions

As the phenomenon of internal displacement started to reoccur and have different repercussions in different parts of the world, many researchers have been prompted by the urgency of the situation and a considerable amount of studies have been launched to look into the issue from different angles.

Elizabeth Ferris of the Brookings Institution-University of Bern Project on Internal Displacement has considerably contributed to the joint efforts undertaken by many researchers in order to address the problem of protracted internal displacement. Ferris and Halff, (2011) looked into the feasibility of local integration as one of the possible durable solutions in a variety of contexts. Their work highlights the great importance of studying closely the IDPs situation and how their perception of durable solution can differ from the widely held perceptions of governments and humanitarian actors. Their findings were based on recent research in six countries in Africa, Europe and Latin America. Ferris' work contributes to the debate on the alternatives when it comes to practically think about durable solutions for the protracted displacement.
Lundt and Ferris (2008) have pointed out to the similarities in the impact of prolonged displacement on the lives of IDPs and refugees while at the same time emphasizing the significant differences in their situations particularly when it comes to solutions. Issues of concern to the IDPs such as the lack of internationally mandated agency such as UNHCR are also highlighted by their comparative study using protracted IDPs situations in Darfur, Georgia and Colombia. Their study also concluded that in Georgia, as in Darfur, the international community appears to be repeating the same strategy followed in Bosnian crisis referring to UN failure to address the causes of a conflict, and seeking instead to fill the gap with humanitarian assistance. The study also noted the role of strong external actors and their internal alliance and how this could impede exercising pressure on conflict parties to reach durable settlement to the conflict which would eventually end the plight of the IDPs. Lundt and Ferris cited some examples of the pattern and the impact of these alliances. For instance; the Chinese support for the Sudanese regime and how it has been critical to limiting international action. While in Colombia how the US support for the government has been crucial to its counter-insurgency efforts and anti-narcotics policy which resulted in reducing the UN role and in the case of Georgia the conflict dominated by the interests of the much-larger Russian Federation.

Zetter and Long (2012) argues for new thinking on the causes and consequences of protracted displacement and calls for finding innovative and sustainable responses. Their thoughts contribute widely to the issue of forced migration. Their work highlights the particularities that characterize each case of protracted internal displacement. They call for case-specific diagnose in order to come up with informed decision about durable solution. One of their central arguments is that actors have to build on the realities of the actual activities and movements of displaced people while they are ‘in protracted displacement’ can usefully lead to unlocking the situation.

Amando (2016) has also brought some insights into the topic of protracted displacement particularly when it comes to the local integration from the perspective of tenure security. Amando suggests a shift from restitution of property rights to the right to adequate housing as main ingredient in the local integration of IDPs. Amando’s views the tenure security in the light of the due attention that should be given to identify the situations and processes that limit the position of vulnerable groups, such as women, ethnic minorities, migrants and forcibly displaced people particularly when it comes to negotiation options. Amando admits that access to secure land and housing is crucial in avoiding conflict and impoverishment of community and denial of this right could obstruct socio-economic development adding that international peace building actors have begun to recognize the importance of housing, land and property issues in their strategies to achieve peace.

Furthermore, Harild, (2016) view on the durable solutions to the protracted displacement is putting more emphasis on the pure developmental nature of the problem. He argues that IDPs instead of being burden can be used as a positive transforming factor to the economy of their countries, and that can only be achieved by cooperation between local governments and development partners, by setting sound plans enabling IDPs to contribute to the economy.
Although he did not draw a clear line between those internally displaced and those who crossed international borders Harild analysis of the situation has drawn on the proximity between the two categories. He argues that humanitarian agencies are not equipped to address the long term developmental needs of protracted displacement yet this has been the case for many years. Harild, further points out to the lack of understanding of the nature of protracted displacement in terms of short- and long-term social, economic, fiscal and security implications.

Blay and Cronzet (2017) share the same opinion of Zetter and Long (2012) they suggest also looking into the specific context of each displacement by analyzing the distinctive nature thus, an informed decision can be farmed. Blay and Crozet put forward a bottom up approach in which certain steps are taken and through which durable solutions are identified and prioritized by the displaced affected communities, their approach gives more weight to the local ownership of solutions that based on close consultation with the affected communities.

Käin and Chapuisat (2017) concluded that protracted internal displacement is primarily a development and political challenge with humanitarian element, their approach calls for pursuit of collective outcomes to reduce the risk and vulnerability of IDPs as the way for durable solutions without even waiting for the conflict to be fully resolved (Käin and Chapuisat,2017).
5. Background

The region of Darfur is located in the western part of Sudan and according to the current administrative division it comprises five states North, South, East, West and Central Darfur states (Reliefweb, 2012).

The security situation started to deteriorate significantly in Darfur with the beginning of the conflict in February 2003 when two rebel movements, the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice Equality Movement (JEM), took arms and attacked government installations. The two rebel groups, who have mostly come from non-Arab tribes, based their fight discourse on the accusations that Arab-ruled Sudanese government has been oppressing black Africans in favor of Arabs. Sudan’s government responded harshly through air attacks against civilian populations from which the rebels were drawn. The government launched also ground attacks by militiamen recruited among the Arab tribes, known as the Janjaweed (Nabati, 2004).

In response to the deteriorating security and humanitarian situation an African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) was initially deployed under the Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement of April 2004, but with a very limited mandate (Kahn, 2008).

Following that, a series of diplomacy effort by UN and several international actors, the government of Sudan accepted in July 2007 the deployment of the African Union - UN hybrid operation in Darfur UNAMID which was established through the adoption of resolution 1769 under Chapter VII of the UN Charter (UNAMID, 2018).

The conflict in Darfur has claimed about 300,000 lives and displaced close to 3 million people since it erupted in February 2003 (Enough Project, 2012). The crisis in Darfur has also drawn huge international attention and created international pressure on the government of Sudan as the crisis has been compared to the genocides of Rwanda. In 2008 the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court ICC announced a decision to indict the Sudanese president in connection to his role in violations took place in Darfur (Jumbert, 2014).

Since the eruption of the conflict a series of peace agreements have been signed. The first agreement was in May 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) but it did not find acceptance among Darfuris especially among the affected communities. As it has been noted by Brosché and Duursma, (2018) the victimized communities were unwilling to forget the atrocities committed by the government, and its affiliated militias. They indicate that it is difficult for them make concessions to the actors who are perceived as their enemies. Another factor that increased the rejection of the DPA is that millions of people were still displaced and forced to abandon their traditional homelands to lead a humiliating life in the camps, and above all it was signed by only one rebel faction. The second DPA was also not effective due to its failure to address the root causes of the conflict, including the issue of land where the Sudan’s government recruited militias from Arab groups who did not have land rights by promising them lands which in turn contributed to deliberate cleansing of many areas. While the third agreement was also unpopular among the Arab community especially those who sided the government in the rebels fight, they felt betrayed by the inclusion of militia disarmament stipulated by the DPA they did not only show resentment with respect to the agreement but
also they did not fully comply with the arrangements related to the disarmament (Brosch éand Duursma, 2018).

The agreements between the government and the different rebel factions have in most cases been weakened by the fragmentation of the rebel movements, sometimes resulting in signing an agreement with a defected group from the main movement or signing a subsequent agreement with the same group following a period of defection. In 2016, the Government, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Sudan Liberation Army/Minni Minawi (SLA/MM) signed the Roadmap Agreement providing for further talks on the cessation of hostilities, the later faction had previously been the sole signatory of the first Darfur Peace Agreement in 2006, (OHCHR,2017).

Despite the continued effort to bring all the fragmented rebel movements on board of the peace process, yet one of the main factions has repeatedly refused to be part of the past agreements in Darfur. SLA/AW which is led by Abdalwahid Nur who enjoys wide popularity among IDPs mostly from Fur tribe in south and central Darfur continuously rejected signing any deal with the government (Sudan Tribune, 2018).
6. Findings

In this part of the thesis four major aspects will be introduced and explored as they are perceived to have strong relevance to the IDPs in Darfur in several ways. The findings are intended to provide a contextual background for understanding the complexity of the situation. The first part of the findings presents the land issue in Darfur due to the complex role it plays in the conflict and its potential impact on any future solution to the IDPs. The second part deals with the security situation in Darfur and its implications on IDPs in terms physical security, livelihood and their decision to return. While the third part highlights some of the impacts of displacement on the IDPs and how this new context affected them socially, economically and politically particularly these impacts are difficult to ignore when considering IDPs views on durable solutions. The findings are concluded by tracing the progress of recent proposed solutions for the IDPs and how they address their problem.

6.1 Land in Darfur

6.1.1 Central Role in the Conflict

The issue of land in Darfur is one of the key characteristics of the conflict in the region. According to Unruh (2016) there has been wide consensus among many scholars who have approached the subject on the central role played by land rights in the conflict in Darfur. Unruh notes that land rights are complex, confused, sensitive, and volatile for the different indigenous groups involved in the conflict. Any attempt to address the situation in Darfur requires good understanding of this issue and how does it relate the sustainable solution (Unruh, 2016). Commenting on the Darfur Peace Agreement DPA Brosché and Duursma (2018) argue that the agreement fell short of addressing many of the root causes of the conflict in Darfur adding that, “land is fundamental in Darfur as it constitutes the preeminent economic asset and has a strong emotive aspect for Darfur’s various communities”(Brosché and Duursma 2018, p.566).

6.1.2 Historical background

The way how people in Darfur came to settle and distribute ownership and the boundaries of the land they occupy has developed over long period including the time of British colonization of Sudan. Considering the structure of the region which was mainly built on tribal structure, British governance in the region was characterized by indirect rule by relying on lager tribes through paramount chiefs. In this way the colonial administration saved the effort of dealing with each and every small tribe. That also means all these small tribes come under the rule and administration of the larger tribe chiefdom whether they accept it or not (Unruh, 2016).
6.1.3 How land rights emerged in Darfur

Land holding patterns for the different groups co-existing in the region have been one the distinctive features that characterized land issue. According to Unruh 2016 land in Darfur is divided up into tribal homeland traditionally known as dar. Traditionally and as a common practice the dar belongs to one of the major tribes or clans. These major groups initially obtained these lands sometimes before the establishment of the Sultanate of Darfur as a dominant state in the region. Following the prominence of Fur Sultanate as a dominant power the Sultans of Fur tribe reconfirmed the position of those dwellers from non-Fur tribes and gave them recognition. This recognition had many advantages for those tribes such as monopoly over land, leadership, revenues collection and political nexus. It is also worth noting that Darfur means the homeland of Fur tribe and this in recognition of its historical role in maintaining and establishing what can be described as a thriving state at that time (Unruh, 2016).

The land rights which was initially given to non-Fur tribes by the Sultan’s authority was introduced under what is defined as hakura. The hakura or the estates granted by the Sultan can be divided into two categories. According to Abouyoub,(2012) the first form of hakura is taking administrative character in relation to the land assigned. It gives limited right to revenues collection within the parameter of that specific land. While the second form of hakura, is more exclusive with the privilege that gives the title holder all rights for tax collection and religious dues. The first form was commonly given to tribal leaders, while the second form of Hakura was conventionally known as dar which has wider meaning whereby it represents a homeland for that specific tribe in the context of Darfur (Abouyoub, 2012). However the hakura system has received different interpretations which were subject to several developments in the region due to the various confusing concepts associated with it. According to Unruh 2012 some see hakura as a synonymous with dar, others view it as a form of land tenure belonging to the Fur tribe only, and still other perceive it as land management system which can be changed or replaced. Unruh further noted that with the dominance of the native administration that governed different tribal components who occupy either hakura or dar, this land tenure system succeeded in maintaining relative peaceful interaction between both pastoralists and farmers until the native administration was dissolved in 1971 by the military government led by Gafer Numeri (Unruh,2012).

When Darfur was annexed to Sudan in 1916 by the colonial authorities they did not make much change to the existing land system in the region. The tribal indirect rule of homeland favored the larger tribes thus their leaders were established as paramount chiefs who have been entrusted with the administration of larger areas of lands as well as the people within a given boundary. Some of the effects that could be linked to the current conflict in the region is that historical arrangements related to land led to the exclusion of some groups on one hand and reducing the share of some groups on the other hand. The results of these arrangements were manifested in the later claim for independent dars by the smaller tribes due to the fact that having their own dars means having their own ‘Native Administration’ which operates within broader customary law and has political connotation. Further not all tribes have dars
like the case of the camel Arab pastoralist (*abbala*). They are one of the indigenous groups of northern Darfur such as the northern *Rizeigat* who have historically existed in different parts of the Sahara to the north of Darfur and who migrated into Darfur seasonally. According to Unruh (2016) this kind of exclusion from land attainment can also be attributed to the Sultanate era which favored the larger sedentary tribes and the subsequent British colonial policy which did the same (Unruh, 2016). The central role played by land and conflict over its natural resources is difficult to ignore considering the different communities whose livelihood depends on land in Darfur. Abouyoub (2012) study noted more than 30 major conflicts in the period 1933-2000 between the different tribal groups and in which the conflict was directly related to land or causes such as grazing right and water (Abouyoub, 2012).

### 6.1.4 Land Grabbing and Occupation

Before eruption of conflict in Darfur in 2003 between the government and the armed movements one of the historical features that characterized land ownership, had been the dominance and control of non-Arab tribes mainly Fur, Masaleet and Zaghawa. It is also worth noting that most of the armed movements who fought against the central government were made up of these three tribes. However following the eruption of the conflict and in the period between 2003/2005 this scene has changed largely in favor of Arab tribes and their militias who sided and fought with the government during its war against rebel movements (Bromwich, 2018).

According to Pantuliano (2007) there has been illegal occupation of lands in Darfur by pro-government militias and secondary occupation has occurred in several areas in western and south-western Darfur, where many Arab nomadic groups that belonging to many clans have occupied or are using for land grazing land formerly inhabited by non-Arab sedentary groups such as the Masalit and the Fur. The study of Olsson (2011) which used a unique database on 542 villages in southwestern Darfur reflects a systematic pattern of displacement following land grabbing and population change that have taken place as a consequence of the recent conflict. The analysis demonstrated that a considerable number of people from three targeted African groups have been driven away to displacement and their villages have been repopulated by Arab and other African groups (Olsson, 2011).

The land grabbing and secondary occupation might have been embedded in the collective narrative of the Arab pastoralists who have been aggrieved by the historical land rights in Darfur. Further this process has been ignited by the government encouragement to Arab militia to keep the so called liberated lands as these lands constitute a significant share of the deal between the government and those militias (Unruh and Abdul-Jalil, 2014).
6.2 Security Situation

The security situation in most parts of the region in the last decade has been ranging between tense and relatively calm. It has also been affected and steered by several factors such as the political process, government's strategy in fighting rebel movements and arms proliferation. Along with other armed militia roaming the region, one of the major security threats that has seriously undermined the security and the stability of the civilians in Darfur is the so called Rapid Support Forces (RSF). According to Human Rights Watch (2015) RSF is a Sudanese government force operated under the command of the National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS). The government created this force in 2013 with the purpose of militarily defeating rebel armed groups throughout Sudan. Human Rights reports indicate that, RSF is responsible for a wide range of horrific human rights violations. They exercised forced displacement of entire communities, the destruction of water sources, food and other means necessary for sustaining life in different harsh situations like desert environment; and the looting of the properties of families, such as livestock. However the most worrying abuses against civilians were torture, extrajudicial killings and mass rapes. The RSF is widely getting the endorsement and the support of the government. Even during the military operations they are backed in the air and on the ground by the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and other Arab militia groups, including a variety of proxy militias, commonly known as Janjaweed (Human Rights Watch, 2015).

The prospect of continued battling between government-backed militia and the rebel factions is probably high according to several news report including Radio Dabanga the Chief Commander of the RSF Mohamed Hamdan (also known as Hemeti), has vowed to eliminate the non-signatory Sudan Liberation Movement led by Abdulwahid Nur. Confrontations between the two sides also result in many cases in reprisal attacks on civilians who are perceived as support base for the rebel movement (Radio Dabanga, 2018).

There has also been considerable number of reports by Radio Dabanga on grave violations of human rights in connection to IDPs attempted return to their areas as these types of news travel fast and increase the already existing fear of IDPs about the security situation. The insecurity is also exacerbated by the arms proliferation in the region as the UN has repeatedly warned of the widely spreading of arms and their implication of the security and the stability in Darfur (UN News, 2017).

Several reports by Amnesty International also warns for the deteriorating security situation in many parts of the region as they indicated that between August 2017 and April 2018, many incidents of unlawful killings, rape, abduction, looting of villages and livestock, and torching of homes and arbitrary detention continued to take place in Darfur. The situation is also exacerbated by overall impunity and a weak rule of law (Amnesty, 2018).

Recently and in response to the Security Council resolution 2363 (2017), the UN-African mission in Darfur UNAMID will undergo a drawdown process that will result in reducing the size of the mission on ground by withdrawing from some areas in the region (UN, 2017).
6.3 Impacts of Displacement

6.3.1 Dependency on Aid

Driven by conflict and insecurity, most the IDPs in Darfur have been distributed in approximately 66 camps either in or around the major towns of the larger Darfur state. With some exception these camps and gatherings are scattered in some rural or rebel held areas. The long conflict in the region has widely affected infrastructure and the entire livelihood. With the expansion of the conflict, the state health and education facilities have gradually deteriorated and eventually reduced to very poor conditions or absence in some areas resulting in negative implications for different communities especially in the rural areas (OHCHR, 2017). Further, the unprecedented impact of the crisis in Darfur extended to restricting mobility which included people and livestock resulting in virtual collapse of livelihood systems which has been manifested in production failures, market failures, and failures of access to natural resources (Young and Jacobsen, 2013).

The data collected by UN agencies in 2016 indicated that 30 percent of primary health care facilities throughout the region were either shutdown, damaged or not fully functional. The gap in different sectors and many other services has been relatively filled and shifted to IDP camps typically provided for and funded by international relief agencies. Further UNAMID also directed some of its funds to many projects targeting IDPs’ different needs. For example in the period between 2014 /16 UNAMID implemented 61 quick impact projects (QIPs). The projects targeted the health, education and services sectors, they also included the construction of water boreholes, secondary schools and vocational centers, most of these projects were tailored to meet the critical needs of displaced communities (OHCHR, 2017).

In general there has been a continued and a wide range dependency on aid in most aspect of life in the last decade in the region. According to Sudan Humanitarian Needs Overview 2018 of the 5.5 million people in need of humanitarian assistance in Sudan more than 3 million exist in Darfur (OCHA, 2018 b).

6.3.2 Social economic Impacts

New livelihood strategies have been developed considering the reality suggested by the displacement which has blocked the IDPs from their previous livelihood means Young and Jacobsen,(2013) study which was carried out between 2006-2007 notes a pattern of transit in this regard as a consequences of the new context that IDPs have existed in. This study points at a number of new strategies that have been developed and sustained by different local factors. For example, food aid programs have supported the cereal market and led to IDPs involvement in this market. Despite the risk associated with these activities, however some of the new strategies can be seen in the sale of firewood, water selling and brick making which has been driven by the residential expansion resulting from increasing
demand on housing which is induced by the presence of large number of humanitarian organizations and staff. The flow of aid and presence of international humanitarian programs and peacekeeping operations have positively influenced the local economy of the region. For example; local employment generation led to a growing number of professional national aid workers (Young and Jacobsen, 2013).

The interaction between international aid agencies and local partners has also contributed in building the capacity of both IDPs and those local organizations through the implementation of several programs. Usually the engagement of aid and relief agencies is built on the internal structure of the IDPs to facilitate the provision of different aid packages. As noted by OCHA report of (2014) ninety-seven per cent of all aid workers in Sudan’s Darfur region are Sudanese (OCHA, 2014c).

6.3.3 Urbanization trend in progress

The long absence from the original context has affected the IDPs in different terms. According to De Waal, (2009) most of the displaced people who have left their villages have undergone changes that relate to their social structure and livelihood. De Waal argues that the IDPs have started to lose their hold on the old ways of life, and it is not likely anything resembling the old Darfur can be reconstituted. Drawing on the experience of social scientists who have worked in the camps it is indicated that at least one third of the camps populations are economically integrated into the towns. He also argues that the new Darfur is built around urban economies and the revenues of aid, and less around the complementary farming and pastoral livelihoods of the past. Other pull factors are that camps have provided better services than most villages and the poorer quarters of cities. This relates to food rations, health and water in addition to education due to proximity of camps to towns. The cities in Darfur have doubled in size during the war due to the huge inflow from the rural areas that is in addition to the 30% of the Darfur population that lives in IDP camps (De Waal, 2009).

6.3.4 IDPs Engagement in Political Sphere

Most of the IDPs in Darfur are predominately made up the Fur, Masalit, and Zaghawa tribes that were the chief targets of operations during 2003-04. According to De Waal (2009) those IDPs have maintained different types of relations with the rebel movements which were mostly made up of the same tribal combination. He argues that many of them are supporting the rebel faction of Abdulwahid (SLA/AW) indicating that the concentration of the population in these camps along with the shift in administrative structure has allowed the new leadership to focus on the advantage of political mobilization of IDPs. It is one of the effective means that they can use to draw attention to their status as victims. Political mobilization was manifested in different occasions in which IDPs had often taken unified position through protests or collective rejection. Some examples were obviously seen when they resisted registration during the national census and their continued refusal to the idea of return unless there is complete security guaranteed by international troops (De Waal, 2009).
Kahn’s (2008) study is trying to address and explain this continued tension related to the controversy over militarization in the IDP camps in Darfur. Kahn argues that the camps are neither militarized nor neutral humanitarian spaces, indicating that IDP camps represent strategic sites for political and economic activity. She also refers to the fact that IDPs have little choice but to engage in complex allegiances in order to achieve physical security and access to the political process. The IDPs positions were largely harmonized with both the rebel movements’ positions and with the political developments related to Darfur crisis. Kahn’s study presents an account of a number of large demonstrations staged by the IDPs in almost all the IDP camps in Darfur between 2006/8. Most of these demonstrations have been reported by many of news agencies and in which IDPs have openly demonstrated their support to the rebels (Kahn, 2008).

Different patterns of civil and political protests have continued to shape some of the features that characterize many of the IDP camps in Darfur and sometimes the situation turns into violent confrontations between the IDPs and the government forces. In September 2017 as reported by Xinhua news agency where at least three IDPs were killed and 26 others injured in clashes between government forces and IDPs who demonstrated in Kalma IDP camp in South Darfur in rejection to a visit by Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir to the camp (Bo, 2017). Also in May, 2018 Amnesty International reported violent incidents in connection to protests and in which IDPs in Central Darfur were involved (Amnesty, 2018).

6.4 Return and Relocation of Darfur IDPs

In the joint report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operations in Darfur (UNAMID) 2014-2016 some of the main developments concerning the return and the reintegration of Darfur IDPs are discussed. According to the report and based on the information of the Voluntary Return and Reintegration Committee (VRRC) which was established in 2011, since the year 2012 a total of 192 voluntary return villages have been established in South Darfur and 79 in Central Darfur, 94 in East Darfur and 134 in West Darfur and 204 in North Darfur. As highlighted by the report, these villages have become central to the evolving policy of the government on return and reintegration of IDPs in Darfur. They are also considered as one of the strongly promoted solutions. In 2016 the Humanitarian Aid Commission (HAC) the governmental body responsible for the coordination of most of the humanitarian programs including IDPs across the Sudan conducted a survey in several IDP camps in a form of a questionnaire which provided the three options of return, reintegration and relocation. The results have not been made public as to date. However from January 2014 to December 2016 OCHA has reported that a total of 230,000 IDPs and refugees had returned to their places of origin, out of 2.6 million IDPs in Darfur.

According to OHCHR report the levels of return to the model villages in East, North, West and Central Darfur have been limited and that was reflected in the results of the mapping of UNAMID which was carried out in July 2016 to assess the level preparedness and suitability for a durable return and reintegration program. The survey concluded that, most of the
surveyed model villages were largely empty, despite the presence of some critical infrastructure such as schools, hospital, police stations and other state institutions. According to UNAMID insecurity remains one of the major concerns leading to the slow response by the IDPs to move to these villages. They are mostly discouraged by the violence perpetrated by pro-government armed militia who forcibly evict them from the areas to which they return. The second major concern is the land occupied by the same armed militia where UNAMID has documented cases in West and North Darfur where Arab communities presented documents to the IDPs and demanded that they forfeit ownership of their land. The recurrent encounter between armed militia and the IDPs over farmlands has negatively impacted their right to food security and the prospect for return (OHCHR, 2017).

According to Radio Dabanga the displaced people in Darfur have often rejected to relocate in the model villages the rejection has been manifested in several protests in western Darfur state (Radio Dabanga, 2017).

The government's position on the IDP camps in Darfur has always been characterized by animosity as it has sought to dismantle these camps by all possible means (Sudantribune, 2018). The return from and dismantling of IDP camps, have remained one of the complicated issues between IDPs and the government. The complexity of this relations is seen in the government's constant accusations that IDP camps are hideouts of the outlaw groups. While the IDPs belief that the government has strong intention to forcibly remove the camps. Another factor could also be the government’s inability to have control over these camps due to the intensive presence of relief agencies and the peace mission. It is also worth noting in this context the existence of displacement camps remains the symbol of the 2003 insurgency that displaced over 2.5 million (reliefweb, 2018).
7. Analysis

Throughout this part the selected criteria of the chosen analytical framework will be used. Those criteria will guide the analysis in order to answer the second research question which is how do IDPs in Darfur frame their choices when they think about ending displacement. While at the same time the analysis will help in answering the third question by underlining and presenting some of the factors influencing that process of making decision. The analysis is also based on the relevant historical backgrounds, evidences, recent developments presented in the findings part.

7.1 Loss aversion

By examining the experience associated with displacement in Darfur it is difficult to rule out the possible presence of traumatic consequences on the IDPs at the individual and communal level. The effects of their experience remain in the memory over time and have different impacts on them. Rasmussen, et al. (2010) study on Darfuri refugees in eastern Chad identified a number of physical and psychological violent actions associated with the onset of displacement in Darfur as they define these actions as potentially traumatic events. Loss of lives and different types of violent abuses and loss of properties and livelihood have been reported widely by different institutions and aid agencies in connection to displacement in Darfur. This sense can also be enhanced, if the same experience has been repeated as in the case of IDPs some of them were displaced more than once. These types of psychological impacts is difficult to ignore when considering average people's response to them and how they perceive and recall them in their normal daily life.

It can be argued that most people would try to avoid any probable situation that could repeat this kind of experiences or at least could involve a loss of a comparatively perceived safer zone. According to the prospect theory loss aversion is seen in our tendency to strongly prefer avoiding losses over acquiring gains. This behavior is being experienced when we make choices that include both the possibility of a loss or gain.

From the perspective of the IDPs in Darfur the loss can be viewed in different terms. For example leaving the camp to another place could be considered a loss especially if they are moving to a place under highly unpredictable security situation. Even if the choice of leaving the camp is based on returning to their original areas or other alternative locations, still the situation on ground is not providing full guarantees about the physical security and the durability of their livelihood opportunities. It is also difficult to assume that IDPs will take an ad hoc decision without careful assessment. This situation would more likely make the risk of loss associated with leaving the camp higher than the comparable gains provided by return and relocation.

Under this condition it could strongly be argued that strategy and behavior of loss aversion will be applied by IDPs in framing their decision of whether to stay or leave the camp. Past
experiences of the IDPs can also enhance the notion of loss which could contribute to tipping the balance in favor of giving more weight to loss over gains.

7.2 Endowment effect
According to the prospect theory endowment effect refers to people tendency to value what they have more than "comparable things that they do not have. According to Dommer and Swaminathan (2012) who looked into the link between goods and the owner say "the ownership account for the endowment effect suggests that owning a good creates an association between the item and the self and that this possession-self link increases the value of the good" (Dommer and Swaminathan, 2012, p. 17)

The displacement incidents and the establishment of most IDP camps in Darfur date back to the beginning of the conflict in 2003 and since that time large number of Darfur population have at least spent 15 years in camps. Despite the difficulties associated with the life in camp and sometimes the dire situations. The camps in Darfur have relatively provided a safe humanitarian space particularly under the weak and sometimes absent or unwilling government protection which would not be guaranteed outside the camp.

Being recognized as internally displaced in the context of Darfur camps means a range of entitlements that is associated with this status. Throughout these years those new spaces in which the IDPs have existed allowed and guaranteed the flow of a variety of necessary and vital goods and services with the help of the international aid agencies. These goods are attained in different forms such as food, shelter, health care, and education. Besides that, new livelihood activities have also been developed due to the opportunities provided by this new context as well as economic integration in to the urban market in several ways.

However, beyond these material goods it is difficult to ignore the other significant characteristics provided by camps which can also be perceived as necessary for the IDPs. Firstly the camps provide comparatively free and safe communal space in which identity, political and social aspirations can freely be expressed. Secondly the relations and the network that the IDPs have developed with the international agencies through their regular interactions, offer the IDPs with a sense of assurance which at least makes them feel not isolated from the rest of the world. Thirdly, the physical structure of the IDP camps in their current form, provide the IDPs with protection especially under the presence of intense international aid and protection institutions which serve as watchdog in times of emergency.

Generally, though it is difficult to measure quantitatively all these advantages provided by camps yet, they can be sensed and attributed to the foundation of that safe space (camp). This space has evolved over time and created strong association with IDPs. An experience suggesting that, the camp with all its components represents a valued asset for them which is unlikely to be relinquished easily at least under the current situation. Therefore any decision
relating to leaving the camp will certainly go through careful assessment against the endowment provided for by the camp as an asset.

As suggested by prospect theory, *loss aversion* and *endowment effect* hypothesis are supported by the observed propensity towards status quo, in other words these two elements strongly affect the choice of the decision maker. As a result there will be increased tendency and likelihood toward maintaining or staying in the status quo. According to Merriam-Webster the status quo is defined as "the existing state of affairs". The concept of propensity towards status quo could provide some explanations for the slow response of the IDPs in Darfur to return and the comparatively small number of returnees as reflected in UNAMID mapping of the model villages that established as part of the durable solution.

Although return or relocation could be viewed as having comparable value! Obviously large number of the IDPs who have lived in the camps might have carefully considered the loss which might result from accepting to return, because that would mean two things. Firstly, they have to relinquish their status as IDPs which would also mean giving way the entire package of different means of survival guaranteed by their presence in the camp. Secondly, the return or the relocation areas could be perceived as uncertain and probably lacking sustainability, especially when IDPs think about their physical security and livelihood which will inevitably be confronted with problematic and complex land issue and the security situation. Even if considering the local integration in their camps as an immediate alternative it would also mean losing their status as IDPs and that implies losing a variety of entitlements necessary for their survival.

Bearing in mind that the notion of loss is central in the IDPs' experience and their displacement is built around different degrees of losses, it would be reasonable that IDPs reach a stage in which they will be able to form clear reference point in which losses and gains are carefully measured. In this case it could be argued that, the reference point from which the IDPs framed their decision and measure losses and gains is congruent with their status quo or the current situation in which they are living. Based on that we could establish some clues that might lead us to develop an understanding of the process in which IDPs engage in when they make decision with respect to what is defined as solution to them.

7.3 *Aspirations, expectations, social norms and comparisons*

On the other hand, as far as the reference point is concerned Kahneman and Tversky who developed prospect theory , admitted that the reference point can be influenced by expectations, aspirations, social norms and comparisons. This exemption can also allow and suggests some explanations to the way in which IDPs might frame their decision and how the overall decision could have been influenced by a range of attitudes related to how individuals or community identify and express them. To relate this part of the theory to our analysis we
need first to shed light on some of the aspects surrounding the displacement issue and the perceptions of the several actors in this context.

The scattered IDP camps throughout Darfur have remained for the last decade as some of the reminders of the extent of the crisis in Darfur. Undoubtedly, during this long period they have gained a symbolic dimension in the overall issue of Darfur. Implicated by the conflict, IDP camps may carry also different meanings to the various actors involved in the complex issue in the region.

Apparently for the government, the camps represent a stumbling block in its efforts to close the file of Darfur crisis which has put it under huge international scrutiny. This was evident in the government's tense relations with IDP camps and its continued attempts to dismantle them in order to get rid of the heavy legacy. However for the Arabs who have settled and grabbed IDPs lands, as long as the IDPs stay in the camps, their right for the grabbed lands will not be contested. The exhausted international community efforts invested in the relief and peace mission might also perceive the return of IDPs as a benchmark and indicator for peace.

While for the rebel movements, displaced population have provided support base both politically and economically by virtue of the shared identity, destiny, and grievances. This dynamics between IDPs and several actors, could possibly cast shadow over the IDPs in many ways, particularly the relation between the IDPs and the rebel movements. It is also difficult to underrate the impact of this relation on the internal structure of the camps, especially IDPs’ vision about how solutions should look like. The successive campaigns for political mobilization within the IDP camps, does certainly create a state of political awareness and add more perceptions to the way how IDPs portray themselves and define solutions as well. Therefore, the role which might be played by aspirations, expectations and comparisons can not be underestimated, particularly their influence on the way IDPs frame their decisions.

Under this assumption that the frame within which IDPs make their choice is obviously broader than simply considering the losses and gains from identified reference point which often corresponds to the status quo. However in this case the IDPs measure their loss and gains from what they aspire and expect to be getting and not from the current state of affairs. What is suggested here is the reference point has gone beyond the status quo and the whole farming is based on expectation, aspirations and comparisons.

By examining the proposed solutions for leaving the camps which is dominantly come in a form of model villages either to their previous areas or other locations, some conclusions may be drawn and they can also provide some explanations. It is more likely that the tradeoff between the entire cause and those villages has been perceived as inequitable deal and does not commensurate the losses and the suffering associated with 15 years of displacement. It is also worth noting that aspirations, expectations and comparisons in this context, could be understood in terms of IDPs’ views on transitional justice, property restitution and the occupied land which should be restored. These attitudes have been reflected and demonstrated in several occasions including a number of popular protests which were staged in many camps in Darfur. The aspirations could also be connected to the geopolitical dimension of the conflict within the region of Darfur. This dimension can also be understood
within the disputed and complex land issue, as well as the power struggle induced by resource domination among the different demographic components. However by acknowledging the difficulty of measuring factors such as aspirations, expectations and comparisons, it is worth mentioning that, highlighting those factors as determinants in the decision making process is largely based on the observed interconnection between them and the root causes of the conflict in Darfur.

The social norms can also be recalled in this context because many of these social norms have been ignored or overshadowed by the conflict. Among these norms the traditional conflict resolution mechanisms which had been in place as part of the native administration system before the conflict. Their significance is highlighted in the study of Ibrahim (2013) they have significantly contributed in solving different types of conflicts on land between sedentary and nomads which comes in the heart of Darfur problem (Ibrahim, 2013).

To end this analysis which has tried to depict the ways in which IDPs in Darfur go about making decision, it is important to stress some points which can be inferred from this analysis. These points are also important in answering the main questions asked by this research

- Firstly, the process of choice making when IDPs think about ending their displacement is by all accounts one of the difficult stages in the course of their lives as displaced persons. It could also be said that marking the end of this prolonged period of displacement is certainly characterized by complex calculations and cautious decision making.

- Secondly, this caution can be justified by many key factors that may include; the conditions that shaped IDPs experience of displacement and the volatility of their alternatives outside the camp compared to their current situation.

- While on the other hand IDPs expectations, aspirations, social norms and comparing what they get as part of the solution to their plight, are also vital and strongly relevant to that process of decision making.

8. Conclusion and Recommendations
By examining closely the IDPs situation and having looked into the way how they might likely decide and make choices under the conditions that characterize displacement in Darfur it can be concluded that

1. Unblocking the protracted internal displacement in Darfur is strongly tied to the dominate security situation. Despite the relatively available resources, insecurity remains as one of the major obstacles facing the implementation of the first steps of durable solutions. The complexity of the security situation in Darfur can be attributed to many factors.

a. At the top level the problem is hanging on the peace process which has never been fully completed, resulting in constantly renewed fighting between the government and the non-signatories.

b. The government's strategy in fighting the rebellion in Darfur which has been largely based on recruiting Arab militias by promising them lands. This strategy has evolved over time and became indispensable resulting in grave implications on the security situation in the region.

2. Land problem is also part of the insecurity situation in Darfur; it remains among the persistent hurdles associated with the return and relocation of the IDPs. The complexity of the land issue in Darfur is exacerbated mainly by;

a. Blurring and confusing nature of land rights due to the historical development of land tenure and the instrumental role played by land in the conflict. As a result incompatible land narratives have developed among the various actors in the conflict.

b. The failure of land system to accommodate the accelerating developments in the region in terms of demographic dynamics, climate change, and conflicts.

c. In relation to the IDPs return, land carry high potential of conflict between the returning farming community and the already stretching pastoralists who have been using land for long time.

d. The land also complicated by the strong alliance between the government and Arab militias and the lack of alternative proxy to extend the government's authorities in the vast region of Darfur.

3. The massive displacement in the region with proximity to the township coupled with changing life patterns and the effects of aid suggest new possible trajectory other than return.
Recommendations

- In the absence of a comprehensive and inclusive peace process in Darfur the presence of the peace mission and other UN agencies as well as active international aid organizations remains vital to the IDPs in Darfur.

- In order to guarantee equal economic opportunities for both returnees and pastoralists, return to the model villages should be preceded by establishment of comprehensive land-use system which include the IDPs, government of Sudan, local authorities in Darfur, and Darfuri civil society. It needs to be supervised by international independent body as well.

- The government should refrain from pushing for forced return and dismantling the camps, because the return under such conditions would trigger the situation and encourage a new phase of wide range rebellion.

- All actors should encourage the opportunities provided by local integrations with short term economic support to ensure self-sustainability of the IDPs.

- More profiling of IDPs is also needed to develop deeper understanding of the different starting points for durable solution and self-sustaining even outside the frame of return and local integration.

- Political mobilization of the camps in Darfur suggests the existence internal power dynamics among the IDPs. This power dynamics can also extend to the individual and collective decision making among IDPs. More close research might be required in order to develop better understanding of this aspect and its implications on future solutions to the IDPs in Darfur.

In conclusion the experience of Darfur situation as one of the protracted displacement cannot of course be generalized into all IDPs situations around the world. I still belief that the conclusion drawn above can be relevant in analyzing and understanding similar situations in other parts of the world.

What can also be learnt and concluded from the experience of Darfur is that mobilizing the necessary resources for ending displacement can be achievable. However what matters most is the wise and effective allocation of these resources in addressing the problem of displacement. What should be in focus is that the crisis in other regions of the world might shift away the attention of the international community from this particular crisis leaving hundreds of thousands of IDPs behind.

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37


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