

**UNRESOLVED CONFLICTS IN SUDAN: A CASE STUDY OF THE DARFUR
AND NUBA MOUNTAINS**

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN PARTIAL
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Abstract.

This dissertation investigates the persistent conflicts in Sudan with a focus on the regions of Darfur and the Nuba mountains to understand why these conflicts have not been resolved despite various efforts. The study outlines the historical, political, and socio-economic factors contributing to the conflicts as well as the roles of local, regional, and international actors.

A qualitative research methodology was used which included document analysis, and interviews with key informants, and humanitarians. The research is grounded in conflict theory and political factors to provide a comprehensive analysis of the underlying causes and dynamics of the conflicts.


Findings reveal that the unsolved nature of these conflicts is due to a combination of deeply established ethnic divisions, competition over resources, and political marginalization. The central government's policies, characterized by exclusionary governance and militarization have initiated tensions. Additionally, the involvement of regional powers and international actors has often been driven by strategic interests rather than a genuine commitment to peace leading to inconsistent and ineffective interventions.

The study concludes that sustainable resolution requires having many sides to address the root causes of conflict, including inclusive governance, equitable resource distribution, and genuine reconciliation processes. It also highlights the need for coordinated international efforts that prioritize long-term peacebuilding over short-term political gains.

This research contributes to the understanding of the long-time existence of conflicts in Sudan and provides recommendations for achieving lasting peace in Sudan.

Declaration.

I, Musaab Muhager J22B56/019, hereby declare that this dissertation is my own and has never been presented to any institution of higher learning for any award.

Signature.....

Date.....6/09/2024.....

Name: MUSAAB MUHAGER.

Approval.

This dissertation is entitled 'Unresolved conflicts in Sudan' and was prepared by MUSAAB MUHAGER J22B56/019 and is submitted to the faculty of social sciences Uganda Christian University for the award of Bachelor's Degree in Governance and International Relations.

Dr. Arthur Binomugisha

Signature.....



Date.....

09/2024

Dedication.

This dissertation is dedicated to the people who have sacrificed their lives for the peace and development of Sudan.

Acknowledgment.

I am very grateful to Dr. Bainomugisha Arthur my university supervisor for his support and guidance during the dissertation writing.

I am also thankful to all my family members for always supporting my education and for the sacrifices that they made to ensure that I reached such levels of my education.

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CHAPTER ONE.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

1.0 Introduction.

In this chapter, the study shall position and introduce the interesting matter for this research. This the chapter shall cover the background of the study, statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, specific objectives, research questions, scope of the study, justification, significance of the study, and the limitations of the study.

Sudan, the third-largest country in Africa, has been a hotspot for conflict for decades, largely due to its diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural composition. Two of the most significant and prolonged conflicts have occurred in the regions of Darfur and the Nuba Mountains. These conflicts have resulted in immense human suffering, displacement, and loss of life. This dissertation aims to analyze the unresolved nature of these conflicts, exploring their historical roots, key actors, socio-political dynamics, and international response. (Eltigani Seisi M. Ateem, 2015).

Sudan is one of the most culturally and ethnically diverse countries on the African continent with an estimated population of about 40 million by 2016, where 30 percent claim to be of Arab descent 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 the 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).

1.1 Background of the study.

1.1.1 Historical Perspective.

Darfur.

Relief Web, 2005 defines Darfur as the land of the Fur". Historically, it was an Islamic sultanate located in the western Sudan. The Fur were the ruling ethnic group in the Darfur region before 1916. The Fur began to be converted to Islam in the 1300s. In 1596, the Darfur Sultanate was established and Islam was declared the state religion. The Darfur sultanate remained independent through various conflicts in Sudan, including the Anglo-Egyptian conquest of the Sudan in 1898, before finally being subjugated by the British in 1916 and made part of western Sudan. Darfur's long history of independence, and its resistance to various other groups seeking control of all of Sudan, should be taken into consideration to understand the present situation properly.

The conflict in Darfur began in 2003, rooted in historical grievances of marginalization and neglect. Non-Arab rebel groups, such as the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), took up arms against the Sudanese government. The government's response involved supporting Arab militias known as the Janjaweed, leading to severe humanitarian crises characterized by mass killings, rapes, and displacement.

Nuba mountains.

The Nuba Mountains conflict is intertwined with the Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005) and the ongoing insurgency in South Kordofan and Blue Nile states. The region's diverse population, including the Nuba people, has faced systemic discrimination and violence. After South Sudan's independence in 2011, conflicts over border demarcation, resources, and political representation reignited violence in the Nuba Mountains.

Sudan has had various peace efforts to resolve the conflicts across the whole country but due to a lack of trust, commitment, and the double standards by the parties involved, the over 44 peace agreements have not produced lasting peace. The results have been a separation of South Sudan and self-determination to the Nuba mountains and Blue Nile.

The central government of Sudan created and supported the Rapid support forces who are known as the Janjaweed militia to attack the marginalized populations of Darfur and the Nuba mountains. These attacks were described by the United Nations and the international community as war crimes against humanity (Colin Powel 2004.)

The attacks on Darfur attracted regional and international attention leading to the funding of the African Union to support the African Union Mission in Sudan on the other side the United Nations adopted several resolutions to stop attacks on civilians. The resolutions called all the parties involved to continue talks to come up with solutions, however, all the resolutions were not respected and recognized by the central government and the conflicting groups. The United Nations Security Council referred the people responsible for the situation in Darfur to the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court and called on the government of Sudan and all the other parties involved in the conflict to register an improved cooperation with the International Criminal Court. (United Nations Security Council resolution no. 1593.)

The most affected regions by the civil wars are the Nuba Mountains in Southern Kordofan, the Blue Nile, and the 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 to 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, it will lead to more civil wars, bloodshed, people displacement, and further separation of the Sudan. (Eltigani Seisi. M. Ateem, 2007).

1.1.2 Problem statement.

Even though the country is blessed with all the natural resources, it continues to experience continuous conflicts and a high poverty rate that’s due to the unemployment and the inequality that is in the system.

Civil wars in the Sudan have been for decades and range from the time the country attained its independence in 1956 up to date. The central government is characterized by an Islamic-oriented philosophy that keeps on dominating the country’s politics, economics, and political power and

focuses on partial development. The Darfur, Nuba mountains, and the Blue Nile regions have remained underdeveloped. These social and economic inequalities have been the case up to today, whereby poverty, inequality, and injustice because of their cultural identity and religious differences. This explains best why these regions have been experiencing unending conflicts and wars. (Dor Malual Ayom 2017).

The aim to resolve these conflicts has seen over thirty rounds of peace talks which resulted in the signing of over forty peace agreements to address the conflicts but that was all in vain.

1.2 Main purpose and objective of the study.

The purpose of the study is to investigate and understand the unresolved conflicts in Sudan.

1.2.1 Specific Objectives.

To analyze how economic and social inequalities have contributed to conflicts in the Darfur and Nuba mountains of Sudan.

To investigate how the centralization of power contributed to the conflicts in the Darfur and Nuba mountains of Sudan.

To assess how the Islamization and the Arabization are responsible for the conflicts in the Darfur and Nuba mountains regions of Sudan.

1.3 Research questions.

How do the economic and social inequalities contribute to conflicts?

How does the centralization of power contribute to conflicts?

How the Islamization and the Arabization of the state responsible for conflicts?

What are the practical ways of ending these continuous conflicts?

1.4 Significance of the study.

The unresolved issues in Sudan have significant implications for the country, the region, and the international community. This is because the study exposes the underlying economic and social inequality, the centralization of power, and the Arabization and Islamization of the Sudan are responsible for these unresolved conflicts in Sudan.

The study also highlights the terrible humanitarian crisis that the other regions experience. Millions of people have been displaced and there are high levels of food insecurity, malnutrition, and lack of access to basic services. This can be an eye-opener for civil society and other actors to understand and get a clear picture of the core crisis of the conflict in Sudan.

1.5 Justification of the study.

Justifying a study on the unresolved conflicts in the Sudan especially in the Darfur and Nuba mountains regions involves demonstrating its relevance, importance, and potential impacts.

Contribution to knowledge, investigating Sudan's unresolved issues can contribute to the broader understanding of conflict resolution, state-building, and governance in post-conflict societies.

Theoretical insights, the study can offer new insights into theories of political transitions, the role of international intervention, and the impact of economic sanctions on state stability.

1.6 Scope of the study.

1.6.1 Content scope.

This shall cover the persistent factors for the unresolved conflicts in Sudan such as the economic and social inequality, Arabization and Islamization of Sudan, and lack of power-sharing have been the key to the unending conflicts.

1.6.2 Time scope.

The study shall focus on receiving data and materials from the period 2005-2017, that is the time when the last Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed to date by assessing why the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and other peace efforts have not solved Sudanese conflicts up to date.

1.6.3 Geographical scope.

The study focuses on the regions of Darfur and Nuba mountains.

CHAPTER TWO.

LITERATURE REVIEW.

2.0 Introduction.

This chapter provides information from texts and publications on topics related to the research problems. It analyzes the main causes of conflicts and how these conflicts are transformed into religious, social, and economic differences in Sudan in the regions of Darfur and Nuba mountains.

2.1 Causes of conflicts in the world.

Conflicts are forms of disagreement and friction that arise within a group when the beliefs of one group are resisted by the other members of the group. It may involve violence and tension due to differences or disagreements in opinions (Chambers Century Dictionary).

Paul Collier (2006) states that around the world causes of conflicts that is to say economic, social, and political motives trigger and increase the risk of war. He also found out that these wars and conflicts are linked to human, economic, and social well-being which also cause poverty and underdevelopment.

He went ahead to analyze that the other causes of wars and conflicts are cultural differences when two cultures collide, it causes tensions due to the concept of civilization. There are also issues of ethnicity and religious differences which have been key in the continuous conflicts in the Sudan.

Militarily, conflict is an armed struggle or clash between organized groups within a nation or between nations 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 involving weaponry, which this study will justify.

2.2 Perspectives on the Sudan Conflicts.

Governance perspective.

Zinnis and Wilkenfield (1960), believe that the governance policies of authoritarian and democratic competitive states have impacted the frequency of internal conflicts within countries. Authoritarian states tend to have more internal conflicts than democratic states, for instance, western democratic countries with free and fair elections, and free economic enterprises were found to have fewer internal conflicts compared to authoritarian regimes. However, the developing countries that promoted a sense of individual equality and equal citizen participation in the political process of democracy registered fewer internal conflicts. This is key because it helps us understand how the central government of Sudan and its dictatorship policies have been instrumental in causing the conflicts in Sudan.

Religious perspective.

Mark Juergensmeyer 1993, this perspective argues that religious differences are the main reasons for internal conflicts. The advocates of this theory argue that religious beliefs provide followers with a source of identity. This implies that, if religious beliefs and identity are undermined, they become key for internal conflicts and political violence. Those who advocate for religion as a factor responsible for conflict also imply that these conflicts spill to become ethnic and racial conflicts. 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 fights for their religious beliefs and identity.

Economic perspective.

This can also be referred to as the power transition. Lars-Erik 1994, states that this perspective argues that internal conflicts come up when countries are locked in internal power transitions which are characterized by splitting the country to form new states and political revolutions. The proliferation of arms and weapons in developing countries brings about massive killing and repatriation of people. These weapons are usually used by the government and the controlled armed forces, police, militias, and private military forces. This is fundamentally important in the case of where many militia groups operate within a country that fosters violent conflicts. This is one of the factors that justifies the conflicts in the Sudan that have remained unresolved.

2.3 How economic and social inequality fuel conflicts.

The World Bank (2003), states that the poverty levels in Sudan are high as shown by the low economic indicators on poverty levels, income inequalities as well as on human development indicators.

Goodhand (2011), poverty and conflict go hand in hand because poverty makes countries more prone to civil and internal conflicts hence weakening the governance system and the economic performance of the country which increases the chances of conflict occurrences.

In Sudan, it is believed that conflicts have remained unresolved to date because the parties that have been involved in the peace accords have not addressed the main causes of the conflict such as the economic and social inequality that have been persistent in the regions of Darfur and Nuba mountains. Ibrahim et al, 2001, identified dimensions of inequality that existed, and these included; regional inequality (between the north and the south), horizontal inequality (between the urban and the rural areas), and vertical inequality (between income groups).

The central government despite the oil revenues that it receives from the oil, the Sudanese people have remained poor simply because the central government has been using the revenue to sustain military expenditure and the central government in power which made the marginalized regions of Darfur and Nuba mountains have economic and social impacts on the regions. Human Rights Watch Organization.

2.4 How does the centralization of power by the central government fuels conflicts?

Centralization of power refers to a government where power is concentrated in a single authority. Here, only one source is recognized in such a system and thus energy is usually vested within the central authority. (Shaline Wayne, 2013). Power sharing on the other hand is the political arrangement where different or opposing groups all take part in the government together. Collins Dictionary, 2018.

In Sudan for long periods, the regions of Darfur and Nuba mountains have been marginalized. This ensured that the regions were excluded from political power and wealth sharing. This policy has been adopted by the central government of Sudan to ensure that power and other economic activities are concentrated in the center of Sudan leaving out the rest of the regions and hence leading to the concept of unequal power and wealth sharing. (El-tom Abdullai, 2003).

2.5 How does the Islamization and Arabization lead to conflicts?

The Research Institute for European and American Studies report of 2009, states that Islamization is a process that is carried out systematically for a long period.

Islam in many parts of the world today has been described as a religion that has inflicted wars and conflicts. This is because the acts of terrorism by internal groups who go ahead and kill dozens of people have reflected the image of religion in the world. Dossier, 2009. In early ages, some crusades showed Islam and Muslims as having a sword in one hand and the 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 that is also based on situations of conflict between the western and Islamic world. All these as the 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, and political scientists who confuse what is political for religion without understanding the difference between the two for example in the Quran both Judaism and Christianity have been accepted as religions sent by Allah through prophets Ibrahim, Moses and Christ and yet we find violent clashes between Jews, Christians, and Muslims.

Arabization is the conquest and/ or the colonization of Non –Arab areas and the growing Arabic and Islamic cultural influence on Non-Arab populations, causing a language shift by their gradual adoption of the Arabic language and/or their incorporation into the culture, mainly Islamic or Arab identity (Wikipedia, 2019).

According to 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, Jewish, Female, and atheist identities which help us to express our ethnicity, gender, religious beliefs, nationality, etc. which give us our identity. From this, we observe that it is a cruel and total injustice to rob anyone of their identity.

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 are 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.”

CHAPTER THREE.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

3.0 Introduction.

This chapter describes the research methodology that shall be used in this research study. This chapter contains the research design, target population, sampling techniques, sample size determination, sources of data collection methods, research instruments, data quality and control, ethical considerations and analysis of data, and limitations of the study.

3.1 Research design.

The study shall purely adopt a qualitative research methodology approach. Though this approach focuses on the regions of Darfur and Nuba mountains in the Sudan.

3.2 Area of the study.

The research study focuses on the regions of Darfur and Nuba mountains in the Sudan.

3.3 Sources of information.

Data sources include both primary and secondary sources. The study shall use both primary and secondary data sources.

Primary data.

The researcher shall gather qualitative data on the study variables from the field through questionnaires and interviews with the local community and the refugees who have been displaced because of the conflicts to collect their opinions and responses. According to Benedictine University, primary data refers to data that has been generated by the researcher himself, surveys, interviews, and experiments designed especially for understanding and solving the research problem at hand (Benedictine University, 2022.)

Secondary data.

The researcher shall collect secondary data about the variables under study from printed materials such as books, reports, journals, articles, newspapers, and internet sources from reliable sources which will be used to supplement as well as further justify and confirm data gathered from the field. According to Benedictine University, secondary data refers to using existing data generated by large government institutions, and healthcare facilities as part of organizational

record-keeping. The data is then extracted from more varied data files. (Benedictine University, 2022).

3.4 Population and sampling techniques.

Population study.

The population of the study shall include leaders of the Nuba communities such as the Sudan Relief Rehabilitation agency administrators, religious leaders, and other humanitarian actors on the ground.

Sampling techniques.

The study shall adopt stratified and purposive techniques of sampling in selecting the sample.

The study shall employ purposive sampling to select a specific group of people with key information based on their experiences such as the local leaders through interviews as they are expected to have a detailed and comprehensive understanding of the persistent conflicts that have been affecting the regions for decades.

This study analyzed why the Sudan conflict was not ending referring to the Darfur and the Nuba mountains regions. To analyze these unresolved conflicts, the respondents were selected based on the number of years they have lived in IDP camps, and their leadership roles in working with the people affected by conflicts.

3.5 Research tool design.

The study shall use one research tool namely interview guide and Questionnaire survey.

Interview guide design.

The Interview Guide was designed based 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 Civil Society Organizations leaders, Religious leaders, and Sudan Relief Rehabilitation Agency Staff.

Why was the interview guide design used?

It helps in bringing out complicated issues that need clarification.

The respondent has a higher chance of getting more correct answers.

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

Questionnaire survey design.

The questionnaire was designed based 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 three research questions; how does the economic and social inequality lead to the unresolved conflicts in Sudan, how does the Arabization and Islamization of the state fuel conflicts in Sudan and how does the centralization of power by the government lead to conflicts in the Sudan.

It contained close and open-ended questions to cover the various parameters of the study and also captured the opinions of the respondents about what they thought about the conflict in Sudan and what they recommended should be done to end the conflict in Sudan.

Why was the survey questionnaire used?

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.

3.6 Data collection.

Interview guide data collection.

The researcher made sufficient preparation to be able to meet some of the Civil Organization leaders, religious leaders, and Sudan Relief Rehabilitation Agency key staff who were selected and interviewed using the open-ended questions that were asked using the interview guide to collect data.

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 arranged by either physical contact or telephone contact with the respondents.

The researcher made appointments for the one-on-one interviews, conducted the interviews with the respondents, and thereafter 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 some key information was missing.

Questionnaire survey data collection.

The survey questionnaires were administered to selected refugees, internally displaced persons, community leaders, and internally displaced persons 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. The researcher ensured that all questions were 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 database for analysis.

3.7 Quality/error control.

Reliability.

This is the degree to which the research instruments are reliable and consistent after data collection. Through this concept, the researcher will utilize the test and re-test methods to establish the consistency and effectiveness of the instruments.

Validity.

This is the degree to which the researcher measures what it is supposed to measure through the research instruments. To ensure the validity of the instruments, the research shall request some experts who shall look at the relevance, semantics, and clarity of the questions in the instrument given the problem, objectives, research questions, hypotheses, and literature.

3.8 Data Processing and Analysis.

Before data collection.

The researcher shall obtain an introductory letter from Uganda Christian University to the respondents of the relevant authorities regarding the issue of the Unresolved conflicts in Sudan and what are the main factors that have influenced these conflicts.

After data collection.

The collected data will be analyzed and a conclusion will be drawn from within the interview.

3.9 Ethical considerations.

The researcher received approval from the supervisor and also permission from the community leaders before the collection of data commenced. 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 principles 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.

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATIONS, AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS.

4.0 Introduction.

This chapter presents the findings based on the research objectives and questions that this research intends to address.

4.1 Response rate of the respondents.

The research proposed to get 50 respondents but only 30 of them gave feedback giving an overall response rate of 60%. Below are the responses obtained from the interviewing and questionnaire survey as methods of data collection.

Table 1: Response rate.

Research Method	Expected Number of Respondents	Actual Number of Respondents	Percentage Response
Survey Questionnaire	40	23	57.5
Interview	10	7	70
Total	50	30	60

Findings in the table above show that the highest number of responses came from the interview method with 70%. This is because the researcher resorted to the use of telephone and online interviews as opposed to the proposed face-to-face interviews. The second effective method used by the researcher was the use of survey questionnaires that were sent to the respondents online and field visits using key contact persons in the field which gave a 57% response.

Table 2: Age Range of The respondents.

Age Range	Number of Respondents	Percentage
20 – 30	12	40
31 – 40	8	26.7
41 – 50	10	33.3
Total	30	100.0

Source: primary data.

The results in Table 2 above indicated that 40 % of the respondents were between 20-30 years of age. 27% were between 31-40 years of age, and 33 % were between 41-50 years of age. In general, all the respondents were adults over 18 years of age. This means that they were all mature enough to understand and appreciate the factors that could be responsible for the prolonged conflict in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

The highest number of respondents was in the age ranges of 20- 30 years who were represented by an overall percentage of 40%. 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.

Table 3: Gender of Respondents.

Gender	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Male	19	63.3
Female	11	36.7
Total	30	100.0

Source: primary data.

The findings in Table 3 showed that 63.3% of the respondents were males while 36.7% 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.

Table 4: Religious Affiliation of Respondents.

Religion	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Christians	10	33.3
Muslims	18	60
Non	02	6.7
Total	30	100.0

Source: primary data.

Findings in Table 4 showed that 33.3% of the respondents were Christians, 60% were Muslims and 6.7% identified themselves as neither Muslims nor Christians. This means that the 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 various religions in Sudan.

Table 5: Respondents understanding of Conflict.

Responds	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Violence	12	40
Fighting	11	36.7
Misunderstanding	07	23.3
Total	30	100

Source: primary data.

The findings in Table 5 showed that 40% of the respondents understand conflict to mean violence, 36.7% understand conflict to mean fighting, and 23.3% understand conflict to mean misunderstanding. This means that all the respondents understood what conflict is because conflict in general terms means violence, fighting, and misunderstanding.

4.2 How the Social and Economic inequality lead to conflicts in Darfur and Nuba Mountains?

Table 6: Analyzing how the Social and Economic lead to conflicts in Darfur and Nuba Mountains.

#	Reasons 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	30%	70%	0%	0%	0%
2	Collected revenues are centralized, controlled and used by the government of Sudan.	85%	15%	0%	0%	0%
3	Citizens have access to land for commercial and economic production.	0%	0%	0%	80%	20%

4	There is inequality in the distribution of government jobs.	75 %	25 %	0%	0%	0%
5	The level of corruption is promoting economic inequality.	20 %	80 %	0%	0%	0%
6	Lack of education facilities leads to conflicts.	35 %	65 %	0%	0%	0%
7	Government jobs are given based on race and religion.	80 %	20 %	0%	0%	0%
8	The scarcity of water resources and other basic needs escalates the conflict in this region.	80 %	20 %	0%	0%	0%

Source: primary data.

Table:7 Analysis of How Economic and Social Inequalities Lead to Conflict in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

Statement	Respondent Item	Percentage
1	Agreed that there are economic and social inequalities in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur.	100%
2	Agreed that the collected revenues are centralized, controlled and used by the government of Sudan.	100%
3	Disagreed that Citizens have access to land for commercial and economic production.	100%
4	Agreed that there is inequality in the distribution of government jobs	100%
5	Agreed that the level of corruption is promoting economic inequality	100%
6	Agreed that lack of educational facilities leads to conflicts.	85%
7	Agreed that Government jobs are given based on race and religion	100%
8	Agreed that scarcity of water facilities in the regions and other basic needs escalates conflicts.	90%

Source: primary data.

This means there are economic and social inequalities in Nuba Mountains and Darfur bas supported by all respondents in statement 1; and statement 2; where all respondents also agreed that the collected revenues have been centralized controlled and used by the government and statement; where all respondents affirmed that they don't have access to land for commercial and economic production.

According to statement 4; all respondents agreed that there is inequality in the distribution of government jobs. In statement 5; where all respondents affirmed that the level of corruption is promoting economic inequality. 6; in which 85% said people that the lack of educational facilities leads to conflicts.

The government jobs are given basing race and religion as supported by the respondents in statement 7. In statement 8, 90% of the respondents affirmed that scarcity of water facilities in the regions and other basic needs escalates conflicts.

4.3 How do the Arabization and Islamization escalate conflicts in the Darfur and Nuba mountain regions?

Table 8: Analysis of how Arabization and Islamization escalate conflicts in the Darfur and Nuba mountains.

#	Reasons 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 between the 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 one's faith.	0%	0%	10%	60%	30%
5	The 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	There are identity, culture, and language differences in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur.	20%	80%	0%	0%	0%
7	All cultures and languages are equally respected by the government in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.	0%	0%	0%	10%	90%
8	The national language is Arabic and is respected by all	0%	%	%	80%	20%
9	The Arabic language unites all the people irrespective of their ethnicity and language.	05%	60%	0%	30%	05%
10	The Arabization of the Sudan is responsible for the civil wars in Sudan	85%	15%	0%	0%	0%

Source: primary data.

Table 9: analysis of how Arabization and Islamization lead to conflicts in Darfur and Nuba Mountains.

Statement	Respondent Item	Percentage
1	50% Agreed that there are religious differences between the Nuba Mountains and Darfur and 45% disagreed.	50% agreed and 45% disagreed
2	Disagreed that all religions are equally respected by the government in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.	85%
3	Disagree that Islam is a national religion to be respected by all.	60%
4	Disagreed that Islamic faith is part of the government system and appointment is based on one's faith.	90%
5	Agreed that the Government uses the Sharia law in its administration of justice and power irrespective of citizens' religious and belief diversity.	100%
6	Agreed that there are identity, culture, and language differences in Nuba Mountains and Darfur	100%
7	Disagreed that all cultures and languages are equally respected by the government in Nuba Mountains and Darfur.	100%
8	Disagreed that the national language is Arabic and is respected by all.	100%
9	Agreed The Arabic language unites all people irrespective of their	65%

	ethnicity and language. Meanwhile of the respondents, 35% disagreed.	
10	Agreed that The Arabization of the Sudan is responsible for the civil wars in Sudan.	100%

Source: primary data.

This means that religious differences are not 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 the government uses the Sharia law in its administration of justice and power irrespective of citizens' religious and belief diversity.

This means that there are identity, culture, and language differences in Nuba Mountains and Darfur (supported by all respondents) 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 language units all the irrespective of their ethnicity and language.

4.4 How did the centralization of power lead to conflicts in Darfur and Nuba Mountains?

Table 10: Analysis of how the centralization of power led to conflicts in Darfur and Nuba Mountains.

	How centralization of power (power sharing) led to conflict in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur.	SCALE				
		SA	A	N	D	SD
1	There is power sharing in the 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 center of decision-making for developmental activities since independence.	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%

5	When allocating ministerial posts at the center 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 an imbalance in allocating government employment	30%	65%	05%	0%	0%
8	Human rights are strictly observed by the government and its agencies	0%	0%	0%	2 0%	80%
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	There is transparency and accountability among government agencies	%	%	%	10%	90%
12	There is freedom of expression and media without the control of the government.	05%	05%	5%	25%	60%

Source: primary data.

Table 11: Analysis of how centralization of power leads to conflict in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

Statement	Respondent Item	percentage
1	Disagreed that there was power sharing in Nuba Mountains and Darfur;	100%
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 an imbalance in allocating government employment.	95%
8	Disagreed that human rights are not strictly observed by the government and its agencies.	100%
9	Disagreed that there is decentralization of power from the center to the regions.	85%
10	Disagreed that there is no democracy when choosing leaders based on free and fair elections.	95%
11	Disagreed that there no is transparency and accountability among government agencies	100%
12	Disagreed that there is no freedom of expression and media without the control of the government.	85%

Source: primary data.

This means there are economic and social inequalities in Nuba Mountains and Darfur bas 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; 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.

According to statement 10, most of the respondents agreed that there is no democracy when choosing leaders based on free and fair elections and that was the case for the 2011 national elections that saw most parts of the marginalized groups of Darfur and Nuba mountains without any selected representatives which really questioned the integrity of the electoral process and hence it led to the outbreak of the war in 2011.

CHAPTER FIVE.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

5.0 Introduction.

In this chapter the conclusion of the research study shall be drawn basing on findings of the research that were objectives oriented as per the study as well as research questions and recommendations where necessary according to the research findings. Also in case of any limitations of the study and areas of further studies might be included.

5.1 Summary of findings.

Summaries of this research are drawn from the findings in chapter four. Conflicts in Sudan has had a prolonged causes and effects among the people of Darfur and Nuba mountains due to the deep rooted contexts that define the Sudan conflict. All the governments that have existed in Sudan had a centralized system of governance.

The Muslims dominated political and administrative organs of the government. Islamization became a major factor to the conflict because the whole system was linked to the Muslims who discriminated other religions in most of the decision making and representation.

Power and wealth sharing is more accessible to the Arabs and the Muslim community than other people of Sudan especially the marginalized groups of Darfur and Nuba mountains.

5.2 Conclusions.

There is an issue of bad governance in Sudan. This is due to the fact that the type of governance used is centralization which has affected its marginalized groups of the country which affected the relationships between the government and the marginalized groups and hence fueling conflicts.

There are imbalances in allocating government jobs and employment. This is seen in the administrative and political departments while carrying out appointments and distribution.

There is no equitable power sharing in Sudan. The army and military rule in Sudan are in the center of this. The central Sudan controls most of the wealth which excludes the marginalized groups.

There are also democratic issues in Sudan. Most of the respondent's opinions were that Sudan does not conduct free and fair elections and this is evidenced that since independence the country, the presidents have had to come to power through military coups.

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 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.

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.

There is 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 in spite of the fact that Sudanese are pure Africans.

5.3 Recommendations.

What are the possible ways to end the conflicts?

- ✓ The central government should be held accountable for all these prolonged conflicts and this is because they have been in the center of those conflicts and the international community, civil society groups and other actors should all take note in order to witness any long lasting peace in the country.
- ✓ There should be free and fair elections through which everyone has a right to participate and choose the leaders they want.

- ✓ Human rights should be observed and respected. This was and is still going on in the Darfur regions where human dignity is devalued through killings and destructions and not forgetting the inhumane acts of rape.
- ✓ There should be transparency and accountability within government agencies.
- ✓ Equitable resource sharing should be promoted among every region in the Sudan. This means the aspect of centralization of resources should be abandoned.
- ✓ The authorities should fight corruption in order to improve the economic and social services of the state.
- ✓ Provision of basic infrastructure for development should be provided regardless of the regions, ethnicity and religious affiliations.
- ✓ There should be separation of religion from the state and both should be recognized and respected by the government.
- ✓ The education system should be made unilaterally and religiously unbiased and not containing Islamic ideologies. The education system should be non-discriminative against the non-Muslims.

5.4 Limitations of the study.

Resource limitations, the study was restricted to the financial factor whereby moving to these regions to gather information was a big limitation.

Time factor, the time allocated to gather information and come up with this dissertation was very limited.

Security limitations, this was a major limitation to this study and this is because of the violence that is across the regions of the study.

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