DARFURIAN VOICES
Documenting Darfuri Refugees’ Views on Issues of Peace, Justice, and Reconciliation

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Collin Raymond
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A Project By 24 Hours For Darfur
DARFURIANVOICES.ORG
Irdimi Refugee Camp, eastern Chad.
Woman and baby prepare for a sandstorm.
Gaga Refugee Camp, eastern Chad.
Women carrying water from a water point, Djabal Refugee Camp, eastern Chad.
Soccer game, Djabal Refugee Camp, eastern Chad.
A Project By 24 Hours For Darfur
In Collaboration With:

Res Publica
The Darfur People's Association of New York
The Darfur Rehabilitation Project
The Genocide Intervention Network
The Lowenstein Human Rights Project
at Yale Law School

The information provided and views expressed in this report are those of 24 Hours for Darfur alone and do not necessarily reflect those of its collaborating organizations.

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPA</td>
<td>Comprehensive Peace Agreement (&quot;Naivasha Agreement&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPA</td>
<td>Darfur Peace Agreement (&quot;Abuja Agreement&quot;)</td>
</tr>
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<td>GOS</td>
<td>Government of Sudan</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Criminal Court</td>
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<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally displaced person</td>
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<td>JEM</td>
<td>Justice and Equality Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>JMST</td>
<td>Joint Mediation Support Team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCP</td>
<td>National Congress Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCHA</td>
<td>Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA/AW</td>
<td>Sudan Liberation Army/Abdul Wahid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA/MM</td>
<td>Sudan Liberation Army/Minni Minnawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPLM/A</td>
<td>Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAMID</td>
<td>United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur</td>
</tr>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commission for Refugees</td>
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Project Overview

Darfuriian Voices is a project to systematically document the views held by Darfuriian refugees in Chad on issues of peace, justice, and reconciliation. The project is structured to serve as a mechanism through which these views can be accurately transmitted to policymakers, mediators, negotiating parties, and other key stakeholders.

The project consists of two components: (1) a random-sample survey representative of the entire Darfuriian refugee population living in the refugee camps in eastern Chad, and (2) in-depth interviews with tribal, civil society, and rebel leaders also living in Chad.

In May and June 2008, pilot research was conducted in N’Djamena, Abéché, and the Gaga refugee camp. Primary research was carried out in each of the 12 Darfuriian refugee camps in eastern Chad from April to July 2009. A total of 2,152 refugees were interviewed. This report details their views.

Research Question

The central research question this project seeks to answer is: What do Darfuriian refugees believe are the necessary conditions for a just peace in Darfur? To answer this question, we collected data on survey participants’ specific beliefs about:

1. The root causes of the conflict
2. Past peace negotiations and agreements for Darfur and southern Sudan
3. The nature and importance of justice in bringing about a sustainable peace, with specific focus on the role of compensation as well as different forms of justice (e.g., traditional justice, international criminal justice, etc.)
4. The possibility of reconciliation
5. Land-related issues
6. Democracy, power-sharing, and the national elections
7. Which actors, if any, among the rebel movements, traditional leadership, or others best represent their views
Young students making bricks for a new school, Gaga Refugee Camp, eastern Chad.
Background // Between April and July 2009, 24 Hours for Darfur researchers interviewed 1,872 adult civilians in all twelve Darfuri refugee camps in eastern Chad. They also conducted indepth interviews with 280 tribal, civil society, and rebel leaders. The civilian sample was randomly selected, stratifying on camp, gender, and ethnicity to ensure a representative sample. Several minority ethnic groups were oversampled to provide greater statistical power to explore their views. Most interviewees left Darfur in 2003 or 2004 and hail from the western regions of Darfur nearest to the Chadian border. Approximately three-quarters left Darfur after exposure to serious violence. Slightly less than three-quarters reported that at least one immediate family member died as a result of the conflict.

Conditions for Peace // Together, disarmament and the provision of security were the most commonly cited conditions for peace, followed by the arrest of Sudanese President Omar Hassan Ahmad Al-Bashir and the unification of the rebel movements. Respondents also believed that individual victim compensation and development in Darfur were important for peace.

Commitment to Peace // Over ninety percent of refugees reported that they believed the United Nations, United States of America, and European Union were committed to peace. Nearly three-quarters of interviewees perceived the Government of Chad and the non-Arab tribal leadership in Darfur to be committed to peace. Less than one-quarter of the respondents thought that the African Union, the Government of Qatar, or the Arab League were committed to peace. Virtually no respondents reported that the National Congress Party or the Arab tribal leadership in Darfur were committed to peace.

Over eighty-five percent of the population, including roughly three-quarters of each ethnic group surveyed, viewed the Sudan Liberation Army/Abdul Wahid (SLA/AW) as strongly or somewhat committed to peace. Approximately three-quarters of the population stated that the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) was committed to peace. In general, respondents did not have highly polarized views towards these two movements: among those who viewed the SLA/AW as strongly committed to peace, eighty percent also thought the JEM was somewhat or strongly committed. Conversely, among those who viewed the JEM as strongly committed, over ninety percent reported that the SLA/AW was somewhat or strongly committed to peace. Only one-fifth of the population reported believing that the Sudan Liberation Army/Minni Minnawi was committed to peace.

Darfur Peace Agreement // Two-thirds of respondents had heard of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA), though slightly less than one-third reported that they were familiar with the DPA in detail or with its main points. The vast majority of refugees believed that the DPA was very unfair. They cited inadequate security and disarmament provisions most frequently as the agreement's greatest weakness, followed by the lack of justice provisions and inadequate compensation of victims.

Comprehensive Peace Agreement // The majority of refugees who were aware of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement believed it to be a fair agreement for the people of South Sudan. Leaders did not believe that the agreement was relevant to the people of Darfur.

Doha Peace Talks // Very few interviewees thought that the negotiations taking place in Doha, Qatar, would result in peace. Nevertheless, over three-quarters of respondents believed that all rebel groups should attend these talks.

Representation at Peace Talks // Very few refugees thought that their interests were represented in past peace negotiations. The SLA/AW, JEM, traditional leaders, leaders of refugees and internally displaced persons, civil society leaders, and the international community were all frequently mentioned as indispensable parties at future negotiations.

The Darfur Rebellion // Nearly all respondents believed that the Darfur rebellion was justified. According to most, rebel disunity was a major obstacle to peace. Refugee leaders attributed the lack of unity to self-interest and greed on the part of rebel leadership, government manipulation of rebel groups, and group division along tribal lines.
Responsibility for Violence // Nearly all respondents attributed a degree of responsibility for the violence that has occurred in Darfur to the Government of Sudan and the Janjaweed. Only twenty percent of respondents attributed any responsibility for the violence to rebel groups. When asked whom they believed was most responsible for the violence, over eighty percent of respondents answered the Government of Sudan or President Bashir. Just under twenty percent assigned primary responsibility to the Janjaweed.

Reconciliation and Accountability // Over three-quarters of the population believed that reconciliation between the tribes of Darfur was possible. A slight majority of respondents believed that it was impossible for former enemies to live together after a war. Women were substantially more likely than men to reply this way. More than half of respondents thought that tribes whose members committed crimes in Darfur bear collective responsibility. About one-third believed that only those whose members committed crimes in Darfur were responsible for the violence in the region. A minority of respondents supported giving or sharing land with landless Darfurian tribes. There was a widespread belief that tribes considered by respondents to have come to Darfur from elsewhere in search of land should be made to leave.

Elections // About two-thirds of the population was aware of the elections that were scheduled for Sudan. Almost no respondents believed that these elections would be fair or would allow their interests to be represented.

Recommendations // Policy recommendations based on the survey results are found on page 41.

Compensation // Virtually all respondents stated that victims deserved to be compensated for their losses during the conflict. Respondents strongly agreed that this compensation should be given directly to individuals and should come in the form of money. Compensation should also be given to communities in the form of health and education projects.

Land and Livelihood // Most interviewees were farmers in Darfur and were unemployed at the time of the survey. Most everyone wanted to return to his or her land in Darfur, most often citing the cessation of violence as the critical condition for return. A minority of respondents supported giving or sharing land with landless Darfurian tribes. There was a widespread belief that tribes considered by respondents to have come to Darfur from elsewhere in search of land should be made to leave.

Survey Administration | Interviews were conducted face-to-face at each participant’s place of residence. Interviews were conducted in either Arabic or one of the local languages, generally Fan, Zaghauna, or Masalit. Interviewers recorded participants’ responses on the printed survey instrument.

Participant Selection | In this report we present results from two different population samples: a random sample of camp residents (“civilians”) and a non-random sample of leaders (“Lakeds”). The civilian sample consisted of persons aged eighteen or over who were randomly selected in each of the 12 refugee camps in eastern Chad, using a stratified random sampling approach. As such, it was representative of the adult refugee population in the camps. The civilian sample size was 1,872. Unless otherwise indicated, statistics attributed to respondents, interviewees, or participants refer to the civilian sample.

The leader sample consisted of tribal, civil society, and rebel leaders, who were given a more in-depth survey than the one administered to civilians. The leader survey included additional open-ended questions as well as all the same questions as the civilian survey. Participants in the leader survey were not randomly selected. Leaders were drawn from a combination of a sample of convenience and from an effort to interview the chief of every block in each refugee camp. Consequently, the leader sample cannot be said to be representative of the leadership population as a whole. The leader sample size was 280, including 250 refugee leaders who were interviewed in the camps as well as 30 rebel and rebel leaders who were interviewed outside the camps. The data collected from the 30 leaders and rebel leaders interviewed outside the camps were used for qualitative purposes, but are excluded from the leader statistics computed and presented in this report. Statistics drawn from the leader sample will always be explicitly attributed to leaders.

Our results are not representative of the population of Darfur as a whole. They are representative only of the adult population of Darfurian refugees residing in the 12 refugee camps in eastern Chad.

Over-sampling and Weighting | We sampled an approximately equal number of men and women. However, there were more women than men in the refugee camps. We thus oversampled men, meaning that men were over-represented in our sample as compared to the actual population. We also intentionally oversampled ethnic groups that represented more than one percent of the population but had few people in the camps relative to other groups so that we would have sufficient numbers to make meaningful comparisons between groups.

For our results to be representative of the population at large, we corrected for this over-sampling by means of a weighting procedure. Briefly, individuals from groups that were over-represented in our sample (such as men and ethnic minorities) were given weights of less than one, and those from groups that were proportionally under-represented in our sample (such as women) were given weights greater than one. As a result, the weighted number of observations in each subgroup of gender, ethnicity, and camp was proportionate to the size of those groups in the Darfurian population. Data on leaders were always analyzed separately from data on civilians and were never weighted. For detailed information on the weighting and over-sampling procedure, please refer to the Methodology Appendix.

Graphs and Tables | Graphs and tables in this report present results from the civilian sample unless otherwise noted. With the exception of graphs of sample demographics and leader results, all graphs present results that were weighted to reflect proper gender and ethnic proportions in the population as a whole. Graphs generally present responses as a percentage of the number of respondents who answered the question. Some questions permitted multiple responses, in which case the value on the graph represents the probability that a respondent gave that particular response.

The graphs show the sample size (n) calculated by two methods: one that counted individual respondents without weighting and one that counted the weighted number of respondents in each group. The unweighted value appears in parentheses following the weighted value. In both cases, n represents the number of participants who were asked the question. Some graphs also show the number of respondents who did not offer a response to the question. These are labeled NR, with the unweighted value appearing in parentheses following the weighted value.

The “error bars” shown on many bar graphs indicate the 95% confidence intervals around each estimate. That is, if we were to conduct our survey many times, drawing a fresh sample from the population of interest each time, we expect that 95% of the time the estimated response would fall within the boundaries of this confidence interval.

For a more detailed explanation of the survey administration and analysis methodology, please see the Methodology Appendix.

BACKGROUND INFO

AN OVERVIEW OF METHODOLOGY

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The “error bars” shown on many bar graphs indicate the 95% confidence intervals around each estimate. That is, if we were to conduct our survey many times, drawing a fresh sample from the population of interest each time, we expect that 95% of the time the estimated response would fall within the boundaries of this confidence interval.

For a more detailed explanation of the survey administration and analysis methodology, please see the Methodology Appendix.
Women carrying firewood from a distribution center, Iridimi Refugee Camp, eastern Chad.
I. DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

The population we sampled was the population of adult Darfuri refugees in eastern Chad. At the time we began sampling, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) placed the total population of Darfuri refugees living in the refugee camps at 499,744. Our sample consisted of 2,552 people, including 1,872 refugee civilians and 250 tribal and civil-society leaders residing in the camps, and 50 rebels and rebel leaders outside the camps. All leader statistics quoted in this report refer exclusively to the leaders interviewed inside the camps. Unless leaders are explicitly mentioned, all statistics in this report refer to the civilian sample alone.

A nearly equal number of male (51%) and female (49%) civilians were interviewed. 73% of the tribal and civil society leaders interviewed were male. All rebels and rebel leaders interviewed were male. After weighting the civilian data to account for oversampling of men (who were a minority in these camps) and several ethnic minorities, the effective probability of being sampled was equal for all adult refugees in the camps. For details of the sampling method and corrective weights, see the Methodology Appendix. All respondents were at least 18 years of age. The ethnic breakdown of civilians was as follows: Zaghawa (560), Massalit (669), Fur (199), Missiriya Jebel (105), Erenge (107), Dajo (99), Tama (82), and other (21). 79% of men and 47% of women had attended some form of school or religious school. 14% of men (21% of male leaders) and 5% of women (12% of female leaders) had attended some secondary school. The vast majority of interviewees left Darfur in 2003 (47%) or 2004 (40%). On average, men left slightly earlier than women.

What is your ethnicity?

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<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
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<td>Zaghawa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massalit</td>
<td>209</td>
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<td>Fur</td>
<td>205</td>
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<tr>
<td>Missiriya Jebel</td>
<td>121</td>
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<tr>
<td>Erenge</td>
<td>92</td>
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<td>Dajo</td>
<td>88</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tama</td>
<td>65</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berti</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Borungu/Duidali/Malta</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Girwur</td>
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What level of education have you completed?

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<tr>
<td>Finished primary</td>
<td>275</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some secondary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Formal religious education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Informal religious education</td>
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</table>

In what year did you leave Darfur?

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<td>2008</td>
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<td>2002</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ETHNICITY OF DARFURIAN REFUGEES IN CHAD

ZAGHAWA

The Zaghawa, who call themselves the Berti, straddle the border between Chad and Darfur, Sudan. Their original homeland, Dar Zaghawa, lies in the northern Sahel at the edge of the Sahara desert. They live primarily as transhumant pastoralists and millet farmers. A number of successive droughts, in particular in the 1970s and 1980s, pushed many toward more fertile South Darfur. There they thrived as farmers, herders, and traders until the outbreak of the current conflict and their subsequent displacement. A minority in both Chad and Darfur, the Zaghawa now play a key role in both areas. Notably, Zaghawa tribesman Issa Diby took power in Chad in 1990 and still controls the country today.

Though some have returned to their original areas throughout the conflict, many Zaghawa found their way to IDP camps inside Darfur and refugee camps across the border in Chad. Those in the refugee camps had primarily from the women and girls of Dar Zaghawa, closer to the border. The Zaghawa are the majority in the six northernmost camps: Ouass, Cuissi, Bani, Abu Surug, and Lim. They are also a minor ethnic group in the Darfur and the Massalit sultanates. Their traditional language is Arabic, and they are predominantly Muslim.

MISSIRIYA JEBEL

The Misseriya Jebel are semi-nomadic herders from the Jebel Marra massif. They are a small but relatively wealthy Jebel massif. This Jebel massif is situated around the city of Geneina, the capital of the West Darfur state. They are predominantly Muslim and speak Arabic.

MISSARIYA JEBEL

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DAJO

The Dajo are a small community living in the areas around Geneina and Geneina. They are predominantly Muslim and speak Arabic.

ERENGA

The Erenge are a minority in the camps, concentrated in Mile, Jif Oula, and Jif Jitra. They are predominantly Muslim and speak Arabic.

TAMA

The Tama are a minority in the camps, concentrated in Mile, Jif Oula, and Jif Jitra. They are predominantly Muslim and speak Arabic.

ZAGHAWA II

The Zaghawa II are a minority in the camps, concentrated in Mile, Jif Oula, and Jif Jitra. They are predominantly Muslim and speak Arabic.

MASSALIT

The Massalit are a minority in the camps, concentrated in Mile, Jif Oula, and Jif Jitra. They are predominantly Muslim and speak Arabic.
II. LIVELIHOODS
Respondents were asked what they did to sustain their lives before leaving Darfur and were permitted to volunteer multiple responses. The most common responses were farmer (36%), herder (18%), merchant (20%), and teachers/military/government officials/other (5%).

Most interviewees (75%) were unemployed at the time of the survey. A small percentage were teachers (7%), aid workers (6%), or merchants (3%), or did agricultural work outside the camp (6%) or inside the camp (3%). Women (83%) were more likely than men (69%) to be unemployed. Civilians (75%) were more likely than leaders (57%) to be unemployed.

Only a small minority (6%) of respondents reported receiving money from family or friends who lived outside the refugee camp.

III. EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE
Nearly all respondents were exposed to serious violence while in Darfur. 74% of interviewees (81% of men; 67% of women) left Darfur because of immediate violence that they personally experienced and 31% (35% of men; 26% of women) left because of fear of future violence. 91% had all of their property and possessions stolen or destroyed. 32% (37% of men; 28% of women) had personally suffered physical violence in an attack related to the conflict. 72% of all respondents reported that at least one member of their immediate family was killed in the conflict; the median number of family members killed was 4%. 90% personally witnessed attacks on family members.

IV. ROOT CAUSES OF VIOLENCE
Each interviewee was asked what he or she believed were the root causes of the conflict and was allowed to volunteer multiple responses. 87.5% cited either President Omar Hassan Ahmad Al-Bashir, the National Congress Party (NCP), the government, or some combination of these, as the primary causes of the conflict. Also cited were the Janjaweed (34%), Arabs (36%), bandits (17%), racism/discrimination (17%), introduction of modern weapons (8%), political marginalization (8%), a culture of violence (7%), economic marginalization (6%), and rebel groups (4%). Only 2% mentioned conflict between nomads and farmers, and less than 1% mentioned desertification, resource scarcity, or drought.

Respondents were asked to rank the three most important root causes of the conflict. The most important root cause, 29% named President Bashir, 21% said the government, 24% said Janjaweed, 13% said Arabs, and 6% said banditry.

V. PEACE IN GENERAL TERMS
Interviewees were asked what peace meant to them and were allowed to volunteer multiple responses. The most common responses were security/cessation of violence (51%), the signing of a peace agreement (17%), the implementation of justice (16%), reconciliation (15%), the delivery of compensation (15%), being able to return home (14%), and development (10%).

The majority of respondents (66%) either strongly or somewhat agreed with the statement that peace is not possible to achieve in Darfur. Members of certain ethnic groups were more likely to strongly or somewhat believe that peace is not possible (48% Muslims, 46% Eneje, 33% Tama, 31% Dajo, 26% Zaghawa 24%, Mursi 18%). Anyone who did not strongly agree with the statement that peace is not possible to achieve was asked to articulate the three

When we talk about the root causes of the current conflict in Darfur many people have different opinions about what they are. What do you believe are the root causes of the conflict?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Causes of the Conflict</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
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<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandit</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racism</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction of modern weapons</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Congress Party</td>
<td>H</td>
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<tr>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>H</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political marginalization</td>
<td>H</td>
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<tr>
<td>Culture of violence</td>
<td>H</td>
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<tr>
<td>Economic marginalization</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-ethnic groups</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict between nomads and farmers</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I was killed in the conflict does not include data from the first four camps: Gaga, Farchana, Bredjing, and Treguine.

I. While collecting data from the fourth of 12 camps, we discovered an ambiguity in the Arabic wording of the question regarding the number of family members killed in the conflict. In English, the question read: “How many of your immediate family members (parents, siblings, spouses, children) were killed in attacks related to the current conflict?” In Arabic, the parenthetical statement was accidentally omitted. To correct for this, we inserted the parenthetical statement and re-trained all interviewers. An ad hoc comparison showed that the mean number of family members killed did appear to differ significantly between the first four and last eight camps [p<2*10^-14]. Therefore, all figures presented in this report regarding the number of family members killed in the conflict does not include data from the first four camps: Gaga, Farchana, Bredjing, and Treguine.

International forces should disarm the Janjaweed and the National Congress Party.
most important conditions for realizing peace. Among the most important conditions, 42% of responses were security-related (15% said disarmament, 14% said security, 8% said cessation of violence, 4% said international troops), and 22% were justice-related (16% said the arrest or prosecution of President Bashir, 6% said arrest and prosecution of criminals).

While very few respondents mentioned development (2%) or compensation (5%) as the most important conditions for peace, 13% cited development and 24% cited compensation as the second or third most important conditions. Democracy or elections were almost never mentioned as an important condition for peace (0.1% named them most important, 0.4% second most important, 0.7% third most important).1

Respondents were asked to state whether, and to what extent, they believed that certain groups were committed to peace in Darfur. The United Nations (97%), the United States (97%), the European Union (92%), the Government of Chad (87%), non-Arab tribal leadership (69%), and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) (60%) were viewed as strongly or somewhat committed to peace by the majority of those interviewed. Conversely, very few respondents felt that the African Union (28%), the Government of Qatar (21%), the Arab League (10%), or the Arab tribal leadership in Darfur (5%) were committed to peace. Virtually no one (3%) believed that the NCP was committed to peace.

When asked about rebel groups in general, women (67%) were more likely than men (57%) to believe that rebel groups in general were committed to peace.

The vast majority of respondents perceived the Sudan Liberation Army/Abdul Wahid Mohamed Alnour (SLA/AW) to be strongly committed (77%) or somewhat committed (9%) to peace. Notably, SLA/AW was perceived to be strongly or somewhat committed to peace by more than 80% of each ethnic group that constitutes more than 1% of the population of the refugee camps in eastern Chad, including the Ereniga (97%), Fur (94%), Dajo (94%), Massali (90%), Museriya Jebel (89%), Tama (85%), and Zaghawa (81%).

The Justice and Equality Movement/Khalil Ibrahim (JEM) was also seen as strongly committed (63%) or somewhat committed (22%) by a strong majority of those interviewed. Notably, a considerably smaller proportion of the Fur tribe (44%) believed that the JEM was strongly or somewhat committed to peace.

In general, respondents did not have highly polarized views towards these two movements: among those who viewed the SLA/AW as strongly committed to peace, 80% also thought the JEM was somewhat or strongly committed. Conversely, among those who viewed the JEM as strongly committed to peace, 93% reported that SLA/AW was somewhat or strongly committed to peace.

SLA/Unity was perceived to be strongly or somewhat committed to peace by 58% of the population. A minority (21%) of the population viewed the Sudan Liberation Army/Merzui Minnawi (SLA/MM) as strongly or somewhat committed to peace. Members of the Zaghawa tribe were slightly more likely (30%) to perceive SLA/MM as committed to peace.

Many people have different opinions about how peace can best be achieved in Darfur. In your opinion, what are the three most important things that need to happen for peace to be achieved?2

We report respondents’ understandings of democracy and attitudes towards it below in Section viii.

1. Open-ended question

**First Most Important Condition for Peace**

*Open-ended question*

**Second Most Important Condition for Peace**

*Open-ended question*

**Third Most Important Condition for Peace**

*Open-ended question*

---

1. We report respondents’ understandings of democracy and attitudes towards it below in Section viii.

---

It is the government that armed the Arab tribes and it is the government that must take back the weapons.

Refugee Leader

DJABAL CAMP
Now I am going to read a list of different groups that have participated, or may participate, in the peace process. For each one, tell me if you think they are strongly committed to achieving peace, somewhat committed, somewhat not committed, or strongly not committed to achieving peace in Darfur.

JEM/Khalil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Strongly committed</th>
<th>Somewhat committed</th>
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<th>Strongly not committed</th>
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<td>Fur</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zagha/zew</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massali</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gereida</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dajo</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missoura/Jebel</td>
<td>76</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tama</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>12</td>
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SLA/Minnawi

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Strongly not committed</th>
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<td>Fur</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zagha/zew</td>
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<td>66</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>87</td>
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<tr>
<td>Missoura/Jebel</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tama</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>84</td>
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</table>

SLA/Abdul Wahid

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Fur</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zagha/zew</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massali</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gereida</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dajo</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missoura/Jebel</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tama</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

SLA/Unity

<table>
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<th>Strongly not committed</th>
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<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zagha/zew</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massali</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>Gereida</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dajo</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missoura/Jebel</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tama</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>46</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Many people have different opinions about whether the Darfur Peace Agreement/Abuja Agreement was fair for the people of Darfur. Do you think that the agreement was …?2

What specifically (about the Darfur Peace Agreement/Abuja Agreement) do you feel was unfair?4

1. Security provisions
2. Disarmament provisions
3. Compensation provisions
4. Lack of justice provisions
5. Development provisions
6. Power-sharing provisions
7. Wealth-sharing provisions
8. Other

By Ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Somewhat not committed</th>
<th>Strongly not committed</th>
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<td>78</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muzzuria/Jebel</td>
<td>53</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>Fur</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Zagha/zew</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>Massali</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>Gereida</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dajo</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missoura/Jebel</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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</table>

By Gender

<table>
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<th>Strongly not committed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=1 735(1 731) NR=125(130)
**THE COMPREHENSIVE PEACE AGREEMENT**

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement, commonly referred to as the Nariha Agreement, was signed on January 9, 2005, by the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army. The agreement marked the end of the two-decade-long Second Sudanese Civil War. The bilateral accord outlined a six-year interim period to settle disputes over resources, power, the role of religion, and self-determination that have persisted since Sudanese independence. The interim period was designed to make unity attractive to the parties, culminating in a democratic national election and referendums on self-determination for the people of southern Sudan.

The Nariha Agreement outlined comprehensive security, wealth-sharing, and power-sharing provisions while addressing the controversial status of oil-rich Abyei and other “transitional areas” of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile. The parties agreed to form a Government of National Unity and to establish a semi-autonomous Government of Southern Sudan. They also committed to reconfiguring the distribution of national wealth, particularly petroleum revenue. To do so, they agreed to the cessation of hostilities and the implementation of a two-month ceasefire, and the release of JEM prisoners. However, talks yielded no significant results by the deadline set first by the CPA, which included national security, demobilization of government militias and the Justice and Equality Movement, and the Justice and Equality Movement, rejected the agreement.

Modelled in part after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the CPA focused on issues of power-sharing, wealth-sharing, and security. Power-sharing provisions included guaranteed political representation for rebel signatories, including representation in the National Assembly, State Legislatures, and State Ministries. Wealth-sharing provisions included funds for nonmeasured and compensation. Security provisions included the disarmament and demobilization of government military and the disarmament of rebel groups into the Sudanese Armed Forces. The groups that did not sign the agreement demurred, among other things, more compensation for victims and a clearer commitment on the part of the government that wealth would be transferred to Darfur. They insisted on greater representation in national and state legislatures, an additional vice-presidential post to be filled by a Darfurian, greater participation in supervising the disarmament of militias, and an increased role in the state’s security institutions.

Since the signing of the agreement, there has been no return to large-scale armed conflict. Nevertheless, there have been difficulties with implementation, most notably a lack of transparency in wealth-sharing, and political power; the fact that South Sudan was given a proportional share of wealth and political power; and the fact that South Sudan was given a limited role in the state's security institutions.

The African Union-led negotiation was characterized by deep mistrust between the parties, as well as by the lack of a unified position among the rebel factions. The process itself was criticized for, among other things, being rushed to meet an artificial deadline set by the international community and for not including civilians or civil-society representatives. Moreover, the widespread perception that the agreement has not been implemented has been the source of great frustration among its intended beneficiaries.

The Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA), commonly referred to as the Abuja Agreement, was signed in Abuja, Nigeria, on May 5, 2005, by the Government of Sudan and one rebel group, the Sudan Liberation Army/Mahdi Wahl. Notably, the two other main rebel groups, the Sudan Liberation Army/Abed Ali Wahlib and the Justice and Equality Movement, rejected the agreement.

**THE DOHA PEACE TALKS**

A majority of men (80%) but a minority of women (44%) had heard of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Of those who had heard of the CPA, the majority (68%) believed that the agreement was very or somewhat fair for the people of South Sudan. Leaders were asked why the agreement was fair. The most common response was that it gave the south a proportional share of wealth and political power; the fact that South Sudan was given a limited role in the state’s security institutions. Those leaders who did not believe that the CPA was fair explained their opinion by stating that either the agreement was not implemented or that fighting continued in Abyei.

Leaders were asked whether they thought that the transitional political process laid out by the CPA, which included national elections, would have any effect on Darfur. The overwhelming majority stated that it would have no effect on Darfur. The general perception was that the CPA was an agreement between the NCP and SPLM and did not concern Darfur. The vast majority of men (77%) and women (92%) of leaders and a minority of women (41%) and civilians (68%) had heard of the round of peace negotiations taking place at the time of the survey in Doha between the Government of Sudan and the JEM. Of those who had heard of the Doha talks, only 18% of men (10% of leaders) and 32% of women (22% of leaders) believed that the negotiations would result in peace.

Leaders were asked whether the transitional political process outlined in the CPA, which provided for temporary power-sharing in state and national government followed by democratic elections, would affect Darfur. Nearly all respondents stated that it would have no effect on Darfur.

Leaders were asked why the negotiations in Doha between the Justice and Equality Movement and the Government of Sudan would not bring peace. The most common reasons were that only the JEM was present and that President Bashir would not implement the agreement.

A large majority of interviewees (80%) felt that other rebel movements should attend the peace talks in Doha. The most common reasons given by leaders for why other movements should attend were the importance of unity among the groups and the impossibility of peace without widespread participation. Among the leaders who did not think that other groups should attend, the most common reasons were that not all the rebel groups were legitimate and that the respondents felt that there was no point in negotiating with the government.

Leaders were asked to articulate beliefs about how certain issues that had been contentious during past peace negotiations could be resolved, including power-sharing, wealth-sharing, and disarmament. On the issue of power-sharing, leaders most commonly responded that political power should be distributed in proportion to population size, that there should be guaranteed regional representation, including Darfuri representatives in the central government, and that there should be democracy.

On the issue of wealth-sharing, leaders most commonly responded that wealth should be distributed in proportion to population size, that Darfur should get the same type of agreement as South Sudan did in the CPA, that wealth should be shared equally among all regions of Sudan, that there should be more Darfurians in the public sector, and that the international community should be in charge of distributing the wealth. Leaders also spoke about the importance of development, specifically the need for sustainable projects and long-term development.
for health, education, and economic development projects in Darfur. On the issue of disarmament, leaders most commonly responded that President Bashir should be arrested and that UN/international involvement was necessary to actually undertake disarmament. Nearly all respondents [96%] felt that their individual interests were not represented in past peace negotiations. Respondents were asked which groups needed to be included at future peace negotiations in order for their interests to be represented and were permitted to volunteer multiple responses. SLA/AW was cited most frequently (46%), followed by the JEM (31%), the international community (15%), traditional tribal leaders (12%), civil society (11%), refugee and IDP leaders (7%), the UN (6%), and women’s leaders (5%). When respondents were asked which individuals or groups most closely represented their views, the most common response was SLA/AW (37%), which was followed by the JEM (27%). Strikingly, SLA/AW found substantially more support from men (52%) than from women (25%) and the JEM found substantially more support from women (23%) than from men (19%). Moreover, SLA/AW was chosen by an overwhelming majority of the members of the Fur tribe (91%) and by only a small minority of the Zagawa tribe (16%). No Fur respondents reported that JEM most closely represented their views. A minority of interviewees stated that their interests were most closely represented by the UN/international community (14%). A minority also stated that their views were most closely represented by refugee and IDP/traditional tribal leaders (6%). Leaders were asked what they believed was the best location for peace negotiations. The most common response was the United Nations Development Project (31%). At the General Assembly level, 63% of the national governments had voted for the resolution. The April 2006 elections in Darfur would determine which parties were to govern and which policies were to be pursued.

Who most closely represents you views?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fur</th>
<th>Zagawa</th>
<th>Massalit</th>
<th>Jem</th>
<th>Darfur</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Shiekhs/Tribal</th>
<th>UN</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SLA/Abdul Wahid</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>41</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shiahs/Tribal leaders</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Open ended question: One response permitted

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When asked which losses people should be compensated for, the most frequent responses were livestock (86%), possessions (86%), dead of family members (74%), loss of income (40%), displacement (14%), personal injury (11%), psychological trauma (11%), and exposure to violence (10%). The fewest respondents remarked that people should be compensated for losses of land (1%). A large majority of people interviewed thought that compensation should be given to individuals (86%). A minority [16%] felt that compensation should be given to communities. Almost no respondents [4%] wanted compensation to be given to the government. However, most respondents [87%] thought that compensation should be paid for by the Government of Sudan. A small minority [14%] believed that compensation should be paid for by the international community.

Interviewers were asked what form compensation should take and were permitted to volunteer multiple responses. Nearly everyone responded that compensation should come in the form of money [54%]. A minority also thought that compensation should also be given in the form of livestock [19%], education projects [11%], health projects [11%], and land [7%].

Participants were asked what they considered to be the most important characteristics of a democracy. Freedom was most frequently mentioned as the most important characteristic (41%), which sometimes took the form of “freedom to do” something (such as choose your government), sometimes took the form of “freedom from” something (such as government persecution), but was often just “freedom.” The next most frequent responses were justice (27%), peace/end of violence (15%), human rights (15%), voting (15%), power-sharing among tribes (9%), ability to change government (6%), ability to choose government (6%), economic development (6%), and fair distribution of resources (4%). Participants were permitted to volunteer multiple responses, and many believed that democracy is some combination of the above.

I am going to read you a list of groups. Please tell me whether or not you trust them to determine what fair compensation you receive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
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<th>Somewhat Trust</th>
<th>Somewhat Distrust</th>
<th>Strongly Distrust</th>
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<tr>
<td>Refugee/IDP leaders</td>
<td>61</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local government</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>National government</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rebel leaders</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International community</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nearly all interviewees [97%] said they trusted the international community to fairly determine compensation amounts. 71% trusted refugee/IDP leaders (70% of men, 73% of women, 72% of leaders), 54% trusted traditional tribal leaders (42% of men, 64% of women, 48% of leaders), 60% trusted rebel groups, 20% trusted the local government, and 9% said they trusted the national government.

VIII. DEMOCRACY

Every interviewee was asked to articulate what democracy meant to him or her. 46% of respondents did not know, were uncertain, or refused to answer. Of those who did know, the most common response was that democracy meant freedom (41%), which sometimes took the form of “freedom to do” something (such as choose your government), sometimes took the form of “freedom from” something (such as government persecution), but was often just “freedom.” The next most frequent responses were justice (27%), peace/end of violence (15%), human rights (15%), voting (15%), power-sharing among tribes (9%), ability to change government (6%), ability to choose government (6%), economic development (6%), and fair distribution of resources (4%). Participants were permitted to volunteer multiple responses, and many believed that democracy is some combination of the above. Participants were asked what they considered to be the most important characteristics of a democracy. Freedom was most frequently mentioned as the most important characteristic (41%), followed by justice (31%), peace (8%), elections (7%), freedom of expression (8%), rights (5%), equality (5%), and regime change (3%). The ordering of these characteristics was similar when respondents were asked about the second and third most important aspects of a democracy. Development was mentioned 15% of the time as one of the second or third most important characteristics of a democracy.
Leaders who felt that the elections would be unfair were asked why. The most frequent responses were that refugees and IDPs were not allowed to vote, that the government was not committed to democracy and would not allow the elections to be fair, that there was still a war going on, and that the government would not allow the elections to be fair, that the elections would not come collectively responsible for the crimes committed by the Janjaweed, and that the remainder (16%) had only held responsible the individuals who perpetrated crimes responsible. There were no significant differences between men and women’s responses.

Men (50%) were substantially more likely than women (23%) to be able to see themselves living peacefully in the future with the tribes from which the Janjaweed came. These numbers dropped to 31% and 12%, respectively, when referring to the actual members of the Janjaweed.

Respondents with at least some secondary education were also more likely to strongly agree that it is possible to live together peacefully with these tribes.

Leaders who could envision themselves living peacefully with the Janjaweed (tribes or individually) in the future were asked to articulate the conditions under which this would be the case. The most common responses were after disarmament, return of land, regime change, and a peace agreement.

Leaders who could not see themselves living peacefully with the Janjaweed usually reported that they held this view because they perceived the Janjaweed to be “killers” and “criminals.”

All participants were asked to articulate what reconciliation meant to them and were permitted to volunteer multiple responses. The most common answers were forgiveness (58%), the ability to live in peace with former enemies (26%), the implementation of justice (16%), and compensation (13%).

Respondents were asked whether or not they agreed with several statements concerning what should happen to former combatants who had killed or raped, once there was peace in Darfur. The vast majority (87%) strongly agreed that former combatants should not be accepted into their communities in any case and that they should be punished. A very small minority strongly or somewhat agreed that their crimes should be forgotten (4%), that they should be accepted after they apologized.
publicly and begged for forgiveness [6%], or that they should be made to pay diya [blood money] [11%].

X. AMNESTY
Respondents were asked whether there were any conditions under which they would accept a policy that allowed some people who took part in violence to be integrated publicly and beg for forgiveness. A strong majority of interviewees (95%) stated that no such conditions existed.

XI. JUSTICE IN GENERAL TERMS
Interviewers asked a series of questions about how responsible certain groups were for the violence that had occurred in Darfur over the previous six years. Virtually all respondents (99%) stated that Sudanese government officials were very responsible. When asked the same about Janjaweed commanders, 99% held them to be very responsible. Most respondents also felt that government army commanders (95% very responsible; 3% somewhat responsible), government soldiers (82% very responsible; 9% somewhat responsible), and Janjaweed commanders (95% very responsible; 3% somewhat responsible) were responsible for the violence in Darfur over the past six years. Over 90% of respondents felt that it was very important to hold all members of these groups accountable for their actions.

Respondents were asked whom they believed to be most responsible for the violence that had occurred in Darfur over the past six years. A large majority (72%) of respondents cited Sudanese government officials, with another 11% citing President Bashir specifically. A minority saw the Janjaweed or Janjaweed leaders as most responsible (14%).

Respondents infrequently held rebel commanders responsible for the violence (12% very; 7% somewhat), and rarely held rebel soldiers responsible (5% very; 5% somewhat). 34% of respondents thought it very important to hold rebel commanders accountable, and 29% thought it very important to hold rebel soldiers accountable.

Almost all respondents (over 90%) thought that all Sudanese government officials, commanders, and soldiers as well as Janjaweed commanders and soldiers who perpetrated violence should be held accountable in criminal trials conducted by the international community in general or the International Criminal Court. Nearly all respondents (91%) were familiar with criminal trials. The majority of respondents stated that rebel commanders (62%) and rebel soldiers (60%) should be tried by the international community or the ICC. Approximately 20% of respondents thought that rebels should be tried in an African regional court. Almost no one (5%) said that anyone who perpetrated violence during the conflict should be tried by the Sudanese government.

Nearly all interviewees (94%) thought that government officials who perpetrated crimes should be put to death. The number decreased slightly for Janjaweed commanders (91%), government commanders (87%), Janjaweed soldiers (86%), and government soldiers (73%). This number dropped substantially for rebel commanders (29%) and rebel soldiers (24%).

There was also support for sending government soldiers (24%), rebel commanders (55%), and rebel soldiers (55%) to prison. There was a small amount of support for allowing government soldiers (3%), rebel commanders (11%), and rebel soldiers (24%) to pay diya as a form of punishment. A minority (38%) of interviewees would be very or somewhat satisfied if those who personally perpetrated crimes against them or their community were not punished but their bosses were.
the current conflict were asked why. Their responses fell primarily into two categories. First, traditional justice mechanisms were never meant to deal with crimes of this magnitude. Second, traditional justice mechanisms were designed for disputes between tribes or between individuals, not for disputes between tribes or individuals and the government.

For the people of Darfur to live in peace. However, nearly no one (6%) believed that these methods alone would be sufficient for dealing with the crimes that have occurred during the current conflict. Leaders who did not believe that traditional justice mechanisms would be sufficient for dealing with the crimes committed during the current conflict were asked why. Their responses fell primarily into two categories. First, traditional justice mechanisms were never meant to deal with crimes of this magnitude. Second, traditional justice mechanisms were designed for disputes between tribes or between individuals, not for disputes between tribes or individuals and the government.

XIII. INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Men were substantially more likely (92%) than women (72%) to have heard of the International Criminal Court. Most of those respondents who had heard of the ICC, reported that they did not know very much about what it does. 20% of men (30% of leaders) and 7% of women (12% of leaders) reported that they understood what the court does.

The vast majority (98%) of leaders who knew about the ICC considered it to be an impartial institution. Many of those respondents who had heard about the ICC knew about the arrest warrants that had been issued for President Bashir (59%), Ali Kushayb (42%), and Ahmed Harun (37%).

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On March 31, 2005, the UN Security Council asked the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC), Luis Moreno-Ocampo, to investigate “the situation prevailing in Darfur since 01 July 2002.” A Security Council referral is one of three ways to trigger ICC investigations. This was the first time the council exercised this power. Three months later, Prosecutor Moreno-Ocampo opened an investigation. In May 2007, ICC Pre-trial Chamber I (PTCI) issued arrest warrants for then-Sudanese External Affairs Minister Ahmed Mohamed Harun (“Ahmed Harun”) and alleged Janjaweed militia leader Ali Muhammad Ali Ahmad-Abd-Al-Rahman (“Ali Kushayb”), who were identified as key suspects and accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity. While the United Nations Security Council referral requires that all parties to the conflict comply with the court’s decisions, Sudan maintains that the court has no jurisdiction over the matter and has refused to hand over any suspects.

The Prosecutor further requested a warrant against President Omar Hassan Ahmad Al-Bashir for war crimes, crimes against humanity and, for the first time in the court’s seven-year history, genocide. PTCI issued the warrant for President Bashir’s arrest on March 4, 2009, for war crimes and crimes against humanity, but ruled that there was insufficient evidence to substantiate a charge of genocide. Nearly a year later, the Appeals Chamber reversed PTCI’s decision on the charge of genocide, holding that the standard of proof and was too high and ordering PTCI to revisit the decision. PTCI has yet to rule on the genocide charge using the revised standard of proof.

The court has issued three summonses to appear for rebel commanders suspected of orchestrating a 2007 attack on the African Union base at Haskabak in North Darfur. The first suspect, Bahr Idriss Abu Garda, voluntarily appeared before the court in February 2010. Judges ruled that although crimes did occur, there was insufficient evidence linking Abu Garda to the attack. The two other commanders, Abdallah Banda Abukar, and Salih Mohammed Jerbo Jamus, appeared voluntarily in February 2009, for war crimes and crimes against humanity, but ruled that there was insufficient evidence to substantiate a charge of genocide. Nearly a year later, the Appeals Chamber reversed PTCI’s decision on the charge of genocide, holding that the standard of proof and was too high and ordering PTCI to revisit the decision. PTCI has yet to rule on the genocide charge using the revised standard of proof.

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Many people have different opinions about whether the International Criminal Court’s indictment of Omar Al-Bashir will have an effect on the health and security of people living inside Darfur.

Do you believe that the indictment will have a very positive effect, a somewhat positive effect, no effect, a somewhat negative effect, or a very negative effect on the health and security of the people living inside Darfur?

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**XVI. THE DARFUR REBELLION**

The vast majority (96%) of interviewees believed that the Darfur rebellion was justified. Leaders were asked what the rebel groups needed to do to achieve peace. The most common responses were to take part in peace talks, fight until there was peace, and seek the opinion of the people. Nearly all respondents (95%) felt that rebel unity was very important.

Leaders were asked why rebel unity had not been achieved and were permitted to volunteer multiple responses. The most frequent responses were the leaders being self-interested or greedy (48%), that the government manipulated the various rebel movements against each other (32%), that there are intractable policy differences (26%), and that some rebel groups favor their own tribes (22%).

The vast majority of leaders (92%) thought that rebel unity was achievable. When asked how it could be achieved, the most common responses were to unite under one leader (32%), that there are intractable policy differences (26%), and that some rebel groups favor their own tribes (22%).

Why has rebel unity not been achieved?*

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Do you believe that the Darfur rebellion was justified?

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Is rebel unity important in order to achieve peace?

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**THE SUDAN LIBERATION ARMY/MOVEMENT**

In the early 2000s, a group of primarily Fur, Zaghawa, and Massalit intellectuals and some former military officers founded the Darfur Liberation Movement. In early 2003 they renamed themselves the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA). The movement’s manifesto, advocating a united and secular Sudan, echoed the “New Sudan” vision of the late John Garang, former chairman of the SPLM/A.

The chairman was Abdul Wahid Mohamed Ahmed Alnour, a Fur lawyer; Khalim Abdallah Abbakar, a Massalit, was vice-president; and Abdallah Abbakar Bashir, a Zaghawa, was the chief of staff. After the death of Bashir in late 2003, his secretary, the Zaghawa Minni Arku Minnawi, became the general secretary of the movement. Abdul Wahid soon left Darfur and has remained in exile, most recently in France.

**THE LIBERATION AND JUSTICE MOVEMENT**

In February 2010, a new rebel coalition called the Liberation and Justice Movement emerged. The movement was led by Tijani Seere, a former governor of Darfur in the 1980s living in exile since the early 1990s. Tijani is a prominent Darfuri intellectual and the brother of one of the main Fur traditional leaders. The movement includes a number of splinter factions formerly of the SLA and the JEM. As of July 2010, the LJ Movement engaged in peace negotiations with the Government of Sudan in Doha, Qatar.


If Abdul Wahid and Khalil agreed to unite, they would solve the Darfuran problem.

Refugee Leader
DJABAL CAMP

Rebel unity can be achieved if there is real pressure from the people of Darfur, the diaspora, and the international community.

Refugee Leader
AM NABAK CAMP

will not hinder peace. Sudan is not just one person (i.e., President Bashir) and peace can be achieved without any specific individual. President Bashir’s indictment is not going to matter for negotiation because negotiation is not going to happen anyway.

THE GOVERNMENT AS AN HONEST NEGOTIATOR // The government will sign anything but implement nothing. It has signed numerous agreements and has never carried through with its obligations.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS // There is no point to negotiation until there is security, until the mechanism for killing is stopped. It is very difficult to move towards negotiations. The SLA has "no preconditions" for negotiations, other than human rights and security.

REFUGEE/INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS SUPPORT // The SLA/AW is widely supported in the camps. IDPs support the movement’s desire for a secular state.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE HYBRID FORCE (UNAMID) // The force cannot protect itself so how is it going to protect the people?

HOW TO SOLVE THE CONFLICT // Darfur needs military intervention; peacemakers, not peacekeepers.
LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN DARFUR

Among its main institutions, the Darfur sultanate had a complex land tenure system. The system remained largely intact today. Historically, the land tenure system had two key elements that sometimes overlapped.

The first element is hakura (singular: hakura), or grants, that the sultan distributed at his leisure to individuals such as traditional leaders, noblemen, religious men, and foreign traders, of all origins. This gave the owner rights to the wealth of the area and to tax its inhabitants. These were clearly individual or family rights.

The second element is aldiyar (singular: aldiyar), or tenures, into which almost all of the Darfur Sultanate was divided. The aldiyar were ruled by chiefs from different ethnic groups. Insofar as the system allocated land to a dynasty belonging to a particular ethnic group, the system could be interpreted as one of collective property rights. This is why today the aldiyar system is often understood as a division of Darfur into tribal territories and has become the basis of claims for land rights.

Justice is often understood as a division of Darfur into tribal territories and has become the basis of claims for land rights. Turf rights are often granted based on the trust of the governing tribe and are the basis of claims of its leaders to the local leaders, as long as they agreed to remain ultimately subject to the administrative authority of the area.

Among the traditionally nomadic Arabic tribes, only the large cattle-herding groups of South Darfur hold a dar. The traditional system of nomadic tribes meant that most of the smaller cattle-herding and all the camel-herd tribals typically did not hold such rights. Their access to land and pastures was and continues to be managed through customary arrangements with sedentary tribes.

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ARABS, OR FOREIGNERS. Those who stated that it was uninhabited often stated that it had been burned.

Leaders [40%] were more likely than civilians [32%] to have stated that they had visited their land in Darfur since coming to Chad. Almost everyone [98%] desired to return to Darfur in the future to the location where they previously lived. Respondents were asked under what conditions they would return to Darfur and were permitted to volunteer multiple responses. The most common responses were after the violence stops [43%], after peace/peace agreement [32%], once there was security [50%], after the arrest of President Bashir [50%], and after compensation was paid [34%].

Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with a series of statements about what should happen to Darfuri tribes that did not have a hakura.

37% agreed that they should be given unused land.

35% agreed that they should go to any sheikh or shartai and ask for land and that the sheikh or shartai should give it to them.

17% agreed that they should be given certain rights to use other people’s land.

17% agreed that they should be granted land but must pay a fee to the tribe that owned the land.

53% agreed that they should be made to leave Darfur.

Respondents were asked a similar series of questions about what should happen to Darfurian tribes outside Darfur who come to Darfur in search of land.

9% agreed that they should be given unused land.

10% agreed that they should go to any sheikh or shartai and ask for land and that the sheikh or shartai should give it to them.

5% agreed that they should be made to leave Darfur.

Respondents were asked whom, if anybody, from inside Sudan, do you trust to resolve land disputes?

Whom, if anybody, from inside Sudan, do you trust to resolve land disputes?

[Open ended question. Multiple responses permitted.]

If anybody, from inside Sudan, do you trust to resolve land disputes?
I am now going to read you several statements about what should happen to individuals from tribes outside of Darfur who come to Darfur in search of land. For each one tell me if you agree or disagree.

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<td>They should be granted certain rights to use other people’s land.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=1832(929) F=967(882) NR=15(3) F=33(25)</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They should be granted land to use but must pay a fee to the tribe that owns the land.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>90%</td>
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<td>N=1832(929) F=967(882) NR=15(3) F=33(25)</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They should be made to leave Darfur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=1832(929) F=967(882) NR=15(3) F=33(25)</td>
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</table>

Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with another series of statements related to whether, once there was peace in Darfur and the refugees could return home, nomads should be able to pass through the homelands and villages of farmers.

14% agreed that they should be permitted to pass without permission.
22% agreed that they should be permitted to pass with permission.
31% agreed that nomad passage routes should be determined as part of peace agreements and then monitored by international agencies, in which case nomads should be permitted to pass even if farmers objected.
10% agreed that they should be permitted to pass if they paid a fee.

Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with another series of statements related to whether, once there was peace in Darfur and they could return home, nomadic Arab tribes should be able to settle and farm in villages near theirs.

14% agreed that they should be permitted to do so without permission as long as they were peaceful.
20% agreed that they should be permitted to do so if they asked for permission from a sheikh or shartai.
7% agreed that they should be permitted to do so after paying a fee.

I am going to read you several statements. For each one, tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Once there is peace in Darfur, and the refugees can return home, nomads should be permitted to pass through the homelands and villages of farmers without their permission as long as they do so without violence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=1828(929) F=967(882) NR=15(3) F=33(25)</td>
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Once there is peace in Darfur, the refugees can return home, nomads should be permitted to pass through the homelands and villages of farmers as long as they have received permission from the local sheikh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=1841(944) F=980(893) NR=15(3) F=26(22)</td>
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Once there is peace in Darfur, and the refugees can return home, nomad passage routes should be determined as part of peace agreements and then monitored by international agencies, and nomads should be permitted on these routes even if individual farmers objected.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>N=1841(944) F=980(893) NR=15(3) F=26(22)</td>
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</table>

Once there is peace in Darfur, and the nomads can return home, nomads should be required to pay a fee to farmers whose lands they cross with their herds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>N=1828(929) F=967(882) NR=15(3) F=33(25)</td>
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</table>

Once there is peace and I can return home, nomadic Arab tribes should be able to settle and farm on unused land near mine without permission as long as they are peaceful.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>N=1841(944) F=980(893) NR=15(3) F=26(22)</td>
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</table>

Once there is peace and I can return home, nomadic Arab tribes should be able to settle and farm in villages near mine if they ask for permission from the sheikh or shartai.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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<tbody>
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</table>

Once there is peace and I can return home, nomadic Arab tribes should be able to settle and farm in villages near mine if they pay a fee to use the land.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
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<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
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</table>
A family of newly arriving refugees from Darfur, Outside Oure Cassoni Refugee Camp, eastern Chad.

RECOMMENDATIONS
The purpose of Darfurian Voices is twofold: first, to document what Darfurian refugees in Chad believe to be the necessary conditions for a just peace in Darfur, and second, to accurately transmit these beliefs to policymakers, negotiating parties, peace mediators, and other stakeholders in the hope that they will take the refugees’ views into consideration when formulating Darfur-related policy.

For some issues, the results clearly indicated how the refugees thought the actors addressed below should structure policy. In these cases, recommendations flow from the results in a straightforward manner. For other issues, the policy implications of the results are less clear. Where it was necessary to infer recommendations in the latter cases, we endeavored to do so narrowly. As such, these recommendations are carefully rooted in the data we collected and represent our best understanding of the refugee population’s stated preferences and beliefs.

---

To the Government of Sudan:

- Negotiate, sign, and implement a just peace agreement for Darfur that provides security guarantees for the civilian population, gives sufficient monetary compensation to all victims of the conflict, and offers Darfur a share of Sudan’s economic wealth and political power that is proportional to the size of its population.
- Fulfill your obligations to cooperate fully with the International Criminal Court as required by UN Security Council Resolution 1593; this includes surrendering to the court those individuals subject to ICC arrest warrants.
- Immediately take all steps necessary to ensure the safety and security of civilians by ordering the armed forces not to harm the civilian population, by disarming the Janjaweed and other militia groups, by preventing attacks by all armed actors, and by respecting past ceasefire agreements.

To the Darfur rebel movements:

- Unify. If total unification is impractical, then at minimum develop working relationships with other groups and complementary negotiation platforms. Recognize that there is almost no support among refugees for non-cooperation between groups, particularly Sudan Liberation Army/Abdul Wahid and the Justice and Equality Movement.
- Maintain comprehensive communication with the displaced population and act in a manner that is fully responsive to their interests.

To the Native Administration in Darfur:

- Pursue local reconciliation efforts using traditional justice mechanisms.
- Encourage the rebel groups to unify.
- Make efforts to increase communication with the refugees to repair their lack of trust for traditional leaders in Sudan who did not leave with their people.

To the International Criminal Court:

- Investigate, pursue the arrest of, and prosecute all government officials, government army commanders, and Janjaweed commanders suspected of being most responsible for perpetrating war crimes, crimes against humanity, or genocide in Darfur.

---

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To the African Union–United Nations Joint Mediation Support Team, UNAMID, the African Union High Level Implementation Panel on Sudan, and all others involved in the peace process:

The refugee community is concerned not only with the substance of an agreement but also with the process through which the agreement is formed. Mediators should work together to ensure that any peace agreement reflects the stated desires of the refugee community, in particular:

**Substance:**

**Security as a top priority**
- Implement an internationally monitored ceasefire agreement.
- Disarm the Janjaweed and other paramilitary groups, employing oversight by the international community.
- Deploy military units and civilian groups – including unarmed human rights monitors and protection teams in the field – to monitor the implementation of security agreements.

**Compensation**
- Give compensation directly to all individuals who suffered violence in Darfur, primarily in the form of money.
- Recognize that refugees consider individual compensation to be far more important than community compensation.
- Give compensation to communities in the form of development projects, particularly in education and health, to be administered by community leaders.
- The amount of compensation should be determined and distributed by the United Nations/international community.
- All compensation should be paid by the Government of Sudan.

**Power-sharing and wealth-sharing**
- Allot political power at the national level to Darfur in proportion to its population.
- Promote elections in which all Darfurians may participate, regardless of where they reside.
- Allocate a fair share of revenue from national resources and other sources to Darfur in proportion to its population.
- Incorporate Darfurians into the civil service and other public-sector positions.

**Land**
- Recognize the right of everyone to return to his or her land, without exception.
- Acknowledge that most refugees wish to return to their land, and make rural areas a focus of relief, recovery, development, and security efforts to facilitate refugees’ return.
- Require anyone who seized land during the conflict to vacate it immediately.

**Justice**
- Recognize that there is little to no support for amnesty among the refugee community and do not advance an unconditional amnesty provision.

To the international community:

**Process:**

**Rebel participation**
- Encourage rebel unity.
- Bring the JEM and the SLA/AW into the Doha peace process. Recognize that a very substantial portion of the refugee population will not consider any peace process legitimate without these particular groups’ participation.

**Civil society participation**
- Include representatives of internally displaced persons, refugees, traditional leaders, women, and civil society organizations in all stages of the peace process.
- Conduct the selection of civil society representatives in an open, transparent, and inclusive manner.

To the United Nations Security Council:

- Renew the mandate of the United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur.
- Ensure that member states provide UNAMID with all financial, logistical, and technical support as well as the appropriate personnel necessary to swiftly carry out its mandate.
- Focus support on strengthening the Mission’s ability to carry out those aspects of its mandate related to disarmament, protecting civilians, and helping to facilitate an inclusive political process.
- Take steps in cooperation with the Government of Chad to permit continued deployment of Chadian and international forces to secure and protect Darfuri refugees.
- Execute a concrete response to the ICC Pre-Trial Chamber’s finding of non-cooperation by the Sudanese government with respect to the ICC’s cases against Ahmad Harun and Ali Kushayb, such that their arrest will be hastened.

To the French Prime Minister:

- Fully support the Doha peace process:
  - Provide the AU/UN Joint Mediation Support Team and UNAMID Civil Affairs with all resources necessary to mediate a successful and inclusive peace process.
  - Pressure the Government of Sudan and the National Congress Party in particular to make real security guarantees, including international oversight of disarmament.
  - Facilitate SLA/AW and the JEM’s participation in the negotiations.
  - Fully support the ICC’s Darfur efforts with respect to the investigation, arrest, and prosecution of those accused of crimes falling within the court’s jurisdiction.
  - Refrain from providing military assistance to the Government of Sudan and work to prevent other nations from doing so.

To the international community:

- **Ensure that a primary focus of your foreign policy is the provision of safety and security to the people of Darfur.**
- **Provide UNAMID with all financial, logistical, and technical support as well as the personnel necessary to swiftly fulfill its mandate.**
Preschool in a dried wadi (river bed), Breidjing Refugee Camp, eastern Chad.
The survey questionnaire was produced in English and subsequently translated by two different translators into Sudanese Arabic. These two versions were then compared and merged. This revised version was translated into Fur, Zaghawa, and Massalit. Because these languages are traditionally non-written, the questionnaire was designed over an 18-month period in 2009, the questionnaire was piloted in the Darfuri diaspora in New York. In May and June 2008 the survey was piloted in Chad. This involved conducting interviews and focus groups with refugees in N’Djamena, Abéché, and the Gafa refugee camp. In March 2009, the questionnaire was piloted in the Darfuri diaspora communities in the United Kingdom.

The survey instrument included both closed and open-ended questions. There were two versions of the survey instrument. The civilian survey, administered to randomly selected ordinary civilians, had approximately 75 questions and took approximately one hour to conduct. The leadership survey, administered to civil society, tribal, and rebel leaders, had approximately 125 questions and took approximately two hours to conduct. The questions on the leadership survey included all the questions asked on the civilian survey plus additional questions that addressed issues specific to the refugee leadership.

The survey questionnaire was produced in English and subsequently translated by two different translators into Sudanese African languages. These two versions were then compared and merged. This revised version was then back-translated into English by two additional translators. A translator’s roundtable was then convened during which the four translators discussed all four versions of the survey. A final version was produced. This version was translated into Fur, Zaghawa, and Massalit.

Leaders: The leader population included local and community leadership as well as leaders from the rebel movements. Leaders were drawn from a combination of a sample of convenience and from an effort to interview the “sheik” of every block in each refugee camp. Rebel leaders outside the camps were also interviewed when possible. A total of 280 leaders were interviewed and included in the dataset. All the results shown above pertain only to the 250 leaders who resided in the camps, as they are a very different population from the rebels, rebel commanders, and other high-level leaders interviewed separately. Although we strove to generate a sample that was broadly representative of the refugee population, particularly with respect to gender and ethnicity, it must be emphasized that this is not a random sample.

Civilians: 1,872 civilians were interviewed. Our target population was the adult (18 years and older) refugee population from Darfur living in all 12 Darfuri refugee camps in eastern Chad. We oversampled several groups to obtain better statistical power for comparisons. The likelihood of any individual adult refugee being sampled was 0.75%.

We used a stratified random sampling method, with geographic location (camp and block) and gender as strata. The first stratum was location, with the number of interviews from a given block in a given camp set to be proportional to the population of the block. An equal number of men and women were sampled in each camp. This constituted an oversampling of men, as their natural proportion in the camp was approximately 35%. The ethnicity of participants was recorded, but not used as the basis for stratification.

Since there are no fixed street addresses in the camps that uniquely identify residences, households within each block were chosen randomly by the following method. First, we used existing data from the Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the UNHCR, and tribal leaders to determine the number of households in a given block. Second, we determined how many households needed to be sampled from that block (subblock) to maintain the proper proportional sample. Then a series of subblock numbers between one and the total number of households in that block was drawn (without replacement) from a uniform random distribution. Thus, a series of numbers was generated, with each number corresponding to a household to be sampled in the block in question. The numbers corresponding to these households were recorded on interviewer-assignment sheets and distributed to the interviewers. Each interviewer was carefully trained to “count houses” on their assigned block, beginning from any corner of the block, using a standardized counting method. Interviewers counted households in this way until reaching the assigned randomly produced number.

Once the designated household was identified, the house was approached to determine if any adults were home, and if not, when they might return. If an adult was home, the interviewer determined the total number of adult residents, and one of those adults was selected at random using a sheet that contained random numbers corresponding to different possible household sizes. Within a block, each household was equally likely to be chosen (with the number of households to be chosen proportional to the total population of that block). Since logistical constraints required us to randomize over households in this way rather than on individuals, it warrants mention that individuals living in larger households were slightly less likely to be chosen than those in smaller households. This was unavoidable as we did not have data on the size of each household.

In some cases, the randomly selected individual was not present when the interviewer visited. We sought to minimize, as much as possible, the use of “backup” household selections that would bias the sample towards individuals who were more easily found at home. Thus, when the randomly selected individual was not present, every effort was made to track down that person and arrange a meeting time. The house was also visited again later in the day and on subsequent days while the research team was in that camp (usually three to four days). If the person selected refused to participate or could not be found, only one interview at a backup household was attempted. This backup household was chosen from within the same sala (cluster of houses) as the one initially selected, using a randomly generated number. These backup households were chosen from the same sala because households in the same sala tend to have similar characteristics (ethnicity, location of origin, time of arrival in the camp, etc.), making these households better substitutes for the initially selected household.

This backup replacement procedure was maintained until the last day of sampling in a given camp. To ensure that camp-wise sampling requirements could be met, on the last day of sampling (after again visiting the original household and the selected within-sala backup), interviewers were allowed to use multiple backup households (still within the original sala). Alternatively, if on the final day of sampling an individual selected was reported to be in a specified public location outside of the house, a substitute was taken from that location.

For example, if an individual was at the market, an individual of the same ethnicity, gender, and approximate age as the one randomly selected was sought in the market. This was done by estimating the total number of individuals in the market, then choosing a random number between one and the estimated total number. The interviewer then counted individuals from a given corner until arriving at the person corresponding to that number. If the person identified by this process was not of the target age (approximately), gender, and ethnicity, then the next person (counting in the same direction) matching these characteristics was selected. This backup replacement procedure was very rarely necessary, and fewer than 20 respondents were sampled in this fashion.

oversampling minority ethnic groups

There are numerous ethnic groups whose populations in the eastern Chad refugee camps were small, and hence would have been present in our sample only in negligible numbers. This would have made meaningful comparisons across these groups nearly impossible. To address this, we oversampled minority ethnic groups when their populations constituted at least 1% of the refugee population living in eastern Chad. These were the Fur, Masaiya Jebel, Tama, Erenga, and Dajo.

The Fur were the largest among these minority ethnic groups in the camps, and constitute a significant portion of the population within Darfur. We therefore oversampled the Fur substantially to ensure that we collected an expected 150 surveys. (We expected approximately 50 from the random sample, requiring the collection of roughly an additional 100.) For the other groups, approximately 25 interviews were expected from each group in the random sample, which we increased to 75 each by oversampling.
For each of the ethnic minority groups, almost all of its members typically resided in just two or three different camps. Thus, oversamples for minority ethnic groups were collected in any camp where at least 15% of that group’s population was present. When taking oversamples from these camps, the number of people interviewed in each block from a given ethnic minority was proportional to that ethnic group’s population in that block. This was calculated on the basis of existing data from the OCHA, updated when possible with local sources of information. The details of this approach had to vary somewhat by camp owing to differences in the availability of information:

1. In the best case, all households of the given ethnicity were identifiable in advance, and then sampled at random.
2. In the second-best cases, household-wise ethnicity information was not available, but it was possible to identify which sala contained members of the given ethnic group. Then, random selection of those salas, followed by random selection of households within them, was used.
3. Finally, if no household-level or sala-level information was available, we chose households randomly from blocks in proportion to the amount of a given ethnic group living in a given camp. In the sala-wise or block-wise randomization cases (2 or 3 above), interviewers were again given numbers corresponding to the households they were to find by counting. If the designated household was not a member of the target ethnic group, the next household that did belong to the target group was approached for an interview.

DATA CODING DECISIONS

Decisions on how to code non-standardized responses to open-ended questions were made in a phased process. First, members of the research team read through the responses and formed what appeared to be a nearly (but not entirely) exhaustive list of categories. Then, coders attempted to utilize the coding scheme on approximately 60 surveys on a pilot basis, reporting back on types of responses that did not fit any categories or were difficult to classify. Adjustments were made on the basis of this feedback and coders again coded a (new) batch of 60 surveys, again reporting any difficulties. In general, we erred on the side of creating more categories than needed, so that data from categories we consider to be very similar could later be merged for presentation purposes.

INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

Each of our coders was first required to reach reliability levels of 85% or higher. To assess reliability, each coder’s responses from a batch of data were compared to the “gold standard” responses, which were determined through multiple coding (by seven coders) followed by arbitration by the principal researchers on any points of difference. Any coder not able to achieve an accuracy level of 85% or higher was not used. On questions that allowed multiple responses, coders had to code all the responses correctly for that question to count as having been properly coded. This proved to be a high standard, and was achievable only after improvements were made to our coding scheme and the coding instructions were made extremely detailed, clear, and elaborate.

WEIGHTING

To ensure that our statistics accurately reflect the population of eastern Chad’s refugee camps, the data underlying most civilian results presented here were weighted to correct for deviations from population gender and ethnicity proportions. In addition, because of logistical constraints, we occasionally sampled a few percent more or fewer interviewees from a given camp than desired to ensure proportionality. Weights were calculated simply by computing the expected sample proportions of ethnicity by gender given our sample sizes, and dividing these by our actual observed sample proportions for these subgroups. Thus, men were given a weight of less than 1 to reflect their oversampling, as were ethnic minority groups that were oversampled. Women and groups that were not oversampled received weights greater than 1 to return them to the proper relative weights. Using these weights, the weighted number of observations in each subgroup of gender, ethnicity, and camp is proportional to the size of these groups in the full population. Data on “leaders” was always handled in separate analyses, without weighting.

ENTRY AND TRANSLATION

Survey responses were entered into a computerized database by team members both in the field and after fieldwork was completed. Responses were translated into English as they were entered. The statistics presented in this report were produced using Matlab and Stata.

CONFIDENCE INTERVALS

The “error bars” shown on many bar graphs indicate the 95% confidence intervals around each estimate. That is, if we were to conduct our survey many times, drawing a fresh sample from the population of interest each time, we expect that 95% of the time the estimated response would fall within the boundaries of this confidence interval. It therefore reflects the degree of variation expected due to chance differences in sampling. These confidence intervals can be helpful in assessing whether the proportion of people giving different responses differs due to a “real” difference rather than random sampling variation.

Consider a question with two possible responses, A or B. If the confidence intervals around estimates A and B do not overlap, then this functions as a conservative indication that the difference between the estimates is different from zero, and would be so in at least 95% of cases if we repeatedly sampled. That is, the underlying response rates can be considered truly different with a high degree of confidence when the confidence intervals do not overlap. Note that the traditional test of whether the proportion giving response A versus those giving response B requires combining the two and their standard deviations into a new estimator, e.g. in the form of a “t-statistic,” whose own confidence interval is derived from a combination of data from A and B. This cannot be conveniently displayed as error bars on a graph. Determining instead whether the confidence intervals of A and B overlap provides a convenient (and conservative) test for whether the difference between estimates is statistically significant beyond the 95% level.
This project would not have been possible without the combined efforts of many colleagues, advisors, friends, partner organizations, and financial supporters. We are especially grateful for the tireless work of our fixer and friend, the late Moubarak Saad. He is sorely missed.

We extend very special thanks to Chris Farber, Ben Eidelson, Ricken Patel, Tom Perriello, Jim Silk, John Seddon, and Merlyn Bazi. We particularly thank Benjamin Plener, without whose vision and commitment this project would not exist.

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A young man holds a gourd of water drawn from a hand-dug well.
Goz Amer Refugee Camp, eastern Chad.
Women carrying water to their homes.
Djabal Refugee Camp, eastern Chad.
Mile Refugee Camp, eastern Chad.