Understanding Protracted Displacement

Through the Analysis of an IDP camp in North Darfur

by

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APPENDIX VII: Author's Declaration

I, the undersigned, Petronela Antip, hereby declare that I am the sole author of his thesis. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

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Abstract

The thesis critically engages with the conceptualization of internal displacement by providing a historical and analytical perspective into the transformative nature of protracted displacement in terms of identity, space, time, economy and relations, through the case study of Zamzam IDP camp in North Darfur. The analysis draws on a growing body of literature that challenges these issues and highlight the "camp" as distinctive experience of displacement that has contributed to this growing phenomenon. At the forefront is the ongoing debate of the effect of the camp on what Agamben describes as the "bare life" or on Malkki's "political subjectivities", with a general understanding of displacement in the "relational" manner that Amanda Hammar proposes. The conclusion confirms the complexity of displacement as a process of continuous transformations, and proposes that further humanitarian assistance could benefit from this knowledge.

Table of Contents

Contents

Figures

Abbreviations

DRA – Darfur Regional Authority

HAC – Humanitarian Aid Commission

IDMC – Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre

IDP – Internally Displaced Persons

IHL – International Humanitarian Law

UN OCHA – United Nations Office of Coordination of Affairs

WASH – Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

WHS – World Humanitarian Summit

Introduction

Darfur has been under protracted conflict since the 1908s and especially since 2003, with periods and areas of peace as well as prolonged periods and areas suffering from violence. This has led to a ***massive displacement*** of people. Nowadays, more than 2 million people declare themselves internally displaced and almost half a million live in camps set up and sustained by international humanitarian organizations, the majority of which have existed for more than a decade (DRA 2013). Although impressive in itself, what is more questionable than displacement is the evolving protracted nature of displacement in Darfur and the world, where most people are living for decades displaced (Valente 2015). Furthermore, most IDPs live in precarious conditions, locked in IDP camps, isolated from a full economic, social and political lives. This is a growing phenomenon that has not received sufficient attention and seems to be strongly related to the conceptualization of the IDP as an emergency category and the extensive use of camps as form of response and assistance.

Internal displacement and the main debates

One of the most important advocates of this new human rights section is a Sudanese intellectual and ex-diplomat, Francis Deng. In 1989 he became Co-Director of the CUNY Graduate Center-Brookings Institution Project on Internal Displacement. His contribution in sustaining the creation of this new category of concern (Mooney 2005) is monumental. His claim was that the internally displaced person is a **forced migrant**, dislocated from his place, community, occupation (E. Williams 2008) and under the care of a government, unable or unwilling to protect him from persecution, entails a different set of struggles than those faced by refugees (F. Deng 1994; Francis M. Deng 2000; F. Deng 2001). They also became defined by the temporal and spatial character of their displacement: ‘’ *UNHCR defines protracted*

refugee situations as those in which people have been displaced for five years or more and have no immediate prospect of finding solution to their plight by means of voluntary repatriation, local integration or settlement elsewhere'' (Bilak 2016, 63–64). Since its creation, the concept of internally displaced received a widespread acceptance and has become one of the major concerns at the World Humanitarian Summit (S. UN 2016, 20).

The existing conceptualization focuses on a more descriptive approach, coming from the international humanitarian rights perspective, trying to answer to the question of *Who is a displaced person and why*? (Deng 1994, 2004) and the instrumentalist perspective, coming from practitioners and policy makers that are more interested in *What are the rights of these people* and *What should our responsibility be?* (Muggah 2003, Mooney 2005), that will be elaborated in the literature review. In both situations having a comprehension of the causes of displacement has been used as a mean of including of excluding people from the protection of the IDP, as a category of concern (Mooney 2005).

Despite the broadening of the definitions to include both development-led and disaster-led internally displaced, the conceptualization of displaced in the light of the growing protracted phenomenon, remains problematic because of the responses it generated that still betray a view of displacement as something ''temporary'', ''static'', ''un-territorial'' or historic.

A new, but insufficient, body of literature, contests this understanding and highlights contradictions or '*' the paradoxes of displacement: openings occurring as well as closures; dislocation and movement at the same time as confinement and 'stuckness'; creation as well as destruction; wealth accumulation alongside impoverishmen*t'' (Hammar 2014, 3) and, through the use of case studies, provides analytical insights into multiple dimensions of displacement, which they consider more a process than an object in need of humanitarian assistance (Hammar 2014; Boas and Bjorkhaug 2014; Zetter 2011; Turner 2010). This

contestation builds on existing theories of the time, space and agency/subjectivity in situations of ‘’encampment’’ or ‘’state of exception’’, using the refugee or IDP camp as an example (Malkki 1995; Agamben 1998). The analysis will focus on this literature and connect these theories with the evolving nature of protracted displacement.

Research question

That is why the current paper aims at providing a critical and historical analysis of the concept of displacement, using the example of one of the "poster" cases of protracted displacement, Darfur, Sudan, and focusing on the struggles and consequences of IDP practices.

Building on this need for further analysis of the practice and conceptualization of displacement, the following thesis will try to tackle the question of How did the conceptualization of displacement evolve in Darfur and what are the transformations that protracted displacement generated through the experience of ‘’locked’’ displacement?

Methodology

1. Interviews

The five semi-structured interviews were conducted with both academics theoretically involved in the conceptualization of displacement worldwide and with practitioners working or that have worked in Darfur and in IDP camps. The interviews in this case, of isolated knowledge, both physically and metaphorically, because they usually highlight tensions and contradictions that are ignored or compromised in official documents.

Interviewees are extremely relevant when researching internal contradictions of large phenomenon, as rarely there is a clear voice or agency of the specific phenomenon and also because, most of the times, although most practitioners have a critical or more complex perspective on the realities on the ground, they compromise for the greater good of finding a

solution to the problems. Such issue would not come out without further investigation and direct contact with them.

2. Analysis of the case study of Darfur and Zamzam IDP Camp, through a historical and analytical lens

Zamzam is one of the largest IDP camps in Darfur. It is located 14 kilometers south of North Darfur's Capital Al Fashir and is being crossed by one of the main roads going towards Nyala, a major city in South Darfur. Since 2013 estimates have placed the camp between 125,000 people and 160,000 people. Zamzam presents all various challenges that humanitarians have proved unsuccessful in addressing to the present day: the fact that is has become a stable existence and presence in the lives and economies of the people, the constant mobility and fluctuation of its inhabitants, the housing, environmental and economic problems that it generates, the precarious and unstable lives of its inhabitants etc.

The analysis of the camp will draw heavily on the literature review and will be sectioned according to the main findings that came out of the interviews. The conceptual engagement will build on similar questions as those developed by Karadawi and Eldin in their work on displacement in Sudan, both internal and external (Karadawi and Woodward 1999; Eldin 2012). They include in their analysis a presentation of the various types of voluntary or involuntary mobility that generated coping mechanism or cultural practices that became embedded in economic and political relations.

Findings and implications

The most important aspect highlighted by this thesis is indeed the transformative nature of displacement, through the re-constructing, re-shaping and re-evaluation of economic, social and political relations of IDP as agents of their own experience, confirming Malkki's and

Turner's claim of engagement of various types of subjectivities in an attempt to create new social orders, even though in a space of exception and constant expectations (Malkki 1995; Turner 2005).

Furthermore, the exploitative manner in which the camps are established and maintained (through land grabbing and erosion of ecological sustainability) seems to be in line with Agier's argument of new modern forms of re-creating the city as a space (Agier 2002) .

The thesis provides a good basis for future research on how these findings could improve the effectiveness of humanitarian responses. Whether or not the internally displaced are perceived as having their own subjectivities, agency and are transformed by the dislocation that displacement entails can make a significant difference in the effectiveness of the responses to their struggles or new realities.

Outline of the thesis

The following thesis will be divide into five parts, introduction and conclusion, and three chapters. The introduction presents a general overview of the entire paper and providing some insights into the general findings. The first chapter will be divided between the literature review looking into at the major difficulties in defining ''internal displacement'', from an international human rights perspective and an instrumental perspective and at the main theoretical debates contesting this understanding. The second chapter will present the case study focusing on the issues evidenced through the interviews. The third chapter represents an analysis of the empirical data and the implications and lessons learned that can be drawn from it and extended to broader knowledge on the conceptualization of displacement. Finally, the thesis will finish with the conclusion section in which the most relevant observations and implications for future research will be reiterate as well as the contribution of the paper within this field of research.

Chapter 1. Literature Review

This chapter starts by presenting an overview of the process of regulating internal displacement, the challenges of defining IDP and their needs, and it continues by placing displacement in a broader phenomenon of mobilities and their historical, cultural, and economic dimensions. The final part provides an analysis of the concept of ‘’bare life’’, ‘’encampment’’ and subjectivities of the camp life to demonstrate how diverse, multi-layered and complex displacement is and to contrast it with the ‘’static’’ and ‘’temporary’’ approach of humanitarians. The chapter finishes by providing a final statement of the type of understandings of displacement that will be used throughout the rest of the thesis.

1.1. Definitions and dilemmas

Towards the end of the 1990’s there was a prevailing acceptance of the fact that internal conflicts were on the rise and that they had an impact on the forced movements of people that generated various types of disruption, in a sensitive post-colonial, Cold War environment (Cohen and Deng 2010; Muggah 2003; Cohen and Deng 2012). In Europe especially, the need to intervene in the protection of the internally displaced became evident specifically in the return of ethnic minorities in ethnic civil wars (Heimerl 2005, 378). This internal disruption affected relationships with bordering countries, but also led to "*the realization that peace and reconstruction in war-torn societies depend in part on the effective reintegration of displaced persons"* (Cohen and Deng 2012, 5). This generated a wave of support from major actors in the international community.

The main advocates of the regulation of this new section of human rights violations were the Council of Europe and the UN through The Commission on Human Rights. Their initiative was swiftly adapted into national policies worldwide, in at least 16 countries

(Wyndham 2006) and especially in African and Asian countries [1], that have suffered (and took advantage) most from displacement. The UN created a mandate for the Special Rapporteur under the UN High Commission for Human Rights and supported the collaboration between Brookings Institute and London School of Economics, doing research on internal displacement. Their influence is equaled only by that of the special agency within the Norwegian Refugee Council, the IDMC – Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre.

In fact, the regulation of the internally displaced people is strongly build on the milestones created by the 1951 Convention on Refugees and from general international humanitarian law, which posits the right to life, freedom of movement and access to basic services for all human beings (Murray 2005; UNHCR 2006; Human Rights Committee 2005; Kälin 2016). Although, there are no specific laws or conventions dealing with internal displacement, the major documents used as a reference in the field are The Guiding Principles of the United Nations and The Great Lakes Protocol on the Protection of the Internally Displaced. The agreed upon definition used as a reference describes internally displaced 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" (O. UN 2001).*

The initial definition from which it draws its incentives is that of refugees, which are defined as:

> *" a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (Refugees 2016).*

The focus and similarity in the two definitions comes from two key points, the act of persecution that leads to forced displacement, and the violation of their basic human rights because of displacement. In the case of the internally displaced, the novelty comes in accepting that people still suffer from violence, discrimination and persecution even when they remain within sovereign territory and they have the legal status of entitled citizens, because even if it is not the state that is inflicting this violence, the state is unable or unwilling to prevent and combat it. Furthermore, the evolving approach to displacement and refugee as an act of sovereignty and (political, social and economic) agency can be found in the subtle difference brought about by the use of the ‘’’fear of persecution’ ’concept. What this entails is that a refugee can make projections about the potential danger that it might find itself in and flee before that danger comes into force. This act of agency, the refugee being able to decide between degrees and timing of danger, is something that is missing from the portrayal of the internally displaced – described as a ‘’receiver’’ of direct violence.

For this reason, the 1992 definition portraying IDPS was changed with the 1998 version and it brings two very significant changes (analytical report of the secretary-general on internally displaced persons). First is the idea that displacement is ‘’sudden’’ or unexpected and second that it has to correlated with mass emergency, through the displacement of ‘’large numbers’’ of people. The improvement of the 1998 version is given by the ambiguity of the term of ‘’habitual residence’’ and through giving weight to the agency of a single person’s suffering as fitting enough to qualify them as internally displaced.

Broadening the ambiguity of the concepts has not necessarily led to less debate about its instrumental capacity. Even the most fervent promoters of the guiding principles, like Francis Deng, points out that this definition is descriptive rather than legislative (F. Deng 1994; Francis M. Deng 2000; F. Deng 2001). The claim is that the internally displaced belong to a national sovereignty that provides the necessary legal framework for their rights as citizens in

that territory. The problem is not that they do not have rights, because of their unlawfulness, but rather that their rights are being severely violated. That is why the Guiding Principles insist on the creation of National Policies, to address root cause and development solution, rather than laws, suggesting that the causes of displacement are interconnected and complex (Human Rights Committee 2005; UNHCR 2006; E. Williams 2008).

Placing the conceptualization of displacement in a descriptive framework assumes that these definitions have the capacity to encompass the various tensions and contradictions of displacement, ranging from causes, actors, and needs. Yet some argue that these tensions leave a gap in the framing of the displacement and this is perceived even more controversial in light of the growing trend of protracted displacement (Zetter 2011).

The issues highlighted include the categorization of IDPs according to the root causes - some of the reasons including or not the issue of poverty and/or economic problems (Cohen and Deng 2012, 17). Equally debatable has been the ambiguity around the conflict-induced versus development-induced displacement (Muggah 2003; Mooney 2005, 9–10). Yet, contrary to the economic condition factors the act or sense of coercion is more visible in the case of the development-drive displacement, than in the migration for economic security (idem:18)

A separate concern that humanitarians tried to address in time is the critique that, by focusing on providing special assistance to a category of people, and highlighting in a hierarchical manner sufferings and deprivations that would generate new types of discrimination. The most common resolve has been to argue that, in any case, the situation of the displaced is ‘’directly linked to the abuse of certain rights’’ and demonstrates a deliberate abuse of a certain category of people, seconded by the provision in IHL that forced displacement is a crime against humanity (Mooney 2005, 15–16).

This does not mean that practitioners, policymakers, and research consultant have not started to accept the changes that displacement entails on the broader society. On the contrary,

there is a growing inclusion in policy papers, reports, and empirical research of the idea that the conditions of displacement "change". The camps changes in terms of size, people and activities, people's coping mechanisms change, people's social, economic and political preferences change in regards to the three durable solutions proposed by humanitarians, namely return, resettlement and integration/urbanization (Jaspars 2010; Jaspars and O'Callaghan 2008; IDMC 2015; Agier 2011) and/or the opportunity for certain solutions in "ending" displacement" (Omata 2013).

These approaches, although they give testimony to the complexity of displacement, they also reinforce the idea of displacement as an object within itself and demonstrate a strictly operational understanding of displacement as a problem that seeks solutions. As Muggah pointed out '*'there is a tendency to compartmentalize internal displacement and involuntary resettlement into simplistic mono-casual categories, such as ''development'' and ''war''. But this perspective may prevent a more dynamic understanding of the complex interrelations suggested above''* (Muggah 2003, 16).

Yet, they fail to address what Deng has described as a " *degree of displacement so high that one can speak of whole societies becoming displaced"* (Deng and Cohen 2012).

1.2. Mobility as a continuous practice in Africa and Darfur

The stubbornness in choosing to portray displacement and any type of mobile as a state of exception, of emergency and uniqueness tends to dismiss the historical, cultural, and political nature of mobility and coerced mobility, especially in the case of Darfur. Although the studies that describe in depth the various types of mobilities practiced on the African continent are insufficient, there are still authors keen and vocal on highlighting this reality as a normality. ''Africa is a continent where a considerable part of the population leads a mobile way of life. Nomadic pastoralists, (hunter) gatherers but also healers, Islamic clergymen,

students of the Koran, traders, singers, craftsmen and tramps can be found everywhere. In addition, large numbers of people have been uprooted from their place of origin and have become part of a peripatetic category of wandering persons.'' (Bruijn, Dijk, and Foeken 2001, 14).

The author highlights the complexity of the phenomena and the difficulty of administratively conceptualizing it and makes a statement in regards to the futility of borders, with little relevance for the populations, being crossed with high frequency and placing value on activities that implicitly become illicit because of this administrative separation (Bruijn, Dijk, and Foeken 2001, 21).

Therefore, mobility has many underlining forms and dimensions and it is considered internal even when it is external. An interesting case from this perspective is the Ethiopian refugee crisis from 1966-1967 in Sudan, that Sudanese intellectual Karadawi researched (Karadawi and Woodward 1999). He provides a historical and political analysis of the regulation of refugee and internally displaced crisis in Sudan, focusing on state and humanitarian responses. His contribution stands in providing a broader perspective on the politics behind the ''categorization'' of IDPs as an emergency situation, as well as reinforcing the understanding of displacement as another dimension in a scenery of mobility that are interconnected, whether they are seasonal (Ibrahim and Ruppert 1991) or government-led (Eldin 2012), internal protracted displacement invariably has a ''mobile'' nature through the transformations and the people that are agents in a larger social, political, ecological and cultural environment.

As another author sums up this claim in a very relative manner:

> *''displacement itself is also best understood not as a one-off event, but as a process that could last many months or years. During this process, a range of different mobilities may be evident. (...) Human displacement cannot be fully understood in all its political, cultural, economic, and technological complexities without looking at the dynamic and systemic nature of these interlocking mobilities'' (Gill, Caletrio, and Mason 2011, 23).*

1.3. The critique of displacement as separation and encampment

The majority of the critique on the operational conceptualization of displacement rarely stems from policy or humanitarian action, which is inherently guided by the idea of learning through practice (Jacobsen 2005) as much as it comes from political philosophy, social theory or political economy, who create a space for a hermeneutical pursuit of truth outside the constraint of action.

Most of this literature draws its empirical findings from refuge studies, a field with more theoretical history than internal displacement. Though there are significant differences between the refugee and the internally displaced, the core configuration of both as "oppressed victims" deprived of their basic rights and finding themselves in "new" and "unwelcoming" situations, where only humanitarians can provide support in the lack of state or civil institutions, portrays fundamental conditions of the existence and practice of displacement, either internal or external. As Amanda Hammar highlights ‘*’Terms like refugee, IDP (internally displaced person), asylum seeker or returnee are among the most common and familiar labels in the dominant lexicon. This corresponds with the excessive focus on formally recognized spaces and experience of physical dislocation – which are often linked to simultaneously to, or become themselves, places of confinement. This includes refugee camps or IDP camps, asylum centres, or resettlement areas. (…) There is continued emphasis, operationally, on those documented and encamped.*’’(Hammar 2014, 7)

Instead, Malkki refers to the historical fluidity of displacement, as neither having a clear defined starting point or an end, and that it should not be understood through a proto-state of "beforeness" (Malkki 1995, 497). Displacement can have multiple forms of manifestation in which the subjective nature of the experience is defined not only through the primacy of the cultural of the political but rather by the *"condition of being attached to territorialized polity and an identifiable people*" (idem: 516). For Malkki displacement is interlinked with

deterriorialization and the construction of identities, nation-states, and "social orders" (Malkki 1995).

In her work, she tries to offer an alternative interpretation to the prevailing "bare life" concept that has been proliferated by the famous Italian philosopher Giorgio Agemben. In his work, ***Home Sacer***, Agamben refers to the "bare life" condition as the state of exception as introduced by Schmitt in the form of a ‘’temporary, exceptional space, created by a sovereign decision’’ (Turner 2005, 312).

In this state of exception, the body and the human are deprived of their ‘’political status’’ as it is a space where ‘*’power confronts nothing other than pure biological life without meditation*’’ (Minca 2005, 405) and where the ‘*’external and the internal are articulated not to erase the ‘outside’ but to produce it as the serial space of exception*’’ (idem: 408). This led to a modern search for the spatial image of the ‘’home’’ with the entire framework of belonging that it generates, as well as the need for security and the excuse of the camp as an entity that produces the absolute conditions for it (Edkins 2000, 8).

Agamben’s claim is that the camp is a specific condition of modern political spaces and practices where the exercise of absolute power over the people inside diminishes their capacity to belong or not to the human species through political, cultural and economic integration reducing them to ‘’bare life’’. This is what both him and Foucault name as biopolitics (C. Williams 2014, 118). Williams also highlights the fact that although Agamben’s reflections are built on the experience of Nazi camps, his implications has been extended in the analysis of refugee camps, or protracted refugee camps and understanding the practice of the ‘’camp’’ in the field of humanitarian intervention (idem: 121).

Feldman believes that camps are the quintessential humanitarian space, as they are spaces ‘’separated’’ from the conditions of crisis, allowing for full humanitarian assistance, despite their ‘*’fragmented authority, uncertain sovereignty, provisional legality, and*

undermined duration'' (Feldman 2015, 244). As for other authors, the issue of the sovereignty of the ''camp'' and on the ''aided population'' represents a defining characteristic of the making of the camp, in terms of rationale and self-reproduction (Seshadri 2008, 32).

Instead, other authors propose that the generalization of the camp in humanitarian practice, and the increasing categorization of protracted displacement, has shifted from an anomaly to a norm, where new social norms characterized by the logic of exemption and self-exemption emerge (Bülent Diken and Carsten Bagge Laustsen 2006, 451). In this new ''hybrid organism'', the space is *''transformed because its occupants necessarily appropriate it in order to be able to live in it.''*(Agier 2011, 53).

Returning to the initial debate, Malkki tries to address the camp not only as a separation point, but also as a beginning, a continuation, and an end at the same time. By using empirical ethnographic work, she highlights the fact that the camp can generate the opposite effect of creating or sustaining the development of political subjectivities. Her argument is that despite the paradoxical attempt of humanitarians to increase the sense of community within the camp by prohibiting any attempt at political involvement, these subjectivities exist and they struggle to have their own agency. Because, the act of displacement and the status of displaced exists '' *not in a desert, but in an often unstable social world of other statuses like that of citizenship in a nation-state, and various amalgams of normal and substantive citizenship''*(Malkki 2002, 358). Although uprooted and being in a constant time of expectancy, people *''themselves seek to maneuver in this temporary space, thus creating pockets of sovereign power outside the reach of either the camp commandant's restrictions or UNHCR's benevolent control''* (Turner 2005, 314).

Unwillingly, even one of the main ''patrons'' of the displaced has highlighted the fact that once the ''displaced'' becomes ''displaced'' he is described as uprooted and lost for its community and perceived as an outsider by other communities.

''As a consequence of their forced displacement, they are deprived of such essentials of life as shelter, food, medicine, education, community, and a resource base for self-sustained livelihood. Worse, internally displaced persons (IDPs) remain within the borders of a country at war with itself, and even when they move to safer areas, they are viewed as strangers, discriminated against, and often harassed'' (Francis Mading Deng 2004, 18).

Zetter makes a direct link between protracted displacement and the conceptualization of displacement as a ''disruption''. He argues that taking into consideration the growing numbers of people living in protracted situations of displacement, the humanitarian emergency has become the norm, not the exception and this inflicts a certain subjective expectation of displacement and its ''solutions''. His own contribution is to demonstrate how protracted displacement needs to be re-framed or re-conceptualized, at least taking into consideration the scale of the phenomenon, the impacts on people's lives and that it needs to be addressed through a deeper understanding of the dimensions of displacement as a long-term process (Zetter 2011, 9-10).

1.4. Re-framing protracted internal displacement

In this context, the work of people like Karen Jacobsen and Amanda Hammar prove extremely important because they provide an empirical dimension to the critical theory of the camp as a state of exception that suspends time and space and agency, through national or international dynamics of sovereign power.

As an economist, Karen Jacobsen focuses on *The Economic Life of Refugees*. She is less concerned with the root causes of displacement as she is with the lives of the displaced as economic individuals with a past, present and future. Through their existence their inherently provide an economic dimension to their agency that helps them cope, sustain themselves or thrive through interaction and mobility.

''The movement of goods and people in and out of camps it somewhat inaccurate to speak of a ''camp economy'' as though it was closed off from the surrounding region, however

the experience of camp refugees is different enough from the self-settled refugees living outside camps to justify examining their experiences separately.'' (Jacobsen 2005, 25).

Hammar instead broadens the lens and although she bases her analysis on empirical findings, she frames her analysis in a conceptual manner. She refers to different categorization of displacement, the operational, and the relational. In her opinion, the operational is focused on shaping displacement as an object that can be defined and solved. Instead, the relational conceptualization is less interested in causes and patterns as much as is interested in what is ''generated'' by displacement. She defines displacement as '*'enforced changes in interweaving spatial, social and symbolic conditions and relations*'', where all the concepts are more '*'reflections or questions''* than stable and descriptive realities (Hammar 2014, 9). This approach will contribute to the comprehension of the fluidity of displacement, even within the same physical space, as well as in the changes and transformations of time in time.

The chapter began by addressing the coming into being of the IDP as a category of concern and the pointed out how, in their attempts to operationalize the concept, an insufficient attention was paid to the understanding of mobility as a multi-layered process and the effect of ''the camp-making'' on the conceptualization and response to displacement and the normalization of protracted displacement.

Chapter 2. Empirical Chapter. Displacement in Darfur and Zamzam IDP Camp

The following chapter will provide empirical findings on the practices, economies and political and cultural relations between people in Zamzam camp in North Darfur. The first part of the chapter will focus on providing an overview of the internal displacement in Darfur, in its various voluntary and forced patterns, while the next parts will create a platform for revealing the lives of IDPs in Zamzam, from the perspective of its people, economies, local governance, identities and so on.

The greatest part of the empirical findings in the following chapter comes from the interviews conducted with two humanitarians with extensive knowledge on Darfur, working both with UN agencies and European development agencies, while the other two interviewees had more extensive knowledge on protracted refugee camps, both in Sudan as well as worldwide, and finally the last is an interview with an academic cited as a reference in this thesis, which provided a comprehensive and broader understanding of internal displacement throughout Africa. Because of the way that humanitarian organizations work, most often it is extremely hard to find a practitioner with extensive knowledge on just one place and hence it would often happen that they would reference more places at the same time. The process of finding practitioners to interview was very hard because of the physical and political isolation of Darfur. After finding the first interviewee, the process went much easier.

2.1. Displacement in Darfur. Data and facts

In the last years, humanitarians have become increasingly worried that displacement is not only a growing trend all over the world, but that it is an increasingly protracted reality.

(Valente 2015). This trend applies in Sudan as well, qualifying as the third place in the world with the greatest number of IDPs, after Colombia and Iraq. Darfur, specifically, is the region with the greatest number of IDPs in the country, counting almost 3 million internally displaced people ("Global Overview 2015. People Internally Displaced by Conflict and Violence" 2015). In a report from the Norwegian Refugee Council, we get an overview of the severity of the crisis of displacement in Darfur, at least when it comes to the number of people and their needs and the type of funding that their assistance would require(IDMC 2015; IDMC 2010).

Furthermore, the Darfur Development Strategy from 2013 reveals a disturbing picture by highlighting how embedded displacement is in the overall development of the region and the country and how displacement can prove both an opportunity as well as challenge for the future growth of the region, if we consider the level of dependence on aid and the "crisis of displacement" (DRA 2013) (see fig.1).

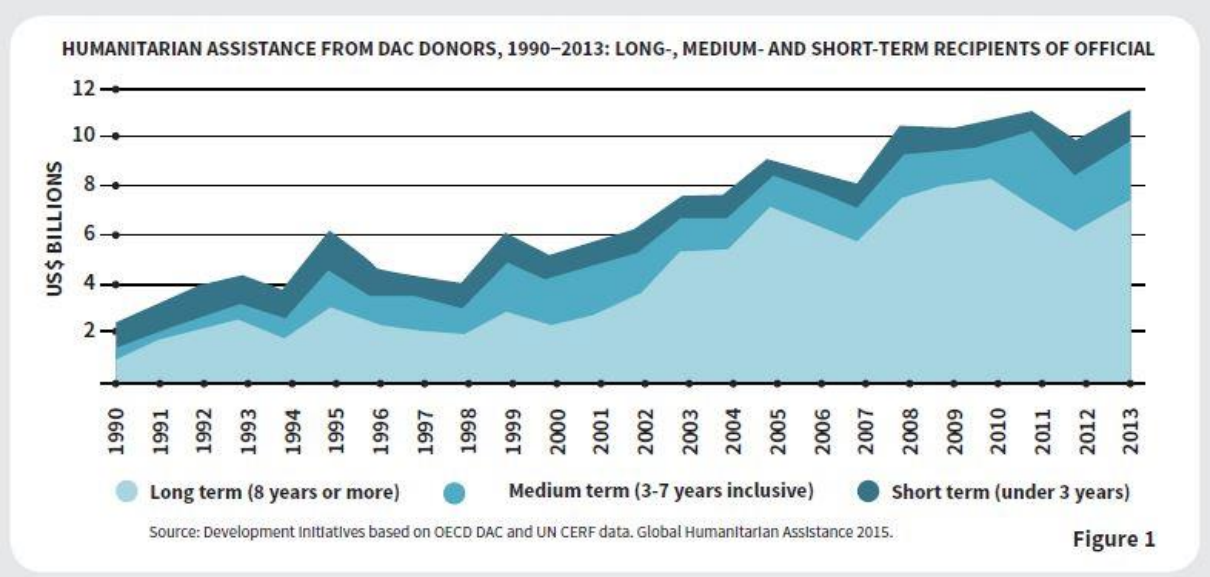


Figure 1. Humanitarian Assistance for Darfur 1990-2013

2.2. The Conflict and its correlation with displacement

Displacement has a long tradition in Darfur but most of what is perceived today as being Darfur's displaced crisis is still profoundly correlated with the peak of a long lasting conflict, starting not long after the independence of Sudan in the second half of the 1950s.

The conflict, which has its roots from the beginnings of post-colonial and independent Sudan, has seen an outbreak in 2003 and has continued in various forms, by means of isolated outbursts of conflict or through severe prolonged attacks responded to with the help of the military, until the current year. The main rebel groups involved, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Sudan Movement/Army (SLM/SLA), claimed they were fighting as a response to prolonged and historic economic, social and political neglect and discrimination by central authorities and for the right to self-determination.

In this protracted rebel war there have seen various attempts at negotiation and peace agreement, in Abuja in 2006 and Doha in 2009, but the last signed peace agreement, on which humanitarian organizations base their legal expectations, is the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur signed in July 2011 (De Waal 2007; J. Young 2012). The Peace Agreement acts almost as a constitution for the Darfur authorities and contains specific provisions related to the protection and rights of displaced that have been translated into national policies (DDPD 2011; Republic of Sudan 2009). Unfortunately, after brief periods of calm, the conflict started again, in a more systematic manner after 2013. Due to the generalized poverty and institutional neglect, the war business has increased and currently various reasons interconnect in the making of this protracted conflict and outbursts of violence: land and resources, opportunism and political fragility, with a strong ethnical dimensions, the dependency on aid and so on (De Waal 2007; Burr and Collins 2006).

Even more so, in the case of Darfur, the nuances to conflict-led displacement have been provided in the framework of systematic state policies of ethnic cleansing and have made this

claim in order to advocate for the acceptance of conflict-led ethnic displacement into the potential victims of Genocide, as defined by the International Criminal Court, that condemned Sudanese president on these charges.

> *"The evidence presented in this paper is of a pattern of racialized, state-led attacks on food, and water supplies, indicating the intent by the political leadership of the Government of Sudan to eliminate the collective livelihoods of Black African groups in Darfur. (...) This evidence speaks to the 1948 Genocide Convention's definition of genocide as destruction of protected groups 'in whole or in part', and the extent to which this criterion of extermination is met in Darfur." (Hagan and Kaiser 2011, 20)*

Nonetheless the conflict in Darfur, although a great driver of displacement, it is definitely not the only source of displacement. If we were to look at the relationship between conflict and displacement we could easily notice that conflict and displacement, although obviously interrelated they do not completely justify each other. As can be seen in the Fig.2, when the numbers increase in peak violence periods but remain stable even times of relative tranquility.

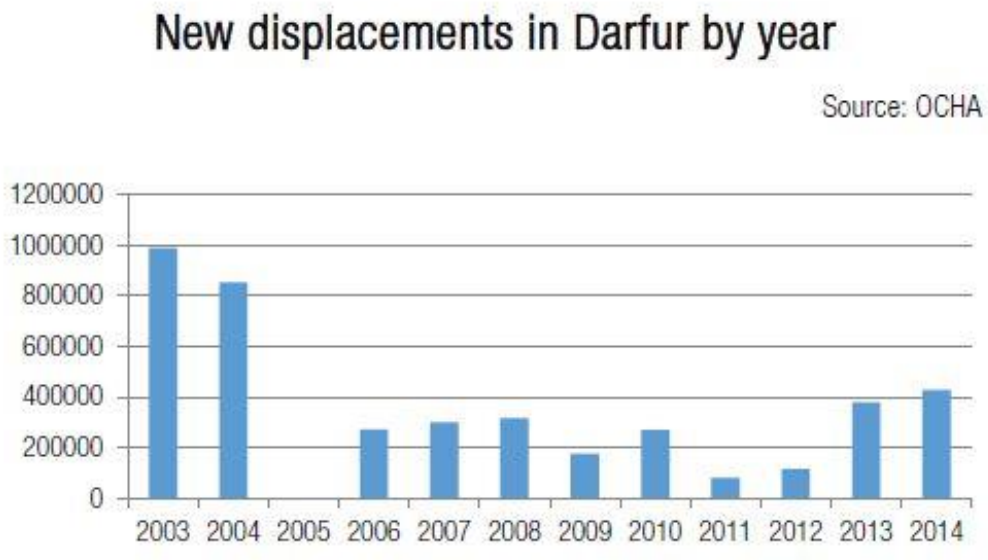


Figure 2. New displacements in Darfur. 2003-2014

2.3. Fluid displacement. Continuity within change

The contestation of ethnicity as the main argument for the "genocide" draws its roots in the historical and cultural landscape of Darfur, which is dominated by various tribes and groups that co-existed before modern colonialism and since the post-independence and state formation attempts. In Darfur, tensions between ethnic groups are historically based, while at the same time, the means of distribution of resources and land seemed rather harmonious in some regards (De Waal 2007; Jaspars 2010). These tensions even though they have been transformed by displacement, generated a different set of vulnerabilities for pastoralists than for nomads (Gebru 2013), more flexible in practices of mobility, while for pastoralist displacement something meant losing everything and having their land occupied.

For some, the most important elements in the conflict are land issues (Tubiana 2007; Badri 2008; Osman and Cohen 2014; Unruh 2012). Their claims are that in a region devastated by climate change and sporadic exploitation of natural resources, based on customary norms of land exploitation and with a state-driven support to certain political elites, it is bound to have conflict and portray it as an historical ethnical tension, in order to hide deeper more worrisome reasons.

The climate-based displacement was driven in some cases by resources in others by climate change that had a significant impact on land use, production and cultural relations. In his 1991 piece Ibrahim explores the topic of the newly developed practice of rural to rural migration due to environmental issues. The author focuses on the advantage of displacement, as a seasonal, practice to provide certain households with improved coping mechanisms in potential times of famine (Ibrahim and Ruppert 1991, 33).

Another form of displacement is the one described by Sudanese intellectual, Gamel Eldin, who claims that ‘’*displacement in Sudan has a long history of continuity and change. Despite their dynamic nature and their changing patterns, in essence, recent forms of ‘internal*

displacement' largely represent a continuation of earlier trends of forced migration and exploitative relations that accompanied the process of state formation and economic modernization''(Eldin 2012). For him, it was the intentional state policies that were systematically designed to ensure the displacement of people, are the policies aimed at supporting and enforcing mechanized agriculture over traditional types of culture.

2.4. ''Locked'' displacement. Zamzam IDP Camp in North Darfur

The Making of a ''Camp''

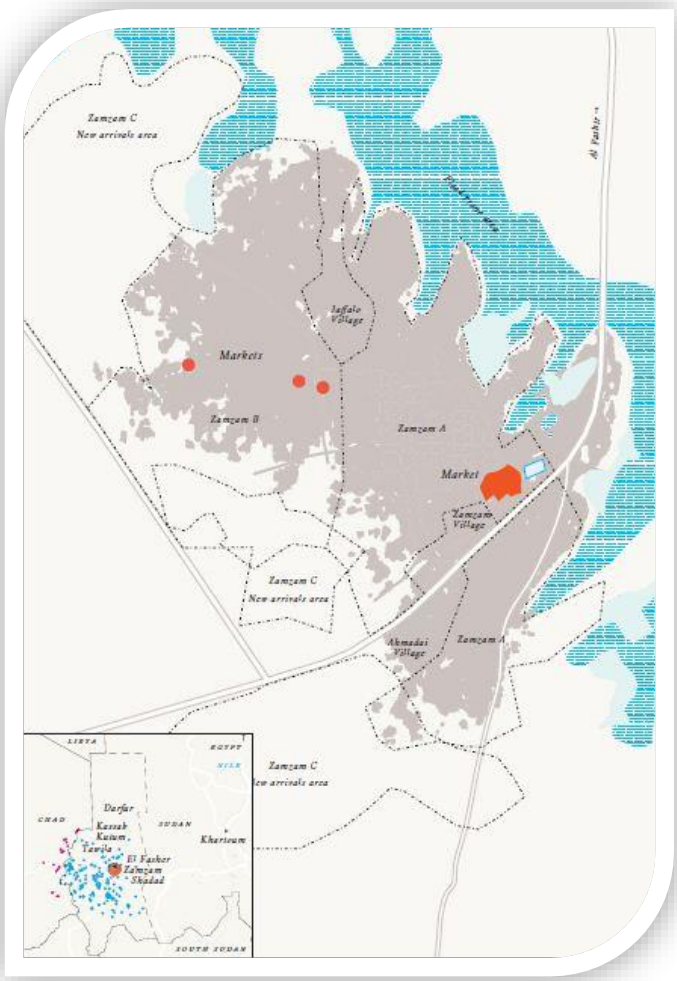


Figure 3. Zamzam camp structure

Zamzam is one of the largest IDP camps in North Darfur. It is located 14 kilometers south of North Darfur's Capital El Fasher and is being crossed by one of the main roads going towards Nyala, a major city in South Darfur. The camp is very large, and is divided into three important sections and has three important markets, for both IDPs as well as towns people (see fig.3). They have access to basic services, have schools in each section of the camp, as well as religious institutions and entertainment amenities (OCHA 2013).

The ecological surrounding environment, the trees, as well as the soil and other resources soon became objects of exploitation for the people living in the camp. Yet, the most relevant feature of the camp and the most impactful is the vicinity to the city and the large amount of land that it occupies making it hard to manage and control, in terms of spatial economy.

The estimate regarding the amount of people living in the camp varied for more than 60.000 people in a 2-3 years' time span. Rightly so, this figure is always in revision, as newcomers have at least two entry points in the camp which otherwise is divided in three sections with more or less stable constructions and networks. The protracted conflict in Darfur and the incoming refugees from South Sudan's renewed violence continue to put pressure on the camp (ACAPS 2016). The camp was initially created during the 2004 conflict, it expanded in 2009 and has become a permanent presence in Darfur, embedded in its economy and political decision-making (De Waal 2009; H. Young and Jacobsen 2013).

The only local governance structures of the camp resume to the camp associations, the sheiks, the women's groups and the humanitarian organizations representatives. Although regulated by both national and international laws and conventions, the camp is avoided by state officials that risk being aggressed in the camps. As one interviewee mentioned, in the camp, there is a strong propaganda mentality of ''them versus us'' which allow the governor to maintain strong political influence over the camp. At the same time, while the Governors are the most important local officials, they have no real enforcement power over how the money and services are distributed within the land and especially in the camps. At a national level this influence, especially in moments of violence and prior to important political events, is especially felt through the infiltration of HAC people (Humanitarian Aid Commission) within people. (P.S. – INGO 2)

Another significant layer of the making of a camp, is understanding the control or lack of control on the design of the camp as a form of imposing a sovereign power on the displaced as a category that is both owned and owns, within a suspended space and time. One interviewee explains the procedure of setting up the camp in North Darfur:

> *‘’the best laid out camp was Abu Shock. we used to call it the five-star camp, which was created in 2004. the people had fled in and Zamzam was established just after Abu Shock. The difference is that Abu Shock was laid out very carefully in block with all the allocation for services, health center, police posts, and (...) schools. And then, each sheik from the displaced villages was asked to raise a flag and he put his flag up in a block and then the people came under that sheik and then they stayed and did not set up their camps in regimented rows. They then re-organized in their own communities around that sheik. So their hierarchies were maintained, their individual administration within the groups all maintained. The other camps, Zamzam where much more hibilibiggidi. They were not organized to any extent.’’ (P.S. – INGO 2)*

This explanation into the practices of controlling the camp space can be interpreted from Turner’s and Edkins’ description of spaces of sovereignty, respectively zones of indistinction. On one side, there is always an attempt of controlling everything in the IDPs life: where and how he lives, what he eats and where they can go and what they can do. On the other hand, where this attempts at control fail, the result is a complete abandonment of ‘’hope’’ and the renunciation at the act of contributing to the establishment of a ‘’social order’’ (Malkki 1995) because the situation is, in itself, one of exception.

People and mobility within displacement

The camp is one of the few camps with ethnic diversity. It is represented by the camp associations, the sheiks and the women's groups. The division of space and authority in the camp follows this rule of local governance. Even so, there are various observations to be made based of the realities in the case of Zamzam. First of all, not all displaced people start from the same baseline and not all IDPs live a similar life. There are differences in terms of economic possibilities that result from their place of origin, their ethnicity and the composition of the

community or group they belong to. Secondly, their reaction to the ‘’conditions’’ of ‘’stuckness’’ is constructed on these pre-existing factors, it does not act in a vaccum.

One interviewee, talking about the attempt to "empower" women and support livelihoods by giving aid or money to women, noticed this interesting fact that sometimes what is more important is to understand the structure of decision-making within a household than expect empowerment to begin with the giving act. His argument is that, although women and young men have more working opportunities, those opportunities do not translate in more decision-making and agency if the money all goes to the men in the end (P.S. - INGO2).

This is also related to the interplay between historical, voluntary and forced mobility. For young men it is easier to travel, as there is less threat to them than to women and children, and sometimes to older men, if they were active in the conflict. Because of issues of security, some women learned to form groups and collect firewood together or provide services in the camp. At the same time, the new displaced have less mobility opportunities than the "older" inhabitants. These differences have led some international practitioners have noted that there is not one single type of displacement, or persons and the displacement can happen in waves of people from different backgrounds, needs, connections and relations with their economic and social environment. One interviewee notes this conceptual vulnerability, although he has a very straightforward opinion about it:

> *‘’There's also another issues. There are two different types of IDPs. OCHA has missed this from the beginning. And you got is the first IDPs were those who were dramatically evicted from their homes. (…) That's the first wave and that's the first emergency. (...) When it all went down there were actually 4 ngos working in Darfur. Within 18 months there were 78 ngos working in Darfur with 14.000 employees. (...)There's a second type of IDPs. And this happened a little bit later and that is people, villages, who saw the writing on the wall and once the camps were established they elected to come to the camps. Now this is a very different type of IDP. Because these people didn't lose very much at all. It's something which has not been researched at all and i have been trying to find it." (P.S – INGO 2)*

Therefore, the camp comprises different types of displaced, mostly the conflict driven, some climate change driven, some development/economic driven, while others have been so uprooted by their lives in the camp that they are permanent residence of the camp, in which case the question of whether they can still be called displaced is necessary and how ultimate the solutions are for them. As Sudanese anthropologist Munzoul Assal notes ‘*’there is an established history of movement from western Sudan to the eastern and central parts of the country. Seasonal or short-term migration has long been a livelihood strategy for these communities, and migrants have generally returned to their areas of origin*.’’ And ‘*’this is a trend that has continued. A combination of natural disasters, war and inequalities in resource distribution has led to a point where today, almost half the Sudanese population is estimated to be on the move every year*’’ (Assal 2011, 121–22).

These various experience of mobilities of the displaced and the differentiated baseline of their displacement shapes their experience and their integration in social and economic realities. Those IDPs living in camps for generations or even being born in the camp their entire identity is shaped according to this reality, as one interviewee mentions:

> *" Regarding the returns you have this underlining truth which is that you have a generation now of young people, who have never had to practice agriculture or bring up animals. So, when you talk about returns they say " to what?" They don't know how to live in a rural livelihood. They just simply haven't learnt it. (...) They've been brought up in an urban setting, they know about urban life and they have little intention of return" (P.S – INGO 2.)*

What this reveals is an issue that comes out of the literature review, namely the emergence of subjectivities and identity orders that are placed in various contexts of naming, of social orders and/or expression of sovereignty through entitlement, as revealed from the research with the practitioners:

> *‘’ (...) and then, on the other hand, IDP communities, we have not actually been able to really have a good comprehensive discussion and our discussions with IDPs have not really progressed, where IDPs either want to return, or they don't want to return. They no longer want to be considered IDPs, which has to do with the fact that you cannot*

unilaterally decide if you call someone an IDP. That's not up to us. That's up to IDPs. If they no longer believe to be an IDP, they say "I'm no longer and IDP", but if they say, I have issue. For example, I want to return but I cannot or "I want to return but I need to get compensated" or in my current place I have less rights than I do as an IDP."6:17 (I.F. – INGO 1)

Political economy of the lives of IDPs

The new dynamics in the camp and how the camp has become embedded in its surrounding environment at various levels and they are shaped by such process as the "economy of aid", "urbanization" and the "politicization of displacement" at the national and international level.

Starting with the economy of aid, as mentioned previously, the number of international NGOs exploded as well as the number of camps. Once they were established, they became fully dependent on aid and internationally driven services, which had a significant impact on the entire development of the areas. In some protracted camps, because of the uneven and inconsistent aid in time, people become neglected and their isolation makes them aggressive and dependent on aid, as one interviewee mentions (M. O – NGO 1.). She talks about something very similar to what other authors describe as the IDP ‘’prison-camp’’, where people are reduced to their ‘’bare life’’ condition by the complete neglect of local authorities and the control over IDPs by international actors that within the rationale of exception (Bøås and Bjørkhaug 2014). In these settings, most of the times you have a high level of criminality, and ‘*’there are places in the camps where you cannot go after a certain hour because it’s too dangerous, especially for young women*’’ (M.O – NGO1).

Aid also generated levels of urbanization of the camp that resulted in the creation of urban economies and urban labor (Bartlett, Alix-Garcia, and Saah 2012; Pavanello 2011). These economies, considering the placement of the camp and the type of people that live in the camp, a combination of both pastoralist and nomads/traders, subsides on the exploitation of natural resources, on the exploitation of the missing rule of law which provides the possibility

to conduct business unregulated and the vicinity to the urban center, where young boys and single mothers can find low-paid jobs (De Waal 2009; H. Young and Jacobsen 2013; Hammar 2014). As in most camps in North Darfur, there is an exploitation of firewood, of soil for brick making and of charcoal. At the same time, because of the presence of guns in the camps and the political affiliations of the elites or ex-combatants, the authorities have never tried to enter into the camp and impose their authority through taxes and political mechanisms, therefore, for some types of services, the camp is preferred to the city for the possibility of thriving and even getting rich, as one interviewee claims. Finally, as in any other camp in the world, there is a successful economy of food assistance (Hammar 2014, Jacobsen 2015). The acceptance of this complex reality has led some humanitarian organizations to increase their "punitive" and "preventing" measures transforming food assistance into a bureaucratic process and investing money in years long research to see who really "deserves" this aid. In Zamzam and North Darfur, this has led to more than 50.000 people being cut down from the list of eligible people, even though they were living in the camp (Dabanga 2016).

Finally, there is a process of politicization of IDPs as a category of interest, that is summed up in a rather illustrative manner in the 2010 IDMC Report on sustainability of return in Darfur:

> *''The term ''IDP'' has itself become politicized. It is a label that implies that these people are kept in indefinite suspense, unable to become regular citizens of Sudan either by joining the urban areas, or by migrating to Khartoum, or by returning home. The politicized IDPs have resisted registering during the census and continue to veto any indication that they should return home unless there is complete security (guaranteed by international troops). They regard themselves as wards of the international community with an entitlement to relief and protection, and it is tempting for international advocates to echo this view.'' (IDMC 2010).*

From the point of view of IDPs political subjectivities, this over-conscientiousness of their ''international human rights'' expressed through the catering of relief aid, has led in multiple situations to the increase in political apathy and rejection of local and national

authorities, as happened, for example, in the case of the vote for the new administrative reorganizations of the states in Darfur (Abdelmoneim 2016), where people found no interest in getting involved because it ‘’had nothing to do with them’’.

Solutions and ‘’durability’’

The urbanization of these camps has been already highlighted and it stands at the core of an entire debate on the ‘’normalization’’ of the camp as the new city (Agier 2002). But what is also important is to provide an image of how the ‘’establishing’’ of the entity of the camp changed or did not change perceptions of potential ‘’solutions’’ for the IDP crisis. As one interviewer highlights, there are various tensions that prevail, going from the identification of IDPs with their own ‘’identity’’ to the economic realities of the region and the sovereign involvement in their integration into a specific social order:

> *‘’We have a number of ideas of what should be done and the plan is essentially to explore three options: either people go back, now or in the foreseeable future, if that's not possible than camps be integrated in the current location, turned into urban or very urban areas, or can alternative sites be allocated or find. that brings other questions on land rights, compensation and so on…but definitely what we see if that these larger camps, closer to Al Fasher, Nyala in North Darfur, you know, if you go there, large parts of the camps you don't recognize them as camps anymore. Structures have changed. Individual dwellings, a degree of economic activities in the camps, towards the city and elsewhere and of course agricultural labor to earn themselves a living. You see the degree of basic services. Again, they are very basic. In the IDP camp there is a clinic, a mosque, and so forth. The basis is there to say: why don't we take the step forward and integrate fully these camps into the city." 10:02 "I can't tell you know how we could make IDP camps economically viable but opportunities will be there. Will these camp become more well-off, more organized, relative normal segments of these towns (...) I would doubt because it's not a normal cross section of population with normal life support system that you find in camps."12:16 (I.F. – INGO 1)*

The attempt to both build on the existing structures and constructing the potential ‘’viability’’ of the camp as a durable solution, while at the same time trying to limit IDPs involvement in the existence of the camp, is a good illustration of the normalization of the ‘’state of exception’’ that contradicts the reality of protracted displacement.

When it comes to returnees, generally the yearly statistics show that between 5 and 10 percent of IDPs manage to return (DRA 2013). The most often cited reasons are the fact that in the camp they have more security, that there are better services, in some cases, and that at home they do not have any more belongings or land or they that they have been astray for far too long to return (Pantuliano 2007) as with resettlement, issues of kinship and economic viability being mentioned (Daun 2011).

Finally, connecting these various practices that make up the life of a displaced in this setting, one humanitarian worker mentions the difficulty to overcome the ‘’politicization’’ of the ‘’temporality’’ of these settlements when considering the potential for durable solutions and integration:

> *‘’But even without we can just look at the case of Palestinians in Lebanon, which have not been integrated, they are in camps, they do not have the same rights, because you maintain the myth of bringing them back to their own country and after 65 years it's hard to believe that that will be sometime down the road. so, i think there is a political preference for not granting them access because you want to maintain the temporary settlement rather than permanent one"* 19:16 *(C.F. – INGO 3)*

Constructed around issues of relational transformations generated by displacement, such as economies, and political identities, as well as physical realities related to the environment and the body, the chapter highlighted the main communalities revealed through the analysis of the main humanitarian documents on internal displacement in Darfur, and especially from the interviewees with professional from the field. The following chapter will analyze these findings drawing on the concepts described in detail in the literature review.

Chapter 3. Findings

This chapter aims at summarizing the issues highlighted in the empirical material and framing them based on the concepts described in the literature review. Whether or not the camp is in itself a means of reducing the human to its ‘’bare life’’ or whether there are complexities to this type of sovereign control that make more sense in a broader understanding of displacement. At the same time, it should reference in what way the framework of the ‘’static’’ and ‘’immobile’’ IDP life is reflected in reality and in what way the dislocation has a transformative and mobile nature within displacement. Finally, it will point out the impact on IDP experience of their own displacement, being placed at the crossroad of various power dynamics that create, encourage or maintain pockets of political and ethnical identities and subjectivities, that manifest themselves in the realm of "exception" and seem less interested into the "outside" world.

3.1. Bare life versus Social Order and Subjectivities

From the previous chapter, there is a prevailing sense that in this continuous debate about the role of encampment and "state of emergency" on the humanization of the IDP, Malkki's empirical approach seems to be gaining territory.

It is true that the more isolated a camp, the centralization of power control on the people living in the camp encourages their treatment as bodies with no agency of their own, capable only of receiving. At the same time though, in the analyzed case study, the IDPs had constructed their own political subjectivities, even if expressed through less than legal activities and through self-regulatory violence, in rare occasions. The fact that authorities fear to enter the camp and impose the rule of law or even national taxes, highlights the evolving agency of certain IDPs sustained by economic and cultural practices. They are both victims as well as '"perpetrators".

The ‘’escape’’ from the ‘’bare life’’ trap is, as both Turner and Malkki suggested, through the re-construction of social order within a context of previous and future social orders, based on political, ethnic and economic dynamics. This reality is not only felt through the construction of physical space of the camp, as well through the variety of economic practices within the camp, giving a different agency and affecting people of all ages, genders and needs.

3.2. The transformations of "immobility"

The camp, as a physical and symbolic reality, is a fascinating concept, as it stems from the assumption that people and people's lives can be ‘’disrupted’’ and remain ‘’immobile’’, while having the expectations that they can then ‘’continue’’, just as ‘’before’’ after a break period. Because camps themselves are ‘*’spaces are (…) with often fragmented authority, uncertain sovereignty, provisional legality, and undetermined duration*’’ (Feldman 2015).

Zamzam proved a good portrayal of this ambiguity and internal tensions. The manner in which the camp was established, as an attempt of direct control over space and people, developed based on power dynamics, cultural/ethnic and economic practices. The fragmented nature of sovereignty is visible through both the presence and influence of local authorities through the position of the governor and the HAC within the camp, while at the same time the effective presence of authorities through institutionalized means is contested and directly rejected.

Time changes within itself and people transform in it both through the experience of displacement and second through the experience of the camp. The low percentage of return, highlights the transformations in issues of land and livelihood practices and mobilities between the camp and the ‘’home’’. Land and livestock have changed in value also because displacement has facilitated the smuggling of livestock and the occupation of land, making some of the displaced to move between the camp and their land, on a seasonal basis, while the

rest of the time they work in the camp or in the nearby city. While the camp will never be considered their ‘’home’’, the classical idea of ‘’home’’ is itself fragmented.

The position and the ecological conditions in which the camp is established and settled in time are of extreme relevance to the ‘’governing’’ potential of the area, to the livelihood possibilities for the people and the opportunity to ‘’re-construct’’ their own social order. It is the first step in acknowledging how much mobility as a dimension of displacement is shape its experience and impact. Isolation is just as dangerous as "uprooted" and "immobility".

Furthermore, trying to make sense of the practice of camps, analyzing the rationale and sustainability of a camp certain indicators could and should be used for this analysis: economic viability, environmental viability, political viability and human/cultural viability. A strong observation is the fact that the existence of camps does not only have an impact on the people that inhabit it but it completely transforms the environment and the economic landscape around them (Lang et al. 2010; Kranz, Sachs, and Lang 2015). Displacement is transformative not only through the dislocations and changes that people generate in their own lives, but also on a spatial and temporal level they affect the relationship between the human and the non-human, now and in the future.

3.3. The protracted nature of displacement

Starting on the work of Zetter, connecting the "practice" of the camp and the protracted nature of displacement, the case study has confirmed that the practices and processes generated by displacement are interconnected with spatial and temporal realities. The camp, through its physical and economical mapping can encourage or discourage the transformations of mobilities, coping mechanism, relations and economies that could sustain displacement and the "settlement" of people in this "temporary" and "uprooted" situation.

The idea of ‘’products’’ of displacement is extremely generous and it refers to both relations, bodies, subjectivities, objects and processes and this has been under-researched in situations of protracted displacement, especially by humanitarian actors, as one such practitioner highlights, in our conversation about protracted IDP camps in North Darfur:

> *‘’"I often wonder and I don't think we have a solid analysis of how exactly these IDP communities cope economically and social-economically. We have parts of it, somewhat related to food security, we know what people have and what they don't have. But how all the social, economic support structures were ... I don't think that's actually...it may not actually be possible to collect that kind of information, due to all kinds of restrictions and maybe even resistance by the IDPs themselves."*11:03 *(I.F.- INGO 1)*

Therefore, among the products of displacement stand not only the coping mechanisms or the diversified practices of livelihoods, objects and bodies, but also the changing subjectivities and identities of IDPs themselves. While, at the beginning of the ‘’crisis’’ the victimization and the surrender to the classical practices of humanitarian assistance can be well accepted, time, even in this constant expectations environment, demonstrates people’s ‘’coming into being’’ through resistance, exploitation or even refusal or categorization and ‘’analysis’’ by humanitarian workers.

Conclusion

The current thesis started by arguing that the crisis of displacement is not only increasing worldwide, but it is also shifting from a temporary emergency to a long-term situation. In this context, this "protracted" nature of displacement is correlated with the manner in which displacement has been both conceptualized and responded to as a "static" and "temporary" problem. This lead to a normalization of encampment and the belief that "locked" displacement could be better addressed, from both spatial and temporal rationale, by creating camps where humanitarians concentrated their entire assistance in a centralized manner, in a year by year basis, through temporary aid infrastructure.

However, an increasing body of literature, based on empirical cases, are contesting this conceptualization, referring to displacement as either an accumulation of practices, of subjectivities re-constructing new spaces of sovereignty and a process that has the effect of shifting relations, bodies and objects.

For this reason, the purpose of this thesis was to research, through qualitative methods, the transformative nature of protracted displacement and analyze in what manner this shifting pattern is interconnected with the prevailing use of camps, and especially camps in close vicinity to each other and other settlements.

The methodology of the thesis was constructed around the analysis of a protracted IDP camp in Darfur, Sudan, one of the five countries worldwide that have been the most troublesome places because of the largest and increasing number of internally displaced in the last 15 years. The analysis of the case study has been done through an overview of reports from UNOCHA and IDMC, the main actors in the categorization and assistance of IDPs, and the most important contribution has been the analysis of interviews from international and national humanitarian workers and an academic working in the field of displacement.

The literature review and the case study have highlighted the fact that displacement is inherently paradoxical and while it is a fluid practice of behaviors, processes and actors, it has been unfortunately conceptualized and regulated as a temporary, static and isolated phenomenon.

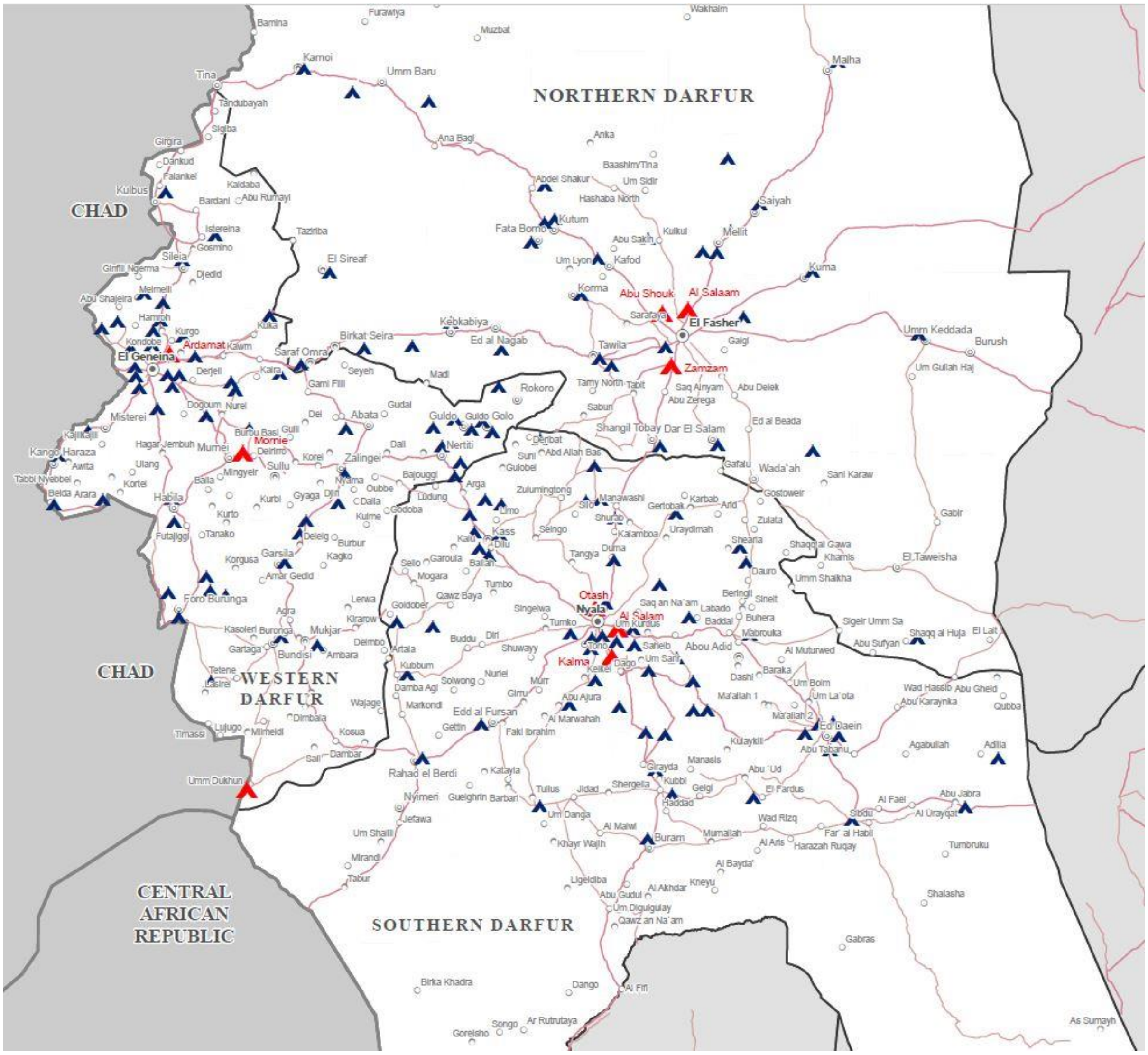
The main contribution of the current thesis is providing empirical findings to the growing body of literature that contests the conceptualization of displacement as a ‘’static’’, homogenous and emergency phenomenon, looking into the changes in the livelihoods, economies and identities of people in Zamzam camp in North Darfur.

The main findings of the thesis highlighted the transformative nature of protracted displacement through the changes in livelihood practices, identities, physical space and the value of such ‘’objects’’ as land and ecological resources, which are profoundly interrelated with the experience of displacement through the ‘’locked’’ space of the camp, as a place of renewed sovereignty.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Mapping of IDP camps in Darfur. Source: OCHA, 2011



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