

### III. Crises of forced displacement in fragile contexts: key developments in 2016

LINA GRIP

This section looks more closely at the largest crises of forced displacement in fragile contexts, seen from their developments in 2016. It starts with the largest crisis, in Syria, and unfolds mainly by geographical proximity to Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, South Sudan and Nigeria.

#### Syria

The forced displacement and refugee flows within and out of Syria since the start of the conflict in 2011, and in particular since the escalation in forced displacement in 2012–13, constitute the largest refugee crisis since World War II. In 2015 approximately 1.3 million people were newly displaced in Syria. In 2016, five years into the country's civil war, internal displacement still increased from the previous year. By August 2016, 900 000 Syrians had already been displaced that year. In 2012 Syria was estimated to have 3 million internally displaced persons (IDPs), but by 2016 the number had risen drastically to 8.7 million.<sup>1</sup> Armed violence, including deliberate targeting of civilians, is the main cause for the massive displacement. Sieges, checkpoints and international border restrictions have prevented civilians in need of protection during the conflict from fleeing to safer areas, either within or outside the country.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, over 5 million Syrians have managed to escape to other countries. Five neighbouring countries—Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey—together host 4.74 million Syrian refugees (see table 7.4).<sup>3</sup> Refugees originating from Syria are typically granted temporary protection by neighbouring countries.<sup>4</sup> However, their limited legal status may impact on opportunities for safe and secure livelihoods. Most of the hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees who are working in Turkish garment factories, for example, have no legal right to work, and are therefore reportedly vulnerable to abuse and exploitation.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 'Syria', <<http://www.internal-displacement.org/database/country/?iso3=SYR>>.

<sup>2</sup> Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 'Syria: forsaken IDPs adrift inside a fragmenting state', 21 Oct. 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) 2016–2017 in Response to the Syrian Crisis, *Mid-Year Report: June 2016* (3RP: June 2016), p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Global Trends: Forced Displacement 2015* (UNHCR: Geneva, 20 June 2015), p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. Business & Human Rights Resource Centre, 'Syrian refugees: abuse and exploitation in Turkish garment factories', <<https://business-humanrights.org/en/modern-slavery/syrian-ref>>.

**Table 7.4.** Syrian refugees hosted by neighbouring states

Country	Projected registered Syrian refugees by Dec. 2016
Egypt	110 000
Iraq	250 000
Jordan	630 000
Lebanon	1 000 000
Turkey	2 750 000 <sup>a</sup>
<b>Total</b>	<b>4 740 000</b>

<sup>a</sup> This figure is contested by some Turkish experts who argue that it does not account for all the recorded Syrians who have since left Turkey.

Source: Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) 2016–2017 in Response to the Syrian Crisis, *Mid-Year Report: June 2016* (3RP: June 2016), p. 9.

Within this chapter it is not possible to fully lay out the implications of the Syrian crisis, which has killed an estimated 400 000 people, including an estimated 50 000 children, left major cities such as Aleppo in ruin and destroyed vast tracks of agricultural land.<sup>6</sup> Beyond the social and physical trauma that will inevitably affect Syria for decades to come, humanitarian agencies are now talking about ‘the lost generation’ of children growing up during the war. The implications for a child growing up in a war-torn society partly depend on the amount and type of exposure to war trauma that they have suffered, but include, for example, continuous post-traumatic stress disorder.<sup>7</sup> Currently, a total of 5.4 million Syrian children and youth (aged 5–17 years) inside Syria and 1.4 million Syrian refugee children and youth hosted in the five neighbouring countries need educational assistance.<sup>8</sup>

One response to the crisis, which was first presented by Turkey, is the creation of so-called safe zones inside Syria.<sup>9</sup> While potentially allowing safer options to remain in or return to Syria, safe zones could also arguably facilitate development assistance, including education schemes.<sup>10</sup> However, the difficulty involved in enforcing safe zones in Syria presents a major challenge, especially as evidence for the successful application of safe zones in other conflicts is weak.<sup>11</sup>

ugees-abuse-exploitation-in-turkish-garment-factories>; and Kingsley, P., ‘Fewer than 0.1% of Syrians in Turkey in line for work permits’, *The Guardian*, 11 Apr. 2016.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Syria death toll: UN envoy estimates 400 000 killed’, *Al Jazeera*, 23 Apr. 2016. See also chapter 3 in this volume, which refers to the unreliability of casualty statistics in Syria.

<sup>7</sup> Macksoud, M. and Lawrence, A., ‘The war experiences and psychosocial development of children in Lebanon’, *Child Development*, vol. 67, no. 1 (1996), p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), ‘2015 humanitarian needs overview: Syrian Arab Republic’, 2014.

<sup>9</sup> Wintour, P., ‘Turkey revives plan for safe zone in Syria to stem flow of refugees’, *The Guardian*, 16 Feb. 2016.

<sup>10</sup> De Bretton-Gordon, H., ‘Syria’s safe zones offer a glimmer of hope for a once-great nation’, *The Guardian*, 27 Jan. 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Hof, F., ‘If Trump wants safe zones in Syria, there have to be boots on the ground’, *Foreign Policy*, 9 Feb. 2017; and Barnett, Lt Col. J. R. and Eisenstadt, M., ‘Establishing and securing safe zones

## Iraq

Iraq is experiencing a protracted displacement crisis with an upsurge in new displacement since 2014. In 2007 there were believed to be over 4 million displaced Iraqis around the world, including some 1.9 million within Iraq itself (of which 750 000 had been displaced in 2006), over 2 million in neighbouring Middle Eastern countries (of which 1.2 million were in Syria and 750 000 in Jordan), and about 200 000 further afield.<sup>12</sup> Many of the refugees who have returned to Iraq from neighbouring countries, including Syria, have become internally displaced.<sup>13</sup>

In 2014 conflict erupted in northern Iraq and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) expanded its control in large parts of the western provinces (Anbar, Ninewa, Salah al-Din and Diyala). As a result, Iraq suffered the highest new internal displacement worldwide in 2014, of at least 2.2 million. In addition, it is estimated that 1.1 million Iraqis were still living in displacement in 2014 following the 2006–2008 sectarian conflict.<sup>14</sup> Between January 2014 and December 2016, Iraq is estimated to have generated 3.1 million IDPs.<sup>15</sup> In 2015, 222 000 Iraqis sought asylum in the region and 121 000 sought asylum in the European Union.<sup>16</sup> As of 1 January 2017, Iraq was estimated to be hosting 233 224 Syrian refugees.<sup>17</sup>

The ability of displaced people to access safe areas of refuge has been dramatically restricted by the fragmentation of society along sectarian lines and security threats linked to terrorism and counterinsurgency.<sup>18</sup> On 17 October 2016 Iraqi Government forces resumed military operations along the Tigris Valley to retake the city of Mosul from the Islamic State (IS).<sup>19</sup> When fighting intensified that month in Mosul, Ninewa's provincial capital and Iraq's second largest city (with a metropolitan area of some 1.5 million people), it resulted in thousands being newly displaced every day. At the same time, non-governmental organizations reported that the nearest camps to Mosul, those bordering northern Iraq near the Kurdish region of

in Syria: historical lessons', PolicyWatch 2590 (Washington Institute, 17 Mar. 2016).

<sup>12</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 'Statistics on displaced Iraqis around the world', Apr. 2007.

<sup>13</sup> Newland, K., and O'Donnell, K., *The Iraqi Refugee Crisis: The Need for Action* (Migration Policy Institute: Washington, DC, 2008), p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 'Iraq: IDPs caught between a rock and a hard place as displacement crisis deepens', 30 June 2015.

<sup>15</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Iraq Flash Update (as of 26 December 2016)* (UNHCR: Geneva, 26 Dec. 2016), <<http://www.refworld.org/docid/5864c4124.html>>, accessed 30 Dec. 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Newland and O'Donnell (note 13).

<sup>17</sup> Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) 2016–2017 in Response to the Syrian Crisis, Syria Regional Refugee Response, Inter-agency Information Sharing Portal, 'Iraq', 12 Jan. 2016, <<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=103>>.

<sup>18</sup> Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (note 14).

<sup>19</sup> On the Islamic State see chapter 3, section II, in this volume.

Iraq, were close to full capacity and would not necessarily be able to handle a large influx of people.<sup>20</sup> As of December, 302 000 individuals had reportedly been displaced from the Mosul corridor in the two months since the intensified fighting began.<sup>21</sup> According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), some 85 per cent of the displaced in Mosul are in camps and emergency sites, while the remainder are in host communities, sheltering in private settings or public buildings. Up to 1 million people in the city of Mosul are estimated to be largely inaccessible to humanitarian aid organizations, sheltering from the fighting or waiting for an opportune time to flee.<sup>22</sup>

## Afghanistan

In terms of forced displacement in a fragile context, Afghanistan represents one of the most protracted crises globally. Over 6 million people fled Afghanistan to Iran and Pakistan during 1979 and 1990.<sup>23</sup> At the height of the refugee crisis, a staggering 8.3 million Afghans were estimated to be displaced: 6.3 million abroad (nearly half of the country's population) and 2 million internally (15 per cent of the population).<sup>24</sup> Since the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001, Afghanistan has experienced one of the world's largest returns of forcefully displaced people. Between 2001 and 2015, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) assisted the return of 4.8 million Afghans, and many more returned without official assistance.<sup>25</sup> The majority have returned from Iran and Pakistan, including about half a million more refugees from Pakistan than were estimated to be staying there in the first place.<sup>26</sup> It is now believed that 20 per cent of the total population and 40 per cent of the urban population in Afghanistan are made up of returned refugees.<sup>27</sup> Between 2001 and 2006, the number of IDPs in Afghanistan also declined significantly—to about one-tenth of what it was in 2000.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>20</sup> World Vision, 'How World Vision is preparing for humanitarian crisis in Mosul', 2016.

<sup>21</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Iraq Flash Update (as of 21 December 2016)* (UNHCR: Geneva, 21 Dec. 2016); and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (note 15).

<sup>22</sup> United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), 'Mosul humanitarian crisis', 23 Dec. 2016.

<sup>23</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 'Map 5.2: main Afghan refugee flows, 1979–1990', <<http://www.unhcr.org/publications/maps/3ae6baf34/map-main-afghan-refugee-flows-1979-1990.html>>.

<sup>24</sup> Schmeidl, S., 'Deconstructing Afghan displacement data: acknowledging the elephant in the dark', *Migration Policy Practice*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2016), p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Fragility and Population Movement in Afghanistan* (UNHCR: Geneva, 3 Oct. 2016), Joint publication with the World Bank.

<sup>26</sup> Schmeidl (note 24), p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (note 25); and Schmeidl (note 24), p. 13.

<sup>28</sup> Bizhan, N., 'The effects of Afghanistan's political evolution on migration and displacement', *Migration Policy Practice*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2016), p. 5.

Yet in spite of international assistance, Afghanistan was in a weak position to respond to such a large population movement. Furthermore, from 2006 it experienced a dramatic increase in Taliban-led insurgent activity, which reduced the rate of returnees and causing new displacement.

In 2014 the so-called triple transition, in which foreign aid sharply declined, the bulk of foreign troops left Afghanistan and the presidential election was poorly governed, slowed down the return of refugees, resulting in an upsurge of Afghans (especially young men) going to Europe (see section IV).<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, Afghanistan's severe economic crisis pushed an additional 1.3 million Afghans into poverty and triggered a threefold increase in unemployment between 2012 and 2014.<sup>30</sup>

Despite the high number of returnees over the past 15 years, many Afghan refugees in Iran and Pakistan have remained in those countries, often having lived there for decades. Pakistan is host to 1.5 million registered refugees from Afghanistan, the world's second-largest protracted refugee population in a single country under UNHCR mandate. In addition, according to Pakistani Government estimates, about 1 million undocumented Afghans are living in Pakistan. Most Afghans residing in Pakistan as refugees are living in the Peshawar district in northern Pakistan.<sup>31</sup>

On 16 December 2014 the Pakistani Taliban carried out a terrorist attack on a school in Peshawar that killed 145 people, including 132 children. The attack is considered to have had significant implications for Afghans in Pakistan.<sup>32</sup> One of the measures taken by the Pakistani Government in its wake was a proposal to register and repatriate Afghans living in Pakistan. Human Rights Watch has reported that the Pakistani police further pursued an unofficial policy of punitive retribution against Afghans, including raids on Afghan settlements, detention, harassment, physical violence, extortion and the demolition of Afghan homes.<sup>33</sup> A decision was later taken to repatriate many registered and unregistered Afghans in the Peshawar district. Those registered were given until March 2017 to leave Pakistan, while those unregistered were required to return to Afghanistan by 15 November 2016.<sup>34</sup>

As of 19 November 2016, according to UNHCR, 368 687 refugees had returned to Afghanistan from Pakistan during 2016. The vast majority were

<sup>29</sup> Bizhan (note 28), p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (note 25).

<sup>31</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 'After decades in Pakistan, more Afghan refugees set to return', 23 June 2016.

<sup>32</sup> International Migration Organization (IMO) Afghanistan, *Newsletter: Spring 2015*, <[https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/mission\\_newsletter/file/IOM-Afghanistan-Newsletter-Spring2015.pdf](https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/mission_newsletter/file/IOM-Afghanistan-Newsletter-Spring2015.pdf)>.

<sup>33</sup> Human Rights Watch, 'What Are You Doing Here?' *Police Abuses Against Afghans in Pakistan*, 18 Nov. 2015; and Human Rights Watch, 'Pakistan: renewed threats to Afghan refugees', 1 July 2016.

<sup>34</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (note 31); and Parvaz, D., 'A hard winter: Afghan refugees return from Pakistan', *Al Jazeera*, 24 Nov. 2016.

resettled from north-eastern Pakistan, with one-third going to the border province of Nangarhar in Afghanistan, where fighting has been extensive.<sup>35</sup> In addition, according to the International Organization for Migration that is charged with helping unregistered refugees and deportees, in total 248 189 undocumented Afghans returned from Pakistan and 443 968 from Iran in 2016.<sup>36</sup> This can be compared to the total of 61 400 returnees to Afghanistan in 2015 and the 16 957 Afghan refugees who repatriated, allegedly voluntarily, from Iran and Pakistan in 2014.<sup>37</sup> A Human Rights Watch report on the 2016 repatriation calls it the ‘the world’s largest unlawful mass forced return of refugees in recent times’.<sup>38</sup>

The distinctions between refugees, IDPs and returnees are not clear-cut (as is the case for all countries under consideration here). Back in Afghanistan, returnees frequently end up being internally displaced. The proportion of returnees who become internally displaced in Afghanistan has increased rapidly as the local absorption capacity has diminished. The frequency of internal displacement among returnees in 2013 was twice as high as among returnees in 2002, even though there were almost 50 times more returnees in 2002 than in 2013.<sup>39</sup> OCHA estimates that over 600 000 people were newly displaced due to conflict in Afghanistan during 2016, more than half of whom were under 18 years old.<sup>40</sup>

## Yemen

The ongoing civil war in Yemen, mainly between Yemeni Government forces and the Houthi insurgency but with the involvement of al-Qaeda and IS as well as a regional coalition led by Saudi Arabia, has killed thousands of civilians since March 2015 and resulted in mass displacement. By March 2015 more than 3.1 million people had been displaced, of whom an estimated 2.18 million remain as IDPs in Yemen. Moreover, 182 011 people are registered as having fled to neighbouring countries.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>35</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Update on Return of Afghan Refugees from Pakistan, Update No. 8: 13 November–19 November 2016*, 19 Nov. 2016.

<sup>36</sup> International Organization for Migration (IOM), ‘Return of undocumented Afghans: weekly situation report 25–31 Dec. 2016’.

<sup>37</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (note 4), p. 1; and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Solutions Strategy for Afghan Refugees: Progress Report 2014* (UNHCR: Geneva, 2015), p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Human Rights Watch, ‘Pakistan coercion, UN complicity: the mass forced return of Afghan refugees’, 13 Feb. 2017.

<sup>39</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (note 25).

<sup>40</sup> United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), ‘Afghanistan: conflict induced displacements (as of 26 Dec. 2016)’.

<sup>41</sup> BBC News, ‘Yemen crisis: who is fighting whom?’, accessed 14 Oct. 2016; and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), ‘Yemen emergency’, accessed 27 Dec. 2016. On the conflict in Yemen see also chapter 3, section I, in this volume.

Ground fighting and insecurity have constrained the movement of commodities and hindered food supplies, creating an emergency for food import-dependent Yemen. In addition, fuel shortages and high prices have hit agricultural production and increased the cost of food transportation and water pumping for irrigation. This has led to a sharp increase in food prices, which are 25–50 per cent higher than in the pre-crisis period.<sup>42</sup>

The war has also had a hugely negative impact on livelihoods: malnutrition has increased by over 60 per cent since 2015 and 80 per cent of the population is currently in need of humanitarian assistance.<sup>43</sup> By October 2016 the World Food Programme was providing food to 6 million people in Yemen.<sup>44</sup> IDPs are reported to be more food insecure compared to non-displaced populations in the same country, while households headed by women tend to have a more fragile and unstable food security status than those headed by men.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the deteriorating security situation in Yemen, over 100 000 people fled to Yemen from Ethiopia and Somalia during 2016. Yemen is ill-equipped to receive and host new refugees and migrants or those seeking to transit.<sup>46</sup> In total, 278 670 are reported to have sought refuge in the country.<sup>47</sup> Somalia remains the most common country of origin for refugees in the region, with almost 900 000 Somali refugees residing in other countries in the region, of which the vast majority live in Kenya, Yemen and Ethiopia. Furthermore, over 1 million Somalis are internally displaced. Most Somali refugees have lived in exile since the Somali displacement crisis in the early 1990s caused by the collapse of the state of Somalia in 1991, and in recent years the numbers of displaced persons have been relatively stable. However, Kenya's decision in 2016 to close the Dadaab refugee camp (home to 262 000 refugees) has increased uncertainty for many Somali refugees for 2017 onwards.<sup>48</sup>

## South Sudan

South Sudan gained independence from Sudan on 9 July 2011, following a civil war that lasted decades and claimed the lives of approximately 2 million people. In December 2013 a new war broke out between South

<sup>42</sup> World Food Programme (WFP), *Yemen Market Watch Report*, no. 7 (Nov. 2016).

<sup>43</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 'UNHCR warns against risky sea crossings as 100 000 reach Yemen this year', 29 Nov. 2016; and United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), 'UN OCHA allocates \$58 million to support 3 million people with life-saving assistance in Yemen', Press release, 8 Dec. 2016.

<sup>44</sup> World Food Programme (WFP), 'WFP alarmed at growing rates of hunger and malnutrition in war-torn Yemen', 25 Oct. 2016.

<sup>45</sup> World Food Programme (WFP), 'Yemen, February 2016: food insecurity of internally displaced households is worst on record', Bulletin 7, Feb. 2016.

<sup>46</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (note 43).

<sup>47</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (note 43).

<sup>48</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), "'Growing hopelessness" grips "forgotten" Somali refugees, warns UNHCR', 9 Jan. 2017.

Sudanese Government forces (the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army in Government, SPLM/A-IG) and opposition forces (the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army in Opposition, SPLM/A-IO). President Salva Kiir and his former deputy and leader of the SPLM/A-IO, Riek Machar, signed a peace deal in August 2015 and formed a unity government in April 2016. However, fighting resumed in South Sudan in July 2016.<sup>49</sup> Assessment missions by UNHCR in 2016 concluded, among other things, that there was widespread targeting of civilians for killings and rape in the ongoing armed conflict.<sup>50</sup>

In just over five years since the creation of the state of South Sudan, as many as one-quarter of the total population is believed to have been forcefully displaced or made to flee to a neighbouring country. As of December 2016, South Sudan had 1.8 million IDPs.<sup>51</sup> This forced displacement has had a particularly negative impact on the ability to sustain livelihoods. At the start of the war in 2013, up to 90 per cent of households in parts of South Sudan depended primarily on agriculture and livestock for their subsistence.<sup>52</sup> In December 2016 the World Food Programme estimated that a third of the population was severely food insecure—3.7 million people.<sup>53</sup>

Many IDPs have sought protection and refuge at existing UN bases in the country, so-called Protection of Civilians (POC) sites.<sup>54</sup> Since the start of its mandate in July 2011, the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) has frequently provided refuge to civilians seeking temporary protection. For example, between October 2012 and November 2013 more than 12 000 civilians sought protection at UNMISS bases on 12 separate occasions.<sup>55</sup> In June 2016 the estimated number of civilians seeking safety in six POC sites had increased to 169 418.<sup>56</sup> The creation of POC sites on the scale seen in South Sudan is arguably unprecedented in UN history.<sup>57</sup> Of great concern is a recent UN survey which found that 70 per cent of women hosted in the POC

<sup>49</sup> 'UN: South Sudan on brink of ethnic civil war', *Al Jazeera*, 14 Dec. 2016.

<sup>50</sup> Human Rights Council, 'Assessment mission by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to improve human rights, accountability, reconciliation and capacity in South Sudan: detailed findings', A/HRC/31/CRP.6, 10 Mar. 2016.

<sup>51</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), South Sudan fact sheet, Dec. 2016.

<sup>52</sup> African Development Bank, *South Sudan: An Infrastructure Action Plan, A Program for Sustained Strong Economic Growth* (African Development Bank: Tunis, 2013), p. 132.

<sup>53</sup> Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 'Statement by Yasmin Sooka, Chair of the Commission on Human Rights in South Sudan at the 26th Special Session of the UN Human Rights Council', 14 Dec. 2016.

<sup>54</sup> On the POC sites in South Sudan see also chapter 5, section III, in this volume.

<sup>55</sup> Lilly, D., 'Protection of Civilians sites: a new type of displacement settlement?', *Humanitarian Practice Network*, Sep. 2014.

<sup>56</sup> United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), 'UNMISS "Protection of Civilians" (PoC) Sites', UNMISS Update, 4 July 2016.

<sup>57</sup> Lilly (note 55).

sites had been raped since the conflict erupted, the vast majority by police or soldiers.<sup>58</sup>

The resumed fighting in July 2016 also led to a sharp increase in refugees to neighbouring countries, especially to Uganda but also to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan. Between July and November 2016 Uganda is estimated to have received over 300 000 refugees from South Sudan, compared to the 30 000 received in the first half of the year.<sup>59</sup> As of December 2016, the total number of refugees and asylum seekers from South Sudan was estimated to be 1 291 294, almost half of whom had left the country in 2016 (560 000).<sup>60</sup> South Sudan itself hosts 260 453 refugees from other countries.

It is estimated that about 350 000 South Sudanese have fled to Sudan since South Sudan's independence and separation from Sudan. Sudan is also experiencing a long-term displacement crisis, with over 3 million people assumed to be internally displaced due to violence, food insecurity and seasonal drought. Although still a staggering number, this is a significant decrease compared to 2010 when there were an estimated 5 million IDPs in Sudan.<sup>61</sup>

## Nigeria

From the start of the conflict between the Nigerian Government and the Islamist extremist group Boko Haram in 2009, Nigeria has experienced an internal displacement crisis in the north-eastern part of the country. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre estimated that there were approximately 2 150 000 IDPs in Nigeria as of 31 December 2015, the vast majority having fled Boko Haram violence since 2014.<sup>62</sup> According to OCHA, IDPs are taking shelter in the relative safety of urban centres. This is causing overcrowding in already inadequate living conditions and placing resources and basic services under severe strain. The greater area of Maiduguri city

<sup>58</sup> Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (note 53).

<sup>59</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 'South Sudan situation: regional emergency update (1–15 Nov. 2016)', 15 Nov. 2016, <<http://www.refworld.org/docid/5847d6c74.html>>; and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 'South Sudan fighting sees more refugees fleeing into Uganda than in the first 6 months of 2016', 26 July 2016, <<http://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing/2016/7/579724704/south-sudan-fighting-sees-refugees-fleeing-uganda-first-6-months-2016.html>>.

<sup>60</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 'South Sudan situation: information sharing portal', <<http://data.unhcr.org/SouthSudan/regional.php>>, accessed 23 Dec. 2016.

<sup>61</sup> Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 'Sudan IDP figures analysis', 5 Jan. 2015, <<http://www.internal-displacement.org/sub-saharan-africa/sudan/figures-analysis>>; and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 'Sudan: refugees, asylum-seekers, IDPs and others of concern to UNHCR by state as of 30 Apr. 2016', 13 May 2016, <<http://www.refworld.org/docid/573ad3274.html>>.

<sup>62</sup> Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 'Nigeria IDP figures analysis', <<http://www.internal-displacement.org/sub-saharan-africa/nigeria/figures-analysis>>, accessed 3 Jan. 2017.

has seen its population more than double with the influx of people displaced from other areas of the state—from 1 million to 2 million.<sup>63</sup>

More than 78 per cent of IDPs are living in host communities. For the third year in a row, displaced farmers have been unable to return to the land for the planting season, adding to food insecurity. More than 4.8 million people are now in urgent need of food assistance and 5.1 million are predicted to be food insecure if not supported by the humanitarian community in 2017. An estimated 300 000 children in Borneo state alone will suffer from severe acute malnutrition in 2017 and up to 450 000 people in total across the north-eastern provinces will likewise suffer if adequate assistance is not received. With the ongoing disruption to basic services such as healthcare, clean water and sanitation, susceptibility to disease also increases. Poor drainage and stagnant water are increasing the incidence of malaria and the likelihood of waterborne diseases.<sup>64</sup>

Almost 200 000 Nigerians have sought shelter in the neighbouring countries of Cameroon, Chad and Niger.<sup>65</sup> Although UNHCR has also reported the return of Nigerians from these countries, including refugees, many of the returnees set military presence and patrols in their areas of origin as conditions for return.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), 'Nigeria: about the crisis', <<http://www.unocha.org/nigeria/about-ocha-nigeria/about-crisis>>.

<sup>64</sup> United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (note 63).

<sup>65</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 'UNHCR is shocked and greatly saddened by a deadly attack on a Malian "refugee hosting area" in the west of Niger yesterday, the 6th of October', 7 Oct. 2016.

<sup>66</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 'Nigeria: Regional Refugee Response Plan, update: June–October 2016', Oct. 2016.