

# **ANALYSIS OF THE SUDAN CONFLICT:**

**A CASE STUDY OF DARFUR AND NUBA MOUNTAINS**

**BY**

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**RS16M02/001**

**A THESIS REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF BUSINESS IN  
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS IN ORGANIZATIONAL  
LEADERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT OF  
UGANDA CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY**

**DECEMBER, 2019**

## **DECLARATION**

I, Kukuandi Kalo / Muhager (RS16M02/001), do hereby declare that this research report is my own work and has never been presented to any institution of higher learning for any award.

Signature:..... Date: .....

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## **APPROVAL**

This research report entitled ‘Analysis of the Sudan conflict: A Case Study of Darfur and Nuba Mountains’ is the work of Kukuandi Kalo/Muhager (RS16M02/001) done under my supervision and is now ready for submission to the Faculty of Business for the award of Master of Arts in Organizational Leadership and Management.



**Dr. Joseph Jakisa Owor**

Supervisor

January 21, 2020

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to the people who have sacrificed their lives for the peace and development of Sudan. You are my Heroes.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I am very grateful for the support and guidance from Dr. Joseph Jakisa Owor, my supervisor. Thank you very much for your time throughout this entire process.

I appreciate my cohort members for giving me encouragements. I am greatly humbled by your support.

I thank my family especially my wife and children for the sacrifices and support in allowing me to take off time and the meager resources to study and work on this research project. That despite the current status we are in we have sacrificed for education.

My sincere appreciation also goes to my friends and colleagues for their encouragement, moral and financial support.

Thank you all.

## **GLOSSARY:**

<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>CPA</b>	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
<b>CBO</b>	Community Based Organizations
<b>CPT</b>	Commission Preparatory Teams
<b>CSO</b>	Civil Society Organizations
<b>DDR</b>	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
<b>DOP</b>	Declaration of Principles
<b>DUP</b>	Democratic Unionists Party
<b>FES</b>	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
<b>GNU</b>	Government of National Unity
<b>GAOs</b>	Government Affiliated Organizations
<b>GoS</b>	Government of Sudan
<b>GoSS</b>	Government of Southern Sudan
<b>HRW</b>	Human Rights Watch
<b>ICC</b>	International criminal court
<b>IGAD</b>	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
<b>IDPs</b>	Internally Displaced Persons
<b>IPF</b>	IGAD Partner Forum
<b>IPRSP</b>	Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
<b>JAM</b>	Joint Assessment Mission
<b>JEM</b>	Justice and Equality Movement
<b>JNTT</b>	Joint National Transition Team
<b>MDGR</b>	Millennium Development Goals Report (MDGR)
<b>MDTF</b>	Multi-Donor Trust Fund
<b>NRF</b>	National Redemption Front.
<b>NRDF</b>	National Reconstruction and Development Fund
<b>NCP</b>	National Congress Party
<b>NDA</b>	National Democratic Alliance
<b>NIF</b>	National Islamic Front
<b>NSA</b>	Non-State Actors

<b>NSCC</b>	New Sudan council of churches
<b>NSO</b>	National Security Organization
<b>PCP</b>	Popular Congress Party
<b>PDF</b>	Popular Defense Forces
<b>SAF</b>	Sudan Armed Forces
<b>SECS</b>	Sudanese Environmental Conversation Society
<b>SPLA</b>	Sudan People's Liberation Army -North
<b>SLA</b>	Sudan Liberation Movement/Army
<b>SRRC</b>	Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
<b>SSDF</b>	South Sudan Defense Forces
<b>SPLM/A</b>	South Sudan Liberation Movement/Army
<b>UNAMID</b>	United Nation – African Mission in Darfur
<b>UNS</b>	united nation security council
<b>UNMIS</b>	United Nations Mission in Sudan

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## **ABSTRACT**

This research analyzed the Sudan conflict: Case of Darfur and Nuba mountains. The research was guided by the following objectives; To assess how centralization of power has caused the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur, To evaluate how economic and social inequalities lead to the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur, To find out how the Islamization of the Sudan is responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur and to assess how the Arabization of the Sudan is responsible for conflicts in Nuba Mountains and Darfur. A descriptive design was employed which gave the respondents opportunity to openly state their opinions about the phenomena under the study. 120 respondents participated in this study, both qualitative and quantitative approaches were used. The researcher employed two methods to collect data, that is self-administered survey questionnaire and key informant Interviews. The researcher used questionnaires to gather information from the selected respondents and analyzed by use of SPSS version 23 and thematic analysis was used to analyze qualitative data. The findings reveal that there are governance issues in Sudan as represented by 90% responses. 100% and 95% respondents said there is abuse of human rights and no power sharing respectively and there is no decentralization of power (85%) in Sudan. There is discrimination against the people of Nuba and Darfur regions as represented by 70% responses; key positions at the local levels for governors, commissioners, police, military and judiciary are taken up by people from other regions. This is supported by 95% respondents affirming that there is imbalance in allocating government employment. 100% of the respondents agreed that Government uses the sharia law in its administration of justice and power irrespective of citizens religious diversity and that the education system is religious biased (100%). Centralization of power has affected the government- citizens relationship and it is one of the causes of conflicts in the Darfur and Nuba Mountains.

To have peace in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur, decentralized governance would be the ideal solution. There is need for talks, negotiation and arbitration between the people living in Darfur and Nuba mountains and government if lasting peace and sustainable development is to be achieved.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the background to the Sudan conflict, problem statement, general objective, specific objectives, research questions, research hypotheses or assumptions, significance of the study and scope of the study.

### **1.1 Background to Sudan Conflict**

Sudan is the largest country in Africa with a total surface area of 2.5 million square kilometers. The country is endowed with a wealth of resources ranging from oil, which is an important contributor to the economy, a vast agricultural and livestock resource base. The country's GDP is estimated at \$22.75 billion, annual per capita income of around \$530 and annual rates of growth in the order of 5-8%, (Eltigani Seisi M. Ateem, 2007). Despite this, there is widespread poverty with a large proportion of the population living on less than US\$1 per day; there is a highly skewed income distribution, inadequate delivery of social services and a run-down infrastructure system (Eltigani Seisi M. Ateem, 2007).

Sudan is one of the most cultural and ethnic diverse countries on the African continent with an estimated population of about 40 million by 2016, where 30 percent claim to be of Arab decency and 70 percent are of African origin; of these 60 percent are Muslims and the rest are either Christians or practitioners of traditional African religions (Sudan Outlook, 1999). Sudan has two major distinct cultures "Arab" and "black African", with more than 300 tribes and more than 100 local spoken dialects. Successive Sudanese governments since independence of the country in 1956 have failed to appreciate the importance of this diversity as an important factor in the process of nation building. Instead, they have abused and exploited this diversity, turning it from a wellspring of strength into a source of division and violence. The result is that the entire country is at war with itself, with protracted conflicts that have retarded the country's economic and political development and jeopardized its unity (Eltigani Seisi M. Ateem, 2007).

The first civil war in the Sudan erupted in August 1955, shortly before independence between the forces of the central government and the “Anyanya Movement”. The war intensified after the independence of the country when the promised “Federal System of government” was denied by the ruling elites in Khartoum. In 1972, the Addis Ababa Peace accord was signed by the two parties to try resolve the 16 years of war brokered by Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia in which the South was granted regional autonomy. However, after 11 years of peace the civil war resumed in 1983 when, contrary to Addis Peace Accord, the South was divided into three regions and the Sharia laws were imposed in Sudan. This second civil war was led by the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), was more intense than the first one. The estimated number of people killed in the Sudan conflict is about 2.9 million with about 4.5 million people being internally displaced people (IDPs) and many others who have fled to refugee camps in the neighboring countries (Fukuda-Parr S. and Piceiotto R. 2007).

The various peace efforts to resolve the conflict in the Sudan are summarized in the table below;

**Table 1: Peace efforts to resolve conflicts in the Sudan**

<b>War Period</b>	<b>Peace Accord</b>	<b>Parties Involved</b>	<b>Resolutions Made</b>
August 1955 -1972	1972 Addis Peace Accord Mediated by Ethiopian Emperor	Gov't of Sudan and Anyanya I.	Make South Sudan Autonomous
May 1983 – 2005	Naivasha Comprehensive Peace Agreement Mediated by IGAD	Sudan People Liberation Movement /Army and Gov't of Sudan (GoS).	Self Determination for South Sudan, wealth and power sharing, security arrangements, Popular Consultation for Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile regions, referendum for Abyei region.
July 1994	Declaration of Principles	GoS and SPLM/A	Recognition of self-determination for South Sudan and separation of religion and state
May, 2004	Frame work peace agreement was signed in Kenya	GoS and SPLM/A	Paved way for comprehensive peace agreement
Jan 2005	Comprehensive Peace Agreement	GoS and SPLM/A	To end 20 years of civil war.
Mid 1990s to Oct 2006	GoS and Beja Congress Peace Agreement in Asmara Eritrea	GoS and Beja Congress	Ending 10 years of civil conflict in the Eastern Sudan.
May 2003	Abuja peace talks on Darfur	GOS and SLM	They developed Darfur peace agreement Draft, but it was rejected by SLM
2004	N'djamena ceasefire agreement on Darfur signed	GoS, SLM & JEM	To allow humanitarian access to displaced population, but agreement was violated.
March 31 <sup>st</sup> 2005	UN security council referred Darfur conflict to ICC	UN secretary general	Sudan Government and the warring parties are to cooperate with ICC
August 2007	AU and UN organized meeting in Arusha (Tanzania) on Darfur peace talks	National Redemption Front (NRF) and GOS	To renew peace negotiations for Darfur in Libya in October 2007
July 2011	Separation of South Sudan from the Sudan.	Self-determination referendum.	Separation from the Sudan
June 2011 – 2019	16 rounds of peace negotiations on Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile conflict	GOS and SPLM/A North	Humanitarian access, political and security arrangements, Separation of the state and the religion, wealth and power sharing, , identity, culture and ethnic differences

*Sources: (Eltigani Seisi M. Ateem, 2007); (Colin Powell, 2004).*

All the above peace efforts were aimed at bringing lasting peace to the Sudan. However, due to lack of trust, commitment and the double standards by the parties involved, the over 44 peace agreements have not produced lasting peace. The end results have been separation of South Sudan, self-determination for Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile and the ongoing conflicts in Darfur, Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile and Abyei regions.

The government of Sudan for example, mobilized and supported the Janjaweed militia to attack the indigenous African population in Darfur in 2003, which was described by the UN, AU, International Organizations and the human rights groups as genocide and war crimes against humanity (Colin Powell, 2004). The attacks resulted in more than 2,500 villages torched; over two million people driven off their land into IDP camps, more than 200,000 people crossed into Chad and Central African Republic as refugees (*Eltigani Seisi M. Ateem, 2007*) and the NGO reports estimated more than 200,000 people were killed (Wikipedia, 2007).

The events in Darfur attracted regional and international attention. The AU provided funding and support to the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), in which it deployed about 7,000 peacekeepers and observers and coordinated the Abuja peace talks of 2003, and the N'djamena peace agreement of 2004, for Darfur and Nuba Mountains as summarized in table 1 above. The UN Security Council (UNSC) adopted a number of resolutions to stop attacks on the civilian population (United Nations Security Council resolutions, 1555; 1564; 1591; 1593). The resolutions called on all parties involved to resume the Abuja peace talks, however, the resolutions were all not recognized and respected by the government and the conflicting groups. The UNSC therefore, referred the people responsible for the situation in Darfur to the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and called on the Government of Sudan and all other parties to the conflict in Darfur to cooperate with the ICC (UNSC resolution no. 1593 adopted on 31 March 2005).

In May 2006 the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) was partially signed with some factions rejecting it on the ground that it did not reflect the aspirations of the people of Darfur. Persistent efforts by the AU and the international community to re-energize the peace processes so as to achieve the aspirations of DPA all failed. Thus, instead of the long awaited peace, the region has witnessed escalation of conflict and the hopes generated from

the Abuja negotiations have all been overshadowed by chaos and collapse of peace and order (Laurie Nathan, 2006). The AU organized peace meetings in Arusha, Tanzania in August 2007, the UN Secretary General visited the Sudan and Darfur. The UN and the African Union Commission convened peace negotiations for Darfur in Libya under the auspice of the AU-UN Special Envoys for Darfur (James Copnall, 2014).

The most affected regions by the civil wars are the Nuba Mountains in Southern Kordofan, the Blue Nile and Darfur regions. These are also the most “marginalized” and vulnerable regions, in which conflicts have lasted for over five decades since the independence of the country. (Eltigani Seisi. M. Ateem, 2007) The reasons for the marginalization, vulnerability and prolonged conflict are the reasons why this research must be conducted to try answer why the conflict in Sudan most specifically the conflict in Darfur and Nuba Mountains is not ending. This is important because if the Sudan conflict is not resolved will lead to more civil wars, bloodshed, people displacement and further separation of the Sudan. (Eltigani Seisi. M. Ateem, 2007)

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Sudan has experienced civil wars from the time it attained independence in 1956. Islamic oriented governments have dominated national politics, enjoyed lion’s share of the economy, monopolized political power and development. There are social and economic inequalities experienced by the periphery regions. The South, East, Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile and Darfur regions have remained underdeveloped and marginalized economically, politically, socially with glaring indicators of poverty, inequality, injustice and underdevelopment because of their cultural identity, political inclination and religious differences. These could explain why these regions have been plunged into unending conflicts and wars for the last five decades (Dor Malual Ayom, 2017)

Over thirty rounds of peace talks have been held in different African countries resulting in the signing of over forty four peace agreements, peace cords and protocols to try resolve civil wars and conflicts but all in vain (Sean Gabb, 1997). The most comprehensive peace agreement was the North/South Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that was signed in

January 2005 that granted South Sudan autonomy for six years and a referendum for independence. A referendum was conducted in January 2011; the outcome was an overwhelming support for independence, which granted South Sudan independence on 9 July 2011. The split was anticipated to bring everlasting peace to Sudan. This incidentally is not the case because civil wars and conflicts are still going on in Darfur, Blue Nile, Nuba Mountains and Abyei regions. This has resulted in the internal displacement of over 1.1 million persons, who are in dire need for humanitarian assistance. The UN and the African Union have had a joint Darfur peacekeeping operation (UNAMID) since 2007 but they have unfortunately failed to restore peace in Darfur and other regions of the Sudan. The armed conflicts coupled with poor transport infrastructure, and denial of humanitarian access by the Sudan government have affected the provision of humanitarian assistance to the affected populations. The most recent overwhelming development was the massive protest in which President Omar Al Bashir was overthrown by a popular uprising of the people. There is a fresh war in Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile regions as a result of the failed comprehensive peace agreement to conduct free and fair elections to ensure popular consultations through elected legislative council members to address the issues of wealth sharing, identity, land ownership, power sharing, social and economic equalities.

Almost 33 years of war in Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile, and 16 years in Darfur, the cease fire as a result of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) was temporary, the underlying issues have never been addressed and the 22 rounds of peace talks yielded no outcomes. Therefore this research seeks to analyze why the conflicts in Sudan are not ending and what can be done to resolve these conflicts, taking Darfur and Nuba Mountains regions as case study.

### **1.3 General Objective / Purpose of Study**

The purpose of the study is to analyze why the conflicts in Sudan are not being resolved.

### **1.4 Specific Objective**

- 1- To assess how the centralization of power cause the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

- 2- To evaluate how economic and social inequalities lead to the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.
- 3- To find out how the Islamization of the Sudan responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.
- 4- To assess how the Arabization of the Sudan responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

## **1.5 Research Sub Questions**

- 1- How does the centralization of power cause the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur?
- 2- How do economic and social inequalities lead to the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur?
- 3- How does the Islamization of the Sudan responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur?
- 4- How does the Arabization of the Sudan responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur?

## **1.6 Research Hypotheses**

- 1- The centralization of power is cause the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.
- 2- Economic and social inequalities lead to the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.
- 3- The Islamization of the Sudan is responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.
- 4- The Arabization of the Sudan is responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

## **1.7 Significance of the Study**

This research is significant to the leadership because it reveals how the underlying factors of centralization of power, economic and social inequalities, Islamization (fusion of state and religion) and the Arabization of the Sudan (change of peoples' culture) are responsible for escalating the conflicts in the Sudan. The leadership will then be able to effectively use the recommendations to cause total peace, development and unity of the people of the Sudan.

The study analyses the strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities that lead to the conflict in the Sudan by revealing the underlying challenges faced by the different parties involved in the conflict resolution management in the Sudan.

The study if adopted by the key players in the conflict is able to realize lasting transformation, sustainability, peace, stability and unity in the Sudan.

The study helps the mediators (African Union) and international community (UN) to understand the core issues in the Sudan conflict so as to put more pressure on the parties involved to bring lasting peace to the Sudan.

The study empowers the civil society organizations in their efforts to intervene in the Sudan conflict by boosting their efforts to help Sudan achieve peace, transformation and reconciliation.

## **1.8 Scope of the Study**

This research focused on the following dimensions:

### **1.8.1 Content Scope**

The research analyzed why the conflicts in Sudan are not being resolved. It specifically looked at how centralization of power (lack of power sharing), economic and social (wealth sharing) inequalities, Islamization (fusion of state and religion) of the Sudan, and the Arabization (change of culture and language) of the Sudan have caused the conflict in Darfur and Nuba Mountains of the Sudan.

### **1.8.2 Geographical Scope**

The study was restricted to the Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions of the Sudan.

### **1.8.3 Time Scope**

The study focused on the Sudan conflict issues in the period from 2005 - 2017, that is from the time when the last comprehensive peace agreement was signed to date by assessing why the compressive peace agreement and other peace efforts have not brought in the anticipated peace.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter analyses literature on what causes conflicts, how conflicts develop due to religious, social, economic, political, identity, cultural and ethnic differences. The chapter analyses different conflict situations in Africa and the third world by drawing lessons to help analyze the conflict in the Sudan. Specifically the literature helps to understand how centralization of power, economic and social inequalities, the Islamization and Arabization processes cause and escalate conflicts.

### **2.1 Root Causes of Conflicts**

Conflict refers to a form of friction, disagreement, or discord that arises within a group when the beliefs or actions of one or more members in the group are resisted or unacceptable to the members of the group. It may involve violence, discord, tension due to differences or disagreements in opinion (Chambers Century Dictionary, 2018). This definition easily applies to the Sudan conflict because there is evidenced violence, tension due to differences in opinions, which this study is trying to justify.

Militarily, conflict is an armed struggle or clash between organized groups within a nation or between nations in order to achieve limited political or military objectives, involving regular and at times irregular forces. They are sometimes protracted or confined to a restricted geographical area. They are at times defined by the weaponry and level of violence involved (Military Dictionary, 2018). This applies in the case of the Sudan because the conflict in the Sudan is military in nature involving weaponry, which this study will justify.

Conflicts occur when there are perceived differences in interest (wants, needs, fears, concerns) that cannot be simultaneously satisfied (Wertheim Love, peck and Littlefield, 1998).

Conflicts are caused by many factors that change from society to society. Some of these are discussed in the proceeding sections.

### **2.1.1 Causes of Conflicts in the World**

Christopher Cramer, (2009), in his working paper on violent conflicts among the very poorest found out that eight out of ten of the world poorest countries are suffering from large scale wars and violent conflicts. He found out that these conflicts and wars are linked to human, economic and social wellbeing, which as well cause poverty and underdevelopment.

Frances Stewart, (2002) found out that conflicts and wars cause infant deaths for example the war in Cambodia affected an estimated 3% of the country population. The current conflicts in the Sudan and the Congo are caused by many factors that are within the states than are outside. These factors are linked to economic, social, political, cultural and religious differences and injustices within these states that tend to take center stages at the expense of people's welfare, as in Afghanistan. In the past 30 years Africa has been affected by wars due to the injustices minted by the state and the political elites against the people they are supposed to support. In the third world internal conflicts are due to poverty, refugees, civil wars, political violence, food shortage, drought, famine as well as economic devastation (United Nations 2004, as quoted by Hae S. Kim, 2008).

The other causes of internal conflicts and political violence in the third world are cultural differences due to differences in perceptions and concepts about civilization. They are also due to ethnic, racial or religious differences. Cultural differences are more significant than ethnic, racial and religious differences in explaining the causes of conflicts (Thomas Hall, 2004). These are some of issues that this study will to justify, if they are responsible for escalating the Sudan conflict.

### **2.1.2 Causes of conflicts in Africa**

Nancy Annan, (2014) in her research on violent conflicts and civil strife in West Africa, identified the major causes of conflicts in Africa as; poverty, human rights violation, bad

governance and corruption, ethnic marginalization and small arms proliferation. She explains that most West African countries were crippled by conflicts and civil strife in which violence and incessant killings were prevalent (Afolabi 2009).

In West Africa conflicts have been fueled by multiple factors that include poverty, human rights violations and corruption, ethnic marginalization and small arms proliferation (Fithen, 1999; Voz di paz and inter-peace; Vinck et, al 2011; Keili 2008). This research will find out if these are some of the underlying factors responsible for the escalation of conflicts in the Sudan.

In Liberia, violent conflicts kept on erupting due to longstanding and simmering ethnic tensions, corruption, subjugation and abject poverty of the people (Kieh and Klay, 2009). This is very useful because it explains ethnic differences and injustice (the Arabization, Islamization, and the inequalities that could be responsible for the conflict in the Sudan).

In Sierra Leone, decade long violent conflicts arose from corruption, bad governance, social injustice, and breakdown of democratic institutions resulting in the killing of 50,000 people and the destruction of the infrastructures as well as pertinent social services (Kargbo, 2002). This is helpful in understanding and explaining the Sudan conflict as well.

In Guinea –Bissau and Ivory Coast, violent civil conflicts in 1998 and 2002 respectively were caused by weapon trafficking in Senegal for Casamance independence movement, corruption and human rights abuse and it claimed lives of thousands and entrenched poverty in the country (Voz di paz and interpeace 2010). Furthermore, in Cote d’voire, violent and civil wars were due to disputed elections which led to violent confrontations that led to the death of over 3,000 people (Ogwang, 2011). This is helpful in understanding the Sudan conflict because most governments have come from disputed elections and coup d’états.

The Boko haram insurgency in northern Nigeria is linked to religion and economic deprivation, which has resulted into loss of many lives, displacement of thousands, and kidnaping of many (Walker, 2012). The Boko haram are closely linked to the Islamic fundamentalism movement, which helps to link the conflicts in the Sudan to religious movements and how these promote conflicts.

## **2.2 Theoretical Perspectives to Conflict**

### **2.2.1 Religious Perspective to conflict**

This perspective argues that, religious differences are a major source of internal conflicts. The proponents of this view argue that religious beliefs provide followers (believers) with a source of identity. They suggest that, if religious beliefs and identity are compromised, they become key factors for civil war and political violence. Those who advocate for religion as a factor responsible for conflict also suggest that, these conflicts spill to become ethnic racial conflicts (Mark Juergensmeyer, 1993). This explains how the Islamization and Arabization process of the Sudan in which religious differences could be reasons for endless conflicts in which each group fight for their religious beliefs and identity.

### **2.2.2 Relative Aspiration gap perspective to conflict**

This perspective explains that the cause of conflict is psychological in that any society moving from underdevelopment to advanced stages of development experiences aspiration gaps between expectations (hopes) and actual levels of satisfaction (realities) that become eminent in these transitional societies. This means that the wider the aspiration gaps the more the people suffer, and this frustrates them which eventually lead to conflict (T.R Gutt, 1970).

Simon Kuznets, who advanced the relative gap theory, explained the cause of conflict by using the Kuznets curve, which explains that the gaps in income distribution during the early stages of modernization from traditional rural to advanced industrialized stages in a nation is the very cause of internal conflict (Simon Kuznets, 1955).

Others also argued that, the gap between economic growth (quantitative economic development) and the quality of life (qualitative economic development) are also a major source of internal conflict. The observed gap indicators are improved living standards in terms of literacy, health, nutrition, life expectancy and infant mortality. The differences in economic growth and quality of life are more visible in developing countries than in developed industrialized countries. The wider gaps between economic growth and quality of

life promote internal conflicts. Evidence shows that, ethnic – racial heterogeneity, rapid population growth and excessive spending on defense are some of the major factors responsible for the widening gaps between the quality of life and the economic growth in developing countries in the third world, which effect the economic growth and the quality of life and the winding the gaps between the rich and the poor (H.S Kim 1998). The issues identified in this theory are central in explaining the marginalization and the injustices that could be going on in the Sudan, which this research seeks to investigate and fill in.

### **2.2.3 Governance Perspectives to conflict**

Governance policies of totalitarian, authoritarian and democratic competitive states have a significant effect on the frequency of internal conflicts. In a study conducted by Zinnis and Wilkenfield (1960) they discovered that, authoritarian states tend to have more internal conflicts than democratic states, for example, western democracies with free enterprise economies were found to have less internal and the external conflicts as compare to authoritarian and dictatorial regimes. Third world countries that promoted sense of individual equality and equal citizen participation in the political processes of democratization had less internal and external conflicts during the cold war (Diana A Zinnes and Jonathan wilkenfeld 1971). This is critical in helping to explain how centralization and dictatorship escalate the conflict in the Sudan, which gap this research seeks to fill in.

### **2.2.4 Power transition perspective to conflict**

The proponents of this view argue that, most internal conflicts erupt when countries are locked in internal power transitions and struggles which are usually characterized by splitting of the countries to form new states, political revolutions, and forced democratization of autocratic regimes. This internal development whether as a result of rapid social mobilization or sharp advances in national economic development will inevitably result in internal conflict (Lars-Erik 1994). The proliferation of arms and weapons in the third world countries bring about massive killing and repatriation of the people (small arms survey: [http:// www. Small arms survey .org](http://www.Smallarmsurvey.org)). These weapons are usually used by the government controlled armed forces, local police and militia, private military

forces, as well as insurgents and bandits to arm them-selves for regional rivalry, prestige and pervasive ambition of authoritarian or dictatorial regime which increase the death toll and number of refugees in the third world leading to an increase in conflicts (Ruth L, Sivard et.al. world military and social expenditures 1996). This is fundamentally important in the case of the where many militia groups operate and proliferation of weapons is common, which issue needs justification as a factor promoting conflict in the Sudan.

## **2.3 How centralization and power sharing escalates conflicts**

Power sharing is a policy agreement between political parties or coalitions to share responsibility for decision-making and political action (Oxford dictionary, 2018). Power sharing is a political arrangement in which different or opposing groups all take part in government together. (Collins Dictionary, 2018). It is a political arrangement in which opposing groups in a society participate in government (Collins English Dictionary, 2018).

It is also related to marginalization, which refers to the process of exclusion from political power and wealth sharing. In the Sudan case it means a set of policies adopted by the successive governments of Sudan to concentrate power and economic activities in the center of the country and neglect the other parts of the country, leading to the concept of unequal power and wealth sharing (El-tom Abdullai, 2003).

Timothy D. Sisk (2003), observed that if parties in conflict, especially in societies divided by ethnic, racial, or religious differences shared power equally, the existing conflict would not be escalated, that is if power is shared equally it creates compromise situation that assures the parties permanent place at the bargaining table. This means power sharing is a powerful solution to conflicts because all major segments of society are provided a permanent share of power in the government system. Therefore, this research will venture into understanding if there is power sharing in the Sudan and to what extent the lack of power sharing escalates conflict in the Sudan.

### **2.3.1 Basic principles to effective power sharing:**

- 1- There should be a grand collation government in which all political parties have appointments.

- 2- There should be protection of minority group's rights.
- 3- There should be centralization of power to the different interest groups.
- 4- Decision Making should be done by consensus.

He also suggested that, effective power sharing should be based on principles of democracy in the case of deeply divided societies as may be the case for Sudan.

Power sharing also consists of a wide range of political arrangements which may be incorporated in the constitution as the cases were in South Africa, Sri-Lanka; Bosnia, Cambodia and Congo where all political parties were catered for as a political settlement of conflicts.

In the case of Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban, the international community encouraged the parties to adopt a power sharing arrangement as a way of avoiding another war situation. This was done by appointing a head of state who was broadly representative of the majority ethnic group.

In Ivory Coast, the mediators brokered power sharing approach that ended the country civil war by appointing rebel commanders to form a power sharing government.

### 2.3.2 Types and Elements of Power Sharing:

Timothy D. Sisk (2003) observes that there are different types and elements of power sharing, which are summarized below:

- (1) **Consociationalism** - Here power is shared by forming a grand coalition, where there is a proportional representation, the different ethnic groups are given cultural Autonomy, federalism and mutual veto.
- (2) **Autonomy** – This works in situations where there are many conflicts, for example in Azerbaijan or Sri Lanka, autonomy was used to balance the claims of the different states and warring forces who demanded for territorial integrity and secession or separation. Scholar Yash Ghai suggests that, autonomy is helpful in a case where an ethnic group or groups demand for a distinct identity to exercise direct control over important affairs of

concern to them while allowing the larger entity to excise those powers which are the common interest of all parties. In the case of Sudan this has been used in South Sudan and may be used for Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile and Darfur.

(3)**Asymmetrical Federalism** - Here all units enjoy similar powers. Asymmetrical federalism may provide enhanced powers to a particular region.

(4)**Group Building-Block** – This another looser form of autonomy, which is not always explicitly territorial, termed consociationalism. The option is in essence a group building-block approach where ethnic group leaders at the top relies on accommodation, in which ethnic-group and political leaders at the center guarantees group autonomy and minority rights to other groups; in essence, this approach is "consociational" in that it encourages collaborative decision-making by parties in conflict.

(5)**Integrative Approach** – This approach avoids ethnic groups as the building blocks of a common society. It provides distinct set of options for power sharing in that it rejects cohesive ethnic or other groups as the building blocks of society (for example the "confessional" or religious factions adopted in Lebanon).It adopts options that purposefully integrate society along the lines of division. This approach can be called "centripetalism," because it engineers a center-oriented spin to political dynamics. It seeks to build multiethnic political coalitions (political parties), to create incentives for political leaders to be moderate on divisive ethnic themes, and to enhance minority influence in majority decision-making.

The key institutions that may be adopted for power sharing are federalism, devolution of power to ethnic groups in the territories that they control; minority vetoes on issues of particular importance; grand coalition cabinets in a parliamentary framework, and proportionality in major spheres of public life (e.g., budgeting and civil service appointments). The key elements in the integrative approach are electoral systems that encourage pre-election pacts across ethnic lines, non-ethnic federalism that diffuses points of power, and public policies that promote political allegiances that transcend groups. Sudan is a federal system, so this research will find out why the federal system is not effective and

how this weakness has escalated the conflict in the Sudan and then propose what should be done to improve the form of governance for Sudan.

### 2.3.3 Models of Power Sharing.

**Table 2: Consociational Power Sharing**

<i>Principles</i>	<i>Practices</i>	<i>Problems</i>
Broad-based coalitions among ethnic political parties	Grand coalition governments	Elites may initiate conflict to bolster their power at the center
Minority or mutual veto on matters of importance to the group	Group rights defined in constitutional terms for named ethnic, racial, religious, or cultural groups	Can reinforce the ethnic divisions in society rather than promoting cross-cultural understanding
Proportionality	Proportional representation electoral system and the proportional allocation of jobs, spending, representation, and participation by ethnic group leaders	May reflect well the divisions in society but does not provide incentives for building bridges across community lines
Group autonomy	Federalism, territorial, or "corporate"	May contain disincentives for contending groups to live peacefully together

**Table 3: Integrative Power Sharing**

<i>Principles</i>	<i>Practices</i>	<i>Problems</i>
Incentives for elite and mass moderation on divisive ethnic or racial themes	A president who stands for all groups and who emphasizes moderation and reconciliation (like a Mandela)	Leaders who can rise above the fray of intergroup enmity are hard to find; they can't be simply invented.
Intra-group contestation and inter-group moderation in electoral contests	The use of vote-pooling electoral systems, such as the Single Transferable Vote or the Alternative Vote	People may be unwilling to vote for candidates who are not from their community
Minority influence, not just representation	Federalism is a way to give all minority groups access to power in various regions; the regions serve as a training ground for national-level moderates	Political leaders and key public figures may not be willing to respond to the incentives for moderation, preferring that minority representation remain token or symbolic

In Sudan, power sharing was tried through what was called the Sudanisation policy that was implemented by the British. However, this only favored the elites who consequently after independence replaced the colonial officials but continued with the policy of discrimination and marginalization of all those who were not part of the elite club. For example, out of the eight hundred administrative posts that were sudanised in 1954 only six were filled by the people from the marginalized regions who were all from Southern Sudan without

representation from Darfur, Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile and Eastern regions (Berghof Foundation For peace support, 2006).

The riverine elites who were better educated, hence best prepared to assume political control also controlled the national economy. Consequently, these emerged as the dominant group in the country who inherited political power and continued the policies of marginalization (Eltigani Seisi M. Ateem, 2007).

***This will become a great point of concern for this research to find out if this nationwide scheme of marginalization is responsible for the long protracted war and conflict in these regions (Nuba Mountains & Darfur)***

The Darfur Joint Assessment Mission Governance Report of (21 April 2007) points out that Darfur was integrated into the Sudan, its traditional Kingdom status, being sub divided into three states, without sufficient decentralization and devolution of powers, which greatly destabilized the region because it consolidated Khartoum's divide and rule policy (UNDP, 1998).

According to Ylönen Aleks, (2005), in the grievances and the roots of insurgencies report, points out that Darfur and Nuba Mountains were excluded from power and wealth sharing with the "exportation" of riverine elites from other regions. They were marginalized at the local level because the local government structures were limited to those who came from Northern and central Sudan. Most of the key positions at the local level, such as district commissioners, provincial Commissioners, assistant district commissioners, police, army and prison and the judiciary were filled by those from the center.

The key to the marginalization process is the monopoly to political power by the riverine elites, who caused disproportionate power sharing between the center and the periphery. This created conditions of unbalanced development, widespread rural poverty and mounting grievances in the periphery and Darfur in particular. Eventually the bottled-up sense of injustice felt by the people of Darfur exploded in form of military insurgency against the central authorities, (Ylönen Aleks, (2005) and Taisier Ali and Robert Matthews, (1990).

*Therefore this research will seek to find out how this state of affairs changed with the enactment of the comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) of 2005. Therefore this research will seek to find out how this state of affairs changed with the enactment of the comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) of 2005. This research will also find out if the current insurgencies are linked to the 1991 revolts and how these were comprehensively handled in the 2005 CPA.*

## **2.4 How Wealth Sharing (economic and social inequalities) escalate conflict**

### **2.4.1 How poverty and social inequalities escalate conflicts**

In the Sudan the level of poverty is high as shown by the low economic indicators on poverty levels, income inequalities as well as on human development indicators. The available data on poverty and economic inequality dates way back as 1992. It shows that since independence, Sudan's economy has gone through different phases of macro-economic (Ali, 1994; World Bank, 2003) and the social indicators.

Poverty and conflict are closely interconnected in that poverty makes countries more prone to civil wars and armed conflicts hence weakening governance and economic performance, which increases the risk of conflict relapse (Goodhand 2001).

There are macro-economic factors that make countries to experience armed conflicts. For example, low per capita income and large populations are closely associated with civil wars, ethnic and religious diversity do not make countries more prone to conflict like poverty, economic and social inequalities (Fearon & Laitin 2003).

At the state level, poverty can lower resilience to conflict by weakening government institutions, stripping capacity for public goods provision, and limiting the projection of power and authority, whether soft or coercive. Poverty also compounds vulnerability to insurgency at the individual and community level by lowering the opportunity cost of mobilizing for violence. High rates of unemployment and inequality, combined with low

levels of education and development, are thought to soften the ground for recruitment and provide motives to fight (Humphreys & Weinstein 2008).

Poverty that follows systematic patterns lead to ‘horizontal inequalities’ that occur when members of ethnic, religious, or other identity groups have unequal access to public services, opportunities and resources. Group-level inequalities can generate social and economic polarization that increases the risk of violent conflict (Østby 2008; Stewart 2009). These inequalities alone do not start wars. However, Political grievances and conflict proneness are most likely to lead to violence—from terrorism to civil war—when poverty and inequality combine with repression, particularly in anocracies, regimes that are neither strongly democratic, nor wholly autocratic (Abadie 2004; Mousseau et al. 2003). Good governance is helpful in mitigating the link between poverty and conflict. Equal distribution of resource plays a key role in shaping countries’ economic and structural vulnerability to conflict (Ross 2004; Thies 2010). Equitable social welfare spending, particularly on education and healthcare, and stable aid inflow reduces the risk of war, economic instability and excessive military spending (De Ree & Nillesen 2009; Nielsen et al. 2011; Savun & Tirone 2011; Taydas & Peksen 2012). Similarly, economic inequalities, such as the 2008 spike in global food prices spark social unrest that escalates into armed conflict in vulnerable political settings like in cases of Egypt, Algeria, Sudan and Tunisia (Blattman & Miguel 2010; Lagi et al. 2011).

Evidence from Burundi suggests that households exposed to violence at the local level are more likely to face long-term poverty and deprivation than those who were spared. Exposure to violence also hurts those who participate in armed groups, as they have to overcome an education deficit, social stigma, and psychological distress that can leave them economically alienated and socially marginalized (Annan et al. 2011).

Vicious cycles of conflict exacerbate poverty, slow economic growth, destabilize weak institutions and lead to violent deterioration of the economy and social services. The international response to post-conflict reconstruction is helpful in strengthening economic growth; infrastructure development, debt relief and foreign aid, and currency stabilization to generate private investment (Addison et al. 2001; Kang & Meernik 2005).

In Sudan It is believed that, most peace agreements have failed because the parties involved have not addressed the economic and social development inequalities between the North and the South. For example In the ten years of the peace agreement (1972 -1982) Nuba Mountains, Darfur and South Sudan did not see any social and economic advancement which they expected after signing of the peace accord in 1972. This brewed dissatisfaction, feelings of being cheated and angered by the North (Ibrahim *et al*, 2001).The author also identified three dimensions of inequality that existed and led to development of poverty in the Sudan:

- Regional inequality; between North and South
- Vertical inequality; between income groups, and
- Horizontal inequality; between rural and urban areas

*Therefore, the question remains as to what extent is poverty (economic and social injustices) responsible for the prolonged conflict in the Sudan?*

According to some estimates 95% of the households in the Sudan are below the poverty line and that for the Southern and Western states. In Darfur, Nuba Mountains and Kordofan the figures rose to 97% (Awad, M., 1999, “Daily News” Al Ray Alaam, 14 October). Because economic growth has not been underpinned by pro-poor economic policies, the benefits have not been equitably distributed and therefore the poor and the most vulnerable have not been protected. Poverty rates have also been exacerbated by indirect taxes, which were the dominant source in the total government revenue before exportation of oil. (Sudan external debt as at 31 December 2006”, [www.unsudanig.org](http://www.unsudanig.org) World Bank (2003), Ibid).

Despite of increased revenues from the oil, poverty has remained high. The oil revenues have been used to sustained government in power through military expenditure, with no corresponding economic and social impact to the population especially those in marginalized areas. (“Oil and Human Rights”, Human Rights Watch, [www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org)), *which issues need justification when this research is conducted.*

## **2.5 How Islamization (Fusion of State and Religion) Escalate Conflicts**

### **2.5.1 The Islamization Process:**

Islamization is the process of bringing someone or something under the influence of Islam or Islamic rule. Islamization or Islamification is the process of the society shifting towards Islam as found in Sudan, Pakistan, Iran, Malaysia and Algeria (Oxford dictionary, 2018).

According to research institute for European and American studies (RIEAS) report on the Islamization process of Europe (June 2009), Islamization is a process that is carried out slowly and systematically for a long period of time. First Islam is taken as a unifying factor for more than one billion people who are characterized by high birth rates, great devotion to their religious norms and laws.

Secondly, Muslims use migrants who moved to countries in search of business. The number of Muslims increase due to high birth rates. Thirdly, wherever they go, they campaign to be allowed to use the Sharia law in their communities through the use of political forces the so called liberal left who take advantage of their voting power and support from the oil rich states in the Middle-East. They use Islamic financial institutions that follow the requirements of the Quran in their financial transactions. The Islamic banking system is the fastest growing in the world and is creating conditions of economic autonomy and empowerment to Muslims. Saudi Arabia in the last 35 years has spent about 100 billion dollars to promote Islam worldwide, which indicate clearly aims for global domination.

The economic improvements lead to political conditions where Muslims take over the political leadership of that country hence influencing the policies and the decisions of that country. The increase in their numbers and the taking up of leadership has facilitated the Islamization of Europe. In recent years, the Saudis have allocated 500 million dollars specifically to build mosques in different parts of the world.

According to Dr, Jaffar Shek Idris (2019) the aim of the Islamic movement is to bring up a new a society that is wholeheartedly committed to the teaching of Islam in their government, politics, educational system, moral values and other aspects of their way of life. He says this organized and gradually process is the process of Islamization. This process is organized with an aim and is deliberately executed by committed individuals who

are trained and committed to the Islamic view of life that Islam is both a message and a method. This helps to shade light on how the Sudan like other Muslim countries were Islamized and how this escalates conflict is explained in the section below, which is one of the core purpose of this study.

The concepts that explain how the Islamization process escalates conflicts are explained below:

### **2.5.2 Islamization concept of social change and conflict**

This concept states that Islamization is based on social and historical explanations of how nations and civilizations rise and fall. The Islamic explanations of how social change takes place is guided by a single definite process and plan that progressively change using committed men. It observes that, these men influence change even when they don't have power to arrest or change its direction and those who try to oppose it or slow it down are considered reactionaries (extremists or diehards), while those who push and accelerate it are considered progressives (fight wingers and reformists). Therefore in the process of Islamization anyone who opposes this process is considered an enemy of the religion and must be fought. This explains why there is Islamic fundamentalism that treats any one opposed to the Islamic agenda as an enemy who must be fought hence explaining why the Moslem based government keeps attacking those regions considered peripheral, hence the reason why this research is very important to justify how this could be true in the cases of Darfur and Nuba Mountains.

### **2.5.3 How Islamic philosophy of social change justify conflict**

How the Islamic philosophy of social change promotes the Islamization process is based on the Quranic verse **“Surely God does not change that in which a people are until the change that which is in themselves” (Quran xii, 11).**

The main points from this verse are; (1) God has absolute freedom to act. (2) Human beings' freedom to act is limited (3) the change which men bring about is inside them (4) the change in man's condition which God brings about is as result of that human change.

These four points makeup the Islamic explanation of social change. The implications are that social change is from God not from individual self -sufficiency as opposed to materialism. Social change in the world is sufficiently explained with the help of laws about it from the Quran as opposed to scientific reasoning. Therefore in the Islamization process change is made in reference to God. Secondly, man has freedom of choice but everything he does is imposed on him by a divine power or by a natural or social cause. That man cannot do anything against the will of God, and that God gave man the freedom to act on his internal state. Much of what happens to man depends on his internal state that is man is responsible for his destiny. In terms of conflict this means, if a man is evil and is in a position of authority, he will oppress anyone he sees as different and an enemy. That is the change can be good or bad, righteous or evil, constructive or destructive, uniting or divisive. Therefore when people change from good to bad God punishes them by changing their condition from good to bad and vice versa. In terms of conflict this means, anyone who does not follow the Muslim God is against God and God punishes them by withdrawing from them some of the spiritual and material blessings which He had bestowed on them and therefore causes them to face hardships. This helps in justifying injustice that those who do not follow Allah are punished for their rebellion and it is the will of Allah to measure how much such people suffer. This research will surely try to justify this with findings.

#### **2.5.4 Islamic perception about war and peace**

According to Dossier (2009), Islam has been maligned today as a religion of war, not peace and compassion. The acts of terrorism by some internal terrorist groups who indulge in needless and wanton killing have aggravated this image in the world. In early ages some crusades showed Islam and Muslims as having a sword in one hand and Quran in the other. It should be noted that all these times, the image of Islam was not based on the study of the Quran but on the situation of war and conflict between Christians and Muslims, which Huntington observed as a clash of civilizations which is also based on situations of conflict between the western and Islamic world. All these as result of confrontations that exist between Muslims and non-Muslims primarily due to politics and not religion as may seem to appear. In Sudan this is seen as political Islam which is related to fundamental Islamic ideology. This ideology is broadly held by common people, scholars, historians, political

scientist who confused what is political for religion without understanding the difference between the two for example in the Quran both Judaism and Christianity have been excepted as religions sent by Allah through prophets Ibrahim, Moses and Christ and yet we find violent clashes between Jews, Christians and Muslims. During prophet Mouhamed's (PBUH) time, there were no clashes between Christians and Muslims, however there existed clashes with Jews. Prophet Mohammed entered into treaties and gave followers of both regions grantee of freedom to follow their faith, their lives and properties. He entered in treaties with the Jews of Madina and Christians of Najran. He even insisted that, Christians could say their prayers in his own Mosque when a delegation of Christians came to visit him in Madina. This showed tolerance and respect for each religion. Although the Jews resented Muslims, Prophet Mohammed prayed for few years facing Jerusalem. Therefore, the clashes that existed during Mohammed's time were not religious in nature but political although they were portrayed as religious. This implies that it is wrong to fuse politics and religion in other words it's wrong to fuse religion and state as is the case in all Islamic states. He observes that, all wars in history are wars of political power as a result of clashes due to interests of rulers fighting for political supremacy. Therefore, no one should go around declaring that these rulers are fighting for their religion, but they use Jihad or holy war for religious purposes just as a cover up for their political desires. This needs to be clearly understood from the Quran view of war and peace. According to the Quran theory of war, war is sanctioned only in exceptional circumstances but peace is the norm. The Quran promotes patience. The verse 2:191, which is "kill them wherever you find them, and drive them out from where they drove you out, and persecution is worse than slaughter". This verse obviously refers to those who are at war with Muslims and not those Non- Muslims who live in peace with them. This means this has been misunderstood by most Muslims, yet it could explain why Muslim fundamentalism promotes conflicts and war with the non-Muslims, which could partly be responsible for some of the wars in the Sudan.

## **2.6 How Arabization (change of Culture and language identity) differences escalate conflicts.**

Arabization is the conquest and/ or the colonization of Non –Arab areas and the growing of Arabic and Islamic culture influence to Non-Arab populations, causing a language shift by

their gradual adoption of the Arabic language and / or their incorporation in the culture, mainly Islamic or Arab identity (Wikipedia, 2019).

Arabization is a process of developing and promoting of the Arabic culture and language into a nations education system, government, and Media in order to replace a former language that was enforced into a nation due to colonization. For example Arabization is a process where the former native and colonial languages in all Arabic and Islamic states were gradually replaced by Arabic as national language.

The Arabization process involves firstly: colonization where anon- Arab area is colonized either peacefully through trade and religion or forcefully by colonization. Secondly, Islamization where indigenous and traditional religions are replaced by Islam through Islamization process, Thirdly, language shift where the traditional and colonial languages are replaced by a gradual adoption of the Arabic language in their culture and incorporation in the entire national policies and systems. Fourthly, adoption of Islamic identity, where the indigenous cultural identity is replaced by an Arabic identity.

According Robert J.C.Young (2003), in his thesis on the Arabization process and the suppression of the Moroccan identity and language, observed that, language is no longer a mere medium of expression of feelings or description of reality but where human beings come to see the world and experience it. It is through language that our identity is shaped. Language is therefore individual but also collective. Therefore we have African Arabic, Muslim, Jews, Female, atheist identities which help us to express our ethnicity, gender, religious believes, nationality, etc which give us our identity. From this we observe that it is cruel and total injustice to rob anyone of their identity.

Elabbas Bemamoun (2007), argued that, issues of language and identity conflicts arise when more than one language competes to be of influence, be it cultural, political, educational or economic in place of a native or national language. This means that, the a adoption of any language or cultural identity as official or standard take place by suppressing other languages to be give the chosen one political legitimacy and prestige while excluding,

alienating and marginalizing others. This means that the politics and the individuals in authority will either promote or kill a language of their choice by legislating a policy that entrenches the preferred language and culture at the expense of others, which is a great cause of conflicts among people, nations, and tribes, ethnicities as a way of trying to defend and protect their identity. This also means that it's the duty of those in authority to defend and protect minority culture and identity from extinction. This also means that if we have bad leaders who cannot appreciate the cultural diversity and ethnicity will use this as a tool to discriminate and marginalize the minority groups.

To become an Arab would mean having an Arab decency and ethnicity, however it is wrong to assume that one becomes an Arab by the mere fact that they are able to speak and write (communicate ) in Arabic as may be the case in Arabic Islamic states. It should be noted that in the earlier years, Arabic was a major business and official language in most of the Middle East countries. In Africa, all nations have various ethnic groups that make up a nation for example Nigeria has 250 dialects, Cameroon also has close to 250 dialects, Sudan has more than 300 ethnic groups and languages. Most times, these ethnic groups and languages go across political borders which were artificially created by colonialist for administrative purposes. Therefore it is wrong to force a group of people to adopt a foreign language and cultural identity unless it's for a mutual benefit. Therefore, it is important to understand how understand how the Arabization of the Sudan could have divided the people and escalated conflict.

#### **2.6.1 How Ethnic identity and racism develop into civil wars**

An ethnic conflict is one between two or more contending ethnic groups. The source of conflict may be political, social, economic or religious, in which the conflicting individuals expressly fight for their ethnic group's position within society.

To Elaine K Denny (March 7, 2014) When political power is divided along ethnic lines, ruling elites disproportionately favor their own ethnic groups at the expense of others. This creates grievances that fall along ethnic lines. Second, ethnic groups tend to live together in concentrated spaces, sharing the same language and customs, and enjoying deep ties with

ethnic kin. This means that ethnic groups, if aggrieved, will have an easier time mobilizing support to demand change. Third, ethnic identity tends to be less elastic than other types of identity, which means that credible commitments to any bargain – before and during a conflict— will be more difficult to make. The result is that ethnic groups will have a greater number of reasons, opportunities, and incentives to mobilize and fight than non-ethnic groups.

Ethnic conflict arises if ethnic groups compete for the same goal—notably power, access to resources, or territory. Violent conflict is caused mainly by social and political systems that lead to inequality and grievances and do not offer options for peaceful expression of differences. The Causes of Ethnic Cleansing is to typically favor homogeneity over heterogeneity; likeness over difference; and the exercise of institutional power to subdue or eliminate ethnic, racial or religious minorities rather than embrace them as a part of our common humanity.”

## **2.6.2 Summary of Literature Review**

In summary the literature above helps to explain how the centralization of power (lack of power sharing), economic and social (wealth sharing) inequalities, Islamization (fusion of state and religion) and the Arabization (change of culture and language) escalates conflict in different situations. The situations analyzed in the literature could be similar to the Sudan situation yet the contexts differ. They could be different from the Sudan situation yet they provide incredible lessons for dealing with the Sudan conflict situation, which this research will try to fill in.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the research methods that were used in this study. The chapter covers the research design, area of the research study, study population and sample size, sample selection procedures, research tools design, data collection methods, data processing, data analysis and presentation, challenges experienced and ethical considerations.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

This research adopt qualitative and quantitative approaches because it analyzed data that was both qualitative and quantitative in nature. It employed a descriptive research design because it gave the respondents opportunity to openly state their opinions about the phenomena under study. It adopted a quantitative approach because it attached a numerical meaning and implication to the close-ended questions. The research used two research methods namely; self-administered survey questionnaire and key informant Interviews as summarized in the table below.

**Table 4: Summary of research methods and number of respondents**

<b>Research Methods used</b>	<b>Number of respondents according to research questions</b>			
	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
Interviews	11	11	11	11
Focus group discussion	2 groups of 4 (8)	2 groups of 4 (8)	2 groups of 4 (8)	2 groups of 4 (8)
Survey Questionnaires	101	101	101	101
Total	120	120	120	120

**Source: Primary data, 2019**

### **3.2 Area of the Research Study**

The study was conducted in Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions of the Sudan. Nuba Mountains has 14 counties out of which the study selected 5 of the most affected counties by the conflict. Darfur has 20 counties out of which the study selected 10 counties which were also the most affected by conflict.

### **3.3 Population and Sample Size**

The target population in this study was 180 people. These included: Internally displaced persons, refugees, community leaders, Sudan relief rehabilitation agency (SRRA), commissioners and administrators, internally displaced persons leaders, civil society organizations workers and religious leaders. The above people were involved in the research study because they had relevant information about the conflict in Sudan. Some had been involved in the conflict resolution efforts while others were directly affected by the conflict.

According to Daryle W. Morgan and Robert V. Krejcie (1970) sample determination table, a target population of 180 people, means a sample size of 120 respondents was selected. These are summarized in the table below:

**Table 5: Summary of category of respondents, target population, sample size, sampling methods and research method.**

<b>Category of Respondents</b>	<b>Target Population</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Sampling Technique</b>	<b>Research Method</b>
Selected Internally Displaced Persons	48	34	Simple Random	Survey Questionnaire
Selected Refugees	48	34	Simple Random	Survey Questionnaire
Community Leaders	24	13	Simple Random	Survey Questionnaire
Sudan Relief Rehabilitation Agency Staff	7	4	Purposive	Interview Guide
Commissioners and Administrators.	15	8	Purposive	Focus Group Discussion Guide
Internally Displaced Persons leaders	30	20	Simple Random	Survey Questionnaire
Civil Society Organizations leaders	6	5	Purposive	Interview Guide
Religious leaders	2	2	Purposive	Interview Guide
<b>Total</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>120</b>		

**Source: Primary Data, (2019)**

### **3.4 Sample Selection Procedures**

This study analyzed why the Sudan conflict was not ending using Darfur and Nuba Mountains as case studies. In order to analyze the Sudan conflict, the respondents were selected basing on the of number of years they had lived and experienced the conflict, the period they lived in IDP camps, their leadership roles in working with the people affected by conflict or position in governance. The study simple randomly selected 34 Internally Displaced Persons, simple randomly selected 34 refugees, simple randomly selected 13 Community Leaders, purposively selected 4 Sudan Relief Rehabilitation Agency Staff,

purposively selected 8 Commissioners and Administrators, simple randomly selected 20 IDP leaders, purposively selected 5 Civil Society Organizations (CSO) leaders and purposively selected all the 2 Religious Leaders.

The respondents were residents, employees and refugees in Darfur and Nuba Mountains and had stayed in these regions for a considerable period of time and therefore were highly informed and relevant in analyzing why the Sudan conflict has persisted for a long time.

The study also purposively selected 4 Sudan Relief Rehabilitation Agency Staff and 8 Commissioners and Administrators because of their positions and their roles in influencing government to resolve conflict and create lasting peace. They were selected because they had relevant information on why the Sudan conflict was not being resolved and why the previous agreements were not honored.

### **3.5 Research Tools Design**

The study used three research tools namely; Survey Questionnaires, Interview guide, and focus group discussion guide.

#### **3.5.1 Survey Questionnaire Design**

The questionnaire was designed basing on the research objectives and research sub questions. It covered the demographic information about the respondents, and in particular it covered questions in line with the following four sub-questions: How does the centralization of power accelerate the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur? How do economic and social inequalities intensify the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur? How does the Islamization of the Sudan intensify the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur? How does the Arabization of the Sudan worsen the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur? It contained close and open ended questions to cover the various parameters of the study and as well captured the opinions of the respondents about what they thought about the conflict in the Sudan and what they recommend should be done to end the conflict in the Sudan.

### **3.5.2 Why the Survey Questionnaire was used**

The Survey Questionnaire was used for the following reasons:

The method has the advantage of reaching many respondents in a short period.

Similar questions to different respondents generate answers that are easy to tabulate, compare and make conclusions.

The preset questions have a time saving mechanism that encourages the respondents to participate.

Lastly, they help and guide the respondent towards the required response without determining the actual response.

### **3.5.3 Interview Guide Design**

The Interview Guide was designed basing on the research objectives and research sub questions. It covered the background information of the respondents, specific sub questions and any opinions that the researcher was interested in.

This research tool was applied when getting information from 5 Civil Society Organizations leaders, 2 Religious leaders and 4 Sudan Relief Rehabilitation Agency Staff.

### **3.5.4 Why the Interview Guide was used**

Interviews Guide was used because of the following advantages it inherently offers:

It helps the respondent to explain issues that desire more detailed reasoning.

It gives the respondent and ultimately the researcher an opportunity to get out information that may have not been considered in a preset questionnaire.

Complex issues that need clarification are brought out.

The respondent is clarified as to the actual meaning attached to a question. It has higher chances of getting more correct answers.

Objective and alternative preset answers can limit the exploration of a point. Interviews help with relevant explanations.

Lastly, respondents have the freedom to answer in the way they consider best to them.

However, this method is more time consuming and involves cost of reaching and hosting the respondents. Fortunately for this case, all the respondents for the interview are few and will be met in their offices.

### **3.5.5 Focus Group discussion Guide Design**

The focus group discussion guide was designed based on the research objectives and research sub questions. It covered the demographic information of the respondents, and particular questions in line with the four sub-questions.

The questions were open ended to give the respondents an opportunity to provide deep insights into the different aspects of the research. This research tool was applied when collecting information from 8 commissioners and administrators purposively selected to participate in the focus group discussion which was organized by the researcher.

### **3.5.6 Why the focus group discussion guide was used**

The focus group discussion guide was used for the following reasons:

The method has the advantage of reaching many respondents in a short period.

Similar questions to different respondents generate answers that are easy to tabulate, compare and make conclusions.

The preset questions have a time saving mechanism that encourages the respondents to participate.

Lastly, they help and guide the respondent towards the required response without determining the actual response.

### **3.6 Data Collection**

#### **3.6.1 Survey Questionnaire data collection**

The survey questionnaires were administered to selected refugees, selected internally displaced persons, community leaders, internally displaced persons leaders who were found in the community and IDP localities. The researcher hand delivered the questionnaires to the leaders and in some other incidences used contact persons to deliver the questionnaires to the target respondents. A total of 101 standardized survey questionnaires were systematically distributed to the leaders in their localities to be filled and returned to the researcher within an agreed period of time. The researcher ensured that all questions are completed and any clarification made before closing the self-administered survey session.

The researcher carefully read through the questionnaires to ensure their completeness, consistency and accuracy before entering them into the data base for analysis.

#### **3.6.2 Interview guide data collection**

The researcher made sufficient preparations in terms of appointments with the 5 Civil Society Organizations leaders, 2 Religious leaders and 4 Sudan Relief Rehabilitation Agency Staff key informant respondents who were purposively selected and interviewed using the standardized interview guide in which open-ended questions were asked using the interview guide to triangulate the data collected.

The researcher personally took notes during the interviews but also recorded the proceedings for later verification against the notes taken.

The method used helped to capture non-verbal expressions which enriched the voice recording and notes taken. The interviews were done in a one on one meeting was arranged by either physical contact or telephone contact with the respondents.

The researcher made appointments for the one-on-one interviews, conducted the interview with the respondents and there after processed the data for presentation and interpretation.

Interviews were taken between 30 to 60 minutes. The researcher used follow-up phone calls to seek clarification in case if some key information is missing.

### **3.6.3 Secondary data collection**

Secondary data was collected from the available documents on the internet, university library, any other government, international reports and agreements on the Sudan conflict.

## **3.7 Data Entry and Processing**

### **3.7.1 Data Entry and processing**

Data collected was processed by manipulating it manually and electronically in order to process it for further analysis. During data processing, the data was edited, coded, and entered into the computer software and formatted to ease data analysis.

### **3.7.2 Editing Data**

Data editing is data cleaning and it involves a process of removing obvious errors in the returned instruments. The common errors that were edited included: omissions and non-responses on the instruments, inconsistencies where answers to questions are not in agreement, non-uniformities in recording of answers where some questions were not properly recorded and answers particularly to open ended questions not very readable.

### **3.7.3 Coding**

Data coding is a process by which responses to a given question or item in returned instruments are categorized and given identification codes. Arabic numerical codes were used. These helped in the entering of data into the computer for further processing and analysis.

#### **3.7.4 Computer feeding**

The researcher used Microsoft excel and Microsoft Word to record the responses and analyze the findings. Complete data was then entered into the computer and analyzed using Statistical package for Social Scientists (SPSS).

#### **3.7.5 Tabulation**

The responses were tabulated in tables following the sub questions and the research tools administered.

### **3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation**

#### **3.8.1 Categorization**

Data was categorized in sub themes according to various questions raised in the research tools developed to collect data.

#### **3.8.2 Frequency distribution**

The various responses were tallied in frequency distribution tables to generate percentages which was used to measure the degree of response to the various aspects in the research tools.

#### **3.8.3 Measurement**

The measures used in this research were respondents' perceptions, views, direction of thought to arrive at the most favored position about the different aspects in the sub questions. Percentages were used to show the degree of cohesion about a given measure.

#### **3.8.4 Data interpretation**

Data analyzed was interpreted basing on the percentages of respondents expressing a given variable and details of personal perceptions about a given variable was explained after every presentation.

### **3.8.5 Data Presentation**

Data collected was processed and presented in frequency tables, bar charts, and bar graphs.

### **3.9 Challenges Met**

Respondents for the survey were randomly selected; therefore, some respondents may decline to participate in the survey. Other respondents may claim that the questionnaire is too long and contains sensitive questions. The researcher had to continuously clarify about the details of the questions during the survey interview yet these are meant to be self-administered.

In case of the Key informant interviews, some respondents did not turn up on the appointed day and hence were re-scheduled in the meeting more than once. Some respondents may express negative feelings that although the topic of discussion (conflict) is important, it is a sensitive issue to discuss. The researcher continuously re-focused the respondents to the importance of the findings to all so as to cause the desired rapport.

### **3.10 Ethical Considerations and Measures**

The researcher received approval from the supervisor and also permission from the community leaders before collection of data commences. The research tools were pretested using a few of the respondents in the first mini project to test the research tools validity and reliability.

The researcher sought for the informed consent of the respondents and the principle of privacy; confidentiality and respect throughout the research process. The researcher was objective in conducting the research process by avoiding bias as much as possible.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the findings of the study based on the research objectives and questions. The purpose of the study was to analyze why the conflicts in the Sudan are not being resolved. The chapter presents the demographic characteristics of the respondents, the findings on how the centralization of power accelerate the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur, how economic and social inequalities intensifies the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur, how the Islamization of the Sudan intensifies the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur, how the Arabization of the Sudan worsens the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

#### **4.1 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents**

The demographic characteristics of the respondents from the survey questionnaires and interview guides are summarized below.

##### **4.1.1 Response Rate**

The research proposed to get responses from 120 respondents but only 100 respondents gave feedback giving an overall response rate of 83.3%. The responses obtained from the different methods are summarized in the table below.

**Table: 6 Response Rate**

<b>Research Method</b>	<b>Expected Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Actual Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage Response</b>
Survey Questionnaire	101	90	89.1
Interview	11	10	90.9
Focus Group Discussion	08	-	0.0
Total	120	100	83.3

Findings in the table above shows that the highest responses came from interviews with a response rate of 90.9%. This is because the researcher resorted to use of telephone and skype interviews as opposed to the proposed face to face interviews. The second effective method used by the researcher was use of survey questionnaires that were sent to the respondents online and field visit using key contact persons in the field, which gave a response of 89.1%. The researcher however, failed to use focus group discussion method due to lack of time and access because of the rainy season and the challenging security logistics to organize the face to face meeting.

#### 4.1.2 Gender of Respondents

The gender of the respondents is summarized in the table below.

**Table 7: Gender of Respondents**

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Male	70	70.0
Female	30	30.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source: Primary data, 2019**

Findings in table 7 showed that 70% of the respondents were males while 30% of the respondents were females. This showed that the majority of the respondents were males. This is a fair representation given that the majority of the respondents were males since they are directly involved in the administration and they are more knowledgeable about why the conflict has remained unresolved in Darfur and Nuba Mountains.

#### 4.1.3 Age Range of Respondents

The age distribution of the respondents is summarized in the table below

**Table 8: (A) Age Range of Respondents**

<b>Age Range</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
20 – 30	10	10.0
31 – 40	40	40.0
41 – 50	40	40.0
51 – 60	5	5.0
61 – Above	5	5.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: primary data, 2019*

The results in table 8 above indicated that 10 % of the respondents were between 20-30 years of age. 40% were between 31-40 years of age, 40 % were between 41-50 years of age and 5 % were between 51-60 years of age and 5% were above 61 years of age. In general all the respondents were adults of over 18 years of age. This means that they were all mature to understand and appreciate the factors that could be responsible for the prolonged conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

The highest number of respondents was in the age ranges of 31- 50 years who were represented by an overall percentage of 80%. This means that the majority of the respondents were mature adults who were expected to understand and appreciate the causes and effects of the prolonged Sudan conflict.

The other age ranges were also well represented. This means that the generational effects of the conflict in the Sudan were well catered for by involving every generation.

#### 4.1.4 Marital Status of Respondents

The Marital status of the respondents is summarized in the table below.

**Table 9: Marital Status**

Marital status	Number of Respondent	Percentage
Single	15	15.0
Married	45	45.0
Cohabiting	05	5.0
Divorced	10	10.0
Widowed	25	25.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: primary data, 2019*

Findings in table 9 showed that 50 % of the respondents were married (i.e. 45% married & 5% cohabiting), while another 50% were not married (i.e. 25% widowed, 15% single and 10% divorced). This means that a big number of respondents were married while a significant number were widowed which could be the direct effect of the conflict on the social relationships of the people in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

#### 4.1.5 Religious Affiliation of Respondents

The religious affiliations of the respondents are summarized in the table below

**Table10: Religious Affiliation**

Religion	Number of Respondents	Percentage
<b>Christian</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>35.0</b>
<b>Muslim</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60.0</b>
<b>Non</b>	<b>05</b>	<b>5.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: primary data, 2019*

Findings in table 10 showed that 60% of the respondents were Muslims, 35% were Christians and 5% identified themselves as neither Muslims nor Christians. This means that majority of the respondents were Muslims which was a true representation in terms of numbers according to the statistics of the religions, therefore the research was religiously balanced and representative of the varies religions in Sudan.

#### 4.1.6 Ethnicity of Respondents

The ethnicity of the respondents is summarized in table below.

Table: 11 Ethnicity of Respondents

<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Nuba	40	40.0
Fur	25	25.5
Zaghawa	15	15.0
Masalit	10	10.0
Bagara	10	10.0
Other	0	00.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: primary data, 2019*

Findings in table 11 showed that 40% of the respondents were Nuba, 25% were Fur, 15% were Zaghawa, 10 % were Masalit and 10% were Bagara. This means that the biggest number of respondents was of the Nuba ethnicity followed by Fur, Zaghawa, Masalit and Bagara in that order. This is representative of the different ethnic groups in the order of their numerical representation, making the research ethnically not biased.

#### 4.1.7 Education Level of Respondents

The education level of the respondents is summarized in the table below

**Table 12: Education Level of Respondents**

Education Level	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Never attended school	06	6.0
Primary Level	24	24.0
Secondary Level	35	35.0
Tertiary / collage level	10	10.0
University Level	25	25.0
Total	100	100

*Source: Primary data, 2019*

Findings in table 12 showed that 35% of the respondents had completed secondary level, 25% of the respondents had bachelor Degree, 24% had completed primary level, 10% were diploma holders, and 6% never attended school. This means that majority of correspondents were qualified with at least secondary level followed by university and college education level. Therefore majority of the respondents were qualified to understand why these conflicts were happening and what alternative approaches could be brought in to resolve the prolonged conflicts in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

#### 4.1.8 Occupations of Respondents

The occupations of the respondents are summarized below.

Table: 13 Occupations of Respondents

<b>Roles / Responsibility</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Government employee	10	10.0
Farmer	35	35.0
Business person	05	05.0
Not employed / job seeker	25	25.0
NGO work	05	5.0
Church	05	5.0
Civil society leader	15	15.0
Others	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: Primary data, 2019*

Findings in table 13 showed that 35% of respondents were farmers, followed by 25% of not employed or job seekers, 15% civil society leaders, 10% government employees, 5% NGOs workers and 5% church leaders. This means majority of respondents were farmers who had enough experience of the effects of the conflict over land and grazing areas which accelerate the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur. It also means that all respondents were holding positions of responsibilities that enabled them to understand the cause and effect of the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur and could influence change.

#### 4.1.9 Responsibilities of the Respondents in the community or Government

The responsibilities of the respondents are summarized in table below.

Table: 14 Responsibilities of the Respondents in the community or Government

<b>Roles / Responsibilities</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Chief	50	50.0
Women Association	25	25.0
IDPs / Refugees leader	15	15.0
Youth Leader	10	10.0
Other	00	00
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: Primary data, 2019*

The findings in table 14 showed that 50% of the respondents were chiefs, 25% were women association leaders, 15% were IDPs and refugee leaders and 10% were youth leaders. This means that all respondents were people in positions of responsibilities, they understood the cause and effect of the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur. They are also directly responsible for engaging the different stakeholders to resolve the major issues in the conflicts.

#### 4.1.10 Length of service in responsibility

The length of service in responsibility is summarized in table below.

Table: 15 length of service in responsibility

<b>Service period</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Less than one year	02	02.0
1-2 years	10	10.0
3- 4 years	18	18.0
5-6 years	30	30.0
Above 6 years	40	40.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: Primary data, 2019*

The findings in table 15 showed that, 40% of the respondents had served in their responsibilities for over 6 years, 30% had served for 5-6 years, 18% had served for 3-4 years, 10% had served for 1-2 years and only 2% had served for less than one year. This means that the majority (88%) had served for than 3 years. This means that the majority of the respondents had sufficient experience and knowledge of the cause and the effect of the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur. Therefore their suggestions and recommendations would be very helpful in bringing lasting solution to the unending conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

#### 4.1.11 Understanding of the meaning of conflict

The respondents understanding of what conflict means is summarized in the table below.

Table 16 understanding of the meaning of conflict

<b>Responds</b>	<b>Number Respondents</b>	<b>of Percentage</b>
Violence	35	35.0
Quarrelling	12	12.0
Disobedience	08	08.0
Fighting	30	30.0
Misunderstanding	15	15.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: Primary data, 2019*

The findings in table 16 showed that, 35% of the respondents understand conflict to mean violence, 30% understand conflict to mean fighting, 15% understand conflict to mean misunderstanding, 12% understand conflict to mean quarrelling, and 8% understand conflict to mean disobedience. This means that all the respondents understood what conflict is because conflict in a general term means violence, quarrelling, disobedience, fighting and misunderstanding.

#### 4.2 How Centralization of Power Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

The analysis of the responses on how centralization of the power lead to conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur are summarized in the table below.

Table: 17 Analysis of How centralization of power lead to conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

	<b>How centralization of power (power sharing) lead to conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.</b>	<b>SCALE</b>				
		<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>
1	There is power sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	0%	0%	5%	20%	75%
2	There is no equitable power sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	60%	30%	0%	10%	0%
3	The central Sudan government controls everything (Oil, gold, forest, water)	65%	25%	20%	0%	0%
4	The people in Darfur and Nuba Mountains have been excluded from the centre of decision making for developmental activities since independence.	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%
5	When allocating ministerial posts at the centre the people in Darfur and Nuba Mountains are discriminated against.	25%	70%	05%	0%	0%
6	The key positions at the local levels for commissioners, police, military and judiciary are from other regions	30%	60%	10%	0%	05
7	There is imbalance in allocating government employment	30%	65%	05%	0%	0%
8	The elite groups in government are from different regions	05%	10%	0%	70%	15%
9	There is decentralization of power from the center to the regions	0%	0%	05%	70%	15%
10	There is democracy when choosing leaders based on free and fair elections	0%	0%	05%	70%	25%
11	Patronage and inclination to ruling government is paramount.	20%	20%	20%	25%	15%
12	There is freedom of expression and media without the control of the government.	05%	05%	5%	25%	60%
13	Civil society organizations, humanitarian agencies are not restricted when doing their work in the communities.	0%	05%	0%	80%	15
14	Human rights are strictly observed by the government its agencies.	0%	0%	0%	20%	80%
15	There are no restrictions to international agencies and missions.	0%	0%	0%	15%	85%
16	There is rule of law and justice at every level of governance.	0%	0%	20%	10%	70%
17	There is good governance at different levels.	0%	0%	0%	25%	75%
18	Since independence our presidents have come to power through military coups	80%	15%	05%	0%	0%

19	Government systems are controlled by security agencies.	75%	25%	0%	0%	0%
20	There is abuse of power and authority in government institutions.	10%	90%	0%	0%	0%
21	There is transparency and accountability among government agencies.	0%	0%	0%	10%	90%
22	The government honors the agreements it makes with the different warring groups	0%	0%	0%	15%	85%
23	Gender balance is observed in wealth sharing.	0%	20%	0%	70%	10%

*Source: Primary data, 2019*

### **Analysis of How centralization of power lead to conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.**

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Respondent Item</b>	<b>percentage</b>
1	Disagreed that there was power sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur;	95%
2	Agreed that there was no equitable power sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur;	90%
3	Agreed that the central Sudan government controls everything (Oil, gold, forest, water)	90%
4	Agreed that the people in Darfur and Nuba Mountains have been excluded from the center of decision making for developmental activities since independence.	100%
5	Agreed that when allocating ministerial posts at the Centre the people in Darfur and Nuba Mountains are discriminated against.	95%
6	Agreed that the key positions at the local levels for commissioners, police, military and judiciary are from other regions.	95%
7	Agreed that there is imbalance in allocating government employment.	95%
8	Disagreed that the elite groups in government are from different regions.	85%
9	Disagreed that there is decentralization of power from the center to the regions.	85%
10	Disagreed that there is democracy when choosing leaders based on free and fair elections.	95%
11	That Patronage and inclination to ruling government is paramount.	40% Agreed and 45% Disagreed
12	Disagreed that there is freedom of expression and media without the control of the government.	85%
13	Disagreed that civil society organizations, humanitarian agencies are not restricted when doing their work in the communities.	85%
14	Disagreed that Human rights are strictly observed by the government its agencies.	100%
15	Disagreed that there are no restrictions to international agencies and missions.	90%
16	Respondents disagreed that there is rule of law and justice at every	80%

	level of governance.	
17	Disagreed that there is good governance at different levels.	90%
18	Agreed that since independence our presidents have come to power through military coups.	95%
19	Agreed that Government systems are controlled by security agencies.	100%
20	Agreed that there is abuse of power and authority in government institutions.	100%
21	Disagreed that there is transparency and accountability among government agencies.	90%
22	Disagreed that the government honors the agreements it makes with the different warring groups.	100%
23	Disagreed that Gender balance is observed in wealth sharing.	80%

This means that there is no equitable power sharing (statement 1&2), supported by over 90%. According to findings from interviews, respondents said that power is centralized to a few individuals in the military and the ruling elites in Khartoum. This is also in conformity in statement 3; which affirms that the central Sudan government controls everything (Oil, gold, forest, water). Which is confirmed in statement 4; that the people of Nuba Mountains and Darfur have been excluded from the center of decision making for developmental activities since independence.

There is also discrimination against the people of Nuba Mountains and Darfur in that when allocating ministerial posts at the Centre the people in Darfur and Nuba Mountains are left out. This is reflected by the fact that the key positions at the local levels for commissioners, police, military and judiciary are taken up by people from other regions. This is supported by statement 7; which affirms that there is imbalance in allocating government employment.

There are no free and fair elections, findings from interviews affirmed that Sudan presidents since independence have been coming to power through military coups, which is affirmed by statement 10; where all respondents agreed that there is no democracy when choosing leaders in a free and fair election.

There is patronage and inclination to the ruling government in all decision making and government agencies in that they are all set and used and machinery to serve the interest of those in the government and not to ensure service delivery in the interest of the citizens as a result most of the government institutions, infrastructure and systems are non-operational.

As a result health services, electricity, road network, information communication and technology (ICT) services are non-existent in most part of the region. The operational systems are to serve the interests of the central government and the elite groups.

There is no freedom of expression and media as expressed by 80% of the respondents. This means that the people lack the freedom to express themselves with a very high handed control of the media by the government. Most atrocities committed by the elites and the central government go unnoticed by the international community. This is supported in statement 13; where 90% of the respondents said civil society organizations, humanitarian agencies are restricted when doing their in the communities. This is also affirmed in statement 14; where 100% of the respondents said Human Rights are not strictly observed by the government and its agencies. This is also true according to statement 15; where 100% of the respondents said there are restrictions to internal agencies and missions.

There is no rule of law and justice at all level of governance where 80% of the respondents affirmed to it in statement 16; and 17; in 100% of the respondents said there are no good governance at all levels. This also true according to statement 19 in which 100% of the respondents said the government systems are controlled by the security agencies and statement 20; where all respondents said there is abuse of power and authority in government institutions.

There is also lack of transparency and the accountability among government agencies in which all respondents affirmed to in statement 21; these also reflected in statement 22; where all respondents affirmed that the government dose not the agreements it makes with the different waring groups. Hence the unending conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

#### 4.2.1 Centralization of power as a cause of conflict in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions

The researcher sought to generate qualitative data in this study by asking the key informants questions on topical issues and the data was analyzed using thematic analysis. The researcher wanted to know the respondents views about the causes of the persistent conflict in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions, the role of centralization of power in causing and sustaining the conflict, the effects of it and the alternative type of governance they wish to have in their country and regions.

Centralization of power by a government is one form of governance where all both the political and administrative power and authority is vested in the central government. The anti- centralization crusaders like Archibong Belinda, (2015) argue that centralized governments promote corruption, clientelism, and political alienation and can only be cured by decentralization of power from the central to the regional and local authorities.

In order to know the causes of the unresolved conflicts in Sudan and the role centralization of power has played in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions conflict, the researcher interviewed one of the opinion leaders who said that:

There are deep rooted and unresolved conflicts in Sudan. All governments that have existed in Sudan since independence have practiced bad governance; they practice the politics of centralization of power and the citizens especially the indigenous black people have been discriminated and left out in as far as development is concerned. It is a planned political game aimed at entrenching Islamization and Arabization of the entire Sudan. All political power has been centralized in Khartoum. With the vast nature of Sudan we expected our government to pursue the root of decentralization or federalism. We the indigenous people living in the Nuba Mountains keep wondering and asking, who will liberate us from this bad governance? If nobody will hear us, we shall continue fighting for our freedom no matter what. (Saeed Komi pseudo name, personal communication, September, 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019).

Another respondent also expressed that:

Most governments in the world have shunned centralization and embraced decentralization of power. We hear of Uganda, Kenya, Ghana and many others become model countries and neighbors pursuing their own development through democratization process. We see the Khartoum government bent on centralization of power. As citizens coming from the Darfur region, there is gross misuse of power and authority by the Khartoum government and we have been alienated for decades. We shall not back off until either power sharing or cession of Darfur region takes place in Sudan. (Sultan Khamis pseudo name, personal communication, September, 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019).

#### 4.2.2 The process of election and appointment of leaders in the Sudan government

Upon being asked to comment on the process of election and appointment of leaders in Sudan, one

Of the key informants presented his opinions that:

Sudan has never conducted free and fair elections since it attained its independence from Britain, Sudan presidents have always come in to power through military coups. There is vote rigging and vote staffing when electing local and national leaders. The process of electing leaders in our country is not in tandem with the principles of democracy. (Waleed Ali pseudo name, personal communication, September, 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019).

Another respondent reported that:

When it come to appointment of officers in to high and senior positions in government, the people of the Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions are discriminated upon. This has persisted for quite a long time. We shall continue speaking up until something is done in favor of the people in Darfur and Nuba Mountains... ( Mohammed Abdul-kareem pseudo name, personal communication, September , 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019).

From the above data provided by the respondents, the researcher notes that centralization of power by the Sudan government is well known type of governance by citizens and they are aware of its effect on them. They feel it is an act of bad governance in their country. This has affected the relationship between government and the citizens and it is one of the reasons why citizens in the Darfur and Nuba Mountains are resisting the central government in Khartoum. There is need for talks, negotiation and arbitration between the people living in Darfur and Nuba mountains and government if lasting peace and sustainable development is to be enjoyed by the people in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions. Institutionalizing decentralized governance (devolution of power) would be the other alternative.

#### 4.3 How Economic and Social Inequalities Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

The analysis of the responses on how economic and social inequalities lead to conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur are summarized in the table below.

Table18: Analysis of How Economic and Social Inequalities Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

#	Reasons of how economic and social inequalities intensify conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	SCALE				
		SA	A	N	D	SD
1	There are economic and social inequalities in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%
2	There is no equitable wealth sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	85%	15%	0%	0%	0%
3	Natural resources (Oil, gold, forest, water) are centralized for use by the Sudan government	90%	10%	0%	0%	0%
4	Collected Revenues (Customs & Taxies) are centralized and used by the Sudan government	75%	25%	0%	0%	0%
5	Revenues from natural resources and taxes are used for the economic development of this region	0%	0%	0%	25%	75%
6	People have access to land for economic production	0%	0%	15%	65%	20%
7	The level of corruption is promoting economic inequality	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%
8	The Struggle for grazing land is escalating the conflict in this region	25%	65%	10%	0%	0%
9	Scarcity of water resources escalates the conflict in this region	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%
10	Inequality in the distribution of government jobs (public service) escalates conflicts in this region	20%	70%	10%	0%	0%
11	Government jobs are distributed basing on race, religion, and ethnicity and this escalates conflicts in the region	10%	75%	15%	0%	0%
12	The basic infrastructure (roads, communication network, marketing, and banking sector) are lacking which promote conflict in this region	70%	30%	0%	0%	0%
13	Lack of education and training for the people causes economic poverty which escalates the conflict	15%	85%	0%	0%	0%
14	Lack of production and agricultural incentives and inputs hinder economic production hence escalate the conflict in the region	20%	80%	0%	0%	0%
15	There is land grabbing where government is replacing the indigenous people with nomads, which escalates conflict	85%	15%	0%	0%	0%
16	There is discrimination in the land law on ownership of the land	90%	10%	0%	0%	0%

**Source: Primary Data, 2019**

**Analysis of How Economic and Social Inequalities Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.**

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Respondent Item</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>1</b>	Agreed that there are economic and social inequalities in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.	<b>100%</b>
<b>2</b>	Agreed that there is no equitable wealth sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.	<b>100%</b>
<b>3</b>	Agreed that Natural resources (Oil, gold, forest, water) are centralized for use by the Sudan government.	<b>100%</b>
<b>4</b>	Agreed that Collected Revenues (Customs & Taxies) are centralized and used by the Sudan government.	<b>100%</b>
<b>5</b>	Disagreed that Revenues from natural resources and taxes are used for the economic development of these regions.	<b>100%</b>
<b>6</b>	Disagreed that People have access to land for economic production.	<b>85%</b>
<b>7</b>	Agreed that the level of corruption is promoting economic inequality.	<b>100%</b>
<b>8</b>	Agreed that the Struggle for grazing land is contributing to the conflict in these regions.	<b>90%</b>
<b>9</b>	Agreed that Scarcity of water resources contribute to the conflict in these regions.	<b>90%</b>
<b>10</b>	Agreed that inequality in the distribution of government jobs (public service) increased the conflicts in these regions.	<b>90%</b>
<b>11</b>	Agreed that Government jobs are distributed basing on race, religion, and ethnicity and this escalates conflicts in the region.	<b>85%</b>
<b>12</b>	Agreed that The basic infrastructure (roads, communication network, marketing, and banking sector) are lacking which lead to conflicts in these regions.	<b>100%</b>
<b>13</b>	Agreed that Lack of education and training for the people causes economic poverty which increased the conflict.	<b>100%</b>
<b>14</b>	Agreed that lack of production and agricultural incentives and inputs hinder economic production hence leading to the conflict in these regions.	<b>100%</b>
<b>15</b>	Agreed that there is land grabbing where government is replacing the indigenous people with nomads, which escalates conflict in these regions.	<b>100%</b>
<b>16</b>	Agreed that there is discrimination in the land law on ownership of the land which contributes to increase of conflict in these regions.	<b>100%</b>

This means there are economic and social inequalities in Nuba Mountains and Darfur as supported by all respondents in statement 1; and statement 2; where all respondents there is no equitable wealth sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur and statement 3; where all respondents affirmed that natural resources (Oil, Gold, Forest & water) are controlled and used by the central government.

According to statement 4; all respondents agreed that collected revenues (customs & Taxes) are centralized and used by the central government which is supported by statement 5; where all respondents affirmed that revenues from natural resources and Taxes are not used for the economic development of the region. This is made worse according to statement 6; in which 85% said people have no access to land for economic production which makes their economic and social status complicated hence intensifying the cause and effect of the conflict in the region.

The level corruption is also very high and is responsible in promoting economic inequality as supported by respondents in statement 7.

There is struggle for natural resources in that 90% of the respondents in statement 8; agreed that there is struggle for grazing land, there is scarcity of water resources which are all escalating the cause and effect of the conflict in the region according to statement 8; & 9.

There is also inequality in the distribution of the government jobs in which 90 % of the respondents affirmed to in statement 10. This is also supported by 85% of the respondents who confirmed that the government jobs are distributed based on race, religion ethnicity which are all escalating the conflict in the region.

The basic infrastructure for development (roads, communication network, marketing and banking) are lacking as supported by all respondents that it promotes the conflict in the region.

There is lack of education and training for the people which causes economic poverty as supported by all respondents in statement 13; and 14; where all respondents agreed that there is lack of production and agricultural inputs which hinder economic production in the region.

There is land grabbing where the government is replacing the indigenous people with nomads who are armed by government to act as militia groups as suggested by all respondents in statement 15; and oral interviews. This is made worse by the discriminatory land ownership laws which all respondents affirmed to in statement 16. Hence the escalating war in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

#### 4.4 How Islamization (Fusion of Religion and State) of the Sudan Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

The analysis of the responses on how Islamization (Fusion of Religion and State) of the Sudan lead to conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur are summarized in the table below.

Table 19: Analysis of How Islamization (Fusion of Religion and State) of the Sudan Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

#	Reasons of how Islamization (fusion of religion and state) intensifies conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	SCALE				
		SA	A	N	D	SD
1	There are religious differences in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	10%	40%	5%	35%	10%
2	All religions are equally respected by the government in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	0%	0%	15%	65%	20%
3	Islam is a national religion to be respected by all.	15%	15%	10%	40%	20%
4	Islamic faith is part of the government system and appointment is based on ones' faith.	0%	0%	10%	60%	30%
5	Government uses the sharia law in its administration of justice and power irrespective of citizens religious and belief diversity.	75%	25%	0%	0%	0%
6	The education system is religious biased.	10%	90%	0%	0%	0%
7	There is religious intolerance among the different religious sects.	20%	10%	0%	65%	5%
8	A number of people and religious leaders are discriminated and mistreated because of their religious beliefs.	10%	65%	25%	0%	0%
9	Islamic faith organizations are given prominence over Christian organizations	5%	70%	25%	0%	0%
10	There is out right declaration of holy war against certain ethnic groups in Nuba Mountains and South Sudan.	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%
11	Government jobs are distributed basing on religion and this escalates conflicts in the region	20%	55%	25%	0%	0%
12	The joining (mixing) of the state and religion is the main cause conflicts in the Sudan.	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%
13	There is fundamentalism using Islam as a system of government.	15%	60%	15%	0%	0%
14	Political parties have ideologies based on Islam and structure their programs based on the Sharia law.	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%
15	There are conflicts among the Muslim sects and different sects own different political parties that compete for political parties.	10%	70%	20%	0%	0%
16	Islamic policies are obstacles to the peace process in the Sudan.	80%	15%	5%	0%	0%

Source: Primary Data, 2019

**Analysis of How Islamization (Fusion of Religion and State) of the Sudan Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.**

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Respondent Item</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>1</b>	50% Agreed that there are religious differences in Nuba Mountains and Darfur and 45% disagreed.	<b>50% agreed and 45 % disagreed</b>
<b>2</b>	Disagreed that all religions are equally respected by the government in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.	<b>85%</b>
<b>3</b>	Disagreed that Islam is a national religion to be respected by all.	<b>60%</b>
<b>4</b>	Disagreed that Islamic faith is part of the government system and appointment is based on ones' faith.	<b>90%</b>
<b>5</b>	Agreed that Government uses the sharia law in its administration of justice and power irrespective of citizens religious and belief diversity.	<b>100%</b>
<b>6</b>	Agreed that the education system is religious biased	<b>100%</b>
<b>7</b>	Disagreed that there is religious intolerance among the different religious sects.	<b>70%</b>
<b>8</b>	Agreed that a number of people and religious leaders are discriminated and mistreated because of their religious beliefs.	<b>75%</b>
<b>9</b>	Agreed that Islamic faith organizations are given prominence over Christian organizations.	<b>75%</b>
<b>10</b>	Agreed that there is out right declaration of holy war against certain ethnic groups in Nuba Mountains and South Sudan.	<b>100%</b>
<b>11</b>	Agreed that Government jobs are distributed basing on religion which contribute to the conflicts in these regions.	<b>75%</b>
<b>12</b>	Agreed that the joining (mixing) of the state and religion is the main cause conflicts in the Sudan.	<b>100%</b>
<b>13</b>	Agreed that there is fundamentalism using Islam as a system of government.	<b>75%</b>
<b>14</b>	Agreed that Political parties have ideologies based on Islam and	<b>100%</b>

	structured their programs based on the Sharia law.	
<b>15</b>	Agreed that there are conflicts among the Muslim sects and different sects own different political parties that compete for political parties.	<b>80%</b>
<b>16</b>	Agreed that there are conflicts among the Muslim sects and different sects own different political parties that compete for political parties.	<b>95%</b>

This means that religious differences are not clearly differentiated in that 50% of the respondents agreed that there are religious differences in Nuba Mountains and Darfur meanwhile 45% disagreed in statement 1. However in statement 2; 85% of the respondents said that all religions are not equally respected by the government which is supported in statement 3 where 95% of the respondents affirmed that Islam is the National religion which supposed to be respected by all. According to statement 5; all respondents agreed that government uses the Sharia law in its administration of justice and power irrespective of citizens religious and belief diversity.

The education system is religiously biased as supported by all respondents in statement 6, this was affirmed during interviews that the education systems follows Arabic and I salami ideology.

According to statement 8; a number of people and religious leaders are discriminated and mistreated because of their religious belief as supported by 75% of the respondents in statement 8. Also Islamic faith organizations are given prominence over Christian organizations as supported by 75% of the respondents in statement 9.

All respondents in statement 10; affirmed that there is outright declaration of holy war against certain groups in Nuba Mountains and South Sudan.

In statement 11; government jobs are distributed based on religion as supported by 75% of the respondents.

All respondents in statement 12; confirmed that the joining (mixing of the state and religion) is the main cause of conflict in the Sudan which is supported by 75% of the respondents in statement 13; that there is fundamentalism using Islam as a system of the government and

all respondents in statement 14; who agreed that political parties have ideologies based on Islam and structure their programs based on the sharia law.

Surprisingly 80% of the respondents agreed that there are conflicts among the sects and other sects who owned different political parties that compete for power.

Also 95% of the respondents agreed that Islamic polices are obstacles to the peace process in the Sudan. Hence the escalation of the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

#### 4.5 How Arabization (Adoption of Arabic Culture and Language) of the Sudan Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

The analysis of the responses on how Arabization (Adoption of Arabic Culture and Language) of the Sudan lead to conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur are summarized in the table below.

Table 20: Analysis of how the Arabization (adoption of Arabic culture and language) of the Sudan Lead to the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

#	<b>Reasons of how Arabization (adoption of Arabic culture and language) of the Sudan is responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur</b>	<b>SCALE</b>				
		<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>
1	There are identity, culture and language differences in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	20%	80%	0%	0%	0%
2	All cultures and languages are equally respected by the government in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	0%	0%	0%	10%	90%
3	The national language is Arabic and is respected by all.	0%	0%	0%	80%	20%
4	The Arabic language unites all the people irrespective of their ethnicity and language.	05%	60%	0%	30%	05%
5	The Arabization of the Sudan is responsible for the civil wars in Sudan.	85%	15%	0%	0%	0%
6	All Sudanese happily identify themselves as Arabs.	0%	0%	0%	80%	20%
7	The Arabic nationals identify Sudanese nationals as Arabs and therefore allow them to hold Arabic citizenship rights.	10%	10%	10%	60%	10%
8	There are superiority difference between indigenous	10	90	0%	0%	0%

	Sudanese and indigenous Arabs	%	%			
9	The Arabization process greatly affected the Sudanese people.	15 %	85 %	0%	0%	0%
10	The Arabization of Sudan affected all the Sudanese cultures and beliefs	10 %	80 %	20 %	0%	0%
11	The Arabization of the Sudan introduced new traditions and beliefs that grossly contradicted the indigenous Sudanese way of life.	20 %	80 %	0%	0%	0%
12	The Islamization and the Arabization of Sudan caused loss of Sudanese identity.	90 %	10 %	0%	0%	0%
13	The true Arabs are the majority in Sudan therefore deserve the power and influence they have.	0%	0%	0%	5%	95%
14	The Arabs have their cradle land in Sudan and are indigenous people in the Sudan and therefore deserve the influence they have.	0%	0%	0%	15 %	85%
15	The Arabic influence is patriotic and whatever they do is in the interest of all Sudanese nationals.	0%	0%	15 %	75 %	10%
16	The Arabization policy was a unifying policy in Sudan.	0%	0%	0%	20 %	80%
17	All cultures are respected and given equal recognition at the national level and fora.	0%	0%	0%	35 %	65%
18	All Sudanese ethnic groups can represent Sudan in the Arab league.	0%	0%	0%	10 %	90%

**Source: Primary Data, 2019**

**Analysis of how the Arabization (adoption of Arabic culture and language) of the Sudan Lead to the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.**

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Respondent Item</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>1</b>	Agreed that there are identity, culture and language differences in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.	<b>100%</b>
<b>2</b>	Disagreed that all cultures and languages are equally respected by the government in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.	<b>100%</b>
<b>3</b>	Disagreed that the national language is Arabic and is respected by all.	<b>100%</b>
<b>4</b>	Agreed The Arabic language unites all the people irrespective of their ethnicity and language. Meanwhile of the respondents 35% disagreed	<b>65%</b>
<b>5</b>	Agreed that The Arabization of the Sudan is responsible for the civil wars in Sudan.	<b>100%</b>
<b>6</b>	Disagreed that all Sudanese happily identify themselves as Arabs.	<b>100%</b>
<b>7</b>	Disagreed that the Arabic nationals identify Sudanese nationals as Arabs and therefore allow them to hold Arabic citizenship	<b>70%</b>

	rights.	
<b>8</b>	Agreed that there are superiority difference between indigenous Africans and indigenous Arabs.	<b>100%</b>
<b>9</b>	Agreed that the Arabization process greatly affected the unity Sudanese people.	<b>100%</b>
<b>10</b>	Agreed that The Arabization of Sudan affected all the Sudanese cultures and beliefs.	<b>90%</b>
<b>11</b>	Agreed that the Arabization of the Sudan introduced new traditions and beliefs that grossly contradicted the indigenous Sudanese way of life	<b>100%</b>
<b>12</b>	Agreed that the Islamization and the Arabization of Sudan caused loss of Sudanese identity.	<b>100%</b>
<b>13</b>	Disagreed that the true Arabs are the majority in Sudan therefore deserve the power and influence they have.	<b>100%</b>
<b>14</b>	Disagreed that the Arabs have their cradle land in Sudan and are indigenous people in the Sudan and therefore deserve the influence they have.	<b>100%</b>
<b>15</b>	Disagreed that the Arabic influence is patriotic and whatever they do is in the interest of all Sudanese nationals.	<b>85%</b>
<b>16</b>	Disagreed that the Arabization policy was a unifying policy in Sudan.	<b>80%</b>
<b>17</b>	Disagreed that All cultures are respected and given equal recognition at the national level and fora.	<b>100%</b>
<b>18</b>	Disagreed that all Sudanese ethnic groups can represent Sudan in the Arab league.	<b>100%</b>

This means that there are identity, culture and language differences in Nuba Mountains and Darfur (supported by all respondents) whoever all respondents disagreed that all cultures and languages are equally respected by the government, which is also supported by all respondents in statement 3; who disagreed that the national language is Arabic and is respected by all. 65% agreed that the Arabic languages units all the irrespective of their ethnicity and language. This is also true according to statement 6; in which all respondents disagreed that all Sudanese happily identify themselves as Arabs, which is further supported by 70% who disagreed that Arabic nationals identified Sudanese Nationals as Arabs and therefore allow them to hold Arabic citizenship rights. In further discussion during interviews respondents said that their identity got mixed up when they were forced to become Arabs when in reality they are pure Africans which is further explained in statement 8,9, and 10 where all respondents agreed that there are superiority differences Sudanese and indigenous Arabs. In statement 10; 80% of the respondents affirmed this fact that the

Arabization process affected the Sudanese people by affecting their culture and believes which is further affirmed in statement 11; where all respondents agreed that the Arabization of the Sudan introduced new tradition and believes that grossly contradicted the the indigenous Sudanese way of life and culture.

The Islamization and Arabization of the Sudan caused loss of Sudanese identity according to all respondents in statement 12.

All respondents also disagreed that true Arabs are the majority in Sudan and therefore they dot deserve the power and influence they have.

Furthermore all respondents in statement 14; affirmed Arabs don't have their cradle in Sudan and are not indigenous people in the Sudan and therefore don't deserve the influence they have.

85% of the respondents affirmed that Arabic influence is not patriotic and whatever they do is not in the interest of all Sudanese nationals which is also in statement 16; where all respondents affirmed that the Arabization policy was not a unifying policy in the Sudan, which is also affirmed by all respondents that all cultures are not respected and given recognition at the national level and fora. All respondents disagreed in a statement 18 that all Sudanese ethnic groups can represent Sudan in the Arab league which makes the Arabization process and policy highly discriminative hence escalating the conflicts in the Sudan.

### **How religion/ Islam and Arabization of Sudan have contributed to the civil wars and conflicts in Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions**

The researcher wanted to know how religion/ Islam and Arabization have played a role in the Darfur and Nuba mountains conflicts. It is important to find out their role because there is a common talk in Sudan of how governments in Sudan have used Islam and Arabization as weapons to suppress the indigenous Sudanese people. Also because of the increasing effect of the war, it was imperative to find out the key causes the un-endless war in Sudan.

Respondents were asked to comment on the role of religion in this matter. One of the respondents said that:

The present conflict in Sudan is a resistance to the model of the Arabization and Islamization of the public institutions in the country. This political tendency does not represent diversity of Sudan, instead it represent the rejection of others. Arabization and Islamization rejects diversity in the nation building. And the successive governments in control of power are Muslims and identify themselves as an Arabs and for this reason they follow the pattern of Arabization and Islamization of public institutions as means to establish national identity. Intertwined Arabization and Islamization model neglects the empirical composition of Sudan's racial and cultural diversity and favors cultural identity of Islam and Arab to the exclusion of the culture and customs of Christians and African Muslims.

There are serious religious differences in Nuba Mountains and Darfur. Islam has influence our political economy to the extent that political appointments and freedoms such as worship and expression are implemented in favor of the Muslim community. Those who are not Muslims are discriminated upon and government condones it. Islam purports to be a national religion yet it is not.

Sharia (Islamic law) is a form of law that dismantles the principle of equal status to all citizens in Sudan. Under it, the Sudanese non-Muslims become second-class citizens. You can imagine the government in Khartoum uses the sharia law in the enforcement of justice.... this has deepened conflicts in Sudan and this conflicts are largely based on religious grounds. (Kalo Yousif pseudo name, personal communication, September, 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019).

The researcher also preferred to find out the influence of Islam on the social wellbeing of the people of Sudan, Respondents were asked to give their opinion on such influence. One of them said that:

Our social system is religious biased. Islam dominates the way we live and socialize but we are not all Muslims. In Sudan, state power and Islam as a religion are bound together. This is one of the main causes of conflicts in the Sudan. The indigenous people of Sudan want freedom of worship and equal representation in politics regardless of their religious backgrounds and beliefs. If this does not happen, conflicts will continue escalating in the

war torn regions of Nuba Mountains and Darfur. (Malachi James, Pseudo name, personal communication, September , 25<sup>th</sup> , 2019).

Another respondent who stated his disappointment with the Khartoum government expressed his opinion on the matter of Arabization and Islamization of Sudan. He expressed himself that:

Language, culture, religion and race have been used by Sudan Arab governments to constitute the central government with political agenda to project Sudan to the outside world as Arab nation with one language (Arabic), one religion (Islam), one culture (Arab – Muslim culture) and most importantly one race (Arab) ,meanwhile Sudan is the most diverts country in Africa, it's a nation of two races,( Africans and Arabs). And race is the factor in Sudan's conflict.

The Islamization and the Arabization of Sudan has greatly caused loss of Sudanese identity. Sudan has over 500 different tribes and all these tribes have been compelled to identify themselves in the Arab and as Muslim culture... many lives have been lost and what has continued to happen in Darfur and Nuba mountains is a regrettable thing in the eyes of all humanity. There is need for dialogue and bring permanent peace in these affected regions. Life needs to be saved at all cost. Joseph Kunda Pseudo name, personal communication, September, 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019).

From the data presented above, there is evidence to show that Arabization and Islamization of the country system is one of the major contributing factors of the civil wars in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions and that these two phenomenon have influenced the politics and governance issues in Sudan. The people living in Darfur and Nuba mountains are determined to fight for their rights and freedoms and are open to dialogue with the government in Khartoum.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0. Introduction**

This chapter presents the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations generated from the findings of the study.

#### **5.1 Summary of findings**

The following summaries are drawn from the findings in chapter four and in line with the objectives of the study. There is a lot of awareness among the people in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions about the prolonged conflict; the manifestation of the conflict, the causes and the effects are clearly known.

There are deep rooted and unresolved conflicts in Sudan. All governments that have existed in Sudan since independence have practiced centralized system of governance.

The power sharing in Sudan is not based on the different ethnic or religious lines but the Muslims dominate the political and administrative organs of government. Islamization and Arabization of Sudan is on course and they are the leading causes of the prolonged conflict in Sudan . The other causes are economic and social inequalities and centralization of power. Power and wealth is more accessible to the Muslim and Arab community than to other people of Sudan. The people living in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions are open to dialogue with the Khartoum government and are determined to cultivate peace.

#### **5.2 Conclusions**

##### **5.2.1. How Centralization of Power Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur**

There are governance issues in the Sudan government; centralization of power is well known type of governance in Sudan. The citizens are aware of its effect on them and they feel it is an act of bad governance. This has affected the government- citizens relationship and it is one of the causes of conflicts in the Darfur and Nuba Mountains.

There is no equitable power sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur as supported by 90% of the respondent. The power is centralized to a few individuals in the military and the ruling elites in Khartoum. The central Sudan government controls all the wealth (Oil, gold, forest, water). The people of Nuba Mountains and Darfur have been excluded from the center of decision making for development since independence.

There is imbalance in allocating government employment. There is discrimination against the people of Nuba Mountains and Darfur when it comes to political and administrative appointments.

There are also democratic issues in Sudan, the respondent's opinions are that Sudan does not conduct free and fair elections. This is revealed by the fact that since independence, Sudan presidents have come to power through military coup.

There is patronage and inclination to the ruling government in all decision making by government agencies in that they are all set and used as machinery to serve the interest of those in the government and not service delivery to the citizens.

The challenge of centralization of power observed in the Sudan government is in line with the argument of Archibong Belinda, (2015). He argues that centralized governments promote corruption, clienteles, and political alienation and can only be cured by decentralization of power from the central to the regional and local authorities.

From the findings of this study as well as Archibong Belinda, (2015) argument, it is likely that to have peace in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur, decentralized governance would be the ideal solution

Coming from the perspective of centralization of power, Ross (2004); Thies (2010) also emphasis that good governance is helpful in mitigating the link between poverty and conflict and that equal distribution of resources plays a key role in shaping countries' economic and structural vulnerability to conflict.

It is further explained that equitable social welfare spending, particularly on education and healthcare, and stable aid inflow reduces the risk of war, economic instability and excessive

military spending (De Ree & Nillesen 2009; Nielsen et al. 2011; Savun & Tirone 2011; Taydas & Peksen 2012. This needs to be noted by all the parties involved in the Darfur and Nuba Mountains conflicts so as to come up with permanent solutions to restore peace in the said regions.

#### 5.2.2 How Economic and Social Inequalities Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

There are economic and social inequalities in Sudan; the citizens in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur feel that there is no equitable wealth sharing. There is imbalance in the allocation of the collected revenues; some citizens have no access to land for economic production. There is land grabbing from the indigenous people to nomads who are armed.

There is a challenge in accessing agricultural inputs. Acts of corruption in government are high and it is one of the perpetrators of economic inequality.

There is struggle for natural resources as expressed by 90% of the respondents. There is struggle for grazing land, water sources, poor infrastructural development (roads, training centers, communication network, marketing and banking), All these are escalating the conflicts in the regions where this research was conducted.

These actions noted as escalating conflicts in the regions are in tandem with the findings of other researchers like Østby (2008); Stewart (2009) who state that Poverty that follows systematic patterns lead to ‘horizontal inequalities’ that occur when members of ethnic, religious, or other identity groups have unequal access to public services, opportunities and resources. They further discuss that group-level inequalities can generate social and economic polarization that increases the risk of violent conflict. They further state that These inequalities alone do not start wars but Political grievances and conflict proneness are most likely to lead to violence from terrorism to civil war.

#### 5.2.3 How Islamization (Fusion of Religion and State) of the Sudan Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

Islam is a Sudan national religion and supposed to be respected and adopted by all. Other religions are not equally respected by the government as supported by 85% of the respondents. The Sudan government has enforced the Sharia law in its administrative and

power structures, justice system. This has had a remarkable influence on the education system (Arabic and Islamic ideology is followed.), and other social way of life.

Non Muslims are highly discriminated against there is outright declaration of Jihad (holy war) against both Muslim and Christian groups who don't subscribe to the Islamic ideology at the centre. In Darfur and Nuba Mountains there is a systematic war targeting indigenous Muslims and non-Muslims which was responsible for the ethnic cleansing and genocide of 2003.

Government's political and administrative jobs are distributed based on religion and race as supported by 75% of the respondents in statement 11.

The merging of state power and Islam are one of the main causes of conflict in Sudan.

Islamic polices/ laws are obstacles to the peace process in the Sudan. Islamic laws such as sharia do not support the needed unity in diversity in Sudan. This has escalated the level of conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

Seeking for unity and peace in Sudan while emphasizing Islamic religion is far from reality according to Dossier (2009). He says that Islam has been maligned today as a religion of war, not peace and compassion.

According to Dr, Jaffar Shek Idris (2019) the aim of the Islamic movement is to bring up a new a society that is wholeheartedly committed to the teaching of Islam in their government, politics, educational system, moral values and other aspects of their way of life. He says this organized and gradually process is the process of Islamization.

This makes the researcher conclude that Islamic religion (political Islam) has played a big role in the conflict escalation in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions. Emphasis need to be put on unity in diversity so as to avoid occurrence of genocide in Sudan.

#### 5.2.4 How Arabization (adoption of Arabic culture and language) Lead to the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

The influence of the Arabization process (adoption of Arabic culture and language) on the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur is recognized and felt by the people of Sudan. And the post independence governments of Sudan are in the center of it.

There are identity, culture and language differences in Nuba Mountains and Darfur as supported by all respondents. All respondents noted that all cultures and languages are not equally respected by the government. Some indigenous Sudanese people feel that their identity got mixed up when they were forced to adopt the Arabic language and identity inspite of the fact that Sudanese are pure Africans.

The responses given make the researcher to conclude that the Arabization process has affected the culture and beliefs of the Sudanese people. The Arabization of the Sudan introduced new tradition and beliefs that contradict with the indigenous Sudanese way of life and culture.

This conclusion that the researcher has reached is in line with the presentation of Elabbas Bemamoun (2007), he argued that, issues of language and identity conflicts arise when more than one language competes to be of influence, be it cultural, political, educational or economic in place of a native or national language...The adoption of any language or cultural identity as official or standard take place by suppressing other languages and give the chosen one political legitimacy and prestige.

This means that the politics and the individuals in authority will either promote or kill a language of their choice by legislating a policy that entrenches the preferred language and culture at the expense of others. This causes conflicts among people, nations, and tribes, ethnicities as a way of trying to defend and protect their identity.

It should be noted that the above named causes of conflict in Sudan were also discussed in the United Nations report (2004) in reference to Afghanistan and Nancy Annan (2014) referring to wars in west Africa.

However, issues of Islamization and Arabization as one of the causes of conflict in a country or regions of a country seem to be peculiar and unique to Sudan. Thus they need to be given

special considerations in relation to their effect on a country that has more than 300 ethnic tribes and cultures.

### **5.3. Recommendations:**

#### **How to mitigate the effects of centralization of power on the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.**

- There is need for talks, negotiation and arbitration between the people living in Darfur and Nuba mountains and government if lasting peace and sustainable development is to be enjoyed. Institutionalizing decentralized governance (devolution of power) would be the other alternative.
- There should be equitable power sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur. The power should not be centralized to a few individuals in the military and the ruling elites in Khartoum. The people of Nuba Mountains and Darfur should be included in the decision making process.
- The institution of national equal opportunity should be instituted to deal with discrimination against the people of Nuba Mountains and Darfur during the allocation of ministerial posts in Khartoum.
- There should be free and fair elections through which the people can choose their leaders to eliminate military coups.
- The social service delivery systems should be improved to provide health services, education, electricity, road network, information communication and technology (ICT) services for everyone and not limit themselves to serve the interests of the central government and the elite groups.
- Freedom of expression and media should be guaranteed to enable the people to express themselves without the government controlling the media.
- The government and the elite groups should be held accountable for all the atrocities committed by bringing them to the notice of the international community. The Civil society organizations, journalists, humanitarian agencies should be given freedom to access restricted regions when doing their work in these communities.
- The Human Rights should be observed and respected by the government and its agencies and the international community should hold the abusers accountable.

- There should be rule of law and justice at all level of governance. The government systems should be free from the control of the security agencies who severely abuse the power and authority of government institutions.
- There should be transparency and accountability among government agencies.
- The government should honor the agreements it made with the different waring groups in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

**How to mitigate the effects of economic and social inequalities on the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.**

- Equitable sharing of wealth and resources should be promoted in Nuba Mountains and Darfur. The natural resources (oil, gold, forest & water) should be decentralized and not controlled by those in power in Khartoum. The revenues generated from these natural resources should be used for the economic development of the regions. There should be equality in the distribution of available government jobs. The available government jobs should be distributed equally not according to race, religion, and ethnicity.
- The authorities should fight corruption in order to improve the state of economic and social services.
- The People should have the freedom to access land for economic production which makes them economically and socially prosper.
- The basic infrastructure for development (roads, communication network, marketing and banking) should be provided.
- Basic education and training should be provided to equip the people with necessary skills.
- There should be provision of production and agricultural inputs to allow economic production and development in the region.
- Land grabbing by the government should be stopped and the replacement of the indigenous people with nomads who are armed to act as militia groups should be challenged. The grabbed land must be returned back to the indigenous with fair compensation. The tribal armed militias must be disarmed by the government. The discriminatory land ownership laws must be repealed and changed for the interests of the people in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

**The Islamization (fusion of religion and state) of the Sudan is responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur because;**

- There should be separation of religion and state and all religions should be equally recognized and respected by the government.
- The government should not impose the Sharia law in its administrative structures, justice systems and power structures but appreciate citizens' religious and belief diversity. The political parties in power should avoid political ideologies that are biased towards Islam and structured programs on the sharia law. The Islamic polices should not be biased instead they should remove the obstacles to the peace process in the Sudan, which have been a big challenge to the unity of the people as a nation with diverse cultural beliefs.
- The education system should be made unilaterally and religiously unbiased and not inclined towards the Islamic ideologies. The education system should not be discriminative against non-Muslims.
- Islamic faith organizations should not be given prominence over Christian organizations.
- The Jihad (holy war) and ethnic cleansing against Muslims and Christians who don't subscribe to the Islamic ideology in Khartoum should be dismantled. There should be no more systematic war targeting indigenous Muslims and non-Muslims which was responsible for the ethnic cleansing and genocide of 2003.
- Fundamentalism using Islam as a system of government should be dismantled.

**The Arabization (adoption of Arabic identity) of the Sudan is responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur because;**

- The Islamization and Arabization of the Sudan that introduced new traditions and beliefs that grossly contradicted the indigenous Sudanese way of life and culture, which caused loss of Sudanese identity should be disbanded.
- All cultures and languages should be equally recognized and respected by the government.
- Arabic language should not be the only language for the country system. There should be deliberate efforts to introduce English and other languages which the people can comfortably use besides the Arabic language.
- Sudanese identity should be respected and not mixed up or forced to adopt the Arabic language and identity which was not a reality given that Sudanese are pure Africans. Since most

Sudanese cannot happily identify themselves as Arabs. There should be no superiority and inferiority complexes between the indigenous Sudanese and indigenous Arabs.

- Arabic colonizers and enslavers of the indigenous Sudanese people should be disbanded since true Arabs are not the majority in Sudan and therefore they don't deserve the power and influence they have.

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## APPENDIXES

### Appendix A: Survey Questionnaire

My name is **Muhager Hamid/ Kukuandi**. I am a student of Uganda Christian University, Mukono studying a Master's degree in Organizational Leadership and Management (MAOL). I am conducting a research study entitled "Analysis of the Sudan conflict" A case study of Darfur and Nuba Mountains.

I humbly request you to answer the following questions as honestly as you can. My assurance to you is that all the information provided will be kept strictly confidential and will only be used for the purpose of this research. I am very grateful for the time you will spare to answer these questions. God bless you abundantly!

#### **SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF RESPONDENT**

**Please tick the box that is most applicable for each Question:**

1. What is your Gender?

a) Male ☐                      b)Female ☐

2. What is your age group category (Years).

a) 20 - 30 ☐  
b) 31 - 40 ☐  
c) 41 - 50 ☐  
d) 51 - 60 ☐  
e) 61 - Above ☐

3. What is your Marital status?

a) Single ☐  
b) Married ☐  
c) Cohabiting ☐  
d) Divorced ☐  
e) Widowed ☐

4. What is your religion?

- a) Christian
- b) Muslim
- c) Non

5. What is your ethnic group?

- a) Nuba
- b) Fur
- c) Zaghawa
- d) Masaleet
- e) Bagara
- f) Any other (Specify)

6. What is your Highest completed Level of education?

- a) Never attended School
- b) Primary Level
- c) Secondary Level
- d) Tertiary/ College Level
- e) University

7. What is your main Occupation?

- a) Government employee
- b) Farmer
- c) Business person
- d) Not employed (Job Seeker)
- e) NGO work
- f) Church
- g) Civil Society Leader
- h) Any other (specify) -----

8. Please specify your role / responsibility in the community or Government

- a) Chief
- b) Women association leader
- c) IDPs leader
- d) Youth Leader
- e) Any other

9. How long have you served in this role / responsibility (refer to question F)?

- 1) less than 1 year
- 2) 1-2 years
- 3) 3-4 years
- 4) 5-6 years
- 5) Above 6 years

10. When you hear of the word conflict, what comes to your mind (tick most applicable)?

1	Violence	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Quarrelling	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Disobedience	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Fighting	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Misunderstandings	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Are there any unresolved conflict(s) in your region?

Yes ☐ No ☐

12. If the answer in the above is **Yes**, what in your opinion makes conflicts remain unresolved for a long time in your community?

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13. If the answer above is **No**, what do you think enabled the conflict(s) get resolved?

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**SECTION B: To Assess how the centralization of power cause the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.**

Use SA (Strongly Agree), A (Agree), N (Neutral), D (Disagree) and SD (Strongly Disagree) to assess the strength of the statements below to analyze how centralization of power accelerates conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions of the Sudan.

	<b>Reasons of how centralization of power (power sharing) cause the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur</b>	<b>SCALE</b>				
		<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>
1	There is power sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur					
2	There is no equitable power sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur					
3	The central Sudan government controls everything (Oil, gold, forest, and water)					
4	The people in Darfur and Nuba Mountains have been excluded from the center of decision making for developmental activities since independence.					
5	When allocating ministerial posts at the center the people in Darfur and Nuba Mountains are discriminated against.					
6	The key positions at the local levels for commissioners, police, military and judiciary are from other regions					
7	There is imbalance in allocating government employment					
8	The elite groups in government are from different regions					
9	There is decentralization of power from the Centre to the regions					
10	There is democracy when choosing leaders based on free and fair elections					
11	Patronage and inclination to ruling government is paramount.					
12	There is freedom of expression and media without the					

	control of the government.					
13	Civil society organizations, humanitarian agencies are not restricted when doing their work in the communities.					
14	Human rights are strictly observed by the government its agencies.					
15	There are no restrictions to international agencies and missions.					
16	There is rule of law and justice at every level of governance.					
17	There is good governance at different levels.					
18	Since independence our presidents have come to power through military coups					
19	Government systems are controlled by security agencies.					
20	There is abuse of power and authority in government institutions.					
21	There is transparency and accountability among government agencies.					
22	The government honors the agreements it makes with the different warring groups					
23	Gender balance is observed in wealth sharing.					

How is the centralization of power (power sharing) contributing to the conflicts in Nuba Mountains and Darfur?

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What should be done to regulate the abuse of power by the leaders in Sudan?

**SECTION C: To evaluate how economic and social inequalities lead to conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.**

Use SA (Strongly Agree), A (Agree), N (Neutral), D (Disagree) and SD (Strongly Disagree) to rate how the statements below that evaluate how economic and social inequalities lead to conflict in Nuba and Darfur regions of the Sudan.

#	Reasons of how economic and social inequalities lead to the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	SCALE				
		SA	A	N	D	SD
1	There are economic and social inequalities in Nuba Mountains and Darfur					
2	There is no equitable wealth sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur					
3	Natural resources (Oil, gold, forest, water) are centralized for use by the Sudan government					
4	Collected Revenues (Customs & Taxes) are centralized and used by the Sudan government					
5	Revenues from natural resources and taxes are used for the economic development of this region					
6	People have access to land for economic production					
7	The level of corruption is promoting economic inequality					
8	The Struggle for grazing land is escalating the conflict in this region					
9	Scarcity of water resources escalates the conflict in this region					
10	Inequality in the distribution of government jobs (public service) escalates conflicts in this region					
11	Government jobs are distributed basing on race, religion, and ethnicity and this escalates conflicts in the region					
12	The basic infrastructure (roads, communication network, marketing, and banking sector) are lacking which promote					

	conflict in this region					
13	Lack of education and training for the people causes economic poverty which escalates the conflict					
14	Lack of production and agricultural incentives and inputs hinder economic production hence escalate the conflict in the region					
15	There is land grabbing where government is replacing the indigenous people with nomads, which escalates conflict					
16	There is discrimination in the land law on ownership of the land					

How have economic and social inequalities lead to the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur?

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What should be done to remove economic and social inequalities in Nuba Mountains and Darfur in Sudan?

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**SECTION D: To find out how the Islamization (fusion of religion and state) of the Sudan intensifies the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.**

Use SA (Strongly Agree), A (Agree), N (Neutral), D (Disagree) and SD (Strongly Disagree) to rate how the statements below explain how the Islamization (fusion of religion and state) of the Sudan responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

#	Reasons of how Islamization (fusion of religion and state) responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	SCALE				
		SA	A	N	D	SD
1	There are religious differences in Nuba Mountains and Darfur					
2	All religions are equally respected by the government in Nuba Mountains and Darfur					
3	Islam is a national religion to be respected by all.					
4	Islamic faith is part of the government system and appointment is based on ones' faith.					
5	Government uses the sharia law in its administration of justice and power irrespective of citizens religious and belief diversity.					
6	The education system is religious biased.					
7	There is religious intolerance among the different religious sects.					
8	A number of people and religious leaders are discriminated and mistreated because of their religious beliefs.					
9	Islamic faith organizations are given prominence over Christian organizations					
10	There is out right declaration of holy war against certain ethnic groups in Nuba Mountains and South Sudan.					

11	Government jobs are distributed basing on religion and this escalates conflicts in the region					
12	The joining (mixing) of the state and religion is the main cause conflicts in the Sudan.					
13	There is fundamentalism using Islam as a system of government.					
14	Political parties have ideologies based on Islam and structure their programs based on the Sharia law.					
15	There are conflicts among the Muslim sects and different sects own different political parties that compete for political parties.					
16	Islamic policies are obstacles to the peace process in the Sudan.					

How are religious differences contributing to the civil wars and conflicts in Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions?

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What should be done to resolve the religious differences and conflicts in Sudan?

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**SECTION E: To assess how the Arabization (adoption of Arabic culture and language) of the Sudan are responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.**

Use SA (Strongly Agree), A (Agree), N (Neutral), D (Disagree) and SD (Strongly Disagree) to rate how the statements below explain how the Arabization (adoption of Arabic culture and language) of the Sudan are responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

#	Reasons of how Arabization (adoption of Arabic culture and language) of the Sudan is responsible for the conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	SCALE				
		SA	A	N	D	SD
1	There are identity, culture and language differences in Nuba Mountains and Darfur					
2	All cultures and languages are equally respected by the government in Nuba Mountains and Darfur					
3	The national language is Arabic and is respected by all.					
4	The Arabic language unites all the people irrespective of their ethnicity and language.					
5	The Arabization of the Sudan is responsible for the civil wars in Sudan.					
6	All Sudanese happily identify themselves as Arabs.					
7	The Arabic nationals identify Sudanese nationals as Arabs and therefore allow them to hold Arabic citizenship rights.					
8	There are superiority difference between indigenous Sudanese and indigenous Arabs					
9	The Arabization process greatly affected the Sudanese people.					
10	The Arabization of Sudan affected all the Sudanese cultures and beliefs					
11	The Arabization of the Sudan introduced new traditions and beliefs that grossly contradicted the indigenous Sudanese way of life.					

12	The Islamization and the Arabization of Sudan caused loss of Sudanese identity.					
13	The true Arabs are the majority in Sudan therefore deserve the power and influence they have.					
14	The Arabs have their cradle land in Sudan and are indigenous people in the Sudan and therefore deserve the influence they have.					
15	The Arabic influence is patriotic and whatever they do is in the interest of all Sudanese nationals.					
16	The Arabization policy was a unifying policy in Sudan.					
17	All cultures are respected and given equal recognition at the national level and fora.					
18	All Sudanese ethnic groups can represent Sudan in the Arab league.					

How is the adoption of Arabic identity, culture and language in the Sudan responsible for the civil wars and conflicts in Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions?

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What should be done to resolve the conflicts caused by the adoption of Arabic identity, culture and language in the Sudan?

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## **Appendix B: Key Informant Interview guide**

1. What is conflict and are there unresolved conflicts in your community?
2. What are the likely causes of the major conflicts in your community?
3. How has centralization of power caused conflict in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions?
4. What are the people's opinions about power sharing in Sudan? Comment of the appointment of Commissioners, Police, Military and Judiciary
5. What is your opinion on the process of electing your political leaders in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur?
6. How have the Economic and Social Inequalities Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.
7. How has religion contributed to the civil wars and conflicts in Nuba Mountains and Darfur regions?
8. How has Arabization been responsible for the civil wars in Sudan?
9. What lasting solutions do you give that government needs to adopt so as to solve the conflict and war that has raged Sudan for decades?

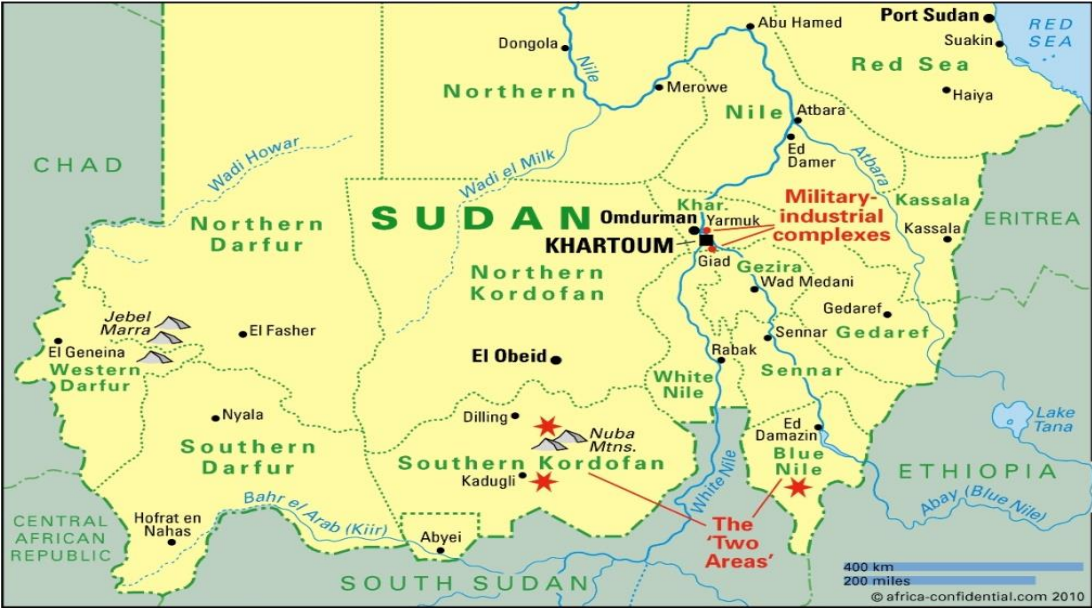
***Thank you for your cooperation***

**END**

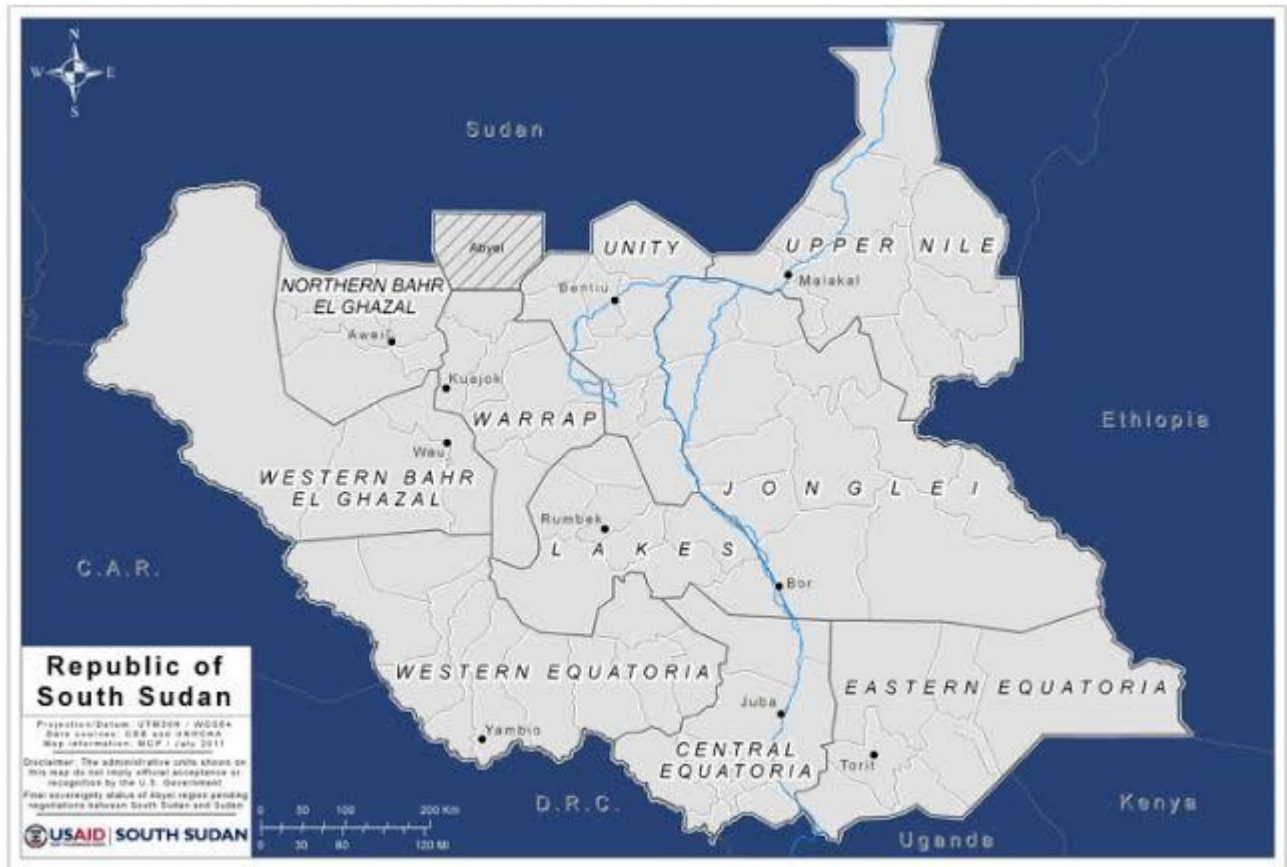
## Map of Sudan before separation of Sudan



Appendix C: Map of Sudan After separation of South Sudan



## Appendix D: Map of Republic of South Sudan



The secession of South Sudan from the current Sudan in the internationally surprised referendum in January 2011 was a paradigm resulting from Sharia law, National identity crises, social, economic and political imbalance in the former Sudan.