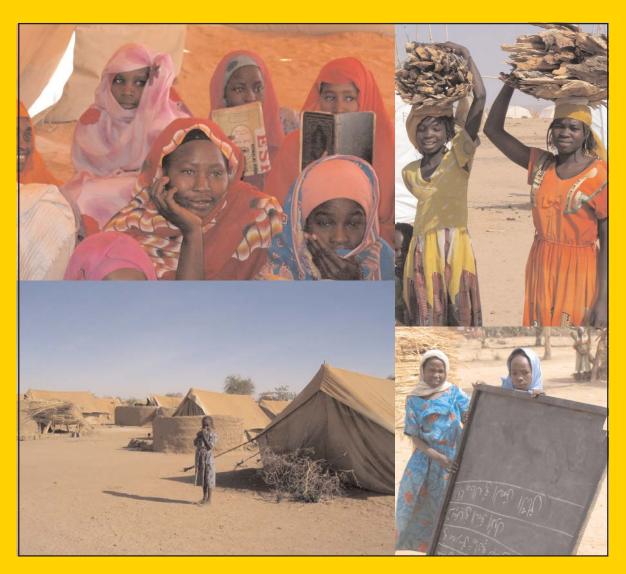


"Don't Forget Us":

The Education and Gender-Based Violence Protection Needs of Adolescent Girls from Darfur in Chad



Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children



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Mission Statement

The Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children works to improve the lives and defend the rights of refugee and internally displaced women, children and adolescents. We advocate for their inclusion and participation in programs of humanitarian assistance and protection. We provide technical expertise and policy advice to donors and organizations that work with refugees and the displaced. We make recommendations to policy makers based on rigorous research and information gathered on fact-finding missions. We join with refugee women, children, and adolescents to ensure that their voices are heard from the community level to the highest levels of governments and international organizations. We do this in the conviction that their empowerment is the surest route to the greater well-being of all forcibly displaced people.

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ACRONYMS

CF Chadian franc

CNAR Chad National Commission for Refugee Assistance

CORD Christian Outreach, Relief and Development

DFID UK Department for International Development

GBV Gender-based violence

HIAS Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society

ICRC International Committee of the Red Cross

IFRC International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent

IMC International Medical Corps

INGO International nongovernmental organization
IOM International Organization for Migration

IRC International Rescue Committee

JEM Justice and Equality Movement

MSF Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders)

NGO Nongovernmental organization

SLA Sudan Liberation Army

SLM Sudan Liberation Movement

UNFPA UN Population Fund

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF United Nations Children Fund

UNILC UN Joint Logistics Center

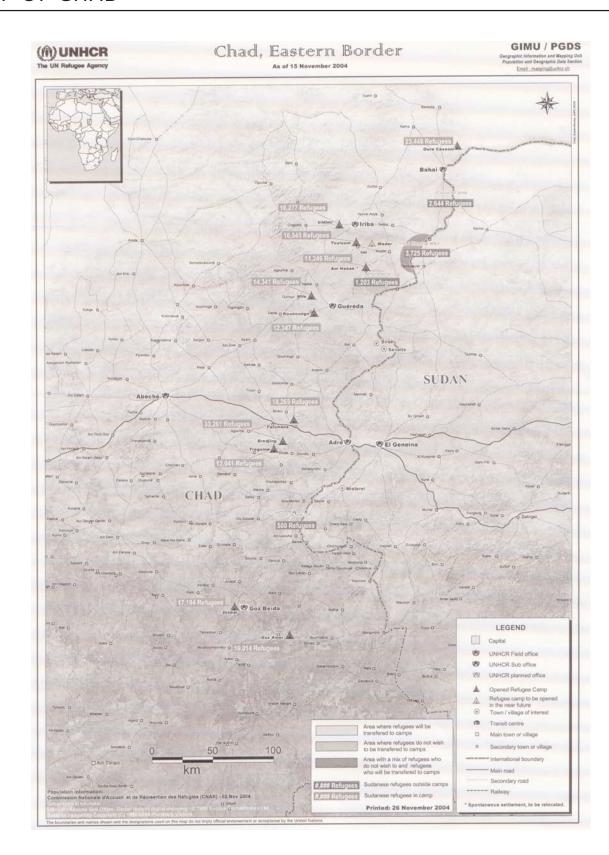
UNOCHA UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNOHCHR UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

UNSC UN Security Council

USAID US Agency for International Development

WFP World Food Program

WHO World Health Organization



The Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children visited 10 of the 11 refugee camps in eastern Chad in January 2005 as part of a nearly three-week mission to examine the protection of adolescent girls, with a particular focus on education and reproductive health in the camps. Two filmmakers accompanied the Women's Commission for a part of the mission, which was funded by the Ford Foundation. As in many refugee situations, each camp had different characteristics, strengths and weaknesses. Given time constraints, staff of the Women's Commission were not able to systematically assess the education and reproductive health situation of

adolescent girls, but tried as much as possible to ask the same questions in each camp about the lives of adolescent girls, education and reproductive health. In some camps, staff were able to speak with educators, in others with women's groups, and in still others with healthcare personnel; when there was more time, staff was able to meet with more than one group.

The report begins with background information, then moves to chapters on adolescent girls, education and reproductive health, as well as additional information about the situation in Chad. Each chapter contains recommendations for action.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

More than 220,000 Sudanese from Darfur have fled the ongoing violence in their region and crossed the border into the desert of eastern Chad. Most of the refugees are now in camps; however, at the time of the Women's Commission visit, several thousand remained on the border or on the periphery of some camps, waiting to be registered. The conditions are bleak: water is in very short supply and except for the southernmost camps, it is nearly impossible to farm or otherwise earn a living. With no resolution to the Darfur crisis in sight and violence continuing, it is estimated that between 50,000 and 100,000 refugees might flee to eastern Chad in 2005.

ADOLESCENT GIRLS

In Darfur, the concept of "adolescence" as a developmental stage does not exist. Females are considered girls until they menstruate, at which point they become women; however, this does not mean that females between the ages of 11 and 18 experience life in the camps in the same way as those 18 years old and above. While many of the

girls in the 11-18 year age group share most of the same duties as their mothers, one major difference is that many of the girls are in school for the very first time. This is an opportunity they would not have had in Darfur and which their mothers never had.²

EDUCATION

At the time of the Women's Commission's visit, all 11 refugee camps had education programs. In most camps this included primary grades 1-6, some adult literacy classes, and some preschool. In more than half of the camps, refugees who had education experience as teachers and administrators in Darfur started schools in the camps prior to the arrival of the humanitarian community.

While education is widespread, a significant number of the refugees face numerous challenges. UNICEF took the lead on education, but their presence at the time of the Women's Commission visit was sorely lacking in the camps, as was acknowledged by UNICEF's sub-office in Abeche. At that time, UNICEF had not provided adequate

shelters for schools, school supplies or guidance to teachers or camp management. A number of contingencies, including a lack of funding and the difficulty of the conditions in Chad, many of them out of UNICEF's control, seem to be to blame.

Another major problem are the "incentives" given to teachers by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which were seen as inadequate by the large majority of teachers. School headmasters reported losing teachers who left their jobs to make more money in other ways, such as selling firewood. The few women teachers in the camps teach only the lowest grades. Young people who have completed grade eight have no opportunities for education or skills training.

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Thousands of girls and women have been raped and/or beaten in Darfur and in Chad. In most camps the Women's Commission visited, there were reports of women who had been raped by the members of the janjaweed militia. Some of these rapes have resulted in pregnancy. Pregnancy due to rape is an extremely complicated issue; it is culturally unacceptable to be pregnant outside of marriage, and to be carrying a child fathered by the "enemy" compounds the problem dramatically. Health staff reported that women pregnant as a result of rape did not report the rape due to the social stigma attached. There were some reports of women abandoning babies of the janjaweed; however, in other camps programs were being developed with refugee communities to integrate and support mothers and their children born as a result of rape.

In Chad refugee girls and women are sometimes beaten and raped when they are collecting firewood. They must walk for hours to get firewood; in some areas, attacks on girls collecting firewood by host communities are frequent. In addition to competition for scarce firewood, local communities resent the basic services the refugees receive, which they lack. Women and girls in four camps reported being beaten when collecting wood, and rapes were reported in two camps; the perpetrators were reported to be local people. At the time of the Women's Commission mission, very little psychosocial assistance was available to girls and women victims of gender-based violence.

OTHER ISSUES

The Women's Commission found a number of other issues during the course of the mission. One was the problem of unregistered refugees, who have in some cases been waiting for months for assistance; they cannot receive assistance until they are given official documentation by UNHCR. Overcrowding in the camps remains a significant problem, as does the lack of water. The issues are related: the search for much-needed new camps is contingent on finding viable water sources, a difficult feat in the vast desert. The water rations had been cut to below internationally accepted standards in at least one camp by the camp management.

Tensions are increasing between the refugees and the host communities in many areas. The villages surrounding the camps are among the poorest in the world; a poor harvest last year has made their situation even worse.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS:

ADOLESCENT GIRLS

- NGOs and United Nations agencies need to keep pushing for girls and young women to take part in decision-making in camp management, youth committees, women's groups, and in schools.
- Each organization working on the ground should have a gender specialist and should implement projects with a gender perspective. Funding must be earmarked for this purpose.

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

- All health care providers should immediately establish and implement care for the survivors of violence following established protocols.
- Simple and safe alternative methods of cooking should be expanded, and safe systems for gathering firewood must be created.

EDUCATION

 Semi-permanent classrooms need to be built to protect students from heat, wind, rain and sandstorms.

- ° Furniture and supplies, including textbooks, curriculum guides from Sudan, pens, paper, pencils, blackboards and sports equipment, should be provided or restocked immediately.
- Obstribution times for food and other items should be set so that they do not conflict with school hours; this then would not be used as an excuse for keeping girls out of school.
- A program of providing incentives to parents so they send girls to school should be developed and implemented.
- ° UNHCR and UNICEF should hire an education

- staff member from the start of an operation.
- Literacy classes should be available for all refugees regardless of age or gender.

ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- Local communities must be given resources so that tensions between local people and refugees lessen
- Because finding water sources is a priority, the drilling of multiple bore holes should take place simultaneously.

BACKGROUND ON THE SUDAN/CHAD SITUATION

More than 220,000 Sudanese from Darfur have fled the ongoing violence in their region and crossed the border into the desert of eastern Chad. Most of the refugees are now in camps; however, at the time of the Women's Commission visit several thousand remained on the border or on the periphery of some camps, waiting to be registered. The conditions are bleak: water is in very short supply and except for the southernmost camps, it is nearly impossible to farm or otherwise earn a living. With no imminent resolution to the Darfur crisis in sight and violence continuing, it is thought that between 50,000 and 100,000 refugees might flee to eastern Chad in 2005.³

REFUGEE SETTLEMENT AND CAMPS

"The most difficult thing is to care for women, children and girls. In Chad, previously, there was a civil war. Women and children are now refugees in a poor country, and this is a problem. The main issues are education, food, potable water and sanitation."

--Minister of Social Action, Women and Families, Chad Government

Since 2000, UNHCR has established 11 camps along a 400-mile stretch of the West Darfur border.⁵ At the time of the Women's Commission's

visit, the camps accommodated about 212,000 people, the vast majority of them refugees. The number is closer to 220,000 as of spring 2005. About 4,000-5,000 individuals had settled outside of camps closer to the border, where it was easier to watch over livestock and make a living working at farming or in local markets. While half of those not in camps wished to be transferred to a camp, all remained vulnerable to cross-border janjaweed attacks until they are able and willing to relocate. Anticipating up to 100,000 additional refugees, UNHCR plans to open at least one more camp in 2005.6

While UNHCR has strategically situated most camps near sources of potable water, environmental factors are hurting both the refugee and local populations. Located on the southern fringes of the Sahara Desert, this area of eastern Chad is regularly subjected to intense heat, strong winds and sandstorms. Clean water remains in short supply, leading to poor hygiene, and the threat of disease outbreaks such as hepatitis E and diarrhea. Worsening the problem is a small harvest from a short rainy season, making the population, particularly children, vulnerable to malnutrition.⁷ Furthermore, the tremendous demand for firewood has begun to strip surrounding areas. UNHCR is responding by distributing kerosene stoves and transporting refugees to faraway loca-

tions for wood collection. Though these solutions mitigate ecological challenges, delivering aid in a timely and effective manner has become increasingly difficult as Chad lacks railroads, sufficient all-weather roads and an adequate communication network.⁸

Periodically, gaps in relief have caused fighting between refugees and the host communities. The inequitable distribution of assistance and the underlying desperation that looms in and around the emergency situation have resulted in reports of theft, exploitation, rape and other offenses. Conducting operations from the regional capital of Abeche, UNHCR has tried to include the local population in its humanitarian planning and budget. Compounding the problem is the fact that a 2002 attempted coup diverted the attention of President Deby and the Chadian Parliament away from the needs of its distant citizens. Across the nation, the weakened rule of law has led to the proliferation of light weapons and increased crime rates.9



The refugee camps in eastern Chad are in a remote and very poor area of the country, with very little infrastructure and few resources. The camp pictured above is Iridimi.

POPULATION

The tribal groups from Darfur living in the Chad refugee camps include, but are not limited to, the Zaghawa, Fur and Masaalit. In camps in the north, the primary group is the Zaghawa; in the south people are mostly Masaalit. 10 It was report-

Camp	Date Opened ¹³	Population	Camp Management ¹⁴
Oure Cassoni	July 2004	19,000	IRC
Iridimi	March 2004	17,000 (built for 7000)	CARE
Touloum	February 2004	19,000	SECADEV (Caritas)
Amnabak	June 2004	16,000-16,500	CARE
Kounoungo	February 2004	12,000	SECADEV
Mille	May 2004	14,982	CARE
Djabal	June 2004	17,000	InterSOS
Goz Amer	March 2004	19,303	InterSOS
Farchana	January 2004	19,200 + 600 new arrivals	SECADEV
Treguine	September 2004	13,480 or 14,480	CRT/IFRC
Breidjing	May 2004	30,000 + 3,000 new arrivals (built for 20,000)	CARE

ed by a refugee from Darfur who has traveled throughout the region that people from the tribes in the south (mainly Masaalit) have suffered more than the people in the north due to lack of Sudanese Liberation Army cadres in the southern region of Darfur.¹¹

Between 70 and 80 percent of the population in the refugee camps are women and children; many of the women are heads of household having either lost or been separated from male family members. The refugees traveled to Chad from Darfur by foot, by donkey, by camel or by horse. For some, the journey was a matter of days; others traveled for a month before they arrived. At times, members of the same village were able to travel together and settle in the same camps.¹²

The chart on the page 4 provides the names of the camps, the dates they were opened, and the populations as of January 2005.

GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

The 11 refugee camps in eastern Chad lie along almost the entire length of the shared border with Sudan. In the north, around Bahai and Iriba, people have settled in the desert with few trees, a lack of arable land and little water. People in camps in the south of the country, near Goz Beida, fare a bit better than those in the north. They have greater access to water and it is possible to grow crops on small plots.¹⁵



The harsh climate in eastern Chad makes a difficult life for refugees even harder. Water and firewood are scarce and temperatures fluctuate from extreme heat to cold. Sandstorms and heavy rains also present a challenge. This young girl lives in Kounoungo refugee camp.

During the rainy season, the wadis (riverbeds) fill up, making many areas, particularly in the south, impassable. With the summer heat comes the dry season, when water is most needed. Periodic sandstorms cause widespread damage in the camps, battering tents or even knocking down entire structures. Temperatures in the north of Chad can range from more than 104°F in the summer to below 32°F in the winter. Few people have warm clothes and enough blankets to protect themselves from the cold.

Most of the camps are safe distances from the border with Sudan, but Oure Cassoni, the northernmost camp, is only two to three miles from the border. Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) rebels reportedly move in and out of the camp, as do refugees, which raises considerable security concerns. Adre, which is the closest town to three of the central refugee camps, is only 2.5 miles from the Sudan border, and is an important military town for Chad. UNHCR and NGOs are well aware of the difficulties and dangers in these areas.¹⁶

RESOURCES

One of the significant challenges to the refugees—and the local community as well—is the difficulty finding firewood. The Chad Minister of Social Action, Women and Families said: "There is an environmental problem. Half of Chad is desert and if you take the trees, you have deforestation and desertification. The problem is the same for both refugees and Chadians." This issue will be discussed in more detail on page 9, in the section on adolescent girls.

Water is scarce in eastern Chad and is a significant problem in the refugee camps. In at least one camp, water rations were cut to below Sphere standards, ¹⁸ and the quality was also questionable. The difficulty in finding water is one of the main roadblocks to building much-needed new camps. Water is trucked to Amnabak from a great distance, and to Oure Cassoni from 2.5 miles away; this is hugely expensive. ¹⁹ UNHCR and NGOs are keenly aware of this problem, but some say that action should be taken more quickly to find water sources. More findings regarding water can be found on page 22.

CAMP GOVERNANCE

UNHCR established all of the camps except Amnabak, which was settled spontaneously by refugees, and provides the overarching guidelines and funding for the camps; however, on-site camp management is done by NGOs.

Most of the camps are laid out in "blocks," which are then separated into zones. The number of blocks, zones and tents or shelters in each camp differs widely. In most of the camps visited by the Women's Commission, there was a series of governance committees made up of refugees. These included a committee that interacted with the NGOs on site to share information and work out problems, women's committees, education committees and student committees.²⁰

Gender balance in camp leadership was seen as a difficulty in all of the camps. In the Iridimi camp, however, the refugee committee consisted of 24 people, with an equal balance of men and women. Initially, the committee reorganized itself with the same leadership as in Sudan; women were not included. The camp manager, however, pushed to have women on the committee. Although one group in the camp was strongly opposed to having women in leadership roles, they were convinced when it was agreed, for example, that women would be best able to discuss issues relating to pregnancy, birth and other reproductive health

issues. This may be one method to increase women's participation in future leadership councils, as long as the women have input into issues beyond those that affect only women.

SECURITY

The main security issues faced by refugees in the camps were local village men entering the camps and abusing women, the theft of refugees' cattle and villagers' livestock eating refugee crops.

The government of Chad has provided gendarmes (police officers) for each of the camps, 180 in total.²¹ The gendarmes are not allowed inside the camps. Their responsibility is to provide a barrier between the interior of the camp and the outside world, and to screen people who enter the camps; they are not, however, involved in internal camp issues.²² Their roles and responsibilities have been set out in a Memorandum of Understanding between the government of Chad and UNHCR.

Inside at least two camps, refugees set up their own security patrols. Patrols walk the streets day and night, looking for theft of livestock or intra-camp violence. There was an attempt to include women in the patrols, but the communities rejected the idea of women patrolling at night.²³

ADOLESCENT GIRLS



These refugee girls have just finished a day of school at Goz Amer refugee camp. They are lucky—many primary school age children in this camp were not in school at the time of the Women's Commission visit because of a lack of teachers.

Adolescence can be defined in a variety of ways; many societies or cultures have their own understanding of what adolescence means and when it occurs, either chronologically or as defined by a cultural/societal context.²⁴ The World Health Organization and UNFPA, for example, say that adolescents are 10-19 years old.²⁵ However, this definition should be flexible given the differences in culture and individual emotional, cognitive and social development.²⁶

In interviews with refugees from Darfur, it became clear to the Women's Commission that adolescence was not considered a developmental stage in Darfur. When asked about adolescent girls, refugees responded: "What are adolescents? What do you mean by that?" When the term was explained, women and girls agreed that this was not a concept that resonated with them. Females were girls until menstruation, at which point they became women.

"When is a child a women? At age 13 or 14, sometimes at 17. There is no adolescence here, you are a child, then an adult."²⁷

This made limiting the definition to the accepted WHO or UNFPA age range of 10-19 difficult. Staff of the Women's Commission spoke with girls

and women who ranged in age from seven to over 70 years old. The Women's Commission attempted to focus on the responses of girls between the ages of 10 and 19, but information from older women and younger girls is also included in this report.

Seventy to eighty percent of the population of the camps are women and children. Girls have many of the same duties as women—cooking, collecting water and firewood, minding children. Given that girls are already doing the work of women, and that there is limited access to education—which provides a time for young people to be more than children but without having to bear full adult responsibilities—it is not surprising that a direct shift occurs from girlhood to womanhood, with no period of time in between. Girls can be "married" while still under 10 years of age, although they do not live with their husbands until their early- to mid-teens.²⁸

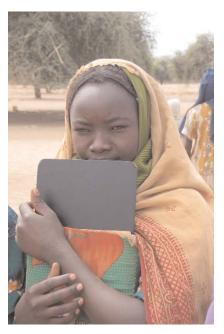
Teen girls participate in the life of the home, but much less in the community. This is not unexpected, given the marginalization of women and girls in the cultures of Chad and Sudan. It appears that teenage girls have no role in decision-making. Few teenage girls were included in the committees that made up camp leadership. Some participated in women's groups gathered for the Women's Commission's visit, however.

Adolescent refugee girls in Chad were both survivors of and witnesses to atrocities in Darfur. UN workers and NGO staff reported to the Women's Commission that this trauma had affected the behavior of some teenage girls in the camps.

Despite their trauma, teenage girls in the camps demonstrated astonishing resilience. They performed their daily tasks and perhaps most importantly, many were going to school. The Women's Commission saw teenage girls with their hands raised, straining, eager to answer questions posed by teachers, thrilled to be in school, many for the first time.

In Darfur, people lived in rural areas spread over

great distances and were marginalized by the Sudanese government, which provided little or no health or education assistance. Girls often would not be educated because they were needed at home for chores and the society did not understand the value of education for girls. School fees were reserved for boys, because girls were married young and were not seen as needing education to fulfill their life duties. In addition, due to cultural norms and fear of abuse by male teachers, parents did not allow their daughters to attend residential schools after the early grades. Once girls reached the age of eight or nine, they were brought home to care for younger children, till the fields, cook and wash. If a girl started her education, it usually ended when she married.29



Many refugee girls are going to school for the first time in Chad and are learning the importance of education, as are their mothers, most of whom were never allowed to attend school.

The situation is different in the refugee camps in Chad. Many girls had the opportunity to go to school for the first time in their lives. Because their families had lost most of their livestock and no longer had fields to tend, girls had more free time and therefore were allowed by their parents

to attend. The Women's Commission delegation saw girls from ages 5 to 17 in classes. Most of the girls and young women were in the lower grades because they had never been to school.

MARRIAGE AND ADOLESCENT GIRLS

"Fourteen is the average age of menstruation in Darfur. Menstruation is the end of childhood, you go straight to adulthood. There is no such thing as adolescence." ³⁰

Girls marry, on average, between the age of 14 and 18 years in Darfur; the family of the woman collects a dowry as her "bride-price." This provides incentives for a family to marry a girl off early since they no longer have to support her and, instead, collect payment for her.³¹ At this point, girls usually stop going to school.³²

Because girls often marry young, when they give birth they often face obstructed labor due to an underdeveloped pelvis. Two of the five natal mortalities in the Mille camp were to girls age 15 and were due to obstructed labor. There are mixed reports on numbers of young girls who are giving birth.³³

RECOMMENDATIONS: ADOLESCENT GIRLS

- NGOs and United Nations agencies need to keep pushing for girls and young women to take part in decision-making in camp management, youth committees, women's groups, and in schools.
- Each organization working on the ground should have a gender specialist and should implement projects with a gender perspective. Funding must be earmarked for this purpose.

ADOLESCENT GIRLS AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

The following section follows up on some of the findings of an August 2004 Women's Commission report on Chad, *Lifesaving Reproductive Health Care: Ignored and Neglected.*³⁴

Both women and adolescent girls are subject to gender-based violence (GBV) in Chad and Darfur; however, in this report, GBV will be discussed primarily in the context of adolescent girls.

The issue of GBV arose in all of the camps visited, mainly involving violence toward adolescent girls, including rape and beatings by the janjaweed in Darfur, and by the local Chadian population when girls in the camps gather firewood. While there is little reported domestic violence, staff of UNICEF and other refugee aid workers in the Djabal camp said that there had been reports of women visiting health centers for treatment from beatings. Reports indicate that these beatings took place inside the camp and were perpetrated by a spouse. Women would talk about being victims of violence if it occurred outside of the camp, but not if it happened inside.³⁵ A formal system for reporting incidents did not appear to be in place in the camps as of the end of January 2005. Without a place to report incidents of GBV, fewer incidents will become known. Reporting minimizes the number of GBV violations.36

Reports about the care of women raped by janiaweed militiamen and about babies that resulted from rape were mixed within camps and from camp to camp.³⁷ Culture and trauma were cited as barriers to communication. Girls would be hardpressed to reveal rape, particularly by the janjaweed, due to the social ostracism that could result.³⁸ Girls who are made pregnant by the janjaweed and who are alone face great difficulties, and often don't have enough to care for their children, including blankets and clothes. In some cases, girls and their families want to be rid of babies from the janjaweed, and the babies are neglected.³⁹ In a number of situations, NGOs are encouraging the community to accept the young woman and the baby; this is happening in Breidjing and Treguine camps where CARE is addressing the

problem by providing special assistance for the young women and advising them on health.

In the Oure Cassoni camp, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) has implemented a referral system for women who have experienced GBV. Traditionally in Darfur, if a woman is raped, she often must marry the rapist. Only if this is deemed unacceptable and no solution can be reached are legal consequences sought. 40 Many of the health care providers the Women's Commission spoke to were unaware whether women who survived rape received clinical care.

During the time of the Women's Commission mission, UNHCR's gender officer had started training staff and government counterparts on UNHCR's guidelines on women, including codes of conduct and GBV issues. They are planning to develop more activities with women, some involving men, in the near future.⁴¹

FIREWOOD COLLECTION

Collecting firewood for cooking is one of the major occupations for women and girls in the refugee camps in eastern Chad. Culturally, gathering wood is the job of females. Wood is somewhat more prevalent in southern Chad than in the north, but the competition for firewood, and the violence that results, continues to be a significant problem on this eastern border.

"We need the NGOs to bring firewood in lorries [trucks]. If they do not, we have to keep going. We have heard and seen rape with our own eyes here outside the camp. In one day, three people were raped. On another day, two were raped. We brought a girl to one hospital and then to another hospital so others don't know that she was raped. In the sheik meetings (women and men), area leaders bring weekly problems. At these meetings, we find out about the problems, and rapes that happened during that week. One 10-year-old girl was raped twice. There is no response from the government. We invited the governor to come and sit in a meeting with us, but the person refused."⁴²



Refugee women and girls like these have to walk for hours to find firewood and are at times attacked by members of the local community who are concerned about dwindling resources. Cases of rape and other violence have been reported in many areas.

In most of the camps visited by the Women's Commission, girls and women had to walk for at least one hour to gather wood; many reported having to walk two or more hours each way. Gathering wood took at least one to two hours by the time it was found, chopped and bundled; girls and women often needed to collect wood two or three times a week. When girls are sent to collect wood, they miss at least a day of school.

In two camps, Amnabak and Touloum, women and girls reported that they had no problems with the local population when they went to gather wood. In at least six of the camps, UN and NGO staff, women and girls reported intimidation or threatening behavior by the local community. In another camp, local people did not assault the women and girls, but intimidated them and took the firewood they had collected. In yet another camp, local people were demanding money from the refugees for the firewood they collected. After this was brought to the attention of the local sheik, the practice stopped.⁴³

The most devastating and destructive occurrence while gathering firewood was the beating and/or rape of girls and adolescent girls, as reported in four of the camps—Iridimi, Treguine, Mille and Breidjing. In two of the camps, women and girls reported rapes by the local community. During a conversation with a group of teenage girls, two told the same story:

"The danger is the same, near or far, but there's no wood nearby. When we are there getting the

wood, local people sometimes take the girls' clothes off. And do bad things. The people wear green uniforms. Some have camels, some have horses. At the place where we get the firewood they tell us, 'Line up one by one.' They say, stand 2 by 2 and they take us off like that and then they rape us. Sometimes this happens until evenings. We have told the police, but the police say stay in your tent and nothing will happen."44

In one of these camps, a woman reported that the local men "took their tops and shoes, too." She continued: "We talked to the sheik about it, and he said we have no rights here because we are refugees. 'Don't go get firewood,' he said. We will still get firewood. We don't have any choice." 45

A number of solutions have been proposed and are being implemented to stop the violence toward refugee women and girls. IRC in Bahai has started a program of firewood collection by truck, with an escort of gendarmes. The truck goes out once a week and the women and girls collect wood in a place agreed upon with the local community. In other camps, women and girls go in groups on specific days or to specific areas, or certain women are designated to gather wood for a group and then distribute it when they return.

Both the UN and NGOs are working with women and girls to use solar stoves or mud stoves that conserve fuel. 46 UNHCR has introduced fuel efficient stoves in some areas. The need for men to get wood to ensure the safety of women was raised; however, it was stated that this change would be long in coming and would only work if the men were not targets themselves.

PSYCHOSOCIAL PROGRAMS

As of the end of January 2005, very few psychosocial programs existed in the camps, and those that did were only able to serve a small number of children. Refugees in Chad have lost family, land, cattle, possessions and their communities. Many have witnessed or been the victims of atrocities, including rape, beating and murder. Females of all ages were raped in Darfur. Sudanese refugees in Chad carry deep psychological burdens. From interviews, it became clear that the refugees did not want to discuss what happened in Darfur, particularly the refugees in the northern camps.

In response to these experiences, a few models for

psychosocial help have been implemented in the camps; almost all incorporate working with the communities to develop non-invasive and/or traditional methods.⁴⁷ The Christian Children's Fund has established playgroups for children. In Bahai, IRC has set up information centers—kiosks where the community can get information about food distribution, hygiene and vaccines.

After discussion and education, some women begin to talk about what has happened to them. Sometimes staff only learn about rapes that occurred in Darfur when women come in to give birth. Medical staff then alert UNHCR, which advises the mother and family of the baby not to be ashamed and not to reject the mother or baby. UNHCR reports that only a few such cases have come to their attention.⁴⁸

In working to establish its psychosocial programs the International Medical Corps (IMC), based on previous work with the UN in Khartoum, is considering the family unit—as opposed to the individual, as is common in Western thought—as the best avenue for protection. IMC staff train older neighborhood women and the camp's sheik about the trauma that can develop after rape, assault or witnessing these and other atrocities. These abuses are not named specifically, but called "emotional pain." In the training, the different cultures are respected and suggestions are devised to prevent additional harm or re-traumatization. Ongoing supervision of women trainees is central to the process.⁴⁹

An IMC doctor working in the area said: "People don't talk about this because of pride and shame.

The whole family is hurt by this violence. We must work in a very slow, respectful way."⁵⁰ A staff person in the Mille camp said: "How do we help people deal with emotional pain from Darfur? By giving sympathy. We were trained in gender-based violence, but people don't talk about it. People deal with it silently."⁵¹ Staff working in the Djabal camp stated that women and girls do not talk about what happened to them in Darfur or in Chad, making intervention more difficult.⁵²

RECOMMENDATIONS: GBV

- All health care providers should immediately establish and implement care for the survivors of violence following established protocols.
- GBV specialists should be hired to train teacher coordinators and others about GBV, including sexual exploitation and a code of conduct.
- Simple and safe alternative methods of cooking should be expanded, and sensitization and instruction should accompany the new technology.
- ° Alternative fuels should be made available.
- Systems for gathering firewood must be created through discussion, including refugees, and NGO and UN representatives.
- Sensitization must begin on ways to change the gender-specific task of wood gathering.
- A formal system for reporting incidents of gender-based violence must be set up in the camps.

ADOLESCENT GIRLS AND EDUCATION

"I studied for one year in Sudan. I am taking literacy classes now. I want to understand. It's good for me. I feel very good when I study to read. Someone who has not studied compared to someone who has studied is like darkness compared to light. I like to read Islamic books, I read together with my friends and we write together. There are 140 women in my class, and I go every day, morning and evening. I study Arabic. Before, there were two teachers, one left, and now there is one. I know how to write my name, how to hold a pen, and I am hopeful for the future. I want my daughter to finish her education, she is 10 years old. She goes to school. I want her to be a doctor or a teacher."

-- Aza, 35, Mille Refugee Camp

Education is critically important for the cognitive development, overall well-being and protection of girls and adolescent girls, as well as for the stability and safety of a community. This is particularly true in a refugee or IDP camp where young people may have been victims of violence or are at risk of conscription into armed groups.

At the very least, school provides a structure and a daily routine for girls and adolescent girls. After the disruption of displacement and potential exposure to violence, structure is one of the most protective aspects of education; girls have less time to dwell on what happened to them and have a focus for their thoughts. With somewhere to go, children are less likely to become child soldiers or involved in illegal activities.⁵³ If girls are in school, there is a chance that they will not have to collect firewood or that they will learn safer strategies for firewood collection, and will therefore have less exposure to potential GBV. School can provide hope for the future and a purpose for living.⁵⁴

Teachers, perhaps more than any other group, see children on a daily basis and have a greater potential to identify abuse than medical professionals who may only see a child for other health problems or in the event of severe abuse. Teachers can be even more effective if they are trained to

identify situations of abuse and to alert a child protection officer when they suspect trouble.⁵⁵

It was difficult to estimate the number of girls who had attended school in Darfur prior to coming to the camps. As stated previously, girls had a hard time accessing education, and when they did, it was most often P1 to P3 (primary year 1 to primary year 3). It was clear in the refugee camps that far more girls, including adolescent girls, attended the lower grades (P1 and P2) and that very few, if any, enrolled in the higher grades. This was confirmed by all of the people with whom Women's Commission staff spoke.

Adolescent and teenage girls made up a significant percentage of the total number of girls in school. UNHCR estimates that in many of the camps, at least 50 percent of the children and youth attending lower primary classes were girls. In Touloum, 70 percent of the students in P1 and P2 were girls; this is not a surprise given the number of girls who had very little or no education in Darfur and had to start from the beginning.⁵⁶

There was very little for teenage girls to do in the camps other than domestic chores. There were no visible livelihood projects and secondary education did not exist. Even if it did, most girls were



The refugee camps had few visible livelihood projects for adolescents who are not in school. Many teenage girls in the camps had little to do other than domestic chores.

so far behind they would not have been able to participate.

"The number of girls in classes one to four is very high, but in classes five to eight, it's very low. Why? In Darfur, girls do not always continue their education to P6 class. The economy is weak. but this will change. Girls will probably stay in school longer. Girls and women are making the decision to go to school, even the married ones with children; this is a big change. The women and girls here in the camps saw the big difference between those who are educated and those who are not. In Sudan, we have to pay for education, that's why girls don't go. The community decides to bring girls back to help the family. Then they saw NGO people; they saw that they had good conditions and education. In Darfur, they didn't see this. In Darfur, we did a lot without education; we worked in fields, with cattle, etc. Now we have none of this, so education we decide is best. We are a very strong community in this camp. We advise families to keep their daughters in school. If anyone wants to take their daughter out, we advise them to keep the girl in. About 2,500 married girls come to school here, we have 17- to 20-year-olds in primary school."

-- Teachers, Treguine camp

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE CAMPS

When the refugees arrived in Chad, they found themselves in a "city" of people in contrast to the small remote villages to which they were accustomed.⁵⁷ Heads of schools and teachers in the burgeoning camps saw an opportunity to educate large numbers of children, including girls. Although there was still a great deal of work to do each day, including collecting firewood, carrying water and cooking, there was enough time for children, especially girls, to attend classes, as most of the refugees' livestock and fields were gone. Education was seen as critically important for the well-being and future of the people in the camps. As one of the teachers said, "In the future, we will fight our battles with the pen and not with the sword."⁵⁸

"In Darfur, school was inside. We had chairs and desks. In Sudan, we first had breakfast. Here there are no books or uniforms. It is totally different."

-- Ilham, 15, Touloum Camp.

Education programs in the refugee camps were officially opened in October 2004 by UNHCR, UNICEF and the government of Chad; however, education had been established in most camps prior to that time.⁵⁹ In some camps where refugees arrived spontaneously at the beginning of the crisis, they set up their own schools. Refugees organized themselves, found their own teachers, school directors and support staff from their community in Darfur. The manager of the camp in Iridimi said:

"Before July of 2004, teachers in the camp started classes themselves. They wanted kids to learn. Some teachers fled Darfur with books; they shared them here in the camp. Iridimi started with a central school, but then 8-10 schools were created by refugees. Now there are schools in all the zones of camp, they are centralized so lots of kids can go to school. We have 13 preschools for kids ages 3-5. This is helpful because teenage girls don't have to care for the younger children and can stay in school. Children who are eligible for P1 and miss the first part of the school year can go to preschool and register for next year. We have an inspector who oversees all the schools." 60

In camps to which refugees were moved by UNHCR, such as Treguine, Mille and Touloum, refugees pushed almost immediately for education with the assistance of UNHCR's department of community services.

Tijani Abraham, headmaster in the Mille camp, described the experience of starting education in the Mille camp:

"We were resettled here by the NGOs. The first thing we thought was to start education for our children, and we started schools by ourselves through a proposal to the CARE camp manager. We started with a proposal for two schools, and we said we would teach on a voluntary basis. Then UNICEF came, and two teachers were trained by them in Abeche, then they trained others. It was a training of trainers. UNICEF has provided exercise books, pens, chalk, etc. Each zone in the camp has a school, and there is also a central school. We think education and the schools will grow more and more. Teachers are paid 15,000 CFA. But incentive is not the objective, the objective is education." 61

Harold Edrice Yacoub, headmaster of education in the Treguine camp said:

"On 19 May 2004, the NGOs established Treguine [camp], but our children lost education during the time we were moving. We talked about education among the community, and I called all the teachers from the blocks to discuss a plan for schools and educating the children. By the third meeting, we opened a preschool in every block—a total of 33 preschools. After that, an NGO visited us, then UNICEF came and met with us. The person from UNICEF said that was too many, and promised us 100 tents for classrooms. We made seven schools, then in October, UNICEF brought 26 tents of the 100 tents they promised. but we could not use them because the tents were not complete. CORD [Christian Outreach, Relief and Development] tried to put the tents up, but it did not work. This is all taking time. We have exercise books and pens. Now we have started training teachers."62

Even in Amnabak, considered a transit camp, schools are running and classes are being taught. A primary school teacher said:

"In Amnabak, we all came together. I teach grades 1-8 and have been teaching since 1984. From the time we arrived, we began the schools. We do all the education ourselves, we want our children to learn. We are very poor. Coming here made our children lose education. UNICEF has brought us supplies, but there are not enough. We are from three provinces in Darfur."63

At the time of the Women's Commission, UNICEF had taken responsibility for education in all camps with their main focus the education of girls; previously, UNHCR was the focal point for education. UNHCR's role is to make sure the right to education is adhered to for primary school, which includes making sure there are tents for schools and school materials for children. 64 The UNICEF sub-office in Abeche opened in August 2004, and training of school directors began. UNICEF also increased delivery of school materials, pens, composition books, chalk, etc. Training for primary school teachers was established in fall 2004 for all but four of the camps; preschool training was set up and began at the end of 2004. In January and February of 2005, UNICEF trained preschool and primary school teachers in the four remaining camps. 65

UNICEF had partnered with several NGOs to implement education programs in conjunction

with the refugee community: SECADEV (Caritas), CARE, CORD, the IRC and INTERSOS are among UNICEF's implementing partners conducting education programs in the camps. 66 In addition to choosing the partners, UNICEF is now formalizing and increasing support to the NGOs working on education, and education partners meet biweekly. UNICEF's goal is to have 30 percent of children in primary school; however, the lack of classrooms, teachers and supplies are hindering that goal. At the time of the Women's Commission mission, UNICEF did not have an education staff person in place in country. In February 2005, education staff finally arrived in Abeche. 67

Schools in Touloum started in April of 2004. UNICEF approached the refugees, and together they made a plan. A teacher said:

"We had to organize ourselves, to figure out the numbers of students who need school; then UNICEF would bring us the supplies, when we did this, they would bring blackboards and other supplies. The Minister of Education of Chad came. We started with school for those ages 10 and up. Then we made schools for children in P1 and P2. We did this, we made the education." 68



The refugee camps don't have enough tents for classrooms, so often classes are held outside, like this class in Kounoungo refugee camp. Teachers in several camps said severe weather (heat, wind, cold, rain) keep children away from school. Some never return.

CLASSES/CLASSROOMS

The Women's Commission delegation was able to talk to people in each of the 10 camps about education, but was only able to obtain classroom statistics for six of the camps due to time

constraints and the unavailability of staff in some camps.

None of the 10 camps visited had enough classroom space to accommodate the number of children in school. In the Touloum camp, children were being taught in structures that consisted of wood poles with plastic sheeting wrapped around them; half of the students were inside, half were being taught outside between the structures to keep out of the wind. Teachers reported, and Women's Commission staff experienced, harsh wind and cold conditions that the children had to endure while outside. Teachers said that the tents that were distributed had been shredded by the wind and sand. Teachers reported losing students when the weather turned particularly severe; some would never return.

Women's Commission staff estimate that the average class size was 55-70 students, with one teacher. One teacher told the staff that she had four classes of 450 students each, and that not all children who wanted to could go to school.⁶⁹ When classrooms were available, they were often overcrowded. In the Djabal camp, teachers said that the children did not have adequate clothing to attend school.⁷⁰

Touloum created its educational structure by age, with those under age 10 attending P1 or P2, and those ages 10-20 attending P3-P6. The majority of the classes were P1 and P2. Educators at the Mille camp described similar circumstances. Tijani Abraham, the headmaster for schools in Mille, said that most of the children in the camp were in school, and that their goal was 100 percent attendance by the end of the year. Mille camp has eight schools; each has a headmaster, while one headmaster oversees all of the schools. Mille has preschool classes (ages 2-5) and P1 classes (ages 5-7) in each camp zone. From P2-P8 (ages 7-18), classes are held in a central school; currently classes go to P6; however, they are prepared to teach P7 and P8. In both the preschools and primary schools, there are more girls than boys in the classes, as girls are trying to make up for the years of education they missed in Darfur.⁷¹ Literacy classes are held in the evenings, and are attended by women. The Koranic schools are open to all ages.

In Djabal camp, Women's Commission staff met with a large group of teachers under a tree used as a classroom. They said that they had only three



The community in Goz Amer refugee camp built structures out of straw for classrooms when much needed tents did not arrive. This area has more access to wood products than most of the other refugee areas.

tents for classes, but that parents and teachers constructed straw-walled classrooms.

Most classes are held under the trees, which is difficult during the rainy season. The camp is divided into two sections for education, Shulas A and B. The shulas include preschools and primary schools through grade 8. Girls are present in all grades except P8; however, the number of girls in each grade drops off significantly the higher the grade. Teachers estimate that only 40 percent of the camp's children are going to school; they attribute this to a lack of teachers, classrooms and supplies.⁷²

The Breidjing camp had no tents or structures for classrooms; classes were held inside squares delineated by rocks in the sand. Zadok Lempert of



At the time of the Women's Commission's visit, Breidjing refugee camp had no tents for classrooms. The stone outlines pictured above served as "classrooms" for the children.

15

CORD said, "Time is precious to us—it's every hour in the sun for the children." A group of teachers from the Treguine camp described the situation of teaching without classrooms or tents for the teachers and students. They talked about the wind and the cold, and how the children were not coming to school due to the lack of tents. They said, "If we have tents, maybe more will come." ⁷⁴

In Oure Cassoni camp, which suffers some of the worst weather conditions in the camps, all of the tents used for schools blew down the week before the Women's Commission delegation arrived.⁷⁵ Because the camp may be moved, at the time of the Women's Commission's visit funding was not available for semi-permanent structures that would be able to withstand the wind. Water to make the brick or mud walls of a semi-permanent structure was also in short supply; however, alternative building materials could be found. It was unclear when and if the camp will be moved away from the border and where the new camp will be placed, or what its structure will be. There is the possibility that four satellite camps of 25,000 people each will be developed within the next vear.76

EDUCATION AS PSYCHOSOCIAL ASSISTANCE

All adolescent girls, by virtue of being refugees who have lost their homes and possessions, and whose social networks and cultural norms have been disrupted, experienced trauma. Many of the adolescent girls in the camps have faced additional trauma, witnessing family members being killed or raped, or having been physically assaulted and/or raped themselves.⁷⁷ In Darfur tradition, being an adolescent and being raped means that you may never marry. Married and unmarried adolescent girls in this area can quickly find themselves destitute given the patriarchal nature of the society and the shunning of a raped woman. Reports of rape have been confirmed; the victims range from three-year-olds to the oldest women.⁷⁸

Traditional western models of intervention, for example, talk therapy or group therapy, are not culturally appropriate in this setting due to the shame and cultural stigma associated with rape, and the pride of the people. A woman in a women's committee living in the Amnabak camp said:

"Some of us have been here 13 months, others of us 9 or 10 months. We lost most of our family in Darfur. Some of us can't sleep. We lost all our cattle. We cannot forget what happened to us, we think about it. We believe it is better to keep all that we have seen inside."⁷⁹

Attending school can provide the physical and emotional structure and cognitive engagement that can help people deal with their trauma and help the community regain some of its cultural norms. CORD, an INGO working in Chad, is sponsoring the use of art as a tool for psychosocial help in Treguine camp. Hawa Bakheid Adoum, who teaches P1, said:

"Children do paintings, they draw air strikes that happened in their village. This helps them forget what happened in Sudan. Some also paint government troops, the janjaweed, guns, horses, camels, shelling and those who surrounded their village area. We don't talk about it. We advise them, 'You have to forget what happened in Sudan and what you saw, that will not happen here.' Now we have to educate ourselves so we can control our land in the future." 80

CORD is developing a psychosocial program that begins by gathering youth to make traditional toys. After the children work for a few weeks on the toys, the program director begins to talk with the youth about their villages. She also shares stories of her life in her home town. The children then begin drawing pictures of their villages. The pictures contain images of planes dropping bombs, soldiers shooting people and fire. CORD



Children in Breidjing refugee camp drew pictures of what they saw in their villages in Darfur. Many of the pictures were similar to the one above.

plans to continue this program in Treguine.81

The Christian Children's Fund planned to develop psychosocial support within their early childhood education programs and play centers. HIAS in Goz Beida is running a preschool program and will begin to include a psychosocial component.⁸²

TEACHERS

Refugees who were teachers, school inspectors and heads of schools in Darfur took the same positions in the refugee camps in Chad. In many cases, it was the teachers and school officials in the camp who initially established the educational structure. Women's Commission staff spoke with many teachers who were deeply committed to education in the camps and will continue to teach. However, a variety of challenges exist.

Teachers were deeply concerned about the lack of supplies, curriculum guides, furniture, tents, semipermanent structures and class sizes. But perhaps the most important issues for teachers personally were the "incentives" provided by UNHCR. All NGOs and UN organizations agreed early in 2005 that a set rate should be developed for incentives. Heads of schools would receive 20,000 Chadian francs (CF) (US\$37) per month, teachers would be paid 15,000 CF and unskilled school workers would get 10,000 CF. The Women's Commission was told that some teachers were leaving to earn more money collecting firewood or doing other work that paid more.⁸³ Teachers' pay in Chad is 25,000 CFs per month.

NGO and UN representatives had different opinions on incentives. Some felt that teachers should be teaching without payment because "they love what they do" and that it was an expected contribution to the community. Others felt that 15,000 CF was adequate, and still others felt that the incentive should be raised to just below the minimum salary of teachers in Chad. Nearly all teachers in the camps the Women's Commission visited voiced concern about the low level of the incentive. One camp manager said:

"The NGOs (including the UN) need to give a good salary to teachers, but the NGOs say that they give 15,000 CF per month. In Sudan, they made about 500,000 Sudanese dinars [US\$200] per month as a starting salary. This [the pay in Chad] is nothing, soap costs more per month.

They have not been paid in three months. Teachers leave to find other work. Who will keep teaching?"84

A staff person at one of the camps said:

"Teachers were getting 15,000 CF per month. Security guards were getting 80,000 CF. You can't pay guards 80,000 and teachers 15,000 and expect them to stay." 85

Preschool teachers do not receive any incentives. 86 The Women's Commission heard reports of preschool teachers in some camps going on strike to demand pay.

The gender balance of teachers in the camps is another concern. Most of the primary school teachers are men. All of the early child education or preschool teachers in the camps are women. The lack of incentives for preschool teachers presents a problem not only for pay and social equity; it also creates a lack of role models for girls and young women, and may lead to greater drop-out rates for girls.⁸⁷

Teacher training has been started by UNICEF and CORD. UNICEF has developed and implemented a program in which a group of teachers is trained; they then return and train other teachers. In the Farchana camp, CORD conducted a 9-week intensive Arabic literacy course for 26 women who will then teach others.⁸⁸ In Treguine, 12 women teachers had received teacher training; 20 more women are expected to be trained.

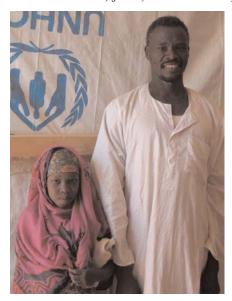
CURRICULUM

The Sudanese school curriculum is taught in Arabic in all of the camps. A significant deficit is that almost none of the schools have curriculum guides or Sudanese textbooks.⁸⁹

"I would like my daughter to finish her education, to be headmaster of a school. I encourage her to finish her education, sometimes I promise her things so that she will go to school and do work, things like new clothes, shoes, and I give her small money to buy things. I feel that school is very good for her, and that this is good education and a good school. She's my older daughter. My son is in P2. All her sisters are in school. She has two exercise books, one pen and one ruler, but I have to buy her pens from the market because she loses them. We used to pay teachers here in the camp to

teach our children, about 1,500 Sudanese pounds a month, but we don't pay anymore. When the teachers started, there was no pay, so we parents decided to give them money for their assistance. We are the parents, we decided to educate our children first (before the NGOs came). The NGOs are here, but they are not doing education. We organized ourselves under trees and found teachers. It was easy to organize. In October 2004, an NGO came in and started to help with education. UNHCR came in and brought exercise books, etc. My daughters would have gone to school in Sudan if we were still there.

-- Samira's father, Jama, Farchana Camp



Samira, 7, and her father at Farchana refugee camp. Samira's father would like her to finish school and become a headmaster.

SCHOOL FEES

In most camps, parents or guardians were not paying fees to send their children to school. In two of the camps, Djabal and Treguine, voluntary fees were collected by the community at the beginning of the refugee situation in Chad and ended when teachers began receiving the 15,000 CF "incentive" from UNHCR. It is unclear whether teachers in Treguine are asking for fees or supplemental supplies from parents of children attending school; however, parents or guardians in the Djabal camp are paying about 200-300 CF per month to send each child to school.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

There were no secondary schools in any of the camps the Women's Commission visited. This was a concern for teachers as well as students because

of its implications for the future. A teacher in Touloum said:

"We don't have secondary school. There are no exams from Sudan, so we can't have secondary school. The war is why we lose our education." 90

Students who were about to enter secondary school, were in secondary school or attending university in Sudan have little to do in the camp. Some teach or assist teachers providing primary education. There are no classes to prepare for exams, which are unavailable, but are vital in order to be able to attend university.

At least 18 university students and 79 secondary students lived in the Mille camp. The teachers were not trained to teach secondary education and some of the students who finished P8 were attending P6 classes just to be in school. Others got together to try to learn English on their own or were trained to run activities for IMC.⁹¹

UNHCR was beginning to think about developing adult education/vocational programs in the camps so that refugees ages 17-45 (more or less) would be able to learn skills that would be useful both in the camps and in Darfur. The program would include teaching skills in carpentry, sewing and tie dying, and would be particularly important for adolescent girls given the pervasive lack of primary education for girls of this age group. The idea is that the same programs could be started in Darfur so that when the refugees go home, they could complete their educational programs and training. They plan to begin in October 2005, and hope to have one in each camp. This would be undertaken prior to the development of secondary schools.⁹²

LITERACY CLASSES/ADULT EDUCATION

"I was educated in Darfur to P7. I would like to continue school, I want to be a teacher. Education changed me—to be more systematic, more disciplined. I am not married yet, I have no children."

-- Fatima Abduhaman Mohammed, 18, Farchana camp.

Literacy classes were established in most camps. Women comprised the largest number of students because most of the men were already literate. ⁹³ Women in every camp stated that they wanted to read and write.



This refugee woman, 19, didn't go to school in Sudan, but says she would like to start in the camp. "We didn't know education was good for us women before we came to the camp. Now we know," she said.

Literacy classes were usually held in the mornings or evenings to accommodate the daily chores and were primarily oriented toward adults. Many of the adolescent married women who could not or did not attend school attended literacy classes. ⁹⁴ In addition to basic literacy, some of the classes also taught numeracy and Islam. ⁹⁵ CARE encouraged literacy classes in the camps where it was operational.

Literacy class teachers do not receive compensation and many explained the difficulties of not receiving stipends for extra work, when they could choose to take on a paying evening job instead. This is an area that should be explored further.⁹⁶

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Most of the camps visited had some form of preschool programs; these included safe spaces to play and more formal and structured early-childhood programs. Almost all of the early childhood teachers or monitors were women, and, as mentioned above, none received incentives of any kind. Early childhood education is an important component of educating adolescent girls. If young children are at home, it is often teenage girls who care for them. If very young children are in preschool, it frees up girls to be able to attend school themselves.

KORANIC SCHOOLS

Many of the camps have Koranic schools. Koranic schools focused on teaching about Islam, but in the process also taught literacy. The classes often met in the morning or the evening so that people could attend and still work during the daytime.

Ages of attendees varied from camp to camp. In Amnabak, the Koranic school held preschool for those under four years old; however, this seemed to be an exception. Reports at most camps indicated that men and women were the main attendees, but there did not appear to be age restrictions.

HEALTH EDUCATION

Health education, including hygiene and cleaning methods, was taught in at least two of the camps, Farchana and Touloum. Teachers were trained and the knowledge was passed to the youth in the classes. The children then brought this information home to their families. Children and youth were taught songs about hygiene and learned to perform musical and dramatic presentations on health and hygiene for the community.⁹⁷



Health education and the importance of pre-and post-natal care are taught in many of the refugee camps.

SPONTANEOUS REFUGEES AND EDUCATION

In the Farchana camp, Women's Commission staff met informally with adolescent girls, women and children who had been living inside the camp for one to three months. These "spontaneous" arrivals—of which there were about 3,000—had not yet been registered, and therefore were not allowed to draw food rations or attend school.

"We came to the Farchana camp late. We have been here one month and two days. Some of the other refugees give us some of their food, usually our relatives, because we cannot get rations without being registered. We were told we would get registration cards after Eid Al Attah (January 20, 2005), but they didn't tell us what day. We have no tents, we live under the trees. There are a lot of people in this situation, but I don't know how many. We came directly from Darfur. Without the registration card, we can't get anything, not even health services for ourselves. If our children are sick, we can take them for medication, but not anyone else. UNHCR promises that when we get a card, we will get everything."

--Woman from Farchana Camp



Spontaneous refugees, like this refugee woman, lived outside Farchana camp at the time of the Women's Commission visit and did not have access to basic services.

UNHCR explained that the spontaneous arrivals had to be registered to ensure that they were all refugees before they could receive assistance and access services. UNESCO's website states:

"Children cannot be stored like tents or blankets, awaiting an end to war and conflict before beginning or resuming their education; this is the recipe for a 'lost generation,' who have identified themselves with conflict and seek the earliest opportunity to take up arms against their perceived enemies." 98

CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES

The issue of children with disabilities and education arose in the Treguine camp. The teachers discussed children who were blind, or who had

lost limbs; they told of how they are carried or led by their siblings. The teachers asked that there be some special care and educational tools for children who are disabled.⁹⁹

EDUCATION AND THE LOCAL POPULATION

UNHCR sets aside 5 percent of its project budget to provide education and other assistance to Chadian villages surrounding the refugee camps. UNHCR and UNICEF are starting to consider the development of local community schools. UNICEF has distributed some materials, furniture and composition books to local communities. It will work with the World Food Program (WFP) to determine whether school lunches can be provided. Given that 60 schools surround 11 camps, this is a very big undertaking for UNICEF.¹⁰⁰

CULTURAL CHANGE

"If parents see that there is a good education system, parents see that it's worthwhile to send children there." 101

-- UNHCR staff member.

The many reasons that children, particularly girls, were not educated in Darfur were cited at the start of the chapter. Four of the field workers interviewed for this report discussed the need for sensitization among parents, teachers and health professionals on the importance of universal education, as well as the cultural changes that may result from widespread education. ¹⁰² It is evident from all the interviews conducted by the Women's Commission that education is a priority among women, girls, educational professionals and community leaders.

The adviser for training teachers and Oxfam health programs said:

"A lot is changing. Women are becoming stronger. I believe in equality, now we have the chance. Soon I hope that people can understand what a woman is, that they can become equal in law and rights. If we have a strong foundation of people, everyone can be happy. I encourage people to get ideas through education. Start from the roots and grow upwards. Some will continue to go to school after a young marriage, but it is hard to balance sometimes." 103

RECOMMENDATIONS: EDUCATION

This report has presented a significant list of issues that need to be addressed in the context of the refugee situation in eastern Chad. They include:

GENERAL

- ° Provide information as to why everyone benefits when children attend school.
- Develop a system in the camps that discourages early marriage while following international law.
- ° Encourage young married girls to attend school.

PHYSICAL SETTING

- Semi-permanent classrooms need to be built to protect students from heat, wind, rain and sandstorms.
- Supplies, including textbooks, curriculum guides from Sudan, pens, paper, pencils, blackboards and sports equipment, and furniture should be provided or restocked immediately.
- Oistribution times for food and other items should be set so that they do not conflict with school hours; this then would not be used as an excuse for keeping girls out of school.

TEACHERS

- Incentives for teachers should be discussed, negotiated and increased immediately.
- Teacher training programs should be developed and implemented immediately; training and employing female teachers at the primary and secondary levels should be given the highest priority.
- Psychosocial training for all teachers should be undertaken.
- English training for teachers should be made available.

CURRICULUM

- ° Curriculum and books from Sudan should be made available.
- Exams from Sudan should be available, as well as teachers to provide pre-exam preparation and to deliver the tests.

- ° The Sudanese curriculum should be updated to include the needs of girls.
- Human rights education needs to be a central component of the curriculum.
- Health education programs should be established.

SECONDARY SCHOOL

 Secondary school, including semi-permanent classrooms, supplies and teacher training, should begin immediately.

LITERACY

 Literacy classes should be available for all refugees regardless of age or gender.

ROLE OF THE UN

- ° UNHCR and UNICEF should hire an education staff member from the start of an operation.
- UNICEF/UNHCR should hire a long-term staff member to make key decisions and solve problems.
- A mechanism is needed to ensure that the UN agency responsible for the provision of education is fulfilling its responsibility, and a procedure in place to change the lead agency if it is not doing so.

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

- Provisions should be made for children with disabilities so that they can attend school on a regular basis.
- Children arriving spontaneously should be able to access education as close to the time of their arrival as possible, regardless of registration status.
- Teacher/parent associations should be established for all schools in all camps.
- A program of providing incentives to parents so they send girls to school should be developed and implemented.
- Early childcare centers should be established so that young children have a safe, nurturing place to go during the day, and so older girls are free to attend school.

ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

The people interviewed during this mission stated that, other than education, the most pressing problems were lack of food and diminishing water supplies.

In most of the camps, refugees talked about the lack of food; such reports were common in all settings. In two camps women described the one small glass of sugar they received per month, stating that it was just not enough. A woman in the Iridimi camp said:

"Babies are dying of hunger, most infant deaths are from lack of food. We need to make sure all children are identified to have better ration distribution, and we need a cart to carry the food." 104

A woman in the Djabal camp said:

"We had good land in Sudan. [President] Bashir killed our men, our children, our fathers. Now we don't have anything. The NGOs give us 50 percent of what we need, that's all. I arrived pregnant and miscarried from suffering in the camp. My daughter was killed in Darfur, my children were beaten there. I have two children now." 105



Water is scarce in eastern Chad and is a major concern in nearly all the refugee camps. During the Women's Commission visit, the water ration in at least one camp was well below international minimum standards.

Water, especially in the north, is the most critical issue for the sustainability of the camps, and is the key to the ability to open desperately needed new camps. According to the Minister of Social Action, Women and Families of the Chad government:

"Women say water is a problem. Some have gone for four days without cleaning themselves and there has been no water for the children to drink." 106

In the Farchana camp, water in one of the boreholes dropped rapidly in December and water allocation per person at the time of the Women's Commission visit was below Sphere standards, which is 15 liters per person per day¹⁰⁷; this is expected to get worse. The primary concern is that in the near future half of the population of the camp will be without water¹⁰⁸ and the population will have to be moved.

Water is trucked each day from Iridimi to Amnabak, because there is no water in Amnabak. ¹⁰⁹ In Bahai, there is rarely a queue for water; however, the well is 2.5 miles outside of the camp and it costs \$40,000 per month to truck water from the well to the camp. ¹¹⁰ While it is thought that Treguine should have enough water, Breidjing could have problems due to overpopulation. These two camps have not operated in the dry season (through mid-September) so there was no way to know whether the water would hold up. ¹¹¹

A representative from Oxfam said:

"There is a need for proactive thinking on new camp construction and water drilling. The camps are already overcrowded and unsustainable. There is a need for relocation of people from camps now, never mind the new arrivals expected over the coming year." 112

He suggested that multiple drillings of bore holes at multiple sites needed to occur instead of the current practice of drilling for water one bore hole at a time. Surveying and drilling takes two months. If no water is found, another two-month process needs to start. Each hole costs about \$100,000 from start to finish.¹¹³

Given that there have already been conflicts between the local community and the refugees, it will be critical for new water sources to be found for both. The Oxfam representative said:

"These are horrible situations for the refugees; the tensions and violence/gender violence will increase exponentially if new sources of water and locales are not found."¹¹⁴

NEW CAMPS

There is a great need for new camps. Overpopulation, lack of water, tension with local villagers, and proximity to the border have all been cited as reasons for either moving existing camps like Oure Cassoni, or creating new camps to decrease overcrowding in camps like Breidjing. Many of the camps are over capacity by many thousands.

The first group of refugees was moved from their temporary homes near the Chad-Sudan border to UNHCR's new camp, Gaga, on May 2, 2005. The camp is located near Adre, about 40 miles from Abeche. According to UNHCR, the refugees had been living near the border for several months. UNHCR plans to move between 700 and 1,500 refugees still at the border to the camp. Another 6,500 refugees from Farchana camp and 9,000 from Breiding camp—both in the same area—will be moved to the camp in the near future, UNHCR says. The camp is designed to shelter 25,000 refugees. Africare will manage the new camp, Oxfam will handle water and sanitation, and Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF)-Holland will provide health services.¹¹⁵ UNHCR hopes to move the majority of the refugees to Gaga before the onset of the rainy season, which can begin in April or May. 116

Relationships between local people and refugees in Adre are deteriorating; the harvest was poor, and programs for villagers were not implemented. To the villagers, it seems as if the refugees are getting a great deal while they have very little.¹¹⁷

Oure Cassoni is also overcrowded and, being only two miles from the border with Sudan, many are concerned that SLA fighters are moving in and out of the camp. A new camp for 100,000 people has

been suggested for Biltine; this would comprise four satellite camps of 25,000 people each¹¹⁸; however, water remains an issue. In addition to problems with water availability, a number of political obstacles over the relocation of the camp have arisen.¹¹⁹

The final obstacle to the development of new camps is that the refugees do not want to move. Even in Amnabak, where water has to be trucked in and the conditions are inhospitable, Women's Commission staff was told that people do not want to leave.

REGISTRATION 120

The Chad National Commission for Refugee Assistance (CNAR), in conjunction with UNHCR, is registering refugees. Re-registration began at the end of January 2005, and is continuing. UNHCR and the government of Chad will begin re-registering refugees utilizing the "Project Profile" system that captures a wider range of data than standard registration, including:

- ° the registration of all refugees
- information on needs, repatriation or integration
- ° follow-up on population re: births, deaths, etc.

All information will be put into a database and will be shared with the government of Chad, the World Food Program and implementing partners. Global registration is needed to identify people in vulnerable situations so that specialized staff will work with them in the second stage of the emergency. In stage two of "Project Profile," a skilled interviewer will be brought in to interview the most vulnerable. The government of Chad and UNHCR hope to complete the project by the end of April; however, implementing partners had not been chosen at the time of the mission.

In addition to identification of the most vulnerable, re-registration is necessary because there was some concern about local people moving in to collect food. Re-registration will begin in the east of the country and move to the south to include refugees from the Central African Republic.

As of January 12, 2005, about 220,000 people had been registered. It was reported that between



This refugee girl in Djabal refugee camp is waiting for a blanket on distribution day with her registration card.

4,000 and 5,000 "spontaneous" refugees were unregistered; many of these people are living near the border to monitor their livestock. Gendarmes in the Mille camp report that from one to three "spontaneous families" arrive every week.¹²¹

One of the most troubling circumstances observed by staff of the Women's Commission was that of unregistered refugees. Women in the Farchana camp reported that they had been waiting from two weeks to three months and were still not registered. This meant that they were not able to access services or receive rations. ¹²² UNHCR staff reported that some of the new arrivals were from the local community looking for food, and some were people who were moving back and forth across the Sudan border, which led to some disruption in the camps and possible moving of rations over the border. These were cited as two reasons that people had to wait for registration. ¹²³

UNACCOMPANIED MINORS

There was conflicting information about the numbers of unaccompanied minors in the camps. Identification and registration are difficult because some families have lost children and did not want to talk about it; as with GBV, this may be a product of the culture. On the other hand, there are families who have taken children in who are not their own and are making them work, so they are not reported as separated.¹²⁴

SECADEV was working with unaccompanied children in Farchana, Breidjing and Treguine. CORD and the ICRC were conducting re-registration of all separated minors. If UNHCR knows that a child is unaccompanied, it will enlist the help of the chief of the block to find a caretaker for the child; most of the time this is successful.

ICRC is taking pictures of all unaccompanied minors to try to reunify them with families in Chad; it is almost impossible for children and parents to be reunited cross-border because, at the time of this report, the government of Sudan was refusing to conduct cross-border reunification.¹²⁵

SPONTANEOUS ARRIVALS AND LIFE ON THE BORDER

People from Darfur are still trickling into the camps; the spontaneous arrivals include families and individuals. Oxfam reports that 2,000 people came to the camps between December 2004 and mid-January 2005. There is some thought that up to 100,000 could cross the border during 2005 if the situation in Darfur continues to deteriorate. Men stayed at the border to tend livestock and are only now coming to the camps because of the death of the livestock due to drought.

UNHCR staff said that they could not provide for the spontaneous arrivals; however, re-registration should have begun in January 2005 and refugees issued or reissued cards. There is no assistance, currently from UNHCR, for Darfurians living on the border; however, MSF conducts visits to provide health care. There have been stories of raids or attacks across the border even though French and Chadian militaries conduct border patrols. The provide health care are some conduct border patrols.

ACCESSIBILITY

The camps in the south of Chad, near Goz Beida, face grave difficulties when the rainy season begins. Roads cross wadis, or riverbeds, and become impassable for four to five months at a time. This is a cause for grave concern for both the refugees in the camps, as well as the local community. The Subprefecture of Kou Kou district stressed the need for road-building:

"Now, it's going well. But the rainy season is coming and there is no connection between the

camp and Goz Beida. There is only a small airport. There needs to be a road made from Goz Beida to the camp here. If not, it will be very hard for those people who are here to keep working...maybe there will be a problem, not enough food and disease and maybe the refugees will attack the workers and UNHCR and the stores, so there needs to be a road."128

LOCAL POPULATION/HOST COMMUNITY

Tension between the local villagers and the refugees varies from camp to camp. In Goz Beida, local residents agreed to share some arable land with the refugees so that they could grow crops. In Iridimi, Women's Commission staff heard reports of a 10-year-old girl being raped twice by local men as she went to gather firewood.

Five percent of the program budget of UNHCR for Chad is earmarked for work with the local community. The head of the UNHCR office in Kou Kou said:

"It's very important to help the local people, especially with education and health. Local women don't go to school. They don't speak French anymore. The local people are almost as poor as refugees. Nobody is taking care of them." 129

CORD is working with local communities to assess and meet at least some of their education needs. They are focusing on flexible hours for school so that children can participate in farming and herding, as well as on getting girls in school. As of January 2005, 61 teachers had been trained. CORD is also supporting education for Chadians. In trying to bring refugees and Chadians together, they are also establishing sports, handicrafts, music and dance programs.¹³⁰

Health clinics were established and bore holes were drilled that were to be shared with the local community. ¹³¹ In Djabal, refugees voiced concerns about sharing the local hospital with Arab nomads, as they associate the nomads with the people in Darfur from whom they had to flee. ¹³² UNHCR states that they cannot differentiate between local Chadians and Arab nomads and that everyone's rights must be respected.

RECOMMENDATIONS

From the information above, the following needs have been identified:

- Registration needs to be completed for each new arrival within a reasonable period of time after arrival.
- ° Reunification work needs to be ongoing.
- o There need to be more UNHCR staff and funding to deal with the monumental amount of work for which it is responsible. This work includes registration, gender awareness, education, health and oversight.
- Since finding water sources is a priority, the drilling of multiple bore holes should take place simultaneously.
- New camps need to be created and a negotiation process with assurances for local communities needs to be strongly promoted.
- Local communities must be given resources so that tensions between local people and refugees lessen.
- Donors must provide UNHCR and NGOs with adequate funding to provide local communities with basic services in 2005.

APPENDIX I

EDUCATION IN SUDAN AND CHAD

I. SUDAN

A. EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

I. Basic

- a. Compulsory education for ages 6-14 (8 years). Basic Certificate upon successful final examination.
- b. Curriculum—Uniform throughout nation.

2. Secondary

- a. General Secondary School for ages 14-17 (3 years). Sudan School Certificate awarded upon successful final examination.
- b. Curriculum—In the first two years students follow the same curriculum. In the final year they choose between arts and science streams.

3. Vocational

- a. Technical and vocational education for ages 14-17 (3 years). Sudan School Certificate awarded upon successful final examination.
- b. Curriculum—Industrial, commercial and agricultural schools for males. Some home economics schools for girls.

4. Higher Education

- a. Admission based on results of Sudan School Certificate Examination.
- b. Provided by universities, both public and private, and institutes and colleges of technical and professional education. All universities are autonomous and government financed. The National Council of Higher Education is responsible for higher education.
- c. Languages of instruction: Arabic, English.

5. Teacher Education

- a. Pre-primary/Primary—Basic education teachers are trained in colleges that are affiliated with the faculties of education in the universities.
- b. Aspiring teachers who have not completed secondary school can join the profession at the basic level after a two-year program. They receive an intermediate diploma, and after a period of

- teaching return to college for two years to obtain a BA or BS.
- c. Secondary school teachers—Must obtain a BEd Degree.

B. MISCELLANEOUS

- 1. Age Structure in Sudan: 43.7% of the population is under the age of 15. The median age is 17.9. (CIA World Factbook)
- 2. National Literacy: 61.1%. Male: 71.8%. Female: 50.5%. (CIA)
- 3. Arabic is the official language and a program of "Arabization" is in process across the country. (CIA)
- 4. 2003/4 primary education enrollment was 59% nationwide. The regions with the largest numbers of out-of-school children were, in descending order: South Darfur, West Darfur and North Darfur. (Sudan Vision Daily)
- 5. Nomadic enrollment is 24.9%. Enrollment for IDPs is less than 30%. Girls: 54.6% nationally. (South Darfur is lowest at 28%). Boys: 63.1% nationally. (Sudan Vision Daily)

II. CHAD

A. EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

1. Primary

- a. 6-year program for ages 6 to 12.
- b. Curriculum—"école elémentaire."

2. First Cycle Secondary

- a. 4-year program for ages 12 to 16.
- b. Curriculum—"College d'enseignement genéral."

3. Technical Secondary

- a. 3-year program for ages 13 to 16.
- b. Curriculum—"Collège technique."

4. Second Cycle Secondary

- a. 3-year program for ages 16 to 19.
- b. Lycée—Specializations in physical/natural science, philosophy/lit, math, economics/social sciences.

5. Technical

- a. 3-year program for ages 16 to 19.
- b. Lycée technique—commercial/industrial.

6. Higher Education

- a. Higher Education in Chad is provided by the only university, the Université de N'Djamena
- b. Divided into four faculties: Law, Economics and Business Administration; Modern Languages and Human Sciences; Exact and Applied Science; Medicine.
- c. Languages of instruction: French, Arabic.

7. Teacher Education

- a. Pre-primary/primary teachers are required to complete a three-year secondary course at an "école normale d'instituteurs." Teachers who complete the first two years receive the title "instituteur adjoint."
- b. Secondary school teachers must hold a Baccalaureate degree from a secondary school and must pass an exam to get into a two-year course that will certify them.

B. MISCELLANEOUS

- 1. Age Structure in Chad: 47.9% of the population is under the age of 15. The median age is 16.
- 2. National Literacy: 47.5%. Male: 56%. Female: 39.3%.
- 3. French and Arabic are official languages.
- 4. The UN estimates that US \$3,477,391 is required to adequately fund Chad's education

system in 2005.

Despite considerable efforts to improve the system, education in Chad remains severely inadequate. Literacy levels founder below 50 percent and reflect poorly upon future goals for sustainable development. After independence, the government established a goal of universal primary education, making school attendance mandatory until the age of 12. Since then, several problems have stifled its success. Making the transition from the French curriculum that dominated for 40 years to more accessible Arabic instruction proved challenging. At the same time, financing, qualified personnel and facilities remained limited.

Chad finally made significant gains in the 1970s and 1980s, opening its first college in 1971. Civil war and sporadic insecurity, however, remain considerable obstacles in delivering consistent, constructive education to the young people who comprise more than half of Chad's population.

The disruption and insecurity of refugee situations can harm a child's physical, intellectual, psychological, cultural and social development. This disruption can lay the foundations for another generation to engage in revenge and forced displacement later in life. The reinstatement of education is therefore essential to restoring a sense of security, normalcy and psychosocial support in the lives of young people. In Chad, many Sudanese refugees and their local neighbors have never been to school before. Ongoing efforts aim to provide schooling, basic materials and textbooks for 43,000 Chadian and Darfurian children under the age of 18. In addition to basic instruction, emergency schooling will include special instruction that contributes to peace building, citizenship and socio-economic development, to help bring long-term solutions to current ethnic hostilities and conflicts.133

APPENDIX II

BRIEF HISTORIES OF THE CONFLICTS IN SUDAN AND CHAD

SUDAN

While the recent violence has shaken the landscape of Darfur for two years, its roots are much older. For several decades, the Fur, Masaalit and Zaghawa ethnic groups have periodically clashed with their Arab neighbors. Historically, population shifts and increased competition over water and other resources during the annual dry season incited animosity and brief violence between the ethnic groups. During the 1980s, the region's nomadic Arab minority, frustrated over its lack of representation in local government and limited access to ever-dwindling natural resources, formed an "Arab alliance" to assert greater influence among the African agricultural population. At the same time, the introduction of automatic weapons transformed relatively minor skirmishes into deadly confrontations. By the 1990s, the situation evolved into a full-scale conflict between the Arab and predominately Fur communities.

The Sudanese national government in Khartoum has been accused by the international community of exacerbating these tensions, both through administrative failure and implicit intervention. Although Darfur encompasses an area roughly the size of France, its 6 million inhabitants have long been neglected by a government embroiled in a 40-year civil conflict raging between the north and south. 134,135 As one of the United Nation's least developed countries, Sudan does not have the stability, resources or the political will to adequately address the socio-economic and infrastructure problems plaguing remote Darfur.¹³⁶ Facing a deficiency of military strength to respond to increasing tribal uprisings, the government worsened matters by recruiting members of the local population to police the region.

The current conflict continues to develop along racial and ethnic lines. Reluctant to fight against their fellow Darfurians, local ethnic groups refused to take up arms for the government. Nomadic Arab tribes, perhaps seeing an opportunity to gain land, accepted Khartoum's incitement,

becoming what ethnic Darfurians derisively refer to as the janjaweed, or "devils on horseback"; the janjaweed have committed atrocities throughout the Darfur region. At the same time, two African rebel groups, the Sudan Liberation Movement/ Army (SLM/A) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), emerged to demonstrate their opposition to government policies that continually neglect Darfur's ethnic groups. In February 2003, the two groups coordinated their first devastating attacks on government facilities in North and West Darfur. After a series of these attacks, Sudanese President Omar Hasan al-Bashir removed the governors of West and North Darfur, essentially replacing the rule of law with martial law.

As incidents of violence escalated throughout early 2003 to include air raids on villages, the communities under attack have increasingly abandoned any lingering national loyalty, pledging support to their own people. Formerly neutral tribes have joined the Fur, Zaghawa and Masaalit people who comprise the majority of the SLM/A and JEM.¹³⁷ They view the government-sponsored destruction of their villages, looting of their property, assaults on their families and neighbors, and abuse of women as racially and ethnically motivated; many no longer identify themselves as Sudanese or Darfurian, but as marginalized groups of ethnic Africans. Various members of the international community have accused the Khartoum government of conducting genocide and admonish al-Bashir to cease attacks. Despite these appeals, and several attempts at peace talks, the situation in Darfur has not improved.

Today the Darfur conflict remains one of the world's worst humanitarian crises. While the United Nations has concluded that the government of Sudan has not committed genocide, they recognize an ongoing pattern of ethnically based attacks along with countless human rights violations. Most notoriously, the janjaweed are reported to selectively perpetrate violence, including rape and murder, against women and children,

stripping households of their livelihoods by looting livestock and burning entire villages to the ground. Since 2003, fighting has killed 70,000 people and displaced 1.65 million, including 200,000 refugees who have fled to eastern Chad. For an abbreviated bibliography of 2004 reports on the situation in Darfur, see appendix III.

CHAD

Chad's 200 distinct ethnic groups inhabit 14 administrative prefectures. While Arabic and French remain the two official languages, 120 languages and dialects are spoken inside its borders. Fifty-one percent of the population practices Islam, a religion that was first introduced by Arab traders in the 7th century A.D. Thirty-five percent practice Christianity, which was introduced by the French.¹³⁹ Government

instability, economic and environmental problems continue to plague Chad. Rebel outbursts in the north and east have calmed since the 1990s, but the fighting, combined with recent droughts, has taken its toll on the agriculture-based economy. Many of the same tribes found in Darfur also exist in eastern Chad.

Today Chad remains one of the world's poorest nations. Eighty percent of its nearly 9 million inhabitants live below the poverty line and in 2004 life expectancy was only 44.7 years. 140 Until plans get underway to channel the country's untapped oil resources, Chad remains heavily reliant on foreign assistance and foreign capital for most public and private investments. Eastern Chad must now stretch its limited resources even further to meet the needs of the Darfurian refugees who have been granted unconditional *prima facie* refugee status by the government in N'Djamena. 141

APPENDIX III

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