# Conflict, Migration, and Diaspora

*South Sudanese Narratives of War, Dispossession and Transnationalism in Australia*

By

**David G.M. Leek**

Conflict, Migration, and Diaspora: South Sudanese Narratives of War, Dispossession and Transnationalism in Australia

By David G.M. Leek

# Table of Contents

# List of Figures

# List of Maps

# Timeline

# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AACC | All African Council of Churches |
| AAPA | Addis Ababa Peace Agreement |
| ABS | Australian Bureau of Status |
| ACHPR | African Commission on Human and People's Right |
| ADP | Amhara Democratic Party |
| AL | Arab League |
| ALF | Abyei Liberation Front |
| ANAF | Anya-Nya National Armed Front |
| ARCISS | Agreement on the Resolution of Conflict in the South Sudan |
| AU | African Union |
| ARG | Anyidi Revolutionary Government |
| CALD | Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Communities |
| CID | Conflict Induced Displacement |
| CPA | Comprehensive Peace Agreement |
| CSP | Community Support Program |
| DBVTC | Don Bosco Vocational Training Centre |
| DoPs | Declaration of Principles |
| DUP | Democratic Unionists Party |
| EBCID | Experience Based Conflict Induced Displacement |
| ELF | Eritrean Liberation Front |
| EPPP | Equatorian Peoples Progressive Party |
| FSCW | First Sudanese Civil War |
| GoNU | Government of National Unity |
| HRW | Human Rights Watch |
| HSP | Humanitarian Settlement Program |
| IDPs | Internally Displaced Persons |
| IGAD | Intergovernmental Authority on Development |
| IHSS | Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy |

| | |
|---|---|
| INGOs | International Nongovernmental Organisations |
| IOM | International Organisation for Migration |
| KPA | Khartoum Peace Agreement |
| LRA | Lord's Resistance Army |
| MENA | Middle East and North Africa |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| NCP | National Congress Party |
| NDA | National Democratic Alliance |
| NESB | Non-English-Speaking Background |
| NGOs | Nongovernmental Organisations |
| NIF | National Islamic Front |
| NPG | Nile Provincial Government |
| OAU | Organisation of African Union |
| ODP | Oromo Democratic Party |
| OECD | Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| PMHC | Politico-Military High Command |
| RSD | Refugee Status Determination |
| SAF | Sudan Armed Forces |
| SCP | Sudan Socialists Party |
| SEPDM | Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement |
| SPLA | Sudan People's Liberation Army |
| SPLM | Sudan People's Liberation Movement |
| SPS | Sudan Public Service |
| SRG | Students Revolutionary Group |
| SRG | Southern Regional Government |
| SSA | Sub-Sahara Africa |
| SSCW | Second Sudanese Civil War |
| SSIM | South Sudan Independent Movement |
| SSLM | Southern Sudan Liberation Movement |
| SSPG | Southern Sudan Provincial Government |
| TGoNU | Transitional Government of National Unity |

| R-ARCISS | Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan |
| R-TGoNU | Revitalised Transitional Government of National Unity |
| TPLF | Tigray People's Liberation Front |
| UDHR | Universal Declaration of Human Rights |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation |
| UNHCR | United Nations Humanitarian Commissioner for Refugees |
| UNSC | United Nations Security Council |
| WCC | World Council of Churches |
| WHO | World Health Organisation |

# Preface

The global phenomenon of forced displacement, often driven by civil wars and prolonged political instability, leaves profound and transformative marks on the lives of individuals and societies. Millions of people are compelled to flee their homes, escaping political violence and upheaval, while those who remain may face long-term internal displacement. These movements ripple beyond borders, affecting regional and international actors alike. The social, economic, and political consequences of such upheavals are immense, yet the lived experiences of those affected often receive limited attention from the international community.

This book focuses on the experiences of South Sudanese in Australia, exploring how conflict-induced displacement (CID) during the Second Sudanese Civil War shaped their lives. It examines how individuals navigated the multiple stages of displacement—from internal flight within Sudan to temporary refuge in neighbouring African countries, and finally, resettlement in Australia under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). By tracing these journeys, the study sheds light on how displaced populations adapt, survive, and reconstruct their social identities across complex and often precarious circumstances.

Drawing on interviews with fifty South Sudanese participants from across Australia, alongside archival materials from refugee agencies, this study employs thematic analysis to capture the multifaceted nature of displacement. It highlights the challenges of protracted displacement, the realities of resettlement, and the emergence of transnational connections between Australia and South Sudan. Through these narratives, the book explores how experiences of CID influence not only survival strategies but also broader social, cultural, and

economic practices, including community cohesion, family support, and engagement across borders.

Using a social constructivist lens, the book illustrates how displaced South Sudanese construct hybrid identities that bridge their homeland and diaspora experiences. Beyond documenting hardship, it proposes the Experience-Based Conflict-Induced Displacement (EBCID) model as a framework to understand the complex consequences of protracted displacement at both national and international levels. The findings reveal the enduring impact of war, instability, and displacement on perceptions of self, family, and community, while also highlighting the resilience and resourcefulness of those navigating these challenges.

The refugee experience is portrayed as a series of transitions—from life in conflict zones, to uncertain and often harsh conditions in camps, to eventual resettlement opportunities abroad. Each stage brings unique challenges and transformative experiences, shaping how South Sudanese interpret their lives and aspirations in exile. While humanitarian resettlement offers a degree of stability, it reaches only a limited number of individuals, leaving many to navigate displacement with uncertainty and resilience. This book seeks to deepen understanding of displacement by foregrounding the lived experiences of South Sudanese in Australia, offering insights into how conflict shapes identities, communities, and transnational engagements. It is a contribution to the literature on forced migration and diaspora studies, emphasizing both the human cost of conflict and the enduring agency of those who rebuild their lives across continents.

# Acknowledgements

Chapter One

# Setting the Scene – South Sudanese in Australia

At the low end of the market for Third World immigrants, tensions are already appearing between white Australians and the growing numbers of black, sub-Saharan Africans settled here by the transnational refugee industry … experience practically everywhere in the world tells us that an expanding black population is a sure-fire recipe for increases in crime, violence, and a wide range of other social problems … After all, it is hardly news that violent criminals of any race are likely to be people with low IQs who display poor impulse control. Nor is it difficult to establish that, on average, black Sub-Saharan Africans score around 70–75 on IQ tests while white Europeans have a mean score of 100 and East Asians about 105 (Fraser, 2005, p. 9).

The above author in penning this paper depicted migrants from Sub-Sahara African countries, particularly South Sudanese as individuals with low Intelligence Quotients (IQs) which he argues to be linked with aspects of social delinquencies that hinder integration. While Fraser's remarks drew widespread public condemnation from the Australian public, they informed and standardised cynical journalism about South Sudanese in Australia (Macaulay and Deppeler, 2020). Throughout subsequent media exposure, Fraser's comments arguably became prototypes for numerous media reporting which misrepresented the identity of the South Sudanese community in Australia throughout their settlement.

Against this backdrop of identity distortion and misconstruction, this study amongst other objectives seeks to provide a nuanced understanding into the social backgrounds of South Sudanese in Australia based on their lived experiences. These dimensions of displacement are extensively discussed in the empirical chapters by focusing on participants war narratives, and dispossession. Issues such as challenges and experiences of protracted displacement, settlement in Australia and transnational activities among South Sudanese highlight the consequences of Conflict-Induced Displacement (CID) that most civil wars produce, but unique to the case of the Second Sudanese Civil War (SSCW) in 1983. Considering these dimensions of displacement, this book argues that South Sudanese have experienced an identity shift which has constructed and reconstructed their everyday life in refuge seeking and diaspora countries. Therefore, without considering the dynamics of the transitions to the social identities of South Sudanese, their experiences of the Second Sudanese Civil War (SSCW) and how they impact on their livelihoods in Australia can never be fully understood. Hence, views such as those of Fraser reflects the indifferent elements of the lived experiences of many South Sudanese who are permanently resettled in Australia. This is because CID exposes vulnerable populations to miserable conditions during internal and cross-border displacement. These experiences of displacement induced by the civil war have not only restructured social identities and norms, but also civil systems and institutions that guarantee social structures and norms.

These shifting social factors have shaped and overwhelmed the international migration system under which most refugees are assessed (Jafari, Davies and Johnson, 2020). While the phenomenon of involuntary displacement is well documented in several regions of the world with previous or active political instabilities in various African countries, post war Europe, Southeast Asia, Middle East, and South America, it is assumed that CID and the challenges it generates, have

received significant attention. However, the CID case of the South Sudanese has largely remained overlooked, and that the experience of political instability, which necessitated their displacement, reflect a missing link within the forced migration literature. Therefore, this study aims to focus attention on the need for considering the unique experiences of South Sudanese as the centrepiece of their shifting identities and their current settlement in Australia that continues to inform their transnationalism.

What the literature will demonstrate in this study is an absence of rigorous academic attention to the socio-political and economic implications of CID among South Sudanese in Australia. This focus is encouraged by the events of political instability since the First Sudanese Civil War (FSCW) in 1955 which intensified and culminated into the Second Sudanese Civil War (SSCW) in 1983. It is against this backdrop of limited scholarly attention to the outcome of CID among South Sudanese that this study undertakes specific, individualised approaches to investigate lived experiences of the SSCW. Hence, this introductory section commences by outlining key terms that will be used in this book, a brief background of the study by discussing the scope and problem of forced displacement. This chapter also sets the scene and objectives of the research by discussing research justifications and significance within the literature of forced migration. It concludes with outlining the structure of the book.

## Central Themes and Methodology

One of the aims of this study is to examine the impact of CID resulting from political instability through the experiences of the South Sudanese diaspora in Australia who although permanently displaced still nurture intimate relationships with their home country. The element of keeping mutual connections with one's country of origin while in diaspora has remained a continuous factor in the lives of South Suda-

nese diaspora living in Australia (Bade, Emmer, et al, 2011, p. xxv). This book sets out to illuminate the human consequences of displacement and to offer a clearer sense of how South Sudanese families, communities, governments, and international stakeholders might respond to it with greater insight and compassion. At its heart is an effort to understand not only what displacement does to people, but how those who have lived through it make sense of their journeys across borders, cultures, and political landscapes.

To guide this exploration, the book pursues several broad aims. First, it revisits the major conversations that scholars, practitioners, and refugee communities have had about conflict-induced displacement—how political instability collapses into civil war, how wars evolve into long-term crises, and how these crises force millions into exile. This includes an engagement with the growing body of work on South Sudanese diaspora communities and the transnational ties they continue to nurture across continents. Another key aim is to trace the experiences of protracted displacement among South Sudanese people: from their early departures under duress, through the uncertainty of transit countries, and finally into new lives in places such as Australia. These journeys, though individual in detail, share a common thread of endurance, loss, adaptation, and transformation.

The book also seeks to understand how South Sudanese themselves interpret the causes of their displacement, particularly in the context of the Second Sudanese Civil War. Through extended interviews with those who lived the conflict and now reside in Australia, the study pieces together personal accounts that both affirm and challenge official or widely circulated narratives about the war. Building on these lived experiences, the book turns toward the future, considering what lessons might be drawn for policy. The insights shared by participants offer important reflections on how governments and institutions could engage more effectively with issues of instability, displace-

ment, and resettlement. All of this revolves around a central question: *How have experiences of conflict-induced displacement shaped narratives of war, dispossession, and transnationalism among South Sudanese living in Australia?*

Supporting questions help deepen the inquiry, examining how displacement is understood within the community, why certain groups become more vulnerable than others, and how authoritarian governance and political instability contributed to the widespread uprooting of South Sudanese people. These questions invite a broader critique: that state policies, whether intentional or negligent, have at times fuelled the very violence that sent so many fleeing for safety. In bringing these threads together, this book aims not only to document the past, but to spark new thinking about displacement, belonging, and the enduring ties that bind people across borders—despite everything that war attempts to sever.

Hence, this study argues that displacement is a form of a political statecraft that intends to either oppress, assimilate, or coerce a certain social unit to adopt, practice, or conceptualize values and traditions inconsistent and in contradiction with the periphery. By inquiring "how," and "when" people eventually become displaced, the researcher critiques the processes and procedures that are structurally installed within state political apparatuses which in turn have the effect of socio-political and socioeconomic disenfranchisement and domination.

Therefore, this research aims to examine the role of political instability and the type of political regime that instigated the 1983 SSCW. Therefore, the research question for the present study based on the SSCW cases study will be broad and open-ended "To enable a thorough in-depth description, exploration or explanation of the phenomenon under study, in general, research questions need to be broad and open to unexpected findings" (Korstjens and Moser, 2017, p. 275). To

explore these themes in depth, this study draws on the lived experiences of South Sudanese people who have made Australia their home. Their stories—shaped by war, loss, resettlement, and the building of new transnational lives—form the backbone of the research. Through extended conversations and reflective interviews, the book seeks to understand how displacement has transformed identities, aspirations, and community ties over time.

In addition to the central question guiding this work, three supplementary questions broaden and deepen the inquiry. Together, they help map the full arc of displacement, from its origins in conflict to the realities of life in the diaspora:

**RQ1.** *What were the experiences of protracted displacement and resilience among South Sudanese during and after the Second Sudanese Civil War?* This question looks closely at the long years of uncertainty—time spent escaping violence, surviving in refugee camps, and navigating the fragile hope of eventual resettlement.

**RQ2.** *What are the settlement experiences of South Sudanese as a diaspora community in multicultural Australia?* Here, the focus shifts to life after arrival: the challenges of integration, the rebuilding of family and community networks, and the everyday negotiations of identity in a new cultural landscape.

**RQ3.** *What role do South Sudanese play as transnational actors and social entrepreneurs between Australia and South Sudan?* This inquiry examines how people maintain enduring connections across borders—supporting families, contributing to community development, engaging in political dialogue, and shaping the future of both nations through a range of cultural, social, and economic activities.

Because little empirical work has explored the consequences of conflict-induced displacement among South Sudanese in Australia,

listening closely to these lived experiences is essential. Their voices offer not only personal testimony but also crucial insights into the broader dynamics of war, movement, and belonging—insights that this study seeks to bring to light with clarity and care. While occurrences of CID are prevalent across other societies, a specific case study on South Sudanese in Australia is necessary given that "research with Sudanese refugees is limited" (Milner et al, 2010, p. 20). Milner et al (2010) reinforce this view by arguing that incorporating narratives of lived experiences of many south Sudanese in Australia is necessary in order to establish novel accounts of displacement previously absent within the literature of forced migration. Therefore, in order to arrive at this understanding, the present study employs a theoretical framework of social constructivism as the lens to examine and understand CID experiences among South Sudanese in Australia.

Social constructivism allows for the construction of knowledge through people's narratives of their experiences and interactions with their social environments (Creswell, 2014). Furthermore, this study will apply the qualitative case study design as the methodological approach involving data collection method of face-to-face interviews as the primary data for this study. Archival and documents review will be relied upon as sources of the secondary data.

## Key Terminologies

The following section provides an overview of key terms that are used throughout this book. While their definitions may reflect generalised perceptions, their application in this study is strictly for the purpose of this topic on the phenomenon of CID among diaspora South Sudanese in Australia. Some of these key terms include, but not limited to: Conflict-Induced Displacement, authoritarianism, political instability, civil war, ethnicity, transnationalism, experience-based conflict-induced displacement (EBCID), responsibility to protect

(R2P), multiculturalism, diaspora communities, humanitarian assistance, and sectarianism.

*Conflict-Induced Displacement* of South Sudanese refers to the forced displacement of people in South Sudan due to armed conflict and violence during the Second Sudanese Civil War between 1983 and 2005. The conflict has led to widespread violence, displacement, and human rights abuses, including rape, killings, and looting of properties as well as the dispossession of livelihoods. As a result, millions of people have been forced to flee their homes to seek safety elsewhere in the country, in neighbouring countries or in the diasporas. They may end up in overcrowded camps or settlements, facing difficulties accessing necessities, and uncertain of their future.

*Authoritarianism* refers to a form of government or political system in which the ruling authority exercises strict control over citizens or groups, usually through a centralised power structure and often without regard for individual rights and freedoms (Loescher and Milner, 2008). This may involve limiting or suppressing political opposition, press freedom, and civil liberties. Authoritarian leaders often rely on force or fear to maintain power and restrict public participation in politics and policymaking. Examples of authoritarian regimes include Sudan, North Korea, and China under the Communist Party.

*Experience-Based Conflict-Induced Displacement* (EBCID) refers to situations in which individuals or groups are forced to flee their homes or places of origin due to the exposure to and experience of violence, conflict, persecution, or human rights abuses. It may result from direct or indirect exposure to violence, such as seeing family members or neighbours being killed, or from the fear of imminent harm or persecution because one's race, ethnicity, religion, or political beliefs. Such displacement can lead to physical, psychological, and social harm and often requires individuals or families to seek refuge elsewhere, either within their country or across international borders. EBCID is

a growing global concern, affecting millions of people worldwide, and requires concerted efforts to mitigate the adverse impacts on those affected.

The *Responsibility to Protect* (R2P) principle, which was adopted by the United Nations in 2005, is a commitment by states to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity (Bellamy, 2009). It also recognizes that if a state is unwilling or unable to protect its own population, the international community has a responsibility to intervene to protect the fundamental rights of a human population under perceived threat on the basis of international law. This intervention can take different forms, including diplomatic efforts, economic sanctions, and as a last resort, military action. According to Bellamy (2009), the R2P principle is based on the belief that every individual has the right to live free from harm and that the international community has a responsibility to ensure that this right is protected. The R2P doctrine according to Badescu (2011) signifies the imperativeness of humanitarian intervention in the face of gross human rights violations where mass violence and atrocities are committed while a government remains either powerless or is complicit in the apparent atrocities within the realm of the sovereign state. In Buchanan's opinion, this act of intervening in

*Political instability* is a term used to describe the condition when a government or a political system is experiencing a high level of uncertainty, and volatility due to a range of factors such as social unrest, economic crisis, corruption, electoral conflicts, or external pressure (Morrison, and Stevenson, 1971). The term is often associated with the absence or weakness of democratic institutions, the use of violent or coercive tactics by the ruling elites, and the presence of political parties or groups with conflicting interests or ideologies. According to Alesina, Ozler et al (1996), political instability can lead to social unrest, economic downturns, human rights violations, and geopoliti-

cal tensions, and is considered a major challenge to sustainable development, peace, and security.

A *civil war* denotes the widespread, and destructive form of violence against human societies within and between states that often have regional dimensions due to implications pertaining the flight of victimised populations. According to the typologies of wars by Correlates of War (COW), a civil war is defined as "Any armed conflict that involved; (1) military action internal to the metropole of the state system member; (2) the active participation of the national government; (3) effective resistance by both sides; and (4) a total of at least 1,000 battle-deaths during each year of the war (Sarkees, 2010, p. 5).*Diaspora communities* in Australia refer to groups of people who have migrated to Australia from other parts of the world and who maintain social, cultural, and political connections with their countries of origin. These communities are characterized by their shared heritage, identity, and experiences, and often maintain strong networks of social support and cultural exchange. Diaspora communities in Australia are diverse and include migrant groups from many different parts of the world, including Asia, Africa, and Europe who make up 7.6 million of Australia's population as of June 2020 (ABS, 2021). Some of the largest diaspora communities in Australia include those from China, India, and Vietnam, as well as communities of refugees and immigrants from war-torn regions such as Burundi, Liberia, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Syria, Iraq and many more. These communities often form their own social and cultural organizations, which provide support, networking opportunities, and advocacy for their members. They also contribute to the multicultural fabric of Australia, enriching the country's social and cultural life with their unique traditions, beliefs, and practices (Bade, Emmer, et al, 2011).

*Transnationalism* of migrants refers to the ways in which migrants maintain a variety of social, economic, and cultural ties that span

national borders and connect them to both their country of origin and their new country of residence (Castles, 2005). In other words, transnationalism recognizes that migrants often maintain connections and attachments to both their home country and their new destination country through a range of activities, such as remittances, communication with family and friends, participation in cultural events and traditions, travel, and engagement in political and civic affairs in both countries. Transnationalism is a way for migrants to stay connected to their cultural heritage and identity while also participating in the social, economic, and political life of their new home. It also helps to foster intercultural understanding and exchange, as well as the spread of global knowledge and ideas (Vertovec, 2001).

*Multiculturalism* is a policy which defines aspects of sociocultural coexistence of many ethnicities within a single society. In Australia1, multiculturalism refers to the country's policy of maintaining and celebrating the diversity of its population, which includes people of many different backgrounds and ethnicities. According to Moran (2016, p.2), "multiculturalism … mean approaches to public policy, including adjustments to public institutions, procedures and laws, that recognise, tolerate, honour and even promote cultural diversity and its benefits ..." The Australian government promotes this policy by supporting cultural events and languages, providing services and education in different languages, and encouraging communities to share their traditions and customs. Multiculturalism is an essential part of Australia's national identity, and it has enriched the country's social, economic, and cultural fabric over the years.

Although multiculturalism had undergone various conceptual ambiguities since the 1960s, a central factor to its continuous practice in Australia has been the value it places on the significance of individual cultures (Crowder, 2013; Taylor, 1994). Moran (2016) argues that, through Whitlam's and Fraser's officialization, to Hawke's

and Keating's social justice interpretations and more recent during Howard's era, multiculturalism has consistently defined Australia's national identity irrespective of the tensions it has undergone over the decades. In the context of this study, multiculturalism provides a critical outlook for how distinct cultural identities and ethnicities have coexisted in Australia. At the backdrop of its historical development and transitions, multiculturalism has prevailed through pragmatic policy practices and symbolism despite the challenges it underwent right up to the present era when people of South Sudanese back-grounds arrived in Australia.

*Sectarianism* refers to a form of prejudice or discrimination that is based on differences in religious or sectarian affiliation. This can manifest as hostility or intolerance towards individuals or groups who are associated with a particular religious denomination, sect, or faith tradition (Deng, F., 2011). Sectarianism can lead to social divisions, conflicts, and even violence in some cases, and is often seen as a significant barrier to peaceful coexistence and religious pluralism.

*Ethnicity* refers to a social group that shares a common cultural or national background, such as language, customs, religion, traditions, and ancestry (Anthias, 1998). It is often used to describe a person's sense of identity and belonging to a particular group. Ethnicity can encompass a wide range of characteristics related to culture, geography, nationality, and race. While closely related to race, ethnicity is generally considered to be a more fluid and subjective concept, which can change based on a person's experiences and self-identification. Used

*Humanitarian assistance* refers to the provision of aid and support to individuals and communities that are suffering from crises, disasters, conflicts, or other emergencies. The goal of humanitarian assistance is to save lives, alleviate suffering, and preserve human dignity by providing essential services and supplies, such as food, water, shelter, medical care, and protection (Hyndman, 2010). Humanitarian assis-

tance is often provided by a range of organizations, including governments, international aid agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and community-based organizations. These organizations work together to deliver aid in a coordinated and effective manner, with the aim of alleviating the immediate needs of affected populations and promoting their recovery and resilience over the long term. Humanitarian assistance is guided by principles of impartiality, neutrality, and independence, which ensure that aid is provided solely on the basis of need, without discrimination or favouritism. The provision of humanitarian assistance is recognized as a fundamental human right and a critical component of global efforts to promote peace, security, and human well-being.

## Scope and Dimensions of Displacement

As political activities escalated into a full-scale conflict in the Sudan, they precipitated a cycle of violence, human right abuses and consequently, the displacement of Southern Sudanese. Therefore, the main causal factors of political instability leading to displacement of South Sudanese included political suppression and persecution, ethnic and religious polarisation and the economic deprivation leading to the underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan. Post-independence Sudan has indeed faced significant challenges in terms of authoritarianism and political instability. Since gaining independence from British colonial rule in 1956, Sudan has experienced multiple military coups, civil wars, and authoritarian regimes.

One of the key factors contributing to political instability in Sudan is the deep-rooted ethnic, religious, and regional divisions within the country. Sudan is a diverse nation with Arab, African, and Nubian populations, as well as various religious groups such as Muslims and Christians. These divisions have often been exploited by political leaders, leading to conflicts and power struggles (Loescher and

Milner, 2008). Authoritarianism has been a recurring theme in Sudan's post-independence history. Leaders like Gaafar Nimeiry and Omar al-Bashir ruled the country with an iron fist, suppressing political dissent, and restricting civil liberties. These regimes relied on security forces and intelligence agencies to maintain control, often using violence against opposition groups and marginalized communities (Linz and Linz, 2000; Glasius, 2018). Another factor was the significances of socioeconomic and political marginalisation. In terms of socioeconomic marginalization, Sudan has struggled with widespread poverty, inequality, and limited access to basic services such as education, healthcare, and clean water. These issues have disproportionately affected marginalized groups, including rural populations, internally displaced persons, and ethnic minorities.

Historically, power and resources have been concentrated in the hands of a few elites, particularly in the central Sudanese government and urban areas, leaving rural and marginalized communities at a disadvantage. This resulted in unequal distribution of wealth, limited economic opportunities, and a lack of infrastructure development in marginalized regions. Political marginalization has also been a significant concern. Sudan's political landscape has often been dominated by a few powerful political parties or factions, leaving little room for genuine representation and participation of marginalized groups. This led to feelings of exclusion, alienation, and frustration among these communities. Institutionalized racism and religious discrimination have been persistent challenges in post-independence Sudan. These issues have deep historical roots and have had a significant impact on the country's social fabric.

In terms of racism, Sudan was a diverse country with a multitude of ethnic and tribal groups. However, certain groups have historically held more power and influence, leading to discrimination and marginalization of others such as the north-south instance. This has

resulted in unequal access to resources, opportunities, and representation for marginalized communities, particularly from the southern region. Ethnic tensions and conflicts have been fuelled by discriminatory policies and practices, including unequal distribution of wealth, land, and political power. These issues have often been exacerbated by the government's divide-and-rule tactics, pitting different ethnic and tribal groups against each other. Religious discrimination was another significant concern in Sudan that featured in the escalation of the conflict between the north and south. The country had a diverse religious landscape, with a Muslim majority in the north and significant Christian and animist populations in the south. This ambivalence subjected religious minorities to widespread discrimination and restrictions on their spiritual freedoms. Figure 1 illustrates these intersecting causal factors of CID that eventually triggered the SSCW which had widened the scope of the conflict in the Sudan.
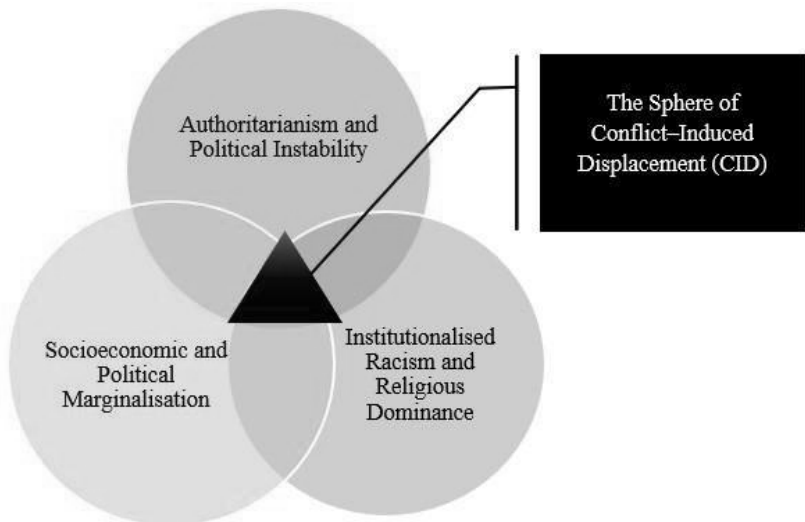


**Figure 1** *Causal factors of Conflict-Induced Displacement during the SSCW (The Author, 2023).*