

Refugees From Darfur: Their Background and Resettlement Needs

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As this publication goes to press in June 2011, the Government of Chad has not agreed to the additional resettlement of Darfuri refugees from Chad. Although the Department of State remains hopeful that such resettlement will be permitted, the publication of this backgrounder should not be construed to suggest that it is imminent.

INTRODUCTION

The United States currently processes Darfuri refugees in several locations in Africa, including Chad, Kenya, and Ghana for U.S. resettlement. Mostly Moslems of non-Arab black African descent, the refugees will be joining the more than 1,000 Darfuri previously resettled in the United States.

Since 2003, up to 2.7 million Darfuri have been displaced from their homes in Darfur, a region of west Sudan, and hundreds of thousands have sought refuge in refugee camps throughout Africa, after fleeing what has been called a campaign of ethnic cleansing directed at non-Arab groups in Darfur.

This backgrounder provides refugee service providers in the United States with basic information about the new arrivals—their recent history in Darfur and the countries of asylum, their cultural and socio-economic characteristics, and their resettlement experiences and needs. As the majority of the Darfuri refugees are located in Chad, the focus of the backgrounder will be on that group. However, attention will also be paid to Darfuri in other African locations, in particular the Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya, host to one of the largest groups of Darfuri in Africa currently being considered for U.S. resettlement.

Who Are the Darfuri and How Did They Become Refugees?

The term *Darfuri* is a geographical rather than an ethnic designation: A Darfuri is someone from Darfur, an ethnically diverse region of western Sudan. With a population of 7 million scattered over a harsh desert area roughly the size of Spain, Darfur is made up of three federal states: West Darfur, North Darfur, and South Darfur. The region is home to more than 80 ethnic groups, some of whom identify themselves as Arab and others as non-Arab black African. Historically, the Arabs are nomadic animal headers, while the non-Arabs are farmers and gatherers who own livestock. The various non-Arab ethnic groups have fought one another throughout history, but the larger more recent conflict has pitted the Arabs against the many non-Arab groups. At its roots, the conflict is a struggle over scarce resources in an overpopulated desert environment (Schanche, 2007).

Although the different non-Arab groups within Darfur vary greatly in culture, they also share many common traits with one another and with Arab groups. Most of the Darfuri, whether Arab or non-Arab, speak Arabic, and all appear black. All ethnic non-Arab groups in Darfur have been targeted by government and Arab militias.

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COR Cultural Orientation
Resource Center

The region, historically separate and long neglected by the government in Khartoum, lacks basic infrastructure and social services. In 2003, non-Arab rebel groups, of which the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) is the best known, launched an uprising against the Sudanese government, accusing the government of favoring Arabs over the non-Arab ethnic groups. Since then, the Darfuri civilians of non-Arab descent have come under attack from government troops, nomadic militia, and rebel groups. Entire villages have been burned down, wells poisoned, and people raped, tortured, and killed. In December 2003, some 2,300 Darfuri villages were destroyed by the Janjaweed militia, resulting in a mass influx of refugees into eastern Chad. (The term *Janjaweed* is an Arabic word meaning “a man with a gun on a horse.”) Janjaweed militiamen, primarily members of nomadic Arab tribes, have fought alongside the Sudan Armed Forces in Darfur against ethnic African rebels.

The conflict in Darfur triggered one of the biggest humanitarian emergencies in recent times, and the plight of Darfuri refugees has drawn international attention. As many as 300,000 Darfuri may have died in the conflict, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that some 2.7 million people, mostly farmers and villagers from non-Arab groups, have been forced to flee their homes (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2007). More than 250,000 have crossed the border into neighboring Chad, while others have fled to Cameroon, Central African Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, and Nigeria.

Refugee Camp Conditions

Eastern Chad and northwestern Kenya are host to two of the largest concentrations of Darfuri refugees. In Chad, more than 250,000 non-Arab Darfuri refugees are living in 12 refugee camps strung along the Chad-Sudan border. The majority arrived between the end of 2003 and early 2004, and after initially staying in villages close to the border, they were transferred to refugee camps managed by the UNHCR (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2004).

The refugees in Chad have erected huts made of grass, mud, thatch, and tarpaulin. Families live together in a compound separated from their neighbors by walls constructed of brush and sticks. Toilets are simple holes dug into the sand and surrounded by brush for privacy. Water and cooking supplies are limited and shortages are common. Refugees may have to wait in line for hours for water, which is found in wells or seasonal rivers called *wadis*, or go for days at a time without it. Obtaining firewood is a constant challenge and often requires that refugees leave the camp, putting women and children at risk of attacks, rape, or theft. There is no electricity in the refugee camps, and only a very small number of refugees have cell phones, which they charge with car batteries. Despite efforts to promote self-sufficiency, the refugees continue to depend almost entirely on humanitarian assistance for their basic needs.

The security situation in Chad has been volatile in recent years, particularly in the east, where the camps are located. Despite the presence of international peacekeepers, refugees are exposed to daily security threats, and movement outside the camp boundaries is dangerous. Theft, physical and sexual

violence, and abduction are regular occurrences. In addition, competition over scarce natural resources in the semi-arid desert environment of the east has created tensions between the host community and the refugee populations. Both Chad and Sudan have experienced severe desertification, causing tensions over water, especially in places with large concentrations of people, such as refugee camps.

Located in Northwestern Kenya, Kakuma Refugee Camp is host to more than 70,000 refugees. Physical conditions in the semi-arid desert environment of Kakuma are harsh. The average temperature is over 100° Fahrenheit, and dust storms are common. The refugees live in shelters made of mud with iron corrugated roofing, originally constructed for the Somali Bantu and Sudanese who have since been repatriated or resettled to the United States. Like the refugees in Chad, refugees in Kenya face shortages of water, food, and firewood.

Both in Chad and Kenya, competition over scarce natural resources has triggered tensions between the host community and the refugees. Reports of theft and occasional fighting have left Darfuri refugees feeling unsafe. In Kenya, the fact that the refugees and the local inhabitants speak different languages adds to the tension.

In both Chad and Kenya, Darfuri refugees receive rations that may include corn flour, wheat flour, and cooking oil. Refugees sometimes sell the rations to buy other items like okra, millet, onions, nuts, and milk, and when the soil is fertile, they may grow small supplemental crops. As few Darfuri have already resettled to the United States, remittances from abroad are rare.

The Need for Resettlement

Given the constantly evolving conflict in Darfur and the continued insecurity there, the UNHCR does not anticipate any possibility for repatriation in the foreseeable future. Insecurity in the countries of asylum, coupled with severely limited economic opportunities, make local integration highly unlikely. As a result, third-country resettlement is now seen as the most viable durable solution for the Darfuri refugees.

Characteristics of the Darfuri Refugee Population

CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

Languages

The most commonly spoken Darfuri languages are Fur, Masalit, and Zaghawa. Other languages include Daju, Erenga, Fongoro, Fulbe/Fulfulde, Sinyar, and Tama. Most of these languages do not have their own scripts.

Each Darfuri ethnic group considers its language an important aspect of identity, community, and culture, and during the conflict, language has become even more important. Through an “Arabization” campaign, the Northern Sudanese forced the Darfuri to speak Arabic, one of the two official languages of

Sudan, rather than their own native language. Children have reported to the Resettlement Support Center (RSC) that they were beaten in school when they did not speak Arabic.

In addition to their native language, most Darfuri men speak Sudanese Arabic. It is less common for women to speak Arabic. Males may have basic skills in reading and writing Arabic, as most received instruction in Koranic schools. The Arabic spoken by the Darfuri refugees differs from other Arabic dialects such as Chadian or Egyptian Arabic.

Although English is the second official language of Sudan, only highly educated people can speak it. It is estimated that less than 5% of the refugees in eastern Chad have a basic knowledge of English. However, Darfuri who have sought asylum in Ghana or Kenya, where English is widely spoken, often have gained some proficiency in the language. For example, 57% of the Darfuri who have been interviewed by the RSC in Kenya's Kakuma Refugee Camp have at least basic English skills.

Some of the Darfuri from the Kakuma Refugee Camp speak Kiswahili, the official language of the Kenyan government.

Religion

Islam is the primary religion of the Darfuri, and while most do practice Islam, traditional animist beliefs are frequently incorporated into their Islamic religious practice. Most Darfuri Moslems do not follow *sharia*, a set of laws based on the religious codes of the Koran and implemented as an Islamic legal system. Men and women are usually segregated for prayers and festivities.

Marriage and Family

Traditionally the first marriage for a Darfuri female may take place at puberty, but more commonly occurs when she is 18 years old. The first marriage for a Darfuri male usually takes place when he is 20. Prior to the marriage, the groom's family gives the bride's family a large bride price that may consist of animals, household goods, and jewelry.

Polygamy is commonly practiced throughout Darfur. A man may have multiple wives and dozens of children if he can provide bride prices for the wives and care for all family members. The second, third, and fourth wives, as well as their children, are considered by the Darfuri to be part of a single family.

It is seen as shameful in Darfuri culture to have a child born out of wedlock or with a man who is no longer present in the household. To protect the status of the mother, a male family member, usually a grandfather, brother, or uncle, may step into the traditional role of father, and help care for the child. He may even tell the community that the child is his.

Gender Roles and Relationships

Darfuri culture is patriarchal, with strictly defined gender roles. Traditionally, the male is tasked with keeping his family

safe. He provides the food, and protects the family's land. Males also have the exclusive right to make key decisions regarding women and children. If the male head of the family dies, decisions will be made by another male in the family, such as a brother or uncle. This custom sometimes results in a widowed female marrying her deceased husband's brother.

Traditionally, a Darfuri woman is responsible for domestic work. She serves as caregiver to her children, her husband's other children, and on occasion, the children of friends and extended family members. She is responsible for the selling and purchasing of most goods in the marketplace, and may also assist her husband with farming and gathering.

There is little interaction between males and females in Darfuri culture. Boys and girls sleep in separate houses within the family's compound. They attend different schools, eat around different bowls of food, and perform different tasks. Men have a set area in the village to meet for discussions and to pray. Women can be found socializing together by the well or in their homes.

In the refugee camps, the role of women may vary depending on the country of asylum. In the Kakuma Refugee Camp, for example, Darfuri women are encouraged to attend school and acquire other vocational skills that will benefit the family. They participate in community associations and may speak out on social issues. This is not the case in camps in Chad, where women usually defer to the male figure in the family.

Community Life and Leadership

Darfuri culture and community life is centered on an extended, communal family and a leadership of patriarchs and elders. Individuals seek the advice and wisdom of community elders. Both in Sudan and in countries of asylum, the same basic social system remains in place: Community members freely provide assistance to family, friends, and neighbors; community leaders resolve conflict and give advice; children are taught and cared for by neighbors.

Days in Sudan would have been spent farming, grazing animals, cooking and washing, and gathering nuts, honey, and leaves. The men would farm, and the women would take care of all household tasks (and at times assist in farming), while the children would be sent to watch over the animals and collect water.

Food and Dietary Restrictions

The typical diet in Darfur includes grains, such as millet and sorghum, and vegetables, such as okra, onion, and tomatoes. Dates, oranges, figs and apples may be available seasonally. Camel and cow milk is a common source of protein. *Assida*, a warm porridge made of millet, sorghum, flour, and/or corn, is a staple. A firmer version of a similar mixture, boiled or baked into a thin bread, is served for dinner with meat, vegetables, and spices. If the ingredients to make this porridge cannot be found in the United States, rice and bread would be a suitable substitute. As most Darfuri practice Islam, the consumption of pork is avoided and the drinking of alcohol is rare.

Traditional Practices That May Conflict With U.S. Customs

As noted previously, polygamy is widespread among the Darfuri. Applicants for U.S. resettlement are counseled that polygamy is illegal in the United States, and a polygamous male accepted for U.S. resettlement will be considered married to his first legal wife only. All other wives will be legally single in the United States, where they will need to adjust to living separately from their husband and the other women with whom they previously shared a household. However, for the sake of family unity and to ensure that children can maintain contact with both parents, the cases of formerly polygamous families will be soft cross-referenced, allowing individuals to be resettled to the same geographic area.

Darfuri may often call a distant family member their son, daughter, brother, or sister, as the notion of family extends beyond biological ties. This wider use of biological terms has created confusion both for overseas processing and for establishing legal relationships in the United States.

Men play an extremely dominant role in Darfuri culture, and the views of a sole male may dictate decisions for entire groups of women and children. Cultural norms can prevent women from speaking up for themselves.

Darfuri families may at times discipline their children physically. It is also acceptable for an adult to reprimand any junior member of the community. Traditional Darfuri notions of shared community responsibility for childcare may conflict with U.S. parenting practices.

The Darfuri have their own forms of traditional healing, often involving the use of boiled leaves and roots. Exposure to Western medicine is limited, especially among the Darfuri in Chad. For many Darfuri being processed for U.S. resettlement, the first real medical screenings occurs at pre-departure medicals.

Although female genital cutting (FGC) is less widely practiced in Darfur than in the rest of Sudan, 40% to 60% of females between the ages of 5 and 14 have undergone FGC (Border & Immigration Agency, 2007). While humanitarian groups are working to combat FGC in the camps in Chad and Kenya, the practice continues.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Family Composition, Size, and Relationships

Although the case size of the Darfuri varies greatly, ranging from one to twelve individuals, the average case size is four people. As family is an extremely important part of Darfuri culture, additional family members, such as elderly parents, adult siblings, and cousins, may also travel on linked cases.

There are some female heads of households. Generally they are widows or women who were in polygamous relationships.

Health

According to OPE staff, refugees in the camps are undernourished and lack reliable healthcare. Identified health issues include physical deformities, genetic disorders, polio, and injuries from war. Malaria is endemic to Sudan, Chad, and Kenya, and most refugees have had malaria at some point in their life. The confirmed rates of HIV and TB are low.

Psychosocial needs among Darfuri refugees are acute, as many have suffered substantial trauma and unsafe asylum environments. Many refugees have suffered rape, physical attack, and the loss of entire villages in Darfur, though they tend to not speak openly about these experiences.

Education

The Darfuri, both in the camps and in the United States, have been described as highly motivated learners, despite their limited access to formal education in Darfur. UNICEF reports a primary school attendance rate of a little more than 53% for all of Sudan and an adult illiteracy rate of 61% (United Nations Children's Fund, 2008). West Darfur has not had a stable educational system for 30 years, and well below 40% of the population in Darfur has access to secondary education (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010), although most male children have attended Koranic school for varying periods of time.

Refugee access to education varies throughout the region and in each camp. In Chad, it is estimated that 70% of refugee children attend primary school, but the quality varies and books and supplies are very rare and, when they exist, extremely old. According to Christian Outreach and Development (CORD), a non-governmental organization that manages education in four camps, the average pupil-to-teacher ratio is 57:1, and the average class size is 87 students. The language of instruction is primarily Arabic. Some English is taught, but, because there is little opportunity to use English in the camps, the skills are quickly lost. Female attendance is much lower than male attendance. There are very few secondary or higher education facilities in the camps, and according to Jesuit Refugee Service, less than 5% of refugees have completed secondary school. Secondary education is offered in only 5 of the 12 camps in Eastern Chad.

In the Kakuma Refugee Camp, education is free and open to all refugees. The education follows the Kenyan educational system and English is the language of instruction. Although secondary education is available, relatively few girls attend beyond primary school.

In some locations, especially in Kakuma, refugees have access to vocational skills trainings such as sewing, animal husbandry, and shoemaking (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2007). In Chad, only 3 of the 12 camps offer vocational training.

Work Experiences

The Darfuri are known for their strong work ethic. In Sudan, most were farmers who worked their land for both subsistence and income generation, and often kept goats, cattle, or camels.

The right to work in Chad is officially restricted to citizens, so Darfuri in Chad cannot work formally (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009). However, many work informally in the camp markets, engaging in local trading, and some keep small numbers of livestock or small plots of land outside the refugee camps. As Sudanese cannot legally own land, sometimes refugee farmers find that land they have farmed has been taken by local Chadians around crop time (U.S. Committee for Refugee and Immigrants, 2009). In Chad, a small number of refugees may be employed by humanitarian agencies in local community and camp management work. In Kenya's Kakuma Refugee Camp, refugees may participate in brickwork and sell goods at the local "Darfur Market."

Exposure to Modern Life

Traditional Darfuri life is very closely tied to the land and village community, and many refugees in the Chad camps had never left western Sudan prior to their flight. As a result, most have had very little exposure to Western ways of living and working. Most have little or no understanding of where the United States is or what life will be like there.

Few have lived with running water or electricity, driven a car, used a Western toilet, or had formal employment. Many arriving from Chad have subsisted on food rations and trading, and may be unfamiliar with the use of money or banks.

Darfuri refugees in other parts of the region may be somewhat more familiar with Western life. Refugees in the Kakuma Refugee Camp have access to the Internet, while those from Ghana's Krisan Refugee Camp have come to cultural orientation dressed in Western business suits and asked questions about U.S. movies they had seen.

Cultural Orientation

All refugees in Sub-Saharan Africa, including the Darfuri, are processed for resettlement by the Resettlement Support Center (RSC) in Nairobi. Approved refugees 15 years of age and older generally receive 18 hours of cultural orientation (CO), provided over a 3-day period. The training, funded by the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), has three objectives:

- To inform participants of resettlement processes and systems
- To help participants develop realistic expectations of life in the United States
- To inform participants of the skills and attitudes necessary for a more positive resettlement experience

CO training covers all topics outlined in the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) guidebook *Welcome to the United States*. As time permits, CO training also addresses specific issues and concerns raised by resettlement agency staff (such as those discussed in the previous section of this backgrounder).

Sessions are learner-centered and participatory, taking into consideration the unique needs of the group receiving training. Trainers use role play, group exercises, debates, pictures, and videos to convey key concepts.

As the Darfuri in Chad have had less exposure to Western culture than Darfuri in other countries of asylum, they will receive 30 hours of cultural orientation, rather than the usual 18 hours. The training will be largely pictorial, using visual cues to convey key concepts. Activities used will be practical and hands-on. Real-life models of modern amenities, such as stoves and toilets, will be constructed and used.

Cultural orientation will also be provided to children and adolescents. As much as possible, training will replicate the U.S. public school experience. For example, a bell will start and end each session, and children will learn to raise their hands when they have a question.

In the CO training provided thus far to Darfuri, participants have been reluctant to share their thoughts on the topics being discussed. Women, in particular, have been shy to speak. Although Darfuri of both genders and all ages have been encouraged to work together, participants have tended to self-segregate by gender and age.

U.S. Resettlement: Issues and Recommendations

As noted at the beginning of this backgrounder, the United States has already resettled more than 1,000 Darfuri. What challenges have these refugees faced in the United States? What lessons do their experiences offer to resettlement agencies currently resettling Darfuri refugees?

To answer these questions, the COR Center conducted telephone interviews with staff in resettlement agencies in four different areas of the United States: the Northeast, the South, the Midwest, and the West. The following, organized under resettlement topics, summarizes the interview responses.

Housing

Most new arrivals have been unfamiliar with common amenities of modern housing, interviewees reported. Many refugees appear to be encountering refrigerators, stoves, central heating, telephones, and garbage disposals for the first time. Nevertheless, most seem to adapt fairly quickly to modern conveniences.

Other housing-related issues include the need to lock doors and not open them for strangers, to keep apartments clean, and to pick up mail regularly.

For resettlement agency staff, finding adequate housing for large families has been a challenge.

Clothing

Refugees often don't understand the importance of dressing warmly in cold weather. According to one interviewee, women have been known to wear flip flops in winter, and refugees often wear sweaters but not coats in freezing weather.

Food

For the most part, U.S. food has not posed much of a problem for new arrivals. Interviewees noted two food-related issues however: While shopping in supermarkets, refugees have found it difficult to distinguish between pork (which their religion does not permit them to eat) and other meats, and between soda or juice and alcoholic beverages.

Employment

Two interviewees described the refugees as "eager to work," though the large size of many families is an obstacle to self-sufficiency. For refugees who don't know English, finding a job takes time, especially in areas with high unemployment rates.

Transportation has been a barrier to employment. Refugees have found public transportation maps and schedules hard to understand and the written part of the driving test very difficult to pass.

Interviewees noted conflicting U.S. and Darfuri notions regarding age and employment. The U.S. expectation that people continue to work into their mid-60s has come as a great surprise to Darfuri, for whom old age begins at about 45.

English, Education, and Communication

Most of the refugees have arrived in their new communities with little or no formal education or knowledge of English. Two interviewees described the refugees as eager to learn English; a third said that with "so many demands, English is a low priority." For refugees without formal education or knowledge of English, progress in learning the language is slow.

For agency staff, communication with non-Arabic speaking Darfuri has proven to be a challenge. Even with refugees who speak Arabic, communication can be difficult because of the differences between Western Sudanese Arabic, spoken by the Darfuri, and the Arabic spoken by other Sudanese.

For children, a lack of prior education has posed a major challenge, as school systems typically make grade placements based on age, rather than ability or knowledge level.

Other Issues

Other areas of challenge noted by one or two interviewees include the following:

- **Safety.** Refugees have stepped out into busy streets thinking that traffic will stop for them.
- **Hygiene.** Lack of attention to personal hygiene has led to embarrassing incidents at school and in the community. According to one interviewee, women are unaware of feminine hygiene products, such as sanitary napkins and tampons.
- **Parenting.** Children are commonly left alone, unsupervised by parents or other responsible adults. Children have been allowed to set their own daily schedules for getting up, bathing, eating, and going to bed.
- **Health care.** Refugees have been reluctant to let health professionals take blood, apparently believing that the U.S. government is using the blood for some purpose.
- **U.S. diversity.** The Darfuri are surprised by the great diversity of people in the United States, not only in color, ethnicity, and religion, but also in body size and shape.
- **Conflict within the Darfuri community.** The strong sense of ethnic identity within each of the many Darfuri ethnic groups can lead to conflict between members of different groups. One interviewee mentioned the case of a group of ethnically diverse Darfuri refugees who were placed together in a house. Conflict between the various individuals became so disruptive that other housing arrangements were required.

Tips From Resettlement Agency Staff

- Help older refugees understand that they will be expected to work until they are in their mid-60s.
- Make sure parents understand that their children must be under the care of a responsible adult at all times.
- Emphasize the U.S. expectation that people bathe regularly, brush their teeth daily, and use personal hygiene products.
- Help refugees open a bank account so their money does not get lost or stolen.
- Make sure refugees know the pin number for their food stamp card. They should not write the number on the cardholder; if they lose it, someone else can spend their food stamps.
- Pair new arrivals with established families to help refugees develop basic life skills.
- Make life skills the focus of English language classes.
- Have an Arabic speaker on staff, especially in communities with few Arabic speakers.

- Consider contracting with an apartment building that is managed by someone familiar with refugees and their needs. If a problem arises in the evening or on weekends when the case manager is not available, the refugees can consult the building manager.
- Do not rush through meetings with refugees. It takes time to build trust.
- Provide large families with large pots and pans.
- Help refugees learn to distinguish between pork and other kinds of meat in the supermarket. Show them where they can purchase halal meat.
- Help refugees learn to distinguish between alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages.

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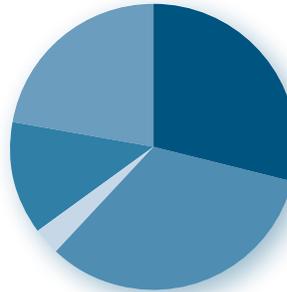
This backgrounder was developed by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) and CWS RSC/ Nairobi, with contributions from staff of the former CWS Overseas Processing Entity (OPE) Accra, from Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), and from U.S. resettlement agency professionals who have recently resettled Darfuri refugees.

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At a Glance: Darfuri Refugees

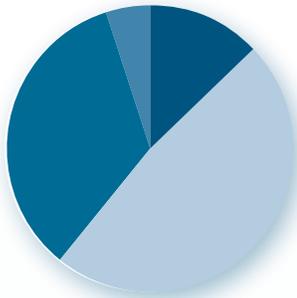
The following demographic information is based on a limited but representative sample of 747 individuals from 197 cases in Chad.

Country of Origin: Sudan
Religion: Islam
Average Case Size: 3.8
Gender:.....Female 54%, Male 46%
Gender, Ages 18–59:Female 63%, Male 37%



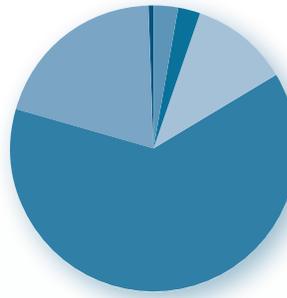
Marital Status Females, Ages 18–59

Single	● 29%
Married	● 33%
Separated	● 3%
Divorced	● 13%
Widowed	● 22%



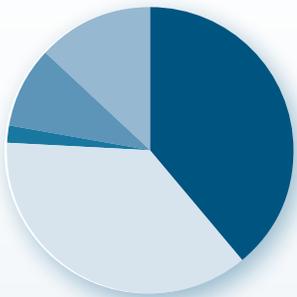
Ages

0–5	● 13%
5–17	● 48%
18–59	● 34%
60+	● 5%



Native Language

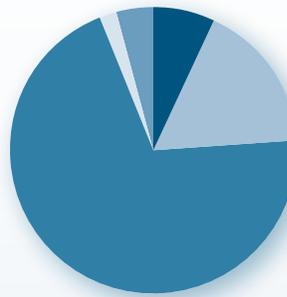
Modern Standard Arabic	● 3%
Sudanese Arabic	● 25%
Fur	● 11%
Massalit	● 63%
Zanghawa	● 20%
Other	● .5%



Marital Status

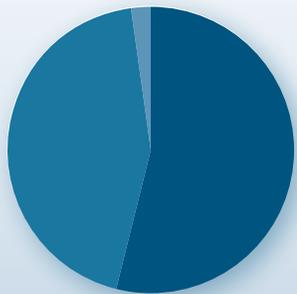
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Married	● 37%
Separated	● 2%
Divorced	● 9%
Widowed	● 13%

Ages 15–17 99% single



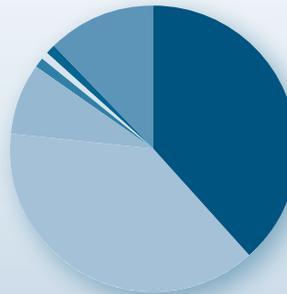
Education, Ages 5–17

None	● 7%
Kindergarten	● 17%
Primary	● 70%
Secondary	● 2%
Unknown	● 4%



Marital Status Males, Ages 18–59

Single	● 54%
Married	● 44%
Separated	○ 0%
Divorced	● 2%
Widowed	○ 0%



Education, Ages 18–59*

None	● 38%
Primary	● 38%
Secondary	● 8%
Technical School	○ 1%
Pre-University	● 1%
University/College	● 1%
Unknown	● 12%

**Total does not add up to 100% due to rounding*