Darfur Peace Poll

Report and results of work carried out to undertake a public opinion poll in support of a peace process in Darfur, Sudan

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Introduction

Following up on my successful work in Northern Ireland I met Carolyn McAskie, the United Nations Assistant Secretary-General for Peacebuilding, in New York in March 2007 to explore the prospects of using public opinion polls to help resolve conflicts in other parts of the world. That meeting led to my being invited to Humanitarian Dialogue in Geneva, which in turn led to an invitation to the Oslo Form 2007 and subsequently my program of work in support of the Sri Lanka peace process. Significantly, at the meeting in New York Carolyn McAskie thought it would be very difficult to apply the methods used in Northern Ireland in places like Africa so when I got an invitation to go to Khartoum to see if I could develop a peace poll questionnaire for use in Darfur I was very pleased to take up the offer.

By the time I got to Khartoum in July 2009 my work in Sri Lanka was well under way, I had completed a project with colleagues in Kashmir and as my first 'peace poll' had been carried out in the Canadian Arctic I was very pleased to find my self working with nomads again. Following several trips to Sudan that year including Darfur, as well as meetings with other stakeholders in Washington, Philadelphia, New York and London (State Department, World Bank, US Institute of Peace, UN and rebel spokespersons in Europe) a questionnaire was developed for pre-testing in November 2009.

The project was being carried out under the direction of Professor Monroe Price of the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania in partnership with colleagues of his at Albany Associates and I was brought in as a consultant. As it turned out the development of the questionnaire went very well and with minor adjustments following the pilot everyone was ready to collect the full sample. Through the good offices of UNAMD (African Union/United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur) and their DDDC program (Darfur-Darfur Dialogue and Communication) the results of their work were incorporated into the questionnaire along with all the suggestions from IDPs, nomads, tribal leaders, rebels, local and national government officials etc. etc.

Unfortunately the project then ran foul of the National Intelligence and Security Service of Sudan (NISS). Although I had had a Sudanese Ambassador assigned to work with me on the project from the President's advisor on Darfur Ghazi Salaheddine there was nothing that they could do to help bring the work to a successful conclusion. So in a sense Carolyn McAskie was right, I could not undertake and complete a peace poll in Africa. But this was not because the people there did not understand or could not carry out the interviews in accordance with the requirements of a representative sample. The problem (and this I should stress is not unique to Sudan) was an intractable bureaucracy.

Given all the hard work that has gone into this project and as a year has now been wasted in trying to complete it I have decided to go ahead and analyses the data that I have. All data, I was taught by my PhD supervisor, the eminent methodologist Donald Campbell, is valuable and the data collected in Darfur is no exception to this rule. Indeed, as the following analysis will show, the concerns of the NISS are often misguided and the UN, AU and people of Darfur could learn much from a completed program of research that would hopefully lead to the largest UN humanitarian program in the world (2 Billon USD per year) being turned into development.

Methods

The style of the questionnaire follows the format used in similar polls run in Northern Ireland, Macedonia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Kosovo and Serbia, Sri Lanka, Kashmir and Israel and Palestine. Informants were asked to list what they considered to be the problems at the heart of their conflict and then to offer solutions to those problems. The final draft of the questionnaire emphasized the solutions. However, in this questionnaire, at the request of UNAMID/DDDC the central recommendations of the DDDC reports[1] and African Union High-Level Panel on Darfur (AUPD)[2] were also added for testing against public opinion.

The questionnaire was piloted in El Fasher, Darfur in November 2009 to produce 53 interviews. It had been hoped to complete between 120 and 200 interviews distributed evenly between IDPs, the town of El Fasher, outlying villages and nomads (30 to 50 interviews for each group). But, in practice 30 interviews were collected by the nomads amongst the nomads, while the remaining 23 interviews were completed in El Fasher. Had the larger more representative sample been collected it would have been possible to separate and say something about these various groups but given the samples at hand the best possible analysis can be achieved by comparing nomads and non-nomads. Given the size of the nomad sample it would be quite wrong to lump the interviews together. This would not matter too much, as sometimes happens, when the nomads and non-nomads share the same view on a given issue. But they often do not so lumping these samples together can and often does cancel out such differences.

It is precisely these differences that are informative and would be more informative if a larger sample had been polled. The absence of a significant sample of IDPs is particularly worrying. However, it is possible to rank order small samples and to suggest, with some certainty, that items that come at the top of a rank order are very different to those at the bottom of a rank order and given a bigger sample, although the percentages may change, the overall character of the rank order may not significantly alter a great deal.

With all these points in mind the analysis that follows is based on these rank orders as percentages of the non-nomad and nomad interviews. Hopefully, a larger sample will now be collected that can provide much more information, although I would be surprised if the major conclusions to be drawn from this limited analysis were found to be false. Critically, the pilot works and there is no reason why this kind of research cannot be used to advance the peace process in Darfur. The only impediment to such work is the political will of the parties involved, the UN, AU, government of Sudan's NISS and the donor nations responsible for operations in Darfur.

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[1] Elmekki, Abdelgalil M., *DDDC Common Ground Consultations: Summary of Findings*, Prepared for workshop on: Darfurians on Peace – Drawings on Civil Society Concerns for Sustainable Reconciliation, Organized by the Swedish Foreign Ministry and the Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, 18 August 2009.

[2] Report of the African Union High-Level Panel on Darfur (AUPD), *Darfur: The Quest for Peace, Justice and Reconciliation*, African Union, Peace and Security Council, 207th Meeting at the level of Sate and Government, Abuja, Nigeria, PSC/AHG/2(CCVII), 29 October 2009.

Darfur Peace Poll – Questionnaire and Results

Good morning/afternoon/evening my name is _____ from Darfur Peace Center. We are conducting a survey of public opinion to find out what the people of Darfur believe needs to be done in a new effort to bring peace, stability and development to the region and the possibility of reaching a peace agreement.

We want to give you and your community the opportunity to express your views and to be heard on all these suggestions that are being made about the peace process.

The Research is being carried out on behalf of The Centre for Global Communication Studies and Darfur-Darfur Dialogue and Consultation (DDDC).

The Survey involves interviewing many citizens of Darfur.

Your opinion is important to us. We want to give your community an opportunity to express their views on all the suggestions that are being made for their future so please do try and answer all the questions that are asked.

The Results will be made available for public access in the local newspapers and in reports that will be given to the government, all the political parties, UN and major stakeholders in Sudan.

All your answers will be kept completely confidential.

Choosing your options for peace and stability in Darfur

This questionnaire will present you with various options on what could be done to improve the prospects for peace and stability in Darfur. For each option you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' and for the purposes of this poll 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' mean:

'Essential' – You believe this option is a necessary part of a secure, stable and better future for the region and should be fully implemented.

'Desirable' – This option is not what you would consider to be 'Essential', but you think this option, or something very similar to it, is a good idea and should be put into practice.

'Acceptable' – This option is not what you would consider to be 'Desirable', if you were given a choice, but you could certainly 'live with it'.

'Tolerable' – This option is not what you want. But, as part of a secure, stable and better future, you would be willing to put up with it.

'Unacceptable' – This option is totally unacceptable under any circumstances. You would not accept it, even as part of a secure, stable and better future for the region.

You may use each of the terms 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' as many times as you wish in each question.

1. Negotiation of a peace agreement for Darfur

Question: *With regards to the negotiation of a peace agreement for Darfur please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

Table 1 lists the priorities for negotiations in rank order for non-nomads and nomads. It should come as no surprise that both of these sections of Darfur society share the same first priority to 'Pursue peace through negotiation rather than force and military struggle' at 65% essential for non-nomads and 90% essential for nomads. That 'The people of Darfur should be consulted on all aspects of negotiations and agreements' is the second priority for non-nomads at 57% essential and third for nomads also at 57%. But on this point the National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS) of Sudan wanted to substitute 'civil society' for 'people' (see footnotes) no doubt as a manageable way to include the views of the people in negotiations. In practice there probably is no need to make this change in the questionnaire but simply to make this point as a matter of effective necessity and to ensure that the civil society representation is democratically appointed in a culturally appropriate manner that is acceptable to the people of Darfur.

Both non-nomads and nomads believe 'The Armed Movements should agree on a common agenda and negotiate' at 48% and 53% essential respectively. However, when it comes to the basis for those negotiations the non-nomads have mixed views on the best starting point at 26% essential and 30% unacceptable for a proposal to 'Write a new comprehensive peace agreement for Darfur' (Table 2) while the nomads support this approach to negotiations at 60% essential and only 3% unacceptable (Table 3). The NISS also find this negotiations strategy 'unacceptable' as they would like to rewrite this option as 'Develop Abuja agreement to be comprehensive peace agreement for Darfur' to keep the movements who signed the Abuja agreement 'on board'. With a larger sample it would be possible to find out which constituencies amongst the non-nomads support the NISS approach to negotiations and which are opposed to it.

The NISS also do not want the international community to be involved in their domestic affairs but find the African Union acceptable in most cases (see footnotes). On this point the nomads share their views at only 13% essential for the proposal that 'The implementation of the peace agreement should be monitored and controlled by the international community' while the non-nomads welcome such involvement at 48% essential. For the non-nomads the 'International Community' are the most important parties to negotiations at 61% essential (Tables 4 and 5), followed by 'Civil Society' at 59% and the 'Armed Movements' at 52% while the 'Non-Signatories' and 'Nomads' are the most important groups for nomads at 77% essential (Table 4 and 6).

In conclusion then non-nomads, nomads and the NISS want serious negotiations but nomads want a new agreement while the NISS and some non-nomads would prefer to build on previous agreements. Most non-nomads want the international community to be involved in negotiations while the NISS and nomads do not share this view although the African Union may be acceptable to them so this distinction needs to be brought out more clearly in any future research.

Table 1. Priorities for negotiations

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	Pursue peace through negotiation rather than force and military struggle	65	Pursue peace through negotiation rather than force and military struggle	90
2nd	The people of Darfur should be consulted on all aspects of negotiations and agreements[3]	57	Write a new comprehensive peace agreement for Darfur	60
3rd	The Armed Movements should agree on a common agenda and negotiate	48	The people of Darfur should be consulted on all aspects of negotiations and agreements	57
4th	The implementation of the peace agreement should be monitored and controlled by the international community[4]	48	The Armed Movements should agree on a common agenda and negotiate	53
5th	The international community (AU, IGAD, LAS and UN) should set a time frame and assist negotiations[5]	43	The international community (AU, IGAD, LAS and UN) should set a time frame and assist negotiations	37
6th	Accept the Abuja agreement with adjustments for non-signatories	30	Implement the recommendations from previous peace conferences	33
7th	Write a new comprehensive peace agreement for Darfur[6]	26	Accept the Abuja agreement with adjustments for non-signatories	27
8th	Return to the decisions of the Abuja Agreement and fully implement it	17	The implementation of the peace agreement should be monitored and controlled by the international community	13
9th	Implement the recommendations from previous peace conferences	17	Return to the decisions of the Abuja Agreement and fully implement it	10

[3] *The civil society of Darfur should be consulted on all aspects of negotiations and agreements.* The National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS) of Sudan – Require this question to be sectors of civil society consulted about the peace agreement rather than the people of Darfur.

[4] *The implementation of the peace agreement should be monitored and controlled by the African Union.* NISS - At present the government is confident in the African Union more than the international community, especially after the ICC indictment, and they do not want the international community to be more deeply involved in Darfur issues as indicated in other questions.

[5] African Union, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, League of Arab States and United Nations.

[6] *Develop Abuja agreement to be comprehensive peace agreement for Darfur.* NISS - Do not want a new convention, because this would cause problems with the movements that signed the Abuja agreement, but they do not mind developing the Abuja agreement to be a comprehensive peace agreement for Darfur.

Table 2. Priorities for negotiations non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Pursue peace through negotiation rather than force and military struggle	65	17	0	4	4	9	
Return to the decisions of the Abuja Agreement and fully implement it	17	17	13	26	22	4	
Accept the Abuja agreement with adjustments for non-signatories	30	9	13	9	35	4	
Write a new comprehensive peace agreement for Darfur	26	13	30		30		
Implement the recommendations from previous peace conferences	17	13	35	17	13	4	
The Armed Movements should agree on a common agenda and negotiate	48	30	17	4			
The people of Darfur should be consulted on all aspects of negotiations and agreements	57	17	13	4	9		
The international community (AU, IGAD, LAS and UN) should set a time frame and assist negotiations[7]	43	4	26		13	4	9
The implementation of the peace agreement should be monitored and controlled by the international community	48	4	30		17		

[7] African Union, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, League of Arab States and United Nations.

Table 3. Priorities for negotiations non-nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Pursue peace through negotiation rather than force and military struggle	90		10				
Return to the decisions of the Abuja Agreement and fully implement it	10	30	7	7	23	20	3
Accept the Abuja agreement with adjustments for non-signatories	27	7	13	13	13	17	10
Write a new comprehensive peace agreement for Darfur	60	27	10		3		
Implement the recommendations from previous peace conferences	33	13	20	20	3	10	
The Armed Movements should agree on a common agenda and negotiate	53	17	17	7		3	3
The people of Darfur should be consulted on all aspects of negotiations and agreements	57	17	20	7			
The international community (AU, IGAD, LAS and UN) should set a time frame and assist negotiations[8]	37	27	27	7	3		
The implementation of the peace agreement should be monitored and controlled by the international community	13	23	30	20	13		

[8] African Union, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, League of Arab States and United Nations.

Question: *And which groups should be part of the peace process and future negotiations?*

Table 4. Participants for negotiations

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	International Community[9]	61	Non-Signatories	77
2nd	Civil Society	59	Nomads	77
3rd	Armed Movements	52	Armed Movements	62
4th	Non-Signatories	43	Civil Society	47
5th	IDPs and Refugees	43	Tribal Leaders	40
6th	Political Parties in Government	36	Women Leaders	40
7th	Tribal Leaders	36	Political Parties in Government	37
8th	Signatories	35	IDPs and Refugees	37
9th	Opposition Parties	35	Signatories	33
10th	Women Leaders	35	Neighbours of Sudan	28
11th	Nomads	26	International Community	20
12th	Neighbours of Sudan[10]	17	Opposition Parties	17

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[9] ~~International Community~~. NISS – Delete references to foreign parties.
[10] ~~Neighbours of Sudan~~. NISS – Delete references to foreign parties.

Table 5. Participants in negotiations non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Armed Movements	52	4	22	9	13		
Non-Signatories	43	4	35	4	13		
Signatories	35	13	9	9	35		
Political Parties in Government	36	9	27	5	14	5	5
Opposition Parties	35	17	17	4	17	4	4
Civil Society	59	9	23	9			
Tribal Leaders	36	14	23	5	23		
IDPs and Refugees	43	17	17	9	13		
Nomads	26	9	39	4	13	4	4
Women Leaders	35	4	39	13	9		
Neighbours of Sudan	17	9	26	9	26	4	9
International Community	61	4	30			4	

Table 6. Participants in negotiations nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Armed Movements	62	14	10	3			10
Non-Signatories	77	7	3	3		3	7
Signatories	33	27	23	7		3	7
Political Parties in Government	37	37	10	3		7	7
Opposition Parties	17	23	17	13	10	7	13
Civil Society	47	23	17	10			3
Tribal Leaders	40	33	17	10			
IDPs and Refugees	37	37	7	10	7	3	
Nomads	77	17	7				
Women Leaders	40	27	30	3			
Neighbours of Sudan	28	24	14	17	10	3	3
International Community	20	27	27	20	7		

2. An end to hostilities and disarmament

Question: *With regards to an end to hostilities and disarmament please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

Out of a list of 24 options on offer to bring an end to hostilities and deal with the problem of disarmament there is a great deal of consensus between non-nomads and nomads with 'Control the trade in illegal arms' first on the non-nomad list at 76% essential and 5th on the nomad list at 80% essential (Table 7). First on the nomad list is 'Disarm lawless individuals and groups' at 83% essential with this item 2nd on the non-nomad list at 74%. 'The Government of Sudan and Armed Movements should end all hostilities while negotiating and implementing a peace agreement' is 2nd on the nomad list also at 80% essential and 3rd on the non-nomad list at 65% essential.

Clearly all efforts to control illegal arms, lawless groups and end hostilities between government forces and armed movements is very much welcomed by all parties but when it comes to who should be responsible for disarmament there are some differences of opinion. Nomads believe the 'Government armed forces should be responsible for disarmament and weapons collection' again at 80% essential while the suggestion that UNAMID should be involved reduces this level of confidence to only 17% essential and 3% essential if 'The Government, UNAMID and Armed Movements should all work together for disarmament'. On the other hand the non-nomads are far more comfortable with this proposal at 35% essential and only 9% unacceptable (17% unacceptable for nomads and 47% 'don't know' see Table 9).

Both the non-nomads at 22% essential and 30% unacceptable (Table 8) and nomads at 13% essential and again 30% unacceptable (Table 9) appear to be uncomfortable with the idea that 'The Movements who engage with the peace process should be allowed to retain their armed forces while negotiating and implementing a peace agreement'. The NISS are totally opposed to this proposal and wish it to be deleted from the questionnaire (see footnotes). Perhaps there would be support for this suggestion in rebel held areas but as no sample has been collected there we do not know.

The NISS also want to delete the proposal that 'The Government must disband all the militants under their sponsorship' as they claim that they do not sponsor any militant groups (see footnotes). But the non-nomads place this item 5th on their list of priorities at 64% essential and the nomads have it 19th on their list at 27% essential so perhaps this suggestion should be taken seriously. Finally the NISS want to include 'not' in the question 'The Movements who engage with the peace process should NOT be allowed to retain their armed forces while negotiating and implementing a peace agreement'. This suggestion is quite reasonable so both the original question and NISS alternative should be run together.

Table 7. Priorities for ending hostilities and disarmament

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	Control the trade in illegal arms	76	Disarm lawless individuals and groups	83

2nd	Disarm lawless individuals and groups	74	The Government of Sudan and Armed Movements should end all hostilities while negotiating and implementing a peace agreement	80
3rd	The Government of Sudan and Armed Movements should end all hostilities while negotiating and implementing a peace agreement	65	Disarmament should follow a permanent peaceful settlement	80
4th	Disarmament of all unlicensed arms	65	Government armed forces should be responsible for disarmament and weapons collection	80
5th	The Government must disband all the militants under their sponsorship[11]	64	Control the trade in illegal arms	80
6th	Establish a neutral disarmament commission	57	Disarmament of all unlicensed arms	73
7th	Disarmament should follow a permanent peaceful settlement	57	Only regular forces should be armed	73
8th	Those who did not abide by the law to hand in arms should be punished	57	Security guarantees for those handing in arms	67
9th	Only regular forces should be armed	52	No party should take advantage of a ceasefire to improve their position	60
10th	Security guarantees for those handing in arms	50	All guns from both sides should be given up at the same time	57
11th	No party should take advantage of a ceasefire to improve their position	48	All other weapons strictly licensed under native administration	50
12th	All other weapons strictly licensed under native administration	43	Disarming but no compensation for weapons provided by the government	50
13th	Disarming but no compensation for weapons provided by the government[12]	43	Those who did not abide by the law to hand in arms should be punished	47
14th	Resources should be made available for all combatants to help them maintain the ceasefire during negotiations and implementation of an agreement	39	Establish a neutral disarmament commission	43

[11] ~~The Government must disband all the militants under their sponsorship~~. NISS – The government does not sponsor any militant groups.
[12] *Disarming and compensation for heavy weapons*. NISS – Require a change to this wording.

15th	Government armed forces should be responsible for disarmament and weapons collection	39	Identification of weapon collection points under native administration	40
16th	All guns from both sides should be given up at the same time	39	Modest compensation to discourage rearmament	37
17th	Disarmament closely coordinated with all armed movements	39	Disarmament of all unlicensed weapons with compensation to the bearers	30
18th	The Government, UNAMID and Armed Movements should all work together for disarmament	35	Compensation paid only for weapons of self defense	30
19th	Identification of weapon collection points under native administration	35	The Government must disband all the militants under their sponsorship	27
20th	The government and UNAMID should work together to conduct disarmament	26	The government and UNAMID should work together to conduct disarmament	17
21st	The Movements who engage with the peace process should be allowed to retain their armed forces while negotiating and implementing a peace agreement[13]	22	Disarmament closely coordinated with all armed movements	17
22nd	Disarmament of all unlicensed weapons with compensation to the bearers	22	The Movements who engage with the peace process should be allowed to retain their armed forces while negotiating and implementing a peace agreement	13
23rd	Modest compensation to discourage rearmament	9	Resources should be made available for all combatants to help them maintain the ceasefire during negotiations and implementation of an agreement	13
24th	Compensation paid only for weapons of self defense		The Government, UNAMID and Armed Movements should all work together for disarmament	3

[13] *The Movements who engage with the peace process should NOT be allowed to retain their armed forces while negotiating and implementing a peace agreement.* NISS – Prefer the inclusion of 'not' in this question although it is unlikely to change anything in practice.

Table 8. Priorities for ending hostilities and disarmament non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
The Government of Sudan and Armed Movements should end all hostilities while negotiating and implementing a peace agreement	65	13	17		4		
No party should take advantage of a ceasefire to improve their position	48	26		4	17		4
The Movements who engage with the peace process should be allowed to retain their armed forces while negotiating and implementing a peace agreement	22	9	35	4	30		
Resources should be made available for all combatants to help them maintain the ceasefire during negotiations and implementation of an agreement	39	30	9	9	13		
Establish a neutral disarmament commission	57	13	22		9		
Disarmament should follow a permanent peaceful settlement	57	9	26	4	4		
Government armed forces should be responsible for disarmament and weapons collection	39	4	9	9	35	4	
The government and UNAMID should work together to conduct disarmament	26	13	35		26		
The Government, UNAMID and Armed Movements should all work together for disarmament	35	17	30	9	9		
The Government must disband all the militants under their sponsorship	64	18	18				
All guns from both sides should be given up at the same time	39		22	17	22		
Disarmament of all unlicensed arms	65	9	13	9	4		
All other weapons strictly licensed under native	43	17	9	4	22		4

administration						
Disarm lawless individuals and groups	74		13		13		
Disarmament of all unlicensed weapons with compensation to the bearers	22	22	17	4	30		4
Compensation paid only for weapons of self defence		22	30	9	30	4	4
Modest compensation to discourage rearmament	9	13	22	4	43	9	
Disarming but no compensation for weapons provided by the government	43	4	13	17	17	4	
Security guarantees for those handing in arms	50	14	14	9	9		5
Those who did not abide by the law to hand in arms should be punished	57	14	14		14		
Control the trade in illegal arms	76	5	14	5			
Identification of weapon collection points under native administration	35	13	17		35		
Disarmament closely coordinated with all armed movements	39	4	30	4	17	4	
Only regular forces should be armed	52	13	17	9	9		

Table 9. Priorities for ending hostilities and disarmament nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
The Government of Sudan and Armed Movements should end all hostilities while negotiating and implementing a peace agreement	80	7	7	7			
No party should take advantage of a ceasefire to improve their position	60	20	10		3	7	
The Movements who engage with the peace process should be allowed to retain their armed forces while negotiating and implementing a peace agreement	13	20	7	17	30	7	7
Resources should be made available for all combatants to help them maintain the ceasefire during negotiations and implementation of an agreement	13	20	10	13	13	20	10
Establish a neutral disarmament commission	43	17	17	13	7		3
Disarmament should follow a permanent peaceful settlement	80	10	7		3		
Government armed forces should be responsible for disarmament and weapons collection	80	7	10	3			
The government and UNAMID should work together to conduct disarmament	17	23	7	13	37		3
The Government, UNAMID and Armed Movements should all work together for disarmament	3	7	13	7	17	47	7
The Government must disband all the militants under their sponsorship	27	23	7	17	7	3	17
All guns from both sides should be given up at the same time	57	27	7	3	7		
Disarmament of all unlicensed arms	73	7	17	3			
All other weapons strictly licensed under native	50	13	17	13	7		

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7
administration							
Disarm lawless individuals and groups	83	10	3	3			
Disarmament of all unlicensed weapons with compensation to the bearers	30	17	30	17	7		
Compensation paid only for weapons of self defence	30	23	3	10	27	3	3
Modest compensation to discourage rearmament	37	3	7	17	30		7
Disarming but no compensation for weapons provided by the government	50	7		7	13	10	13
Security guarantees for those handing in arms	67	17	10	7			
Those who did not abide by the law to hand in arms should be punished	47	17	20	7	7		3
Control the trade in illegal arms	80	10	7	3			
Identification of weapon collection points under native administration	40	20	17	17		3	3
Disarmament closely coordinated with all armed movements	17	14	28	7	28	7	
Only regular forces should be armed	73	10	7	3	3	3	

3. Security

Question: *With regards to security please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

When it comes to security there is as much disagreement as there is agreement between the non-nomads and nomads. The top priority for the nomads is to 'Include Arab tribes in the security process' at 90% essential (Table 10) and out of a list of 38 items this option is 6th on the non-nomads list at 61% essential. But the second priority for the nomads is 'Include nomads in security under the supervision of the official security force' at 80% essential while this provision is unacceptable to 43% of non-nomads (Table 11). Interestingly the wording of this item was changed to 'The security force should be open to everyone – nomad or non-nomad' following the pilot testing of this question and then the NISS asked for a further change to 'The security force should be open to everyone in accordance with regulations' effectively removing the direct reference to nomads in security activities all together (see footnotes).

The top priority for the non-nomads is that the 'Rebels must make a commitment to their leaders to keep the peace' at 70% essential while the same item is 20th on the nomad list at only 33% essential but 0% unacceptable so implementing this policy, as far as the public is concerned, is not a problem. But the role of the international security forces is more problematic. For example those interviewed are split on the proposal to 'Change UNAMID's mandate so that they can become an effective protection force for civilians' at 39% essential and 30% unacceptable for non-nomads and 20% essential and 37% unacceptable for nomads. As for the NISS they would like to see this item removed from the questionnaire (see footnotes) as they consider it to be a national security issue. In general non-nomads seem to welcome more international involvement than nomads but the limitations of this sample do not permit the identification of these supporters and detractors with any precision. Clearly both the government and international community could benefit in this regard, to know who does and who does not support such policies, because the results of such polling will not be clear-cut one way or another. It is not simply a nomad and non-nomad issue. For example the NISS also wanted the suggestion that 'The Sudan Army should return to barracks' deleted from the questionnaire but again the non-nomads are split on this proposal at 27% essential and 27% unacceptable (Table 12) while the nomads are opposed at 37% unacceptable with no one interviewed considering it essential (Table 13) although 27% did not know and 20% refused to answer.

Similarly Table 11 is throwing up some interesting results with 80% of nomads and 52% of non-nomads opposed to 'Effective international border controls' as unacceptable although the proposal to 'Develop ties with neighbouring countries to reduce influx of arms' is considered essential for 57% of non-nomads and 60% of nomads. Clearly it is the movement of arms that is considered to be the major problem here and not other forms of honest commerce and trade. Again a larger sample with detailed demographics could be very helpful in the development of security policy and at present the lack of a significant sample of internally displaced persons (IDPs) is a serious omission in this regard.

Table 10. Priorities for security

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	Rebels must make a commitment to their leaders to keep the peace	70	Include Arab tribes in the security process	90
2nd	UN training for official police in human rights and community–friendly policing	65	Include nomads in security under the supervision of the official security force	80
3rd	UNIMID should be neutral in its dealings with both government and armed movements	65	Develop and train nomad police (Shurta Za'ena) in security procedures according to law	77
4th	The government should provide security, disarm Janjaweed and not arm tribes against others[14]	61	All foreign combatants should return to their own country	77
5th	Official police should coordinate with other security organs	61	UNAMID should explain their mandate to the tribal leaders and native administration	67
6th	Include Arab tribes in the security process	61	Local authorities should cooperate with tribal leaders to provide security	63
7th	No role for Para-military forces (PDF, militias, etc.) regarding security in the camps	61	The government, communities, native administration and international community should jointly provide security	60
8th	UNAMID should explain their mandate to the tribal leaders and native administration	59	Provide services for nomads in their own areas away from returning IDPs	60
9th	The leaders of each rebel group should be responsible for the ceasefire	57	UNIMID should be neutral in its dealings with both government and armed movements	60
10th	Develop ties with neighbouring countries to reduce influx of arms	57	Develop ties with neighbouring countries to reduce influx of arms	60
11th	All foreign combatants should return to their own country	57	Chad, Libya, Central Africa, Eritrea and Egypt should help to stop the flow of arms	60
12th	Remove the Border Guards from around the camps	55	Encourage tribal leaders to provide security in dangerous areas	57
13th	Nomads should not carry guns when passing through farming communities along migration	52	Enable local authorities to provide security	53

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[14] *The government should provide security, disarm illegal militias*. NISS – Require a change to this wording.

	routs.			
14th	Chad, Libya, Central Africa, Eritrea and Egypt should help to stop the flow of arms	52	Make peace agreements with Chad, Libya, Central Africa, Eritrea and Egypt	53
15th	The government, communities, native administration and international community should jointly provide security	48	The government should provide security, disarm Janjaweed and not arm tribes against others	50
16th	Provide services for nomads in their own areas away from returning IDPs	48	Official police should coordinate with other security organs	50
17th	The Movements should provide security for their people during the negotiation and implementation of a peace agreement	43	Rely on community and mobile police to maintain law and order	47
18th	Secure districts neighbouring dangerous areas between the North and the South	43	Secure districts neighbouring dangerous areas between the North and the South	43
19th	Encourage tribal leaders to provide security in dangerous areas	39	The PDF should be properly managed, trained and equipped for security duties	43
20th	Enable local authorities to provide security	39	Rebels must make a commitment to their leaders to keep the peace	33
21st	Rely on community and mobile police to maintain law and order	39	UN training for official police in human rights and community–friendly policing	30
22nd	Change UNAMID's mandate so that they can become an effective protection force for civilians[15]	39	UNAMID should support the Sudan police	27
23rd	Establish a Darfur advisory council to monitor and liaise with UNAMID	39	The citizens should be consulted on all aspects of security	24
24th	Make peace agreements with Chad, Libya, Central Africa, Eritrea and Egypt	39	The leaders of each rebel group should be responsible for the ceasefire	23
25th	Local authorities should cooperate with tribal leaders to provide security	35	Establish a Darfur advisory council to monitor and liaise with UNAMID	23
26th	An international force should provide security[16]	35	Change UNAMID's mandate so that they can become an effective protection force for	20

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[15] ~~Change UNAMID's mandate so that they can become an effective protection force for civilians~~. NISS – Delete as this is a National Security issue.
[16] ~~An international force should provide security in Darfur during the peace process~~. NISS – Delete.

			civilians	
27th	Develop and train nomad police (Shurta Za'ena) in security procedures according to law	30	Include women in providing security	17
28th	The Sudan Army should return to barracks[17]	27	The Movements should provide security for their people during the negotiation and implementation of a peace agreement	10
29th	Include nomads in security under the supervision of the official security force[18]	26	Recruit young IDPs for security in camps	7
30th	UNAMID should support the Sudan police	26	Develop UNAMID's capacity to protect the people	7
31st	An International force should keep security in the camps[19]	26	Nomads should not carry guns when passing through farming communities along migration routs.	3
32nd	The citizens should be consulted on all aspects of security	23	An international force should provide security	3
33rd	Develop UNAMID's capacity to protect the people[20]	22	No role for Para-military forces (PDF, militias, etc.) regarding security in the camps	3
34th	Effective international border controls	17	Disarm all Government forces in the camps	
35th	Include women in providing security	13	Remove the Border Guards from around the camps	
36th	Recruit young IDPs for security in camps	9	The Sudan Army should return to barracks	
37th	The PDF should be properly managed, trained and equipped for security duties	9	An International force should keep security in the camps	
38th	Disarm all Government forces in the camps[21]	4	Effective international border controls	

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[17] ~~The Sudan Army should return to barracks~~. NISS – Delete as this is a National Security issue.
[18] *The security force should be open to everyone in accordance with regulations.* NISS – Security forces are already open to all in accordance with regulations.
[19] ~~An International force should keep security in the camps~~. NISS – Delete
[20] ~~Develop UNAMID's capacity to protect the people. NISS~~ – Delete as this is not necessary.
[21] Reworded as '~~Withdraw armed government forces from the camps~~.' NISS – Delete.

Table 11. 'Unacceptable' priorities for security

	Non-Nomads per cent	Unacceptable	Nomads per cent	Unacceptable
1st	Disarm all Government forces in the camps	52	Effective international border controls	80
2nd	Effective international border controls	52	An International force should keep security in the camps	67
3rd	The PDF should be properly managed, trained and equipped for security duties	48	Disarm all Government forces in the camps	60
4th	Include nomads in security under the supervision of the official security force	43	An international force should provide security	52
5th	Recruit young IDPs for security in camps	39	Recruit young IDPs for security in camps	47
6th	Develop UNAMID's capacity to protect the people	35	Remove the Border Guards from around the camps	37
7th	UNAMID should support the Sudan police	35	The Sudan Army should return to barracks	37
8th	Develop and train nomad police (Shurta Za'ena) in security procedures according to law	30	Change UNAMID's mandate so that they can become an effective protection force for civilians	37
9th	An international force should provide security	30	The Movements should provide security for their people during the negotiation and implementation of a peace agreement	30
10th	Change UNAMID's mandate so that they can become an effective protection force for civilians	30	Nomads should not carry guns when passing through farming communities along migration routs.	27
11th	The Sudan Army should return to barracks	27	Develop UNAMID's capacity to protect the people	23
12th	Rely on community and mobile police to maintain law and order	22	The leaders of each rebel group should be responsible for the ceasefire	17
13th	No role for Para-military forces (PDF, militias, etc.) regarding security in the camps	22	No role for Para-military forces (PDF, militias, etc.) regarding security in the camps	17
14th	The citizens should be consulted on all aspects of security	18	The citizens should be consulted on all aspects of security	10
15th	Remove the Border Guards from around the camps	18	UN training for official police in human rights and community–friendly policing	10
16th	Encourage tribal leaders to provide security in dangerous areas	17	The government should provide security, disarm Janjaweed and not arm tribes against others	7

17th	Local authorities should cooperate with tribal leaders to provide security	17	Provide services for nomads in their own areas away from returning IDPs	7
18th	Establish a Darfur advisory council to monitor and liaise with UNAMID	17	UNAMID should support the Sudan police	7
19th	The Movements should provide security for their people during the negotiation and implementation of a peace agreement	13	All foreign combatants should return to their own country	7
20th	Include women in providing security	13	Encourage tribal leaders to provide security in dangerous areas	3
21st	Enable local authorities to provide security	13	The government, communities, native administration and international community should jointly provide security	
22nd	The government, communities, native administration and international community should jointly provide security	9	Official police should coordinate with other security organs	
23rd	The leaders of each rebel group should be responsible for the ceasefire	9	Include women in providing security	
24th	Include Arab tribes in the security process	9	Secure districts neighbouring dangerous areas between the North and the South	
25th	Nomads should not carry guns when passing through farming communities along migration routs.	9	Enable local authorities to provide security	
26th	Provide services for nomads in their own areas away from returning IDPs	9	Local authorities should cooperate with tribal leaders to provide security	
27th	UN training for official police in human rights and community–friendly policing	9	Rebels must make a commitment to their leaders to keep the peace	
28th	UNAMID should explain their mandate to the tribal leaders and native administration	9	Include Arab tribes in the security process	
29th	The government should provide security, disarm Janjaweed and not arm tribes against others	4	Include nomads in security under the supervision of the official security force	
30th	Official police should coordinate with other security organs	4	Develop and train nomad police (Shurta Za'ena) in security procedures according to law	
31st	UNIMID should be neutral in its dealings with both government and armed	4	Rely on community and mobile police to maintain law and order	

	movements			
32nd	Develop ties with neighbouring countries to reduce influx of arms	4	The PDF should be properly managed, trained and equipped for security duties	
33rd	Secure districts neighbouring dangerous areas between the North and the South		UNIMID should be neutral in its dealings with both government and armed movements	
34th	Rebels must make a commitment to their leaders to keep the peace		UNAMID should explain their mandate to the tribal leaders and native administration	
35th	An International force should keep security in the camps		Establish a Darfur advisory council to monitor and liaise with UNAMID	
36th	Chad, Libya, Central Africa, Eritrea and Egypt should help to stop the flow of arms		Develop ties with neighbouring countries to reduce influx of arms	
37th	Make peace agreements with Chad, Libya, Central Africa, Eritrea and Egypt		Chad, Libya, Central Africa, Eritrea and Egypt should help to stop the flow of arms	
38th	All foreign combatants should return to their own country		Make peace agreements with Chad, Libya, Central Africa, Eritrea and Egypt	

Table 12. Priorities for security non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
The government should provide security, disarm Janjaweed and not arm tribes against others	61	17	9	4	4	4	
The government, communities, native administration and international community should jointly provide security	48	9	26	9	9		
The Movements should provide security for their people during the negotiation and implementation of a peace agreement	43	4	22	17	13		
Official police should coordinate with other security organs	61	4	22	9	4		
The citizens should be consulted on all aspects of security	23	9	32	9	18	5	5
Include women in providing security	13	13	39	17	13		4
Recruit young IDPs for security in camps	9	4	39	9	39		
Disarm all Government forces in the camps	4	17	17	4	52	4	
Remove the Border Guards from around the camps	55		18		18		9
The Sudan Army should return to barracks	27	9	23		27	5	9
Secure districts neighbouring dangerous areas between the North and the South	43	9	22	4		22	
Encourage tribal leaders to provide security in dangerous areas	39	17	22	4	17		
Enable local authorities to provide security	39	22	17	4	13	4	
Local authorities should cooperate with tribal leaders to provide security	35	26	13	9	17		
The leaders of each rebel group should be responsible for the ceasefire	57	13	22		9		

Rebels must make a commitment to their leaders to keep the peace	70		30				
Include Arab tribes in the security process	61	4	17		9	4	4
Include nomads in security under the supervision of the official security force	26	9	9	9	43	4	
Develop and train nomad police (Shurta Za'ena) in security procedures according to law	30	22	17		30		
Rely on community and mobile police to maintain law and order	39	9	30		22		
Nomads should not carry guns when passing through farming communities along migration routs.	52	13	13	4	9		9
Provide services for nomads in their own areas away from returning IDPs	48	13	17	13	9		
An international force should provide security	35	9	9	13	30	4	
The PDF should be properly managed, trained and equipped for security duties	9	13	17	13	48		
No role for Para-military forces (PDF, militias, etc.) regarding security in the camps	61	4	4	4	22	4	
UN training for official police in human rights and community–friendly policing	65	9	9	4	9		4
Develop UNAMID's capacity to protect the people	22	9	17	13	35		4
UNAMID should support the Sudan police	26	13	17	4	35		4
UNIMID should be neutral in its dealings with both government and armed movements	65	4	22	4	4		
UNAMID should explain their mandate to the tribal leaders and native administration	59	9	18	5	9		
Change UNAMID's mandate so that they can become an effective protection force for	39	9	13	4	30	4	

civilians							
Establish a Darfur advisory council to monitor and liaise with UNAMID	39	17	13	4	17	4	4
An International force should keep security in the camps	26	17	13	39			4
Effective international border controls	17	9	17		52	4	
Develop ties with neighbouring countries to reduce influx of arms	57	13	26		4		
Chad, Libya, Central Africa, Eritrea and Egypt should help to stop the flow of arms	52	17	22				9
Make peace agreements with Chad, Libya, Central Africa, Eritrea and Egypt	39	22	22	4		4	9
All foreign combatants should return to their own country	57	9	17	4		9	4

Table 13. Priorities for security nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
The government should provide security, disarm Janjaweed and not arm tribes against others	50	10	13		7	10	10
The government, communities, native administration and international community should jointly provide security	60	20	10	10			
The Movements should provide security for their people during the negotiation and implementation of a peace agreement	10		17	10	30	13	20
Official police should coordinate with other security organs	50	27	13	3		7	
The citizens should be consulted on all aspects of security	24	17	17	28	10		3
Include women in providing security	17	10	23	50			
Recruit young IDPs for	7	7	13	10	47	3	13

security in camps							
Disarm all Government forces in the camps			3	3	60	7	27
Remove the Border Guards from around the camps		3	10	7	37	27	17
The Sudan Army should return to barracks		7	3	7	37	27	20
Secure districts neighbouring dangerous areas between the North and the South	43	13	3	3		27	10
Encourage tribal leaders to provide security in dangerous areas	57	3	13	10	3	7	7
Enable local authorities to provide security	53	23	23				
Local authorities should cooperate with tribal leaders to provide security	63	27	7	3			
The leaders of each rebel group should be responsible for the ceasefire	23	17	23		17	17	3
Rebels must make a commitment to their leaders to keep the peace	33	23	17	3		13	10
Include Arab tribes in the security process	90	7	3				
Include nomads in security under the supervision of the official security force	80	13	7				
Develop and train nomad police (Shurta Za'ena) in security procedures according to law	77	7	17				
Rely on community and mobile police to maintain law and order	47	33	17	3			
Nomads should not carry guns when passing through farming communities along migration routs.	3	10	23	30	27		7
Provide services for nomads in their own areas away from returning IDPs	60	20	7	7	7		
An international force should provide security	3	7	3	14	52	10	10
The PDF should be properly managed, trained and equipped for security duties	43	13	17	13		10	3
No role for Para-military	3	3	7	10	17	40	20

forces (PDF, militias, etc.) regarding security in the camps							
UN training for official police in human rights and community–friendly policing	30	30	20	7	10	3	
Develop UNAMID's capacity to protect the people	7	7	13	27	23		23
UNAMID should support the Sudan police	27	23	27	17	7		
UNIMID should be neutral in its dealings with both government and armed movements	60	7	10	10		13	
UNAMID should explain their mandate to the tribal leaders and native administration	67	17	10	7			
Change UNAMID's mandate so that they can become an effective protection force for civilians	20	3	3	10	37	20	7
Establish a Darfur advisory council to monitor and liaise with UNAMID	23	33	20	13		10	
An International force should keep security in the camps				7	67	10	17
Effective international border controls		3		3	80	3	10
Develop ties with neighbouring countries to reduce influx of arms	60	23	13	3			
Chad, Libya, Central Africa, Eritrea and Egypt should help to stop the flow of arms	60	23	13	3			
Make peace agreements with Chad, Libya, Central Africa, Eritrea and Egypt	53	20	10	7		3	7
All foreign combatants should return to their own country	77	3	7		7	7	

4. Land and natural resources

Question: *With regards to land and natural resources please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

Seventeen options were put on offer to deal with problems of land and natural resources (Table 14). The top priority for non-nomads is 'Do not make any new laws to govern land tenure in Darfur' at 65% essential (50% for nomads) but the NISS want this changed to 'Government should make new laws to govern land tenure in Darfur' (see footnotes). The proper thing to do here would be to include the NISS option alongside the option tested in the pilot study although the results already indicate how this might go. Sixty one per cent of non-nomads consider it essential to 'Observe the customary and public law of the *hakura* land tenure system' while only 17% of nomads share this view and 27% find it unacceptable (Table 16). But there is general acceptance in both communities to 'Supplement existing law and verbal agreements with written public law' at only 7% unacceptable for nomads and 0% for non-nomads. This seems to be the way forward so the government of Sudan may wish to consider adopting this policy.

The top priority for nomads is 'Programs for the settlement of the nomads' at 90% essential. Only 13% of non-nomads consider this proposal to be unacceptable so again this proposal could be adopted if, for example, at the same time 'Nomads who want to settle should coordinate with local administrators and land owners with agreed projects in accordance with local customs and law' which is essential for 52% of non-nomads. But a significant minority of nomads consider this option to be problematic at 31% unacceptable although 17% also consider this provision to be essential. Identifying this 17% could be the key here to taking this policy forward.

Clearly land tenure is a difficult issue but as with all contentious problems such policies can best be dealt with by, at the same time, implementing complementary programs that have wide support in all communities. For example 61% of non-nomads and 40% of nomads (only 3% unacceptable) consider it essential that 'Nomads, farmers and the government should periodically review the migration routs (*maraheel*)'. Similarly 83% of nomads consider it essential that there should be 'Provision of water at nomad rest points and short term temporary settlements' and 61% of non-nomads share this view (only 4% unacceptable).

With some care it looks like a deal on questions relating to land and natural resources can be negotiated that can meet the changing needs of both non-nomads and nomads. Critically more public opinion research could help all parties in this regard.

Table 14. Priorities for land and natural resources

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	Do not make any new laws to govern land tenure in Darfur[22]	65	Programs for the settlement of the nomads	90
2nd	Nomads should stick to their designated routs (*masarat*) and stopovers (*seeniyya* and *manzala*)	61	Establish joint mechanisms of nomads, farmers and government for reconciliation	83
3rd	Nomads, farmers and the government should periodically review the migration routs (*maraheel*)	61	Provision of water at nomad rest points and short term temporary settlements	83
4th	Provision of water at nomad rest points and short term temporary settlements	61	Prohibit illegal fences (*zarayib al hawa:* 'air fences')	83
5th	Observe the customary and public law of the *hakura* land tenure system	61	Widen routs to accelerate movement of larger herds	73
6th	Nomads who want to settle should coordinate with local administrators and land owners with agreed projects in accordance with local customs and law	52	Use traditional reconciliation mechanisms (*masalahat*) between farmers and nomads	70
7th	Observe the *Judiyya* and customary tribal councils	52	Coordinate the activities of native administrators, nomads and farmers	67
8th	Establish joint mechanisms of nomads, farmers and government for reconciliation	48	Revise and activate laws allowing nomads to graze on farm land after harvest	67
9th	Revise and activate laws allowing nomads to graze on farm land after harvest	48	Open rest points (*seeniyya*) ahead of the seasonal migration	60
10th	Prohibit illegal fences (*zarayib al hawa:* 'air fences')	48	Observe the *Judiyya* and customary tribal councils	60
11th	Coordinate the activities of native administrators, nomads and farmers	43	Establish *damra/damri* (nomad settlements) in areas agreed to by both nomads and farmers	59
12th	Open rest points (*seeniyya*) ahead of the seasonal migration	43	Do not make any new laws to govern land tenure in Darfur	50
13th	Use traditional reconciliation mechanisms (*masalahat*) between farmers and nomads	39	Nomads should stick to their designated routs (*masarat*) and stopovers (*seeniyya* and *manzala*)	47

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[22] *Government should make new laws to govern land tenure in Darfur*. NISS – Require a change to this wording.

14th	Supplement existing law and verbal agreements with written public law	39	Nomads, farmers and the government should periodically review the migration routs (*maraheel*)	40
15th	Establish *damra/damri* (nomad settlements) in areas agreed to by both nomads and farmers	35	Supplement existing law and verbal agreements with written public law	27
16th	Widen routs to accelerate movement of larger herds	26	Nomads who want to settle should coordinate with local administrators and land owners with agreed projects in accordance with local customs and law	17
17th	Programs for the settlement of the nomads	22	Observe the customary and public law of the *hakura* land tenure system	17

Table 15. Priorities for land and natural resources non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Establish joint mechanisms of nomads, farmers and government for reconciliation	48	22	22		4	4	
Coordinate the activities of native administrators, nomads and farmers	43	9	22		26		
Nomads should stick to their designated routs (*masarat*) and stopovers (*seeniyya* and *manzala*)	61	13	22		4		
Nomads, farmers and the government should periodically review the migration routs (*maraheel*)	61	17	22				
Widen routs to accelerate movement of larger herds	26	9	30		35		
Open rest points (*seeniyya*) ahead of the seasonal migration	43	17	22	9	9		
Provision of water at nomad rest points and short term temporary settlements	61	4	22	9	4		
Revise and activate laws allowing nomads to graze on farm land after harvest	48	17	22	9		4	
Prohibit illegal fences (*zarayib al hawa:* 'air fences')	48	17	17		13	4	

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Programs for the settlement of the nomads	22	26	35		13		4
Establish *damra*/*damri* (nomad settlements) in areas agreed to by both nomads and farmers	35	9	35		9	9	4
Nomads who want to settle should coordinate with local administrators and land owners with agreed projects in accordance with local customs and law	52	13	17	4	9	4	
Observe the *Judiyya* and customary tribal councils	52	13	26	9			
Observe the customary and public law of the *hakura* land tenure system	61		17	9	9	4	
Do not make any new laws to govern land tenure in Darfur	65	4	17	4	9		
Use traditional reconciliation mechanisms (*masalahat*) between farmers and nomads	39	13	30		13		4
Supplement existing law and verbal agreements with written public law	39	26	26	4		4	

Table 16. Priorities for land and natural resources nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Establish joint mechanisms of nomads, farmers and government for reconciliation	83	13	3				
Coordinate the activities of native administrators, nomads and farmers	67	20	13				
Nomads should stick to their designated routs (*masarat*) and stopovers (*seeniyya* and *manzala*)	47	10	13	13	10	3	3
Nomads, farmers and the government should periodically review the migration routs (*maraheel*)	40	27	17	3	3		10
Widen routs to accelerate movement of larger herds	73	7	13				7
Open rest points (*seeniyya*) ahead of the seasonal migration	60	13	20				7

Provision of water at nomad rest points and short term temporary settlements	83	10	7				
Revise and activate laws allowing nomads to graze on farm land after harvest	67	23	7				3
Prohibit illegal fences (*zarayib al hawa:* 'air fences')	83	10	3		3		
Programs for the settlement of the nomads	90	3	3	3			
Establish *damra/damri* (nomad settlements) in areas agreed to by both nomads and farmers	59	14	17	3	3	3	
Nomads who want to settle should coordinate with local administrators and land owners with agreed projects in accordance with local customs and law	17	14	3		31	10	24
Observe the *Judiyya* and customary tribal councils	60	23	17				
Observe the customary and public law of the *hakura* land tenure system	17	13	13	7	27	13	10
Do not make any new laws to govern land tenure in Darfur	50	13	13	3	17		3
Use traditional reconciliation mechanisms (*masalahat*) between farmers and nomads	70	13	13		3		
Supplement existing law and verbal agreements with written public law	27	13	17	7	7	23	7

5. Recovery

Question: *With regards to recovery please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

Out of a list of 24 items both the nomads and non-nomads are in complete agreement about their first priority for recovery at 93% and 83% essential respectively for the 'Provision of drinking water' (Table 17). The second priority for non-nomads is the 'Provision of food, health and education services in villages' also at 83% essential and 73% essential for nomads.

However, beyond the provision of basic humanitarian needs there is some disagreement about the process of return. Third on the non-nomad list is 'Return seized land to its original owners with compensation' at 68% essential but this item is 23rd on the nomad list at 20% unacceptable and 43% refused to answer (Table 19). A majority of both nomads (80% essential) and non-nomads (55% essential) want to see the implementation of policies to 'Return IDPs and refuges to their homes of origin' but 61% of non-nomads consider it essential that there should be 'No return before peace agreement' and 23% of nomads find this unacceptable while the NISS would like this option deleted from the questionnaire (see footnotes). The NISS also want to delete the option 'No return before individual and collective compensation' but both the non-nomads and nomads share the view of the NISS on this issue placing it at the very bottom of their respective priority lists. Clearly the NISS should have more confidence in the basic common sense of the people of Darfur and let such questions run.

The people of Darfur also believe 'The international community and NGOs should not discriminate among the people of Darfur in recruitment, relief and distribution or services' at 90% essential for nomads and 65% for non-nomads. Additionally they take the view that 'The international community should listen to and take the advice of all the people of Darfur' at 77% essential for nomads and 57% for non-nomads although, understandably, the NISS would like this option rephrased to 'The international community should listen to and take the advice of all the representatives of civil society in Darfur' as a practical way to deal with this issue (see footnotes).

Table 17. Priorities for recovery

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	Provision of drinking water	83	Provision of drinking water	93
2nd	Provision of food, health and education services in villages	83	The international community and NGOs should not discriminate among the people of Darfur in recruitment, relief and distribution or services	90
3rd	Return seized land to its original owners with compensation	68	Return IDPs and refuges to their homes of origin	80
4th	Rehabilitation of abandoned areas by providing necessary basic services	65	The international community should listen to and take the advice of all the people of Darfur	77
5th	The international community and NGOs should not discriminate among the people of Darfur in recruitment, relief and distribution or services	65	Provision of food, health and education services in villages	73
6th	Opening of markets and encouragement of trade	64	Opening of markets and encouragement of trade	73
7th	No return before peace agreement[23]	61	Education for the generation lost through violence	60
8th	Repair all destroyed houses first[24]	57	Model villages for nomads	60
9th	Education for the generation lost through violence	57	Rehabilitation of abandoned areas by providing necessary basic services	53
10th	The international community should listen to and take the advice of all the people of Darfur[25]	57	Start recovery programs now where there is security	43
11th	Return IDPs and refuges to their homes of origin	55	Facilitate the repatriation of IDPs and refugees by offering security	40
12th	Facilitate counselling and dialogue for women who have lost children and husbands in war	52	Facilitate counselling and dialogue for women who have lost children and husbands in war	38

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[23] No return before peace agreement. NISS – Delete as unacceptable.

[24] Repair all destroyed houses first. NISS – Not logical therefore delete.

[25] *The international community should listen to and take the advice of all the representatives of civil society in Darfur*. NISS – Civil society rather then people of Darfur.

13th	No return before rehabilitation of villages and provision of basic services	50	Repair all other damage and loss	37
14th	Repair all other damage and loss	43	Facilitate the repatriation of IDPs and refugees by rebuilding what has been destroyed	37
15th	Facilitate the repatriation of IDPs and refugees by offering security	43	Model villages for IDP communities	33
16th	Facilitate the repatriation of IDPs and refugees by rebuilding what has been destroyed	43	Repair all destroyed houses first	27
17th	Counselling for combatants with psychological problems resulting from the violence	43	Quick impact projects for IDPs	27
18th	Quick impact projects for IDPs	43	Counselling for combatants with psychological problems resulting from the violence	23
19th	Make provision for those living in areas controlled by Armed Movements	43	No return before rehabilitation of villages and provision of basic services	20
20th	Model villages for IDP communities	39	No return before peace agreement	10
21st	Make provision for those who do not want to return	39	Make provision for those who do not want to return	7
22nd	Model villages for nomads	26	Make provision for those living in areas controlled by Armed Movements	3
23rd	Start recovery programs now where there is security	26	Return seized land to its original owners with compensation	
24th	No return before individual and collective compensation[26]	22	No return before individual and collective compensation	

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[26] ~~No return before individual and collective compensation~~. NISS – Delete as unacceptable.

Table 18. Priorities for recovery non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Return IDPs and refuges to their homes of origin	55	14	32				
Return seized land to its original owners with compensation	68	5	18		9		
Repair all destroyed houses first	57	17	22	4			
Repair all other damage and loss	43	30	13	9	4		
Facilitate the repatriation of IDPs and refugees by offering security	43	22	26	4	4		
Facilitate the repatriation of IDPs and refugees by rebuilding what has been destroyed	43	30	22	4			
Rehabilitation of abandoned areas by providing necessary basic services	65	13	17		4		
Provision of drinking water	83		17				
Provision of food, health and education services in villages	83		13	4			
Facilitate counselling and dialogue for women who have lost children and husbands in war	52	13	17	9	4		4
Counselling for combatants with psychological problems resulting from the violence	43	22	22	4	4	4	
Education for the generation lost through violence	57	22	17	4			
Model villages for IDP communities	39	35	13	13			
Model villages for nomads	26	17	26	13	13		4
Quick impact projects for IDPs	43	35	17	4			
Opening of markets and encouragement of trade	64	14	23				
The international community should listen to and take the advice of all the people of Darfur	57	13	30				
The international community and NGOs should not discriminate among the	65	13	13	4	4		

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
people of Darfur in recruitment, relief and distribution or services							
No return before peace agreement	61	4	4		22	4	4
No return before rehabilitation of villages and provision of basic services	50	9	14	5	14		9
No return before individual and collective compensation	22	9	17	13	35		4
Make provision for those who do not want to return	39	26	9	4	13	9	
Make provision for those living in areas controlled by Armed Movements	43	13	13	13	4	13	
Start recovery programs now where there is security	26	13	30	9	13	9	

Table 19. Priorities for recovery nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Return IDPs and refuges to their homes of origin	80		20				
Return seized land to its original owners with compensation		3	7	10	20	17	43
Repair all destroyed houses first	27	13	23	23	7	7	
Repair all other damage and loss	37	13	13	27	3	7	
Facilitate the repatriation of IDPs and refugees by offering security	40	17	17	20		3	3
Facilitate the repatriation of IDPs and refugees by rebuilding what has been destroyed	37	13	17	27		3	3
Rehabilitation of abandoned areas by providing necessary basic services	53	33	7	7			
Provision of drinking water	93	7					
Provision of food, health and education services in villages	73	10	13	3			
Facilitate counselling and dialogue for women who have lost children and husbands in war	38	14	17	10		17	3

Counselling for combatants with psychological problems resulting from the violence	23	23	10	20	3	13	7
Education for the generation lost through violence	60	17	20	3			
Model villages for IDP communities	33	37	20	7	3		
Model villages for nomads	60	23	13	3			
Quick impact projects for IDPs	27	27	30	13		3	
Opening of markets and encouragement of trade	73	17	10				
The international community should listen to and take the advice of all the people of Darfur	77	10	10	3			
The international community and NGOs should not discriminate among the people of Darfur in recruitment, relief and distribution or services	90	10					
No return before peace agreement	10	13	20	7	23	10	17
No return before rehabilitation of villages and provision of basic services	20	10	13	20	17	7	13
No return before individual and collective compensation		7	3	20	23	17	30
Make provision for those who do not want to return	7	10	17	13	27	13	13
Make provision for those living in areas controlled by Armed Movements	3		7	7	30	37	17
Start recovery programs now where there is security	43	7	27	17		7	

6. Compensation

Question: *With regards to compensation please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

With regards to compensation the non-nomads require that 'The state should take responsibility for the destruction of Darfur and the compensation for the victims' at 61% essential while the nomads require that 'The international community should adequately resource resettlement, compensation and rehabilitation' as their top priority at 57% essential (Table 20). Blaming the state is their last choice at only 23% essential and the NISS share this view as they require that this option be deleted (see footnotes).

However, most of the other options for compensation are acceptable to all parties so perhaps the solution here is for some sort of apology from the state coupled with a commitment from the international community to help put matters right. Justice and development seem to be key here and these matters are dealt with in more detail in other sections of this questionnaire.

Some sensitive issues relating to rape have been included in this part of the questionnaire but without a larger sample it is not possible to break down the results further in terms of gender and clearly, as always, an adequate IDP sample is needed.

Table 20. Priorities for compensation

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	The state should take responsibility for the destruction of Darfur and the compensation for the victims[27]	61	The international community should adequately resource resettlement, compensation and rehabilitation	57
2nd	The international community should adequately resource resettlement, compensation and rehabilitation	61	Bring peace and development as compensation	50
3rd	Psychiatric help for those affected by the war	57	Compensation for widows who lost their husbands in war	43
4th	Compensation for widows who lost their husbands in war	57	Bring justice and equality before the law as compensation	40
5th	Appropriate compensation for groups	52	Compensation should be measured according to loss case by case for individuals	37
6th	Bring peace and development as compensation	48	Appropriate compensation for groups	27
7th	Bring justice and equality before the law as compensation	48	Establishment of group projects for reintegration of affected communities	27
8th	Automatic compensation for females being raped	43	Psychiatric help for those affected by the war	27
9th	Establishment of group projects for reintegration of affected communities	39	Automatic compensation for females being raped	23
10th	Compensation should be measured according to loss case by case for individuals[28]	39	The state should take responsibility for the destruction of Darfur and the compensation for the victims	23

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[27] ~~The state should take responsibility for the destruction of Darfur and the compensation for the victims~~. NISS – Deletion required.

[28] ~~Compensation should be measured according to loss case by case for individuals~~. NISS – This issue has been settled and should not be reopened.

Table 21. Priorities for compensation non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Appropriate compensation for groups	52	17	26	4			
Establishment of group projects for reintegration of affected communities	39	13	26	17	4		
Compensation should be measured according to loss case by case for individuals	39	17	26	4	13		
Psychiatric help for those affected by the war	57	13	22	9			
Automatic compensation for females being raped	43	13	22	4	9	9	
Compensation for widows who lost their husbands in war	57	22	22				
Bring peace and development as compensation	48	13	30	9			
Bring justice and equality before the law as compensation	48	17	22	13			
The state should take responsibility for the destruction of Darfur and the compensation for the victims	61	4	13	4	17		
The international community should adequately resource resettlement, compensation and rehabilitation	61	9	26	4			

Table 22. Priorities for compensation nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Appropriate compensation for groups	27	10	13	30		17	3
Establishment of group projects for reintegration of affected communities	27	43	17	7		7	
Compensation should be measured according to loss case by case for individuals	37	10	17	17		7	13
Psychiatric help for those affected by the war	27	27	13	13		17	3
Automatic compensation for females being raped	23		13	17	17	20	10
Compensation for widows who lost their husbands in war	43	23	23	3			7
Bring peace and development as compensation	50	20	23	3			3
Bring justice and equality before the law as compensation	40	17	17	17		7	3
The state should take responsibility for the destruction of Darfur and the compensation for the victims	23	7	10	3	10	20	27
The international community should adequately resource resettlement, compensation and rehabilitation	57	20	7	17			

7. Development

Question: *With regards to development please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

The NISS required no deletions or changes to the development section of the questionnaire. Everyone wants development including the government. Everyone wants a future. The 'shopping lists' with education, health care, water and roads as top priorities of both non-nomads and nomads are given in Table 23. But as with all conflicts none of this will come without security and security will not come without a peace agreement, which in turn requires social and political reforms, the subjects of the next sections in the questionnaire.

Finally, it is worth repeating here how useful a comprehensive poll from across the whole of Darfur would be so that it would be possible to detail exactly what projects are most important to which communities and constituencies.

Table 23. Priorities for development

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	Provide basic and secondary education as well as Universities	78	Build hospitals with qualified medical staff	97
2nd	The State should provide all necessary services (education, health, water and roads etc.)	74	Build the Western Salvation roads together with other roads that link Darfur's major cities	97
3rd	Build hospitals with qualified medical staff	74	Provide the nomads with a source of water in the northern region so they can stay there longer	97
4th	Build the Western Salvation roads together with other roads that link Darfur's major cities	65	The State should provide all necessary services (education, health, water and roads etc.)	93
5th	Provide the nomads with a source of water in the northern region so they can stay there longer	65	Create special programs for the education of nomads	90
6th	Infrastructure including airports, bridges and electrical generation	61	Intra-state roads including *Al Ingaz Western* highway	87
7th	Encourage citizens not to depend on foreign aid through quick impact projects	61	Provide basic and secondary education as well as Universities	86
8th	Darfur Universities and community colleges should strengthen Darfurian society and culture	61	Build the continental way, which links the region with the Centre as soon as possible	83

9th	Special projects to combat poverty	57	Reform old development projects and create a new balanced plan for all Darfur	80
10th	Education and capacity building for women	57	Provide qualified people to look after the health of nomads and their animals	80
11th	Develop fair, balanced and effective rural projects	55	All the funds presently spent on humanitarian aid and UNAMID should be pledged for development	77
12th	Reform old development projects and create a new balanced plan for all Darfur	52	Build roads to link all localities to the major highways	73
13th	Build the continental way, which links the region with the Centre as soon as possible	52	Special projects to combat poverty	73
14th	Intra-state roads including *Al Ingaz Western* highway	52	Special provision for nomads at *dammars* and on migration routs	73
15th	Develop the natural resources of Darfur (Forestry, animal husbandry, agriculture, mining and oil etc.)	52	Agricultural programs for gradual settlement of nomads	70
16th	Exploration for oil and minerals	52	Construction of dams on main *wadis*	69
17th	Small scale savings and social development bank	52	Encourage citizens not to depend on foreign aid through quick impact projects	67
18th	Modernization of pastoralism and animal husbandry	52	Develop the natural resources of Darfur (Forestry, animal husbandry, agriculture, mining and oil etc.)	66
19th	Construction of dams on main *wadis*	48	Infrastructure including airports, bridges and electrical generation	63
20th	Build roads to link all localities to the major highways	48	Education and capacity building for women	63
21st	Rehabilitate former agricultural enterprises	48	Support projects to protect the environment	62
22nd	Provide qualified people to look after the health of nomads and their animals	48	Exploration for oil and minerals	61
23rd	Training for the youth	48	Modern communication system	60
24th	Create special programs for the education of nomads	48	Modernization of pastoralism and animal husbandry	60
25th	More UNAMID funds should go to Quick Impact Projects (QIPs)	48	More UNAMID funds should go to Quick Impact Projects (QIPs)	60

26th	Promote collective agricultural projects by raising capacities of producers and opening of local markets	43	Develop fair, balanced and effective rural projects	57
27th	Modern communication system	39	Darfur Universities and community colleges should strengthen Darfurian society and culture	57
28th	Support projects to protect the environment	39	Small scale savings and social development bank	53
29th	All the funds presently spent on humanitarian aid and UNAMID should be pledged for development	39	Promote collective agricultural projects by raising capacities of producers and opening of local markets	50
30th	Agro-processing using local products	35	Support youth centres and local theatre	50
31st	Establish medium and small industrial projects	30	Rehabilitate former agricultural enterprises	47
32nd	Support youth centres and local theatre	26	Training for the youth	47
33rd	Agricultural programs for gradual settlement of nomads	22	Establish medium and small industrial projects	43
34th	Special provision for nomads at *dammars* and on migration routs	22	Agro-processing using local products	40

Table 24. Priorities for development non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Reform old development projects and create a new balanced plan for all Darfur	52	17	30				
The State should provide all necessary services (education, health, water and roads etc.)	74	13	9	4			
Provide basic and secondary education as well as Universities	78	4	17				
Build hospitals with qualified medical staff	74	4	17	4			
Build the continental way, which links the region with the Centre as soon as possible	52	22	17	9			
Build the Western Salvation roads together with other roads that link Darfur's major cities	65	13	17	4			
Intra-state roads including *Al Ingaz Western* highway	52	26	22				
Build roads to link all localities to the major highways	48	22	30				
Infrastructure including airports, bridges and electrical generation	61	9	30				
Modern communication system	39	17	30	13			
Construction of dams on main *wadis*	48	26	17	4	4		
Develop the natural resources of Darfur (Forestry, animal husbandry, agriculture, mining and oil etc.)	52	30	13	4			
Exploration for oil and minerals	52	13	13	17		4	
Develop fair, balanced and effective rural projects	55	14	32				
Promote collective agricultural projects by raising capacities of producers and opening of local markets	43	13	30	13			
Rehabilitate former agricultural enterprises	48	13	39				
Agro-processing using local products	35	22	39	4			

Agricultural programs for gradual settlement of nomads	22	13	30	13	22		
Support projects to protect the environment	39	22	22	17			
Establish medium and small industrial projects	30	30	26	13			
Small scale savings and social development bank	52	17	17	13			
Special projects to combat poverty	57	22	22				
Encourage citizens not to depend on foreign aid through quick impact projects	61	9	22		9		
Provide the nomads with a source of water in the northern region so they can stay there longer	65	4	22	4	4		
Provide qualified people to look after the health of nomads and their animals	48	22	17		13		
Modernization of pastoralism and animal husbandry	52	26	17	4			
Special provision for nomads at *dammars* and on migration routs	22	30	30	4	9	4	
Education and capacity building for women	57	17	26				
Training for the youth	48	30	17	4			
Support youth centres and local theatre	26	35	39				
Darfur Universities and community colleges should strengthen Darfurian society and culture	61	22	17				
Create special programs for the education of nomads	48	13	22	13	4		
More UNAMID funds should go to Quick Impact Projects (QIPs)	48	22	17	9		4	
All the funds presently spent on humanitarian aid and UNAMID should be pledged for development	39	9	22	4	26		

Table 25. Priorities for development nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Reform old development projects and create a new balanced plan for all Darfur	80	17		3			
The State should provide all necessary services (education, health, water and roads etc.)	93	3	3				
Provide basic and secondary education as well as Universities	86	14					
Build hospitals with qualified medical staff	97	3					
Build the continental way, which links the region with the Centre as soon as possible	83	3	10		3		
Build the Western Salvation roads together with other roads that link Darfur's major cities	97	3					
Intra-state roads including *Al Ingaz Western* highway	87	10	3				
Build roads to link all localities to the major highways	73	13	13				
Infrastructure including airports, bridges and electrical generation	63	20	13	3			
Modern communication system	60	13	13	10		3	
Construction of dams on main *wadis*	69	21	10				
Develop the natural resources of Darfur (Forestry, animal husbandry, agriculture, mining and oil etc.)	66	14	21				
Exploration for oil and minerals	61	18	18	4			
Develop fair, balanced and effective rural projects	57	23	7	13			
Promote collective agricultural projects by raising capacities of producers and opening of local markets	50	20	27	3			
Rehabilitate former agricultural enterprises	47	10	20	23			
Agro-processing using local products	40	33	17	10			

Agricultural programs for gradual settlement of nomads	70	13	13	3			
Support projects to protect the environment	62	17	17	3			
Establish medium and small industrial projects	43	30	20	7			
Small scale savings and social development bank	53	37	10				
Special projects to combat poverty	73	17	10				
Encourage citizens not to depend on foreign aid through quick impact projects	67	10	10	13			
Provide the nomads with a source of water in the northern region so they can stay there longer	97		3				
Provide qualified people to look after the health of nomads and their animals	80	13	3	3			
Modernization of pastoralism and animal husbandry	60	20	13	7			
Special provision for nomads at *dammars* and on migration routs	73	7	17	3			
Education and capacity building for women	63	20	3	13			
Training for the youth	47	23	17	13			
Support youth centres and local theatre	50	23	7	17	3		
Darfur Universities and community colleges should strengthen Darfurian society and culture	57	17	10	13		3	
Create special programs for the education of nomads	90	7	3				
More UNAMID funds should go to Quick Impact Projects (QIPs)	60	10	23	3		3	
All the funds presently spent on humanitarian aid and UNAMID should be pledged for development	77	10	13				

8. Administration and democracy

Question: *With regards to administration and democracy please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

 Fifteen options were put on offer to deal with issues relating to administration and democracy and the top concern for the non-nomads was that 'Native administrators should avoid narrow tribalism and respect all cultures' at 70% essential with the same item second on the nomad list at 72% essential. So there is considerable agreement here across all communities for the need to establish a professional and non-partisan government administration (Table 26). However the first priority for the nomads at 86% essential was that these 'Native administrators should be free and fairly elected' and the NISS want this question to be deleted (see footnotes). But, then, the nomads were split on the corollary of this question that 'Native administrators should continue to be appointed by the government' at 41% essential and 38% unacceptable (Table 28) along with 57% of non-nomads who also considered these appointments to be unacceptable (Table 27).

Interestingly, the non-nomads second priority was to 'Restore and expand state authority in Darfur' at 57% essential but this item was last on the nomad list at only 7% essential and 28% unacceptable. Third on the non-nomad list was that 'Camp committees should work with the UN, donors, government and all the parties to a peace agreement to return IDPs to their homes' at 57% essential and third on the nomad list was that 'Native administrators should represent their geographic constituency and *Hawakeer*'. Then fourth on both their lists was the need to 'Reform native administration to deal with new economic and social realities'. Clearly the priorities of nomads and non-nomads are a little different but these results indicate one common theme, namely that the present administration is not sufficiently responsive to the needs of the different communities of Darfur and that both nomads and non-nomads require reform to deal with this deficiency.

Table 26. Priorities for administration and democracy

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	Native administrators should avoid narrow tribalism and respect all cultures	70	Native administrators should be free and fairly elected	86
2nd	Restore and expand state authority in Darfur	57	Native administrators should avoid narrow tribalism and respect all cultures	72
3rd	Camp committees should work with the UN, donors, government and all the parties to a peace agreement to return IDPs to their homes	57	Native administrators should represent their geographic constituency and *Hawakeer*	48
4th	Reform native administration to deal with new economic and social realities	52	Reform native administration to deal with new economic and social realities	41

5th	Native administrators, the GoS, UNAMID and NGOs should all work together	52	Native administrators should continue to be appointed by the government	41
6th	Native administrators should be free and fairly elected[29]	48	Native administrators, the GoS, UNAMID and NGOs should all work together	41
7th	*Omdas* and *sheiks* should work with youth and women's groups in camps	48	Involve Native administration in decision making and development planning	38
8th	Involve Native administration in decision making and development planning	43	Restoration of the authority of the native administration to maintain order	36
9th	Restoration of the authority of the native administration to maintain order	39	*Omdas* and *sheiks* should work with youth and women's groups in camps	31
10th	Give native administration more power and authority	35	Give native administration more power and authority	28
11th	Native administrators should represent their geographic constituency and *Hawakeer[30]*	35	IDPs who have returned to their homes should be the responsibility of traditional native administrators	24
12th	IDPs in camps should be the joint responsibility of native administrators (*omdas and sheikhs*) and NGOs[31]	35	Government should not interfere in native administration	21
13th	Government should not interfere in native administration[32]	26	Camp committees should work with the UN, donors, government and all the parties to a peace agreement to return IDPs to their homes	17
14th	Native administrators should continue to be appointed by the government	22	IDPs in camps should be the joint responsibility of native administrators (*omdas and sheikhs*) and NGOs	14
15th	IDPs who have returned to their homes should be the responsibility of traditional native administrators	22	Restore and expand state authority in Darfur	7

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[29] ~~Native administrators should be free and fairly elected~~. NISS – Deletion required.

[30] ~~Native administrators should represent their geographic constituency~~. NISS – Deletion required.

[31] ~~IDPs in camps should be the joint responsibility of native administrators (*omdas and sheikhs*) and NGOs~~. NISS – Deletion required.

[32] *Government SHOULD interfere and monitor the performance of native administration*. NISS – Require this wording because the native administration represents the state.

Table 27. Priorities for administration and democracy non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Give native administration more power and authority	35	9	22	4	30		
Reform native administration to deal with new economic and social realities	52	13	22	13			
Involve Native administration in decision making and development planning	43	4	17	13	22		
Restoration of the authority of the native administration to maintain order	39	22	17	9	13		
Native administrators should represent their geographic constituency and *Hawakeer*	35	17	17	4	26		
Native administrators should avoid narrow tribalism and respect all cultures	70	9	13		9		
Government should not interfere in native administration	26		13	4	57		
Native administrators should be free and fairly elected	48	17	22		13		
Native administrators should continue to be appointed by the government	22		13		57	4	4
Restore and expand state authority in Darfur	57	4	30	4	4		
IDPs in camps should be the joint responsibility of native administrators (*omdas and sheikhs*) and NGOs	35	22	17	9	13	4	
Native administrators, the GoS, UNAMID and NGOs should all work together	52	13	22	4	9		
Omdas and *sheiks* should work with youth and women's groups in camps	48	13	22	9	9		
Camp committees should work with the UN, donors, government and all the parties to a peace agreement to return IDPs to their homes	57	13	9	13	9		
IDPs who have returned to their homes should be the responsibility of traditional native administrators	22	13	17	9	30	9	

Table 28. Priorities for administration and democracy nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Give native administration more power and authority	28	7	17	24	21		3
Reform native administration to deal with new economic and social realities	41	28	24	3	3		
Involve Native administration in decision making and development planning	38	24	17	17	3		
Restoration of the authority of the native administration to maintain order	36	36	14	14			
Native administrators should represent their geographic constituency and *Hawakeer*	48	7	3	14	21	7	
Native administrators should avoid narrow tribalism and respect all cultures	72	7	10	10			
Government should not interfere in native administration	21	21	10		48		
Native administrators should be free and fairly elected	86	10	3				
Native administrators should continue to be appointed by the government	41	3			38	7	10
Restore and expand state authority in Darfur	7	28	21	17		28	
IDPs in camps should be the joint responsibility of native administrators (*omdas and sheikhs*) and NGOs	14	18	14	25	4	21	4
Native administrators, the GoS, UNAMID and NGOs should all work together	41	28	21	7		3	
Omdas and *sheiks* should work with youth and women's groups in camps	31	24	24			14	7
Camp committees should work with the UN, donors, government and all the parties to a peace agreement to return IDPs to their homes	17	24	21	7	3	17	10
IDPs who have returned to their homes should be the responsibility of traditional native administrators	24	24	10	7	3	31	

9. Political reform

Question: *With regards to political reform please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

Equality and equal treatment comes through as the key political demand of all the people of Darfur and it follows that a failure in this regard (like so many places around the world) is the cause of much disaffection and possibly violence. From a list of 20 items for political reform the first priority for nomads at 97% essential is 'The Governor of Darfur must work for all the people of Darfur irrespective of their tribe, gender or ethnic origin'. This item is joint-first on the non-nomad list at 83% essential along with 'Implement all existing laws that guarantee equality amongst all the people', which is third on the nomad list at 79% essential (Table 29). Quite understandably second on the nomad list is 'Nomads should share in the power and wealth of Darfur' at 86% essential and it is also essential for 61% of non-nomads while only 13% of them consider this proposal to be unacceptable (Table 30).

So as far as the people of Darfur are concerned equality and equal treatment is an achievable reality and it is up to the government to put the necessary political structures in place to do this. To this end both nomads and non-nomads can agree on a number of reforms such as 'Elections should be free and fair so that Darfurians can enable political reform' (74% essential for non-nomads and 72% for nomads) and 'Fair participation in power at all levels of local and federal government' (70% essential for non-nomads and 62% for nomads) as well as 'The new political structures should include all the people and tribes of Darfur not just those who signed the agreement' at 79% essential for nomads and 65% for non-nomads.

With regards to the political division of Darfur everyone is agreed that 'States should not be made on a tribal bases' (68% essential for non-nomads and 76% for nomads) but more work needs to be done on how such divisions should be made. The NISS want the proposal that 'Darfur should be one region' deleted from the questionnaire but most Darfurians do not want this either at second from last, 19th, on the non-nomad list and very last, 20th, on the nomad list. The nomads seem to favour the view that 'If Darfur is divided it should not be more than 3 states' at 62% essential but the non-nomads possibly share the NISS view that there should be more than three regions as the NISS would like this option redrafted this way (see footnotes) and 30% of non-nomads consider the 3 state option to be unacceptable.

But equality and equal treatment is the key issue to be dealt with here and it is perhaps both disappointing and revealing that the NISS want 'Affirmative action programs to rectify problems of past discrimination' deleted from the questionnaire as they claim that there has been no discrimination in the past (see footnotes).

Table 29. Priorities for political reform

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	Implement all existing laws that guarantee equality amongst all the people	83	The Governor of Darfur must work for all the people of Darfur irrespective of their tribe, gender or ethnic origin	97
2nd	The Governor of Darfur must work for all the people of Darfur irrespective of their tribe, gender or ethnic origin	83	Nomads should share in the power and wealth of Darfur	86
3rd	The practice of genuine democracy with freedom of expression	78	Implement all existing laws that guarantee equality amongst all the people	79
4th	Elections should be free and fair so that Darfurians can enable political reform	74	Pass legislation to ensure the rights of nomads and their way of life	79
5th	Fair participation in power at all levels of local and federal government	70	The new political structures should include all the people and tribes of Darfur not just those who signed the agreement.	79
6th	The powers of the central government and Darfur regional government should be clearly defined	68	States should not be made on a tribal bases	76
7th	States should not be made on a tribal bases	68	Elections should be free and fair so that Darfurians can enable political reform	72
8th	The new political structures should include all the people and tribes of Darfur not just those who signed the agreement.	65	Fair distribution of wealth between Darfur, all the states and the central government in proportion to population	69
9th	Fair distribution of wealth between Darfur, all the states and the central government in proportion to population	61	Governors should be chosen by Darfurians	69
10th	Affirmative action programs to rectify problems of past discrimination[33]	61	The practice of genuine democracy with freedom of expression	62
11th	Nomads should share in the power and wealth of Darfur	61	Fair participation in power at all levels of local and federal government	62

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[33] ~~Affirmative action programs to rectify problems of past discrimination~~. NISS – Delete as there was no discrimination in the past.

12th	Governors should be chosen by Darfurians	61	If Darfur is divided it should not be more than 3 states	62
13th	The Darfur regional government should have executive, legislative and judicial powers	57	Make it possible for the representation of Darfur in the central government of Khartoum in proportion to population	59
14th	Train local people to manage their own administration	52	Stop the politicization of civil servants through training at work so that they will be neutral	55
15th	Stop the politicization of civil servants through training at work so that they will be neutral	48	The powers of the central government and Darfur regional government should be clearly defined	52
16th	All the parties to the agreement should share power in the same way.	48	Train local people to manage their own administration	41
17th	Make it possible for the representation of Darfur in the central government of Khartoum in proportion to population	43	All the parties to the agreement should share power in the same way.	41
18th	Pass legislation to ensure the rights of nomads and their way of life	35	Affirmative action programs to rectify problems of past discrimination	36
19th	Darfur should be one region[34]	32	The Darfur regional government should have executive, legislative and judicial powers	17
20th	If Darfur is divided it should not be more than 3 states[35]	22	Darfur should be one region	3

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[34] ~~Darfur should be one region~~. NISS – Deletion required.

[35] *If Darfur is divided it should ~~not~~ be more than 3 states*. NISS – Require 'not' is deleted.

Table 30. Priorities for political reform non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
The practice of genuine democracy with freedom of expression	78		4	9		9	
Implement all existing laws that guarantee equality amongst all the people	83	4	13				
Fair participation in power at all levels of local and federal government	70	13	9	4		4	
Make it possible for the representation of Darfur in the central government of Khartoum in proportion to population	43	22	9	4	17	4	
Stop the politicization of civil servants through training at work so that they will be neutral	48	17	13	4	9	9	
Train local people to manage their own administration	52	22	13	9	4		
Fair distribution of wealth between Darfur, all the states and the central government in proportion to population	61	17	4	4	13		
Affirmative action programs to rectify problems of past discrimination	61	9	22			9	
The powers of the central government and Darfur regional government should be clearly defined	68	14	9	5		5	
The Darfur regional government should have executive, legislative and judicial powers	57	9	13	9	9	4	
Darfur should be one region	32	9	23	9	23		5
If Darfur is divided it should not be more than 3 states	22	4	22	17	30		4
States should not be made on a tribal bases	68		18	9	5		
Nomads should share in the power and wealth of Darfur	61		17	4	13	4	
Pass legislation to ensure the rights of nomads and their way of life	35	26	9	4	17	9	

The Governor of Darfur must work for all the people of Darfur irrespective of their tribe, gender or ethnic origin	83		13		4		
Governors should be chosen by Darfurians	61	9	26		4		
Elections should be free and fair so that Darfurians can enable political reform	74	9	13		4		
The new political structures should include all the people and tribes of Darfur not just those who signed the agreement.	65	4	22		9		
All the parties to the agreement should share power in the same way.	48	17	13		13	9	

Table 31. Priorities for political reform nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
The practice of genuine democracy with freedom of expression	62	10	14	10		3	
Implement all existing laws that guarantee equality amongst all the people	79	21					
Fair participation in power at all levels of local and federal government	62	17	10	7			3
Make it possible for the representation of Darfur in the central government of Khartoum in proportion to population	59	10	7	14		10	
Stop the politicization of civil servants through training at work so that they will be neutral	55	17	17	3		7	
Train local people to manage their own administration	41	21	17	10	3	3	3
Fair distribution of wealth between Darfur, all the states and the central government in proportion to population	69	14	14	3			
Affirmative action programs to rectify problems of past discrimination	36	25	18	7		14	
The powers of the central government and Darfur regional government should be clearly defined	52	10	10	10		10	7
The Darfur regional government should have executive, legislative and judicial powers	17	28	14	21	7		14
Darfur should be one region	3	7		38	31		21
If Darfur is divided it should not be more than 3 states	62	7	17	7	3	3	
States should not be made on a tribal bases	76	21	3				
Nomads should share in the power and wealth of Darfur	86	14					
Pass legislation to ensure the rights of nomads and their way of life	79	14	3	3			

The Governor of Darfur must work for all the people of Darfur irrespective of their tribe, gender or ethnic origin	97	3				
Governors should be chosen by Darfurians	69	17	14			
Elections should be free and fair so that Darfurians can enable political reform	72	14	10	3		
The new political structures should include all the people and tribes of Darfur not just those who signed the agreement.	79	10	7	3		
All the parties to the agreement should share power in the same way.	41	21	17	7		14

10. Elections

Question: *With regards to elections please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

The NISS wanted the whole of this section of the questionnaire deleted if the questionnaire could not be run and the results published before elections were held. Given the NISS refusal to allow this research agenda to be taken forward such a delay was inevitable. But here are the results anyway as they could help set the parameters for any future elections if and when they may take place.

The non-nomads clearly did not want to 'Hold elections in 2010 with the rest of Sudan' at 0% essential and 50% unacceptable (Table 33) while the nomads held the opposite view at 65% essential and 0% unacceptable (Table 34). Having said that everyone did want various conditions to be met for the holding of elections, which might usefully be taken into account in the future.

Table 32 lists 15 conditions/options for free and fair elections. Both nomads and non-nomads require that 'There is security' first on the nomad list at 72% essential and second on the non-nomad list at 74% essential. But first on the non-nomad list is that 'A peace agreement is signed' also at 74% essential. This is not quite so important for the nomads as it comes in 8th on their list. A higher priority for nomads is that 'There is a public awareness campaign' second on their list at 62% essential.

In addition to a need for security and public awareness to ensure the essential democratic viability of an election the more demanding requirement that 'There is a new electoral register' is far less important at 45% unacceptable for nomads and 30% for non-nomads although they are split on this issue at 39% essential. As always identifying the demographic characteristics of this kind of split in a comprehensive public opinion sample could be very helpful and informative.

Table 32. Priorities for elections

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	A peace agreement is signed	74	There is security	72
2nd	There is security	74	There is a public awareness campaign	62
3rd	There is a fully independent electoral commission and judges	70	The IDPs are returned safely to their homes	59
4th	There are trained election workers	70	There are trained election workers	59
5th	There are international monitors	70	There is a fully independent electoral commission and judges	55
6th	There is an accurate census	68	A peace agreement is signed	52
7th	The parties to the conflict are reconciled	61	There is an accurate census	52
8th	A transitional government has been established to conduct elections	57	A peace agreement is implemented	45
9th	A peace agreement is implemented	57	They are separate from and not part of the CPA process	34
10th	There is a public awareness campaign	57	There are international monitors	24
11th	The political parties are reformed and reorganized	48	There is a new demarcation of constituencies	21
12th	They are separate from and not part of the CPA process	48	The parties to the conflict are reconciled	11
13th	The IDPs are returned safely to their homes	43	The political parties are reformed and reorganized	10
14th	There is a new electoral register	39	A transitional government has been established to conduct elections	7
15th	There is a new demarcation of constituencies	39	There is a new electoral register	7

Table 33. Priorities for elections non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Hold elections in 2010 with the rest of Sudan		21	21	7	50		

Or only hold elections when:

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
A transitional government has been established to conduct elections	57	17	9		9	9	
The parties to the conflict are reconciled	61		30		4	4	
The IDPs are returned safely to their homes	43	22	22	4	9		
A peace agreement is signed	74	4	13	9			
A peace agreement is implemented	57	17	9	9	4	4	
There is security	74	9	17				
There is an accurate census	68	9	14		9		
There is a new electoral register	39	17	4		30	9	
There is a new demarcation of constituencies	39	4	9	4	30	9	4
There is a fully independent electoral commission and judges	70	17	9				4
There are trained election workers	70	17	13				
There are international monitors	70	9	17	4			
The political parties are reformed and reorganized	48	22	9		13	9	
There is a public awareness campaign	57	22	17	4			
They are separate from and not part of the CPA process	48	9	17	4	13	9	

Table 34. Priorities for elections nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Hold elections in 2010 with the rest of Sudan	65	8	15	8		4	

Or only hold elections when:

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
A transitional government has been established to conduct elections	7	7	7	14	31	17	17
The parties to the conflict are reconciled	11	14	11	11	25	25	4
The IDPs are returned safely to their homes	59	7	7	14		3	10
A peace agreement is signed	52	3	7	21	3	10	3
A peace agreement is implemented	45	7	3	17		21	7
There is security	72	10	10	3		3	
There is an accurate census	52	10	3	3	14	17	
There is a new electoral register	7	7	3	17	45	3	17
There is a new demarcation of constituencies	21		11	7	43	7	11
There is a fully independent electoral commission and judges	55	10	3	17	3	7	3
There are trained election workers	59	10	10	10	3	7	
There are international monitors	24	14	21	28	10	3	
The political parties are reformed and reorganized	10	7	14	7	10	52	
There is a public awareness campaign	62	24	3	10			
They are separate from and not part of the CPA process	34	7	14	10	7	21	7

11. Reconciliation

Question: *With regards to reconciliation please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

From a list of 19 options for dealing with the problems of reconciliation the first choice of both the nomads and non-nomads is that 'The government should treat all tribes the same without favouritism' at 78% essential for non-nomads and 86% for nomads (Table 35). Beyond dealing with the fundamental problem of discrimination which the NISS is reluctant to recognise (see 'Political reform') all the people of Darfur sampled here are very positive about a number of measures that can be taken forward such as 'The religious leaders should play a positive role in reconciliation' at 83% essential for nomads and 57% for non-nomads and 'Make Darfur-Darfur Dialogue an all Sudanese domestic process' at 65% essential for non-nomads and 66% for nomads.

Second on the non-nomad list is 'The Government of Sudan should recognize the suffering of the people of Darfur' at 74% essential and 6th on their list at 61% essential is 'The international community should monitor the implementation of reconciliation'. But the NISS require that this option be deleted (see footnotes). In practical peace making and reconciliation terms these two items are related for although it is understandable that the government of Sudan do not want international involvement in their domestic affairs it is only through effective measures to deal with past suffering and discrimination that the people of Darfur will be able to move forward and to this end the first step for the government of Sudan must be the recognition of the problem. It may well be the case that many in the government of Sudan do understand the significance of this imperative but the NISS do not accept the existence of past discrimination and this is clearly a very real difficulty (see 'Political reform').

On the other hand the NISS want reconciliation to be taken forward both before and after a peace agreement is signed and require changes to these questions accordingly (see footnotes). The mixed results on this issue suggest that the people of Darfur agree with the NISS on this point (Table 36 and 37). Non-nomads recorded 30% essential and 17% unacceptable for 'Start reconciliation without delay before a peace agreement is reached' with support for this proposition at 55% essential for nomads. But nomads were split on the suggestion to 'Complete a comprehensive peace agreement before reconciliation' at 31% essential and 17% unacceptable while non-nomads give more support to this proposal at 43% essential and 13% unacceptable. The NISS proposal to 'Start reconciliation before and continue after a peace agreement is reached' would probably got more support all round and this would no doubt be especially true if the government of Sudan and NISS would be willing to take the first significant steps in this regard.

Table 35. Priorities for reconciliation

		Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st		The government should treat all tribes the same without favoritism	78	The government should treat all tribes the same without favoritism	86
2nd		The Government of Sudan should recognize the suffering of the people of Darfur	74	The religious leaders should play a positive role in reconciliation	83
3rd		Make Darfur-Darfur Dialogue an all Sudanese domestic process	65	Establish awareness, counseling and reconciliation for peaceful coexistence and a culture of peace	76
4th		Unification of the movements for the interests of all Darfur	64	Combat 'narrow tribalism'	76
5th		Combat 'narrow tribalism'	61	Resolve the conflict between the tribes in central Darfur	76
6th		The international community should monitor the implementation of reconciliation[36]	61	Change the role of *Hakamat* to promote peace and development instead of war and armed robbery	76
7th		Continue Darfur-Darfur Dialogue to deepen contacts and peaceful coexistence	57	Make Darfur-Darfur Dialogue an all Sudanese domestic process	66
8th		Extend Darfur-Darfur Dialogue to support reconciliation throughout Sudan	57	Continue Darfur-Darfur Dialogue to deepen contacts and peaceful coexistence	66
9th		The religious leaders should play a positive role in reconciliation	57	Establish on-going dialogue between all tribes	66
10th		Follow Islamic, Judiyya and customary rules of reconciliation, *Rakooba* and *Duwana*	57	Follow Islamic, Judiyya and customary rules of reconciliation, *Rakooba* and *Duwana*	66
11th		Use the media for reconciliation with absolute neutrality	55	Use the media for reconciliation with absolute neutrality	64
12th		Resolve the conflict between the tribes in central Darfur	52	Unification of the movements for the interests of all Darfur	62
13th		Establish awareness, counseling and reconciliation for peaceful coexistence and a culture of peace	48	The Government of Sudan should recognize the suffering of the people of Darfur	59
14th		Establish on-going dialogue between all tribes	48	Start reconciliation without delay before a peace agreement is reached	55

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[36] ~~The international community should monitor the implementation of reconciliation.~~ ~~NISS~~ – Deletion required.

15th	Change the role of *Hakamat* to promote peace and development instead of war and armed robbery	48	Extend Darfur-Darfur Dialogue to support reconciliation throughout Sudan	52
16th	Complete a comprehensive peace agreement before reconciliation[37]	43	Use traditional cultural mechanisms to help resolve problems and violence	45
17th	Use traditional cultural mechanisms to help resolve problems and violence	43	Complete a comprehensive peace agreement before reconciliation	31
18th	Educate the non-government militias for peace	43	The international community should monitor the implementation of reconciliation	28
19th	Start reconciliation without delay before a peace agreement is reached[38]	30	Educate the non-government militias for peace	17

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[37] *Start reconciliation before and continue after a peace agreement is reached*. NISS – Combine two options and replace with this one.

[38] *Start reconciliation before and continue after a peace agreement is reached*. NISS – Combine two options and replace with this one.

Table 36. Priorities for reconciliation non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
The Government of Sudan should recognize the suffering of the people of Darfur	74	4	9	9	4		
Start reconciliation without delay before a peace agreement is reached	30	26	22	4	17		
Complete a comprehensive peace agreement before reconciliation	43	17	26		13		
Establish awareness, counselling and reconciliation for peaceful coexistence and a culture of peace	48	17	35				
Make Darfur-Darfur Dialogue an all Sudanese domestic process	65	4	17	13			
Continue Darfur-Darfur Dialogue to deepen contacts and peaceful coexistence	57	17	17	9			
Extend Darfur-Darfur Dialogue to support reconciliation throughout Sudan	57	17	17	4		4	
Establish on-going dialogue between all tribes	48	17	13	9	13		
Combat 'narrow tribalism'	61	9	17	4	9		
Resolve the conflict between the tribes in central Darfur	52	30	13		4		
The government should treat all tribes the same without favoritism	78		13	4		4	
Unification of the movements for the interests of all Darfur	64	14	18			5	
The religious leaders should play a positive role in reconciliation	57	13	17	4	4	4	
Use traditional cultural mechanisms to help resolve problems and violence	43	17	26	4	4	4	
Follow Islamic, Judiyya and customary rules of reconciliation, *Rakooba* and *Duwana*	57	9	22	9	4		
Change the role of *Hakamat* to promote peace and	48	9	26	4	9	4	

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
development instead of war and armed robbery							
Educate the non-government militias for peace	43	26	9	4	13	4	
Use the media for reconciliation with absolute neutrality	55	9	23	5	9		
The international community should monitor the implementation of reconciliation	61	17	13		4		4

Table 37. Priorities for reconciliation nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
The Government of Sudan should recognize the suffering of the people of Darfur	59	14	10	3	10	3	
Start reconciliation without delay before a peace agreement is reached	55	28	3	7	3	3	
Complete a comprehensive peace agreement before reconciliation	31	14	14	21	17		3
Establish awareness, counselling and reconciliation for peaceful coexistence and a culture of peace	76	10	14				
Make Darfur-Darfur Dialogue an all Sudanese domestic process	66	10	3	17		3	
Continue Darfur-Darfur Dialogue to deepen contacts and peaceful coexistence	66	7	14	10		3	
Extend Darfur-Darfur Dialogue to support reconciliation throughout Sudan	52	21	7	10		10	
Establish on-going dialogue between all tribes	66	17	10	7			
Combat 'narrow tribalism'	76	17	3	3			
Resolve the conflict between the tribes in central Darfur	76	17	7				
The government should treat all tribes the same without favoritism	86	10	3				
Unification of the movements	62	10	14	3	3		7

for the interests of all Darfur						
The religious leaders should play a positive role in reconciliation	83	17				
Use traditional cultural mechanisms to help resolve problems and violence	45	28	17	10		
Follow Islamic, Judiyya and customary rules of reconciliation, *Rakooba* and *Duwana*	66	24	10			
Change the role of *Hakamat* to promote peace and development instead of war and armed robbery	76	14	10			
Educate the non-government militias for peace	17	17	17	3	14	31
Use the media for reconciliation with absolute neutrality	64	11	11	11			4
The international community should monitor the implementation of reconciliation	28	28	17	21	3		3

12. Justice

Question: *With regards to justice please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

From a list of sixteen options that deal with the administration of justice the top two priorities for non-nomads are 'Bring all those who have committed crimes to account' and 'Ensure the protection and dignity of all witnesses' both at 78% essential. Third on their list at 76% essential and first on the nomad list at 79% is 'Teach equality, human rights and respect for all groups for all children in school' then 4th on the non-nomad list and 3rd on the nomad list is 'Fully implement the law and the administration of justice' (Table 38). Second on the nomad list is 'Respect all human rights and obligations' (6th on the non-nomad list) but 4th on the nomad list is 'Remove all immunities and other impediments to justice' at 57% essential with the same item 5th on the non-nomad list at 70% essential. Up until now this desire for justice and human rights has not presented any problems for the NISS but they do want 'Remove all immunities and other impediments to justice' deleted from the questionnaire this being a right that they presently enjoy (see footnotes).

At the request of the DDDC a number of options were included in this section of the questionnaire that were proposed by the African Union panel chaired by Thabo Mbeki. They relate to the establishment of a truth commission along South African lines and the hybrid courts that would include international judges. For the most part the NISS want these options deleted from the questionnaire, because the government of Sudan has not yet agreed to these proposals, or require alterations to the questions to remove any international input to the justice process (see footnotes). The nomads appear to have some sympathy for this point of view with 28% of them considering the proposal to 'Establish special courts to deal with crimes in Darfur that include both respected Sudan and international judges' to be unacceptable (Table 40) while 57% of non-nomads consider this proposal to be essential.

Clearly any purely domestic Sudanese justice process established to deal with crimes committed in Darfur is going to find it very difficult to attain the confidence of the victims of those crimes. It also seems to be the case that the involvement of the 'international community' is not always welcome by some sections of Sudan society so perhaps a stronger emphasis on the African Union as the international partner of choice could be helpful here.

Table 38. Priorities for justice

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	Bring all those who have committed crimes to account	78	Teach equality, human rights and respect for all groups for all children in school	79
2nd	Ensure the protection and dignity of all witnesses	78	Respect all human rights and obligations	72
3rd	Teach equality, human rights and respect for all groups for all children in school	76	Fully implement the law and the administration of justice	69
4th	Fully implement the law and the administration of justice	70	Remove all immunities and other impediments to justice	57
5th	Remove all immunities and other impediments to justice[39]	70	Bring in special measures to deal with sexual crimes	41
6th	Respect all human rights and obligations	68	The Commission should report their findings and recommendations to the nation	41
7th	Bring in special measures to deal with sexual crimes	68	Bring all those who have committed crimes to account	34
8th	The international community should monitor the implementation of justice[40]	68	Ensure the protection and dignity of all witnesses	34
9th	The Commission should report their findings and recommendations to the nation[41]	61	The Commission should have powers to grant pardons	24
10th	Establish special courts to deal with crimes in Darfur that include both respected Sudan and international judges[42]	57	Bring Sudan's laws and justice system up to the best international standards	21
11th	Provide the special courts with all necessary resources and international expertise[43]	52	The Commission should have powers to grant compensation	21
12th	Bring Sudan's laws and justice	48	The international community	18

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[39] ~~Remove all immunities and other impediments to justice~~. NISS – Deletion required.

[40] ~~The international community should monitor the implementation of justice~~. NISS – Deletion required.

[41] *The ~~Commission~~ Special judges should report their findings and recommendations to the nation*. NISS – Change to Special judges.

[42] *Establish special courts to deal with crimes in Darfur that include ~~both~~ respected Sudan ~~and international~~ judges*. NISS – Change as noted as the government has not yet agreed to set up special or hybrid courts containing foreign judges.

[43] ~~Provide the special courts with all necessary resources and international expertise~~. NISS – Deletion required.

	system up to the best international standards[44]		should monitor the implementation of justice	
13th	Establish a truth and reconciliation Commission with persons of high standing like South Africa	41	Establish a truth and reconciliation Commission with persons of high standing like South Africa	17
14th	Allow all persons to make representations to the Commission[45]	39	Allow all persons to make representations to the Commission	14
15th	The Commission should have powers to grant compensation[46]	39	Provide the special courts with all necessary resources and international expertise	7
16th	The Commission should have powers to grant pardons[47]	30	Establish special courts to deal with crimes in Darfur that include both respected Sudan and international judges	3

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[44] ~~Bring Sudan's laws and justice system up to the best international standards~~. NISS – Delete as Sudan's laws and justice system is already compatible with international standards.

[45] ~~Allow all persons to make representations to the Commission~~. NISS – Deletion required.

[46] *The ~~Commission~~ Special judges should have powers to grant compensation*. NISS – Change to Special judges.

[47] *The ~~Commission~~ Special judges should have powers to grant pardons*. NISS – Change to Special judges.

Table 39. Priorities for justice non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Respect all human rights and obligations	68	18	5	5	5		
Teach equality, human rights and respect for all groups for all children in school	76	10	10		5		
Bring Sudan's laws and justice system up to the best international standards	48	22	17		4	9	
Fully implement the law and the administration of justice	70	9	17	4			
Bring all those who have committed crimes to account	78		17		4		
Establish special courts to deal with crimes in Darfur that include both respected Sudan and international judges	57	9	17	4	13		
Provide the special courts with all necessary resources and international expertise	52	13	13	4	9	9	
Ensure the protection and dignity of all witnesses	78		9		9	4	
Bring in special measures to deal with sexual crimes	68	5	18	5	5		
Remove all immunities and other impediments to justice	70	4	9	9		4	4
Establish a truth and reconciliation Commission with persons of high standing like South Africa	41	5	18	5	18	14	
Allow all persons to make representations to the Commission	39	22	13	13	9	4	
The Commission should have powers to grant compensation	39	17	22	4	13	4	
The Commission should have powers to grant pardons	30	17	22	13	13	4	
The Commission should report their findings and recommendations to the nation	61		26	4	4	4	
The international community should monitor the implementation of justice	68		14	9	5	5	

Table 40. Priorities for justice nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Respect all human rights and obligations	72	14	10		3		
Teach equality, human rights and respect for all groups for all children in school	79	17	3				
Bring Sudan's laws and justice system up to the best international standards	21	21	17	10		21	10
Fully implement the law and the administration of justice	69	3	24	3			
Bring all those who have committed crimes to account	34	17	7	14	3	17	7
Establish special courts to deal with crimes in Darfur that include both respected Sudan and international judges	3	10	7	24	28	10	17
Provide the special courts with all necessary resources and international expertise	7	24	10	14	7	21	17
Ensure the protection and dignity of all witnesses	34	7	14	10	7	10	17
Bring in special measures to deal with sexual crimes	41	17	3	14	3	10	10
Remove all immunities and other impediments to justice	57	11	14	4	4	11	
Establish a truth and reconciliation Commission with persons of high standing like South Africa	17	21	3	24	7	24	3
Allow all persons to make representations to the Commission	14	10	7	14	24	31	
The Commission should have powers to grant compensation	21	14	10	17	3	21	14
The Commission should have powers to grant pardons	24	21	7	10	3	14	21
The Commission should report their findings and recommendations to the nation	41	10	10		3	24	10
The international community should monitor the implementation of justice	18	18	25	14	4	14	7

13. Identity and Citizenship

Question: *With regards to identity and citizenship please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?*

With regards to identity and citizenship the government of Sudan will be pleased to note that both non-nomads and nomads place the requirement that 'Darfur should remain a part of Sudan' at the top of their list of priorities at 70% and 93% essential respectively (Table 41). Nomads also strongly believe 'Darfur should be a model for coexistence and integration' at 89% essential while non-nomads emphasize the need to 'Preserve all traditional culture that respects the equality and diversity of Darfur'. These items come in second on their lists while third on the non-nomad list is 'Darfur should be a mixture of Arabism, Islam and Africanism' at 52% essential (6th on the nomad list at 68% essential).

As has always been the case elsewhere in this questionnaire the desire for equality and equal treatment of the people of Darfur comes through as a top priority. However, with regards to the rights of non-citizens there are reservations. The very last item on the nomad list is 'Citizenship for new immigrants from Chad and West Africa should be regulated by law' at only 29% essential while 29% say they don't know and 25% refused to answer (Table 43). Similarly the last item on the non-nomad list is 'New immigrants from Chad and West Africa holding Sudanese nationality documents should be allowed to stay' at only 30% essential but also 35% unacceptable (Table 42).

Table 41. Priorities for identity and citizenship

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	Darfur should remain a part of Sudan	70	Darfur should remain a part of Sudan	93
2nd	Preserve all traditional culture that respects the equality and diversity of Darfur	70	Darfur should be a model for coexistence and integration	89
3rd	Darfur should be a mixture of Arabism, Islam and Africanism	52	The central government, NGOs and international community should help to repair the social fabric of Darfur	86
4th	The central government, NGOs and international community should help to repair the social fabric of Darfur	52	Darfur as a mix of Arab and non-Arab should be a model for the rest of Sudan	82
5th	Extend the local and national radio and TV coverage to all of Darfur	52	Extend the local and national radio and TV coverage to all of Darfur	74
6th	Include local culture in the national radio and TV	52	Darfur should be a mixture of Arabism, Islam and Africanism	68
7th	Darfur as a mix of Arab and non-Arab should be a model for the rest of Sudan	48	Include local culture in the national radio and TV	61
8th	Darfur should be a model for coexistence and integration	43	Balance all information across the national radio and TV	61
9th	Citizenship for new immigrants from Chad and West Africa should be regulated by law	43	Preserve all traditional culture that respects the equality and diversity of Darfur	57
10th	Balance all information across the national radio and TV	43	New immigrants from Chad and West Africa holding Sudanese nationality documents should be allowed to stay	32
11th	New immigrants from Chad and West Africa holding Sudanese nationality documents should be allowed to stay	30	Citizenship for new immigrants from Chad and West Africa should be regulated by law	29

Table 42. Priorities for identity and citizenship non-nomads full results

Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Darfur should be a model for coexistence and integration	43	22	35				
Darfur should be a mixture of Arabism, Islam and Africanism	52	26	9	9	4		
Darfur as a mix of Arab and non-Arab should be a model for the rest of Sudan	48	17	22		9	4	
Darfur should remain a part of Sudan	70	13	9		4	4	
Citizenship for new immigrants from Chad and West Africa should be regulated by law	43	4	9	13	22	9	
New immigrants from Chad and West Africa holding Sudanese nationality documents should be allowed to stay	30		26		35	4	4
Preserve all traditional culture that respects the equality and diversity of Darfur	70	9	9	4	9		
The central government, NGOs and international community should help to repair the social fabric of Darfur	52	17	22	4	4		
Extend the local and national radio and TV coverage to all of Darfur	52	13	26	4	4		
Include local culture in the national radio and TV	52	22	13		13		
Balance all information across the national radio and TV	43	22	13		9	9	4

Table 43. Priorities for identity and citizenship nomads full results

Nomads per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know	Refuse
Darfur should be a model for coexistence and integration	89	7	4				
Darfur should be a mixture of Arabism, Islam and Africanism	68	11	7	4		4	7
Darfur as a mix of Arab and non-Arab should be a model for the rest of Sudan	82	4	11				4
Darfur should remain a part of Sudan	93					7	
Citizenship for new immigrants from Chad and West Africa should be regulated by law	29	7	4	4	4	29	25
New immigrants from Chad and West Africa holding Sudanese nationality documents should be allowed to stay	32	18	4	7	4	18	18
Preserve all traditional culture that respects the equality and diversity of Darfur	57	14	21	4		4	
The central government, NGOs and international community should help to repair the social fabric of Darfur	86	11		4			
Extend the local and national radio and TV coverage to all of Darfur	74	15	11				
Include local culture in the national radio and TV	61	14	7	11	7		
Balance all information across the national radio and TV	61	11	11	18			

The top 10 priorities and conclusion

If the top items from the different sections of this questionnaire are put together and if they are then rank ordered it is possible to get some sense of what is most important in the lives of the people of Darfur (Table 44).

The very top priorities appear to be the provision of the basic necessities of life, namely, the provision of drinking water, food and health care. The non-nomads also emphasize education while the nomads place more importance on a system of roads for Sudan and the provision of water in the northern region so that they can stay there longer. Beyond these basic necessities both nomads and non-nomads want the laws of the land, government and international community to treat everyone the same, equally, without discrimination. They also want peace through a negotiated agreement, justice and security with non-nomads emphasizing issues of justice and security and nomads emphasizing their specific needs such as programs for their settlement.

Is all of this too much to ask? One would hope not. But the NISS have brought this program of research to a premature close. However, other senior representatives of the government of Sudan asked if it would be possible to survey the opinions of all the different tribes in Darfur so that their views could be brought to the negotiation table. The research undertaken here clearly demonstrates that this can be done and that the people's priorities for peace are not in any way unreasonable and could be met if the political will is there to do so. Those who want peace, and all the benefits that this would bring, should take this agenda forward.

Table 44. Top ten priorities for peace in Darfur

	Non-Nomads per cent	Essential	Nomads per cent	Essential
1st	Provision of drinking water	83	Build hospitals with qualified medical staff	97
2nd	Provision of food, health and education services in villages	83	Build the Western Salvation roads together with other roads that link Darfur's major cities	97
3rd	Implement all existing laws that guarantee equality amongst all the people	83	Provide the nomads with a source of water in the northern region so they can stay there longer	97
4th	The Governor of Darfur must work for all the people of Darfur irrespective of their tribe, gender or ethnic origin	83	The Governor of Darfur must work for all the people of Darfur irrespective of their tribe, gender or ethnic origin	97
5th	Provide basic and secondary education as well as Universities	78	Provision of drinking water	93
6th	The government should treat all tribes the same without favoritism	78	Darfur should remain a part of Sudan	93
7th	Bring all those who have committed crimes to account	78	Include Arab tribes in the security process	90
8th	Ensure the protection and dignity of all witnesses	78	Pursue peace through negotiation rather than force and military struggle	90
9th	Control the trade in illegal arms	76	Programs for the settlement of the nomads	90
10th	Disarm lawless individuals and groups	74	The international community and NGOs should not discriminate among the people of Darfur in recruitment, relief and distribution or services	90