

**CONTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL GOVERNANCE ON ETHNIC CONFLICT  
MANAGEMENT IN SOUTH SUDAN: THE CASE OF JUBA COUNTY**

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degree of Master of Science in Governance Peace and Security in the department of  
Governance Peace and Security Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences  
of Africa Nazarene University**

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**DECLARATION**

I declare that this thesis is my original work and that it has not been presented in any other university or institution for examination.

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This thesis was written under our supervision and is submitted with our approval as the university supervisors.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to my family for their support and encouragement

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## ABSTRACT

Ethnic conflicts in most countries across the world have been linked to marginalization concerns related but not limited to exclusion, lack of public participation in decision making and inequality in resources sharing, aspects which point to weaknesses or failures of political governance. Thus, if these conflicts are to be managed well, the political governance bottlenecks must be addressed. Countries across the world, including South Sudan have established and implemented various political governance frameworks intended to spur constructive management of ethnic conflicts with varying outcomes. The purpose of this study was to assess the contribution of political governance dynamics in the management of ethnic conflicts in South Sudan's Juba County. The specific objectives of the study were to: evaluate the nature and scope of political governance framework aimed at the management of ethnic conflicts in Juba County, assess the effectiveness of political governance strategies used to guide the management of ethnic conflicts in Juba County and to determine the political governance challenges to the management of ethnic conflicts. The study was guided by the constructivism and the dominant institutional theories. Methodologically, the study was anchored on a descriptive research design. The target population comprised of state officials in various government departments relevant to the study, elected leaders, Nongovernmental organizations representatives and opinion leaders representing various ethnic groups in Juba County. From this population, a sample of 186 was obtained to participate in the study. The sample was obtained using stratified, simple random and purposive sampling. A questionnaire comprising of closed and open-ended questions, Focus Group Discussions and an interview guide were used to collect data from the respondents. The quantitative data was analysed using descriptive statistics while the qualitative one was analysed through content analysis. The study established that the political governance framework that forms the basis for ethnic conflict management in Juba County comprises of the constitution, acts of parliament, government policies and the revitalized peace agreement. These governance documents and especially the constitution and the revitalized peace agreement were found to have the necessary regulatory provisions to anchor ethnic conflict management in the course of governance undertakings as reported by 85% and 89% of the respondents. Among the strategies used for ethnic conflict management were the use of military force, decentralization and power sharing. Use of military force was found to be counterproductive as it encouraged the mobilization and arming of ethnic militias and vigilantes. While decentralization as a model of governance had been rolled out, the study established that it had not been adequately resourced as reported by 74% of the respondents to address some of the drivers of the ethnic conflicts in the study area. The strategies were also found not to have significantly contributed to proportionate inclusivity of ethnic groups in public service through a quota system as would be expected in a multi-ethnic setting. The major challenges found to undermine political governance strategies aimed at ethnic conflict management were corruption and lack of political good will as reported by 92% and 100% respectively of the respondents. These are challenges emanating from poor governance which can be corrected to turn the tide. The study recommends that decentralization be implemented and supported fully through good governance practices. The findings may be of benefit to the leadership of the country and Central Equatorial state within which Juba County is located as well as researchers in the field of political governance and ethnic conflict management.

## OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS

**Conflict management:** this study uses this concept to mean the range of activities that are undertaken in an effort to prevent a conflict from turning violent or to bring about a ceasefire where violence has been recorded.

**County:** this is an administrative unit headed by a county commissioner. It falls within the jurisdiction of a state, hence the County commissioner reports to the state governor.

**Ethnic conflict:** this is a disagreement rooted in the identity differences between the parties to the conflict. While some issues may be beyond any single ethnic group, the combatant perceive every aspect of the conflict through ethnic lenses whether its the drivers or solutions to the conflict.

**Framework:** is a particular set of rules, ideas, or beliefs used in dealing with problems or to deciding on what to do. It comprises of the constitution, laws and policies on which the rules, ideas and beliefs are embedded.

**Inclusivity:** in this study, this concept is used to mean the provision of equitable resources or opportunities for people who might otherwise be excluded or marginalized

**Payam:** this refers to a combination of several households forming the lowest administrative unit in South Sudan

**Political Governance:** is the process of decision-making to formulate and implement laws and policies that bring order and stability in a political unit by ensuring proper functioning of institutions and their acceptance by the public.

**Secession:** this is the process through which the people occupying a given territory within a republic seek to break away from that republic and form their own state, which is independent and equal in status with the original state.

**Strategy:** is a plan of action designed to achieve a long-term or overall aim. It encompasses those activities undertaken by state actors to use power in the form of influence and credibility to gain an upper hand in situations of conflict, hence manage such a conflict for the common good of all affected parties.

**ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

**ADI** - Africa Development Initiative

**APRM** - Africa Peer Review Mechanism

**AU** – Africa Union

**BBC** – British Broadcasting Corporation

**CoSS** - Constitution of South Sudan

**CPA** - Comprehensive Peace Agreement

**FDs** - Former Detainees

**FGD** – Focus Group Discussion

**GoSS** – Government of South Sudan

**ICG** – International Crisis Group

**KIDDP** - Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme

**MLHRD** – Ministry of Labor and Human Resource Development

**NCIC** - National Cohesion and Integration Commission

**NEP** - New Economic Policy

**OPP** - Other Political Parties

**PAP** - Pan-African Parliament

**SPEDP** - Sudan Peace and Education Development Programme

**SPLM** – Sudan People Liberation Movement

**SPLM/A-IO** - Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army in Opposition

**SSOA** - South Sudan Opposition Alliance

**TGoNU** - Transitional Government of National Unity

**UN** – United Nations

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

This is an introductory chapter that attempts to put the study into perspective. It provides a background in which the study variables are analyzed and contextualized before problematizing them into a research worth undertaking. The chapter also provides the objectives that will guide the study, its significance as well as the geographical, content and methodological scope. Other research dynamics covered in the chapter include the limitations and delimitations of the study, a theoretical framework that grounds the study as well as a conceptual framework that illustrates the sub-variables in the independent variable and their constituting indicators as they affect the dependent variable.

#### **1.2 Background of the Study**

The political standing of a state among its peers within the international system is a function of its ability to manage its own affairs, among them its population, territorial integrity and her relations with other states, independently as expected of all sovereign political entities (Flint, 2016). It is for this reason that states function through governments, which hold and exercise the power of the state on behalf of the sovereigns – the citizens. The survival of a state is to a very large extent driven by the ability of the government of the day to effectively control both the population and the territory. This explains why states enjoy monopoly of legitimate force, currency, law and policy making within its territory (Weber, 1946).

Effective control of the population yields a nation of people that share and continually grow a common history, language, culture, among other socio-cultural identity

markers. It is however impossible to have a nation state due to the multiple ethnic groups that exist within the state. Thus, any political governance framework must be alive to this reality and put measures in place to manage the population diversity in a manner that delivers stability and continuity to the state.

Strong states are grounded on political governance frameworks that guide the manner in which authority is used in managing the various competing interests within the state so as to secure stability and growth (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2003). Progressive political governance frameworks defines the roles and responsibilities of the various state actors so as to ensure the complementarity and synergy of their actions in the pursuit of national interests. In any state, the most basic political governance framework is the constitution, which is the foundational legal document upon which the state establishes the core mechanisms, processes and institutions to govern itself while empowering them to make, enforce or interpret the law whenever there are differences (NEDA, 2006).

In democracies, a good political governance framework provides for the empowerment, cooperation, equity, sustainability and security of everyone within the state, dimensions that are central to the prevention and management of conflicts. The component of empowerment in governance implies expansion of capabilities and choices while providing an opportunity for people to participate in decision making regarding matters affecting them. Lack or strained participation of people in decision making has been argued as one of the drivers of conflict (Aning, 2016; Mbuyisa, 2013). Governance approaches that provide for empowerment nurtures cooperation which in turn begets a sense of belonging as people work together and learn how to peacefully manage their differences. Equity on the other hand is the foundation upon which resources must be shared or invested

to ensure balanced and sustainable development that encompasses various facets of human security. This study takes the view that racial or ethnic solidarity, harmony and unity between various groups provides a firm platform on which good governance can thrive.

In the United States of America (US), a discriminative legal and policy regime in violation of the US constitution, was advanced as the basis upon which racial relations there were tense and often turned violent in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Consistent nonviolent action led to the repealing of the discriminative laws and policies whose hallmark was the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that outlawed discrimination so as to align the municipal law with the provisions of the United Nations (UN) charter on equality and non-discrimination. The provisions of the Act would further be lend more credence and force of application by the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965. In a similar survey, the Ontario Human Rights Commission (2015) reported that punishment for violations of the law in respect of non-discrimination had contributed to a greater sense of belonging especially among communities of color in the country.

In Asia, the subject of ethnic identity as a driver of conflict has been documented in different countries such as Malaysia and Sri Lanka, to name but a few. In Malaysia, the constitution and policy documents privileged the dominant Malay group, much to the chagrin of the minority communities such as the Chinese and others (Kumar, 2012). The riots of 13<sup>th</sup> May 1969 brought to the surface the place of identity markers such as religion and ethnicity in the governance of the country, forcing the government to institute new policy measures in the governance of the country such the New Economic Policy, National Cultural Policy and the National Education Policy to entrench equality and equity in order



to prevent similar incidents in the future. The 1 Malaysia concept introduced in 2009 roots for unity and coexistence among the various ethnic groups of Malaysia (Shamsuddin, Liaw & Ridzuan, 2015). This case demonstrates how partisan governance frameworks can and do contribute to the worsening of relations between different ethnic groups in a state, thus undermining the security of the state.

A study conducted in Sri Lanka by Korf and Silva (2003) noted that people within a state perceive vulnerability differently and thus use ethnic exclusion to pursue livelihood strategies. The Sinhalese-led government has pursued partisan laws such as the Official Language Act of 1956, the Prevention of Terrorism (amendment) Act (2021) and Sinhala-centric policies. While the Language Act has since been amended to include the Tamil as an official language, other dynamics of exclusion from or under-representation in the governance frame of Sri Lanka have continued to form the basis for the demand for a separate state by the Tamils for themselves. Moreover, socio-economic and political marginalization of the Tamils and Muslims from the affairs of government, most of them affecting them directly has contributed to the inevitable diminishing of social capital among groups, further putting the country on the edge.

In Africa, Dejo (2003) argued that poor conflict management had undermined the success of development and governance initiatives intended to alleviate the challenges witnessed in various parts of the continent. Kenya is a country that has over 44 ethnic groups. However, since independence, some ethnic groups, especially those located in the arid and semi-arid areas have decried continued marginalization by successive regimes. Mutungi, Kikaya and Ichuloi (2019) have argued that policy documents such as Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 are responsible for marginalization of the arid areas and the

consequent poor relations between the communities living in these areas and those living in areas that seem to have benefited from state resources. However, recent changes enshrined in the Constitution of Kenya 2010 such as the devolved system of governance supported by resources from the state and other legal and policy documents are increasingly reversing that argument on marginalization as a driver of inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts. Institutional arrangements such as the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and the judiciary have played an important role in entrenching intergroup cohesion, giving a glimpse on the central role of good governance framework in the management of ethnic conflicts.

South Sudan, the youngest state in Africa has faced protracted politically motivated interethnic conflicts, barely three years after attaining statehood. A constitution which provided for inclusive governance and unity of the people of South Sudan came into effect on the day the country became a republic on 9<sup>th</sup> July 2011. Differences between the top political leaders of the country who come from the two most dominant ethnic groups in the country saw state institutions such as the defense forces being divided along ethnic lines, a factor that set the stage for the subsisting conflict that has claimed the lives of thousands of people and destruction of property of huge value (Pinaud, 2014). This raises questions on the place of ethnicity within the political governance framework of the country.

### **1.3 Problem Statement**

South Sudan faces multiple challenges, among them high poverty rates and recurrent violent conflicts. These challenges and particularly the recurrent violent conflicts have been attributed to negative ethnicity and exclusion of some groups from the political governance of the country. Juba County which houses the national political and economic

capital of Juba has borne the brunt of violence manifested in deaths of over thousands of people (ICG, 2021) and destruction of property worth millions. Ethnic consciousness and animosity has been so perverse that every other aspect of governance can hardly be evaluated or described without making reference to ethnicity. This has undermined good governance and consequently the ability of national and decentralized governments' ability to deliver on their mandates.

Access to vulnerable groups by humanitarian agencies has on occasions been denied by armed groups. Grievances of exclusion and opaqueness in decision making by those in positions of leadership, favoritism in recruitment to public service, unfairness in resource distribution, disregard for the rule of law characterize the political governance landscape in South Sudan and Juba County in particular (Jok, 2021). The grievances feed the violent bust-ups witnessed in Central Equatorial state. This calls to question the adequacy of the existing legal and policy framework as an anchor of good political governance in the country. Existing literature has placed high premium on the significance of political governance dynamics in the management of ethnic conflicts in multiethnic settings such as Juba County. According to Mutungi (2019), the inclusion of all groups in political decision making sets a base for peaceful dispute resolution and this translates to peace and stability in the short term as structures for addressing the substantive grievances are put in place. His study however does not address the political strategies of integrating ethnic conflict management in governance, and especially in South Sudan, a gap that this study sought to fill. Nyadera (2018) considered the political dynamics in the South Sudan Conflict, especially in terms of peace agreements enforcement. The study does not however

address directly the subject of structure and scope of the framework driving political governance, hence the need for this study.

#### **1.4 Purpose of the Study**

According to Mumma-Martinon (2021), the purpose of a study highlights the motives for conducting the study. Based on this definition, the purpose of this study was to examine the influence of South Sudan's political governance framework on the management of ethnic conflicts in the county of Juba. The study intends to explore the nexus between the nature and structure of the existing governance framework, the political strategies deployed by state actors and the political governance challenges in South Sudan as they relate to the management of the ethnic conflicts. It is the study's contention that the framework of political governance has an influence on how differences and disagreements shaped along ethnic can be managed.

#### **1.5 Objectives**

The general objective of this study is to examine the contribution of political governance framework on ethnic conflict management in Juba county of South Sudan. The specific objectives of the study were:

- i. To examine the nature and scope of the political governance framework used by the government of South Sudan in the management of ethnic conflicts in Juba County
- ii. To assess the effectiveness of political governance strategies used by the government of South Sudan in the management of ethnic conflicts in Juba County
- iii. To determine the political governance challenges undermining effective ethnic conflict management in Juba County

## **1.6 Research Questions**

- i) What is the nature and scope of the political governance framework used by the government of South Sudan in managing ethnic conflicts in Juba County?
- ii) To what extent have the political strategies used by the government of South Sudan been effective in managing ethnic conflicts in Juba County?
- iii) Are there any political governance challenges impacting effective ethnic conflict management in South Sudan's Juba County?

## **1.7 Significance of a study**

The significance of a study refers to the importance of the study (Kamau, Githii & Njau, 2014). Any research work must be of value to certain group or category of people, among them the local society in which the study is conducted, the research community and policy makers. Since the republic of South Sudan was born in July 2011, a lot of researches have been conducted there relating to various issues, including governance and ethnic conflicts. However, not much has been reported by way of research on the linkage between the country's political governance framework and the management of ethnic conflicts in Juba County which hosts the national political and economic capital. This is the very reason for conducting the proposed study in order to fill in this knowledge gaps. It is anticipated that the research findings will form a basis upon which future researchers can conduct similar studies relating to the dynamics of political governance frameworks as they relate to ethnic conflict management.

The study findings may also be of benefit to the political leaders and policy makers in South Sudan in terms of understanding how the country's governance framework, the political strategies in use and the political governance dynamics influence ethnic conflict

management in the drive towards a stable state. The new knowledge emerging from the study findings may also be useful in the review of the existing political governance framework if it's found to be inadequate or inefficient in the pursuit of sustainable peace and stability in the country. The absence of such knowledge would mean that any weaknesses in the political governance framework that may be contributing to the recurrence and protraction of ethnic conflicts in South Sudan would persist. Such an eventuality could put the country on the path of a failed state, an outcome that is inconsistent with the desired vision of a strong and unified country as enshrined in the Constitution of South Sudan (CoSS) 2011.

Finally, the study findings may benefit the local community in Juba County in understanding the manner in which their grievances could be better attended to by those in authority without resorting to the use of violence.

### **1.8 Scope of the Study**

According to Mumma-Martinon (2021), the scope of a study defines the depth and breadth of the research that is being undertaken. These aspects focus on the geographical area within which the study is to be undertaken, the content that was used as well as the methodology anchoring the research. Thus, the study was conducted in Juba County, South Sudan. The content that was focused on was that covering the political governance framework of the republic of South Sudan as it relates with ethnic conflict management. The study narrowed down to the nature and scope of the political governance framework of South Sudan, the political strategies used in managing ethnic conflicts as well as the political governance challenges undermining the management of ethnic conflicts in Juba county in order to generate a report that can form the basis for reforms where need be.

The constructivist theory developed by Onuf and Wendt (1995) and Rugie (1995) will guide the study variables. The theory argues that the social, economic and political world is socially constructed i.e. the events and occurrences we see do not just appear naturally but are the result of human interactions and shared ideas. Similarly, the behavior of states, which are run by people, ‘is shaped by elite beliefs, identities and social norms.’ In terms of methodology, the study adopted the descriptive research design in responding to the research questions, using a sample of 186 respondents drawn from the target population comprising of political leaders, government technocrats, non-state actors working with communities and community representatives in the period 2011 to 2021.

### **1.9 Delimitations of the Study**

Delimitations have been described by Kamau, Githii and Njau (2014) as those aspects of the study that can be controlled by the researcher because of their potential to affect the findings. They highlight the boundaries that a researcher sets regarding what the study does not cover. Thus, the study did not cover anything not related to the political governance of South Sudan as it relates to ethnic conflict management in any other county other than Juba County. The choice of Juba County is informed by its being the national political capital and the adverse effects the persistent ethnic conflicts have on the county and the country as a whole, being the major entry point into the country for international partners. A progressive political governance framework is assumed to contain all the necessary elements for the peaceful management of differences and grievances. It is noteworthy that the findings from Juba County may not be transferrable to other states given its cosmopolitan nature.

### **1.10 Limitations of the Study**

Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) describe the limitations of a study constraints to the research process that are outside the control of the researcher. This notwithstanding, the researcher must take the necessary action to overcome them so that they do not adversely impact the study findings or the generalizations made on the population on the basis of the findings (Mumma-Martinon, 2021). Some of the limitations that this study encountered include incomplete responses, skewed responses particularly from respondents who were aligned to particular political positions or individuals as well as illiteracy among some respondents who were not able to read and answer the questions on their own. Other limitations included the expansive application of the theory used to anchor the study which was confusing.

These limitations were overcome by explaining to the respondents the purpose of the study and the benefits it presented to them as well as the country as a whole. For those that were illiterate, the study engaged research assistants to help with administration of the data collection tools. In terms of the theoretical limitation, the study stuck to its application within the context of governance frameworks and conflict management.

### **1.11 Assumptions of the Study**

Leedy and Ormrod (2010) assert that without assumptions, the problem under study itself cannot exist. They explain assumptions as those aspects of the study that are unknown to the researcher, yet relevant to the study. Based on this definition, the study assumes that the respondents' answers were truthful and a true reflection of the situation as is in South Sudan so that the conclusions arrived at are reliable and when implemented can bring the desired changes that alleviate the existing challenges.



The study further assumes that the secondary data used to complement the primary data was accurate and reliable. This is because decisions have already been made on its basis and such decisions may be the subject of a review should new evidence from the field state otherwise. In addition, the study assumes that the political governance framework has a bearing on the management of ethnic conflicts in South Sudan, with the unknown thing being the extend of that contribution, which is the principal question the study was seeking answers to.

### **1.12 Theoretical Framework**

A theoretical framework provides the arguments around which a study is built (Swanson, 2013). It may be seen as a set of hypotheses that attempt to put the study objectives into perspective by connecting them with the arguments of a given theory and literature that situates the current study in the discipline of study. A good theoretical framework helps in responding to the how and why of observed phenomena during the research process. This study was based on the arguments of the constructivist theory as propounded by Onuf and Wendt (1995) and complemented by Rugie (1995) and the dominant institutional theory of Powell and DiMaggio (1991).

#### **1.12.1 Constructivist Theory**

The proponents of the theory argue that the world in which human beings live is socially constructed and shaped by their ideas and interactions with each other. According to them, events or even occurrences are not the products of nature but rather the agency of human ideas, good or bad. Wendt (1995) observes that the behavior of states among other actors in the international system is shaped by the beliefs held by the elite members of the

society, their identities and social norms. These social norms can and are regularly altered by the behavior of individuals as society continues to evolve.

South Sudan like all states is run through institutions that are manned by people either elected or appointed to the offices that they hold to provide services to the citizenry as per the social contract between them and those exercising state power. It is these people's ideas and their conceptualizations of what governance is or ought to be that are practiced in the name of state authority. While state interests is the reason for the existence of governments, sometimes the institutions charged with running the affairs of the state make policies or cause the enactment of laws that are not necessarily aligned with the interests of the state (Ruggie, 1995). Some of the laws, policies and actions of state actors have antagonized the very people they were supposed to be serving.

This study argues that ethnicity as a socially constructed concept is neither uniform nor permanent and may thus be used to exclude people that are perceived as not sharing the same worldviews on certain aspects of political governance as those holding or controlling the instruments of governance. Instructively, the exclusion may or may be not consistent with the provisions of the established legal and policy frameworks on governance. The exclusion is manifested through practices such as denial of opportunity to participate in decision making, inequality in sharing of resources and failure to adhere to the principles of constitutionalism. In some instances, the exclusion may even occur within a group that is otherwise thought to be homogenous, in what Horowitz (2001) calls intraethnic exclusion. These practices stir up dissent within the excluded groups towards those in power and have been the basis for formation of insurgencies in countries such as Sri Lanka (Ranasinghe, 2014).

Thus, the political governance framework of a country is essential in mediating the ethnic diversity within that country. It is this study's contention that to the extent that political actors are responsible for resource sharing and exercising state power, those that are not on the decision making table will always feel threatened or excluded and will do anything, including ethnic mobilization that entails use of force to force their way into the decision making and implementing institutions and or processes. The study considers this theory apt in explaining the linkage between political governance frameworks and ethnic conflict management because of its emphasis on the human agency and the prevalence of the ideas of the elite in the design and implementation of mechanisms of governance. It is those frameworks that may provide loopholes for exclusion of some groups, leading to recurrent violent ethnic conflicts in South Sudan. The concept of potential reconstruction and reconfiguration of the political governance frameworks to provide for more robust approaches to inclusion and addressing other group grievances that feed the conflicts renders the theory indispensable in this study.

### **1.12.2 The Dominant Institutional Theory**

The dominant institutional theory is credited to the work of several scholars, among them Powell and DiMaggio (1983); Tolbert and Zucker (1996) and Scott (2004). Powell and DiMaggio used institutional analysis to demonstrate the incentives of institutional actors engaging in corrupt behaviour, which is normally a violation of institutional or legal rules (Fehr, 2015) and which no doubt contributes to the emergence or escalation of conflicts, including those that are clothed in ethnicity. Scott (2004) explains that institutional theory helps in studying the principles and procedures through which structures, schemas, rules, and routines become established as authoritative social

behaviour guidelines. These established social behaviours can also be seen through the social constructivism lenses.

By incorporating the social context in understanding the interaction between state institutions and the citizenry, the theory helps in demonstrating how conflicts emerge, escalate or can be managed in society. This is especially so given the role of government in the provision of goods and services to all citizens, their political affiliation notwithstanding. Dynamics such as domination of state institutions by some groups to the exclusion of others highlight potential conflict causation pathways as well as their management. Ethnic conflict drivers such as corruption exhibited in various forms such as nepotism, cronyism, patronage and influence peddling are also attended to in this theory, whose proponents maintain that the decision to engage in the vice is the product of a cost-benefit analysis. Powell and DiMaggio (1991) argue that state officials prefer utility maximization or political supremacy in most instances, dynamics that feed into ethnic grievances and consequently conflict.

This theory is very useful in explaining the effectiveness of the political governance strategies used by states in dealing with conflict. By suggesting that mechanisms that increase accountability, either by encouraging punishment of individuals who engage in governance malpractices or sensitization by non-governmental organisations, it tends to reduce the incidence of conflicts. Thus, the theory suggests that by simply enforcing good governance practices, there is likely to be a decrease in conflicts, including those that are ethnically motivated (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Therefore, the government can ensure that constitutionalism reigns supreme by creating and enforcing good governance structures and compliance systems which raise the cost of negative ethnicity.

Critics of the dominant institutional theory such as Munir (2019) argue that the theory lacks an emancipatory agenda while privileging the power of agents over the dominant, maintaining that when confronted with larger challenges, the theory overlooks larger structures of dominance in favour of smaller and more manageable issues. Proponents of institutionalism are seen as being preoccupied with the process of institutionalization and not its processes which act as a medium of historical forms of oppression, domination and resistance (Wilmott, 2014). The study considers this theory important in complementing the constructivist theory, especially its weakness in explaining the institutional strategies employed by the government of South Sudan and the weaknesses in them in managing ethnic conflicts.

### **1.13 Conceptual Framework**

A conceptual framework refers to the diagrammatic representation of the linkage between the study's variables, showing the natural progression of the phenomenon (Obwatho, 2014). The independent variable in this study is the political governance framework of the republic of South Sudan. Its constituting sub-variables are the nature and structure of the framework itself, the political strategies within the framework for ethnic conflict management and the political governance challenges militating against successful ethnic conflict management. These variables are linked to ethnic conflict management which is the study's dependent variable. The conceptual framework suggests that a reduction of ethnic conflicts in South Sudan and Juba county is dependent on the existence of a well-structured and defined structure of governance, that has within it the political mechanisms for mediating differences between groups whenever they occur and an appreciation of the political governance dynamics that undermine the efforts aimed at eliminating the ethnic

antagonisms. Figure 1.1 is a diagrammatic representation of the linkage between the study variables.

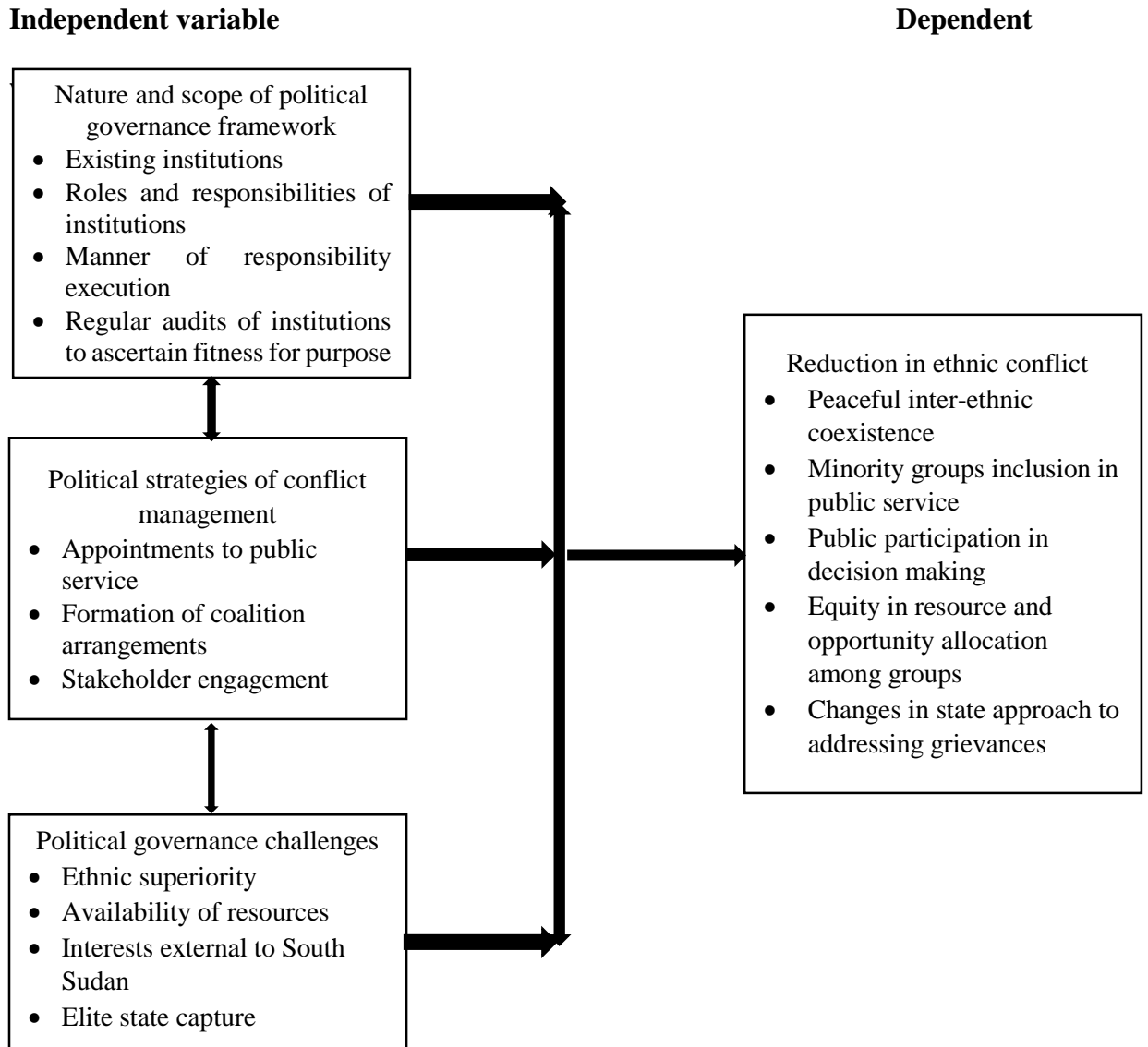


Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This study sought to examine how the political governance framework in South Sudan has contributed to the management of ethnic conflicts in Juba County. Specifically, the study explored the connection between the nature and scope of the political governance framework, the political strategies in the framework for ethnic conflict management and the dynamics undermining ethnic conflict management in the study area. In this chapter, the study reviewed empirical literature related to the guiding variables in line with its objectives. The aim was to highlight the gaps in the existing literature that the study findings have attempted to fill.

#### 2.2 Review of Literature

The Africa Union's *Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want* blue print outlines seven aspirations the continent intends to achieve by 2063, among them good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law. These aspects were deliberately ingrained in the document as a result of the weak governance that had been witnessed in many countries within the continent as manifested by persistent dysfunctional governance processes, impunity of public servants and the political elite and embezzlement of public resources, thus impoverishing the intended beneficiaries of the resources. To achieve the aspirations of Agenda 2063, the political governance framework in every African country must be robust and implemented scrupulously.

Blatter (2012) advances political governance as the institutionalized forms of political steering and integration. This perspective is shared by Kooiman (1999) who sees

socio-political governance as an interactive process characterized by among other things, problem solving and opportunity creation. The two scholars seem to suggest that governance institutions exist for the purposes of entrenching unity in diversity so as to facilitate citizens in solving their own problems and creating opportunities in which all members of the society can thrive. This perspective is in sync with Lee (2019) thinking that political stability in a country is a precondition for economic development, among other aspects of human development. The frameworks of political governance that a country puts in place are intended to help those vested with state power and authority act in the best interests of the state and this is why constitutions are crucial in the maintenance of political order.

The population composition in a country coupled with the composition of the government of the day is an important consideration in planning and executing governance systems that bear the peace and stability dividends. Lijphart (2012) maintains the view that political stability and the avoidance of violence in multi-ethnic societies that allows a government to function effectively is only possible if each segment of the population is included in the government, bearing in mind its relative population strength and given some degree of autonomy in dealing with matters relating to them. This implies that the design of the political governance framework of a country has a bearing on the extent to which intra and intergroup differences can be mediated to attain peace and stability within a political unit such as South Sudan. The paragraphs hereunder explore various aspects of political governance frameworks used by states as they relate to ethnic conflict management in the county of Juba.



### **2.2.1 Nature and Scope of the Political Governance Framework used in Managing Ethnic Conflicts**

All countries throughout the world have governance frameworks that they use for purposes of driving the affairs of the state. The ultimate responsibility for constituting the governance frameworks rests with the political actors within the state, acting on their own or in collaboration with the citizens depending on the orientation of the regime in power. The nature, structure and scope of the political governance frameworks of countries differ from one state to the other based on a range of factors such the political needs, local conditions, popular aspirations, cultural priorities, historical context and the political leadership of the country (Lee, 2019).

According to Thio (2010) political stability within a state is first and foremost predicated on economic development which is supported by a robust legal framework. Where injustices exist, conflict becomes inevitable as aggrieved persons see it as the only pathway to attaining their interests. Thio (2006) enacts this argument using the example of Indonesia in which he points to the oppressive policies developed by the national government on sharing of revenue generated in Aceh wherein only 5% of the national exports revenue was allocated to Aceh, despite her contributing 15%. This policy was deemed exploitative by the Acehnese who rightly resisted it, thus creating conflict between the national government and the people of Aceh who demanded for the secession of Aceh. The conflict subsided between 1960 and 1970 after more resources were allocated to Aceh and the province given some degree of autonomy to use Sharia law. The study does not however provide details as to the nature and scope of the governance framework that was used in managing the conflict.

Regime changes however saw Aceh stripped of her autonomy and national government takeover of resource management in the province, a situation interpreted by Acehnese as introduction of martial law in the province (ACCORD, 2008). This situation led to the formation of a separatist insurgency in 1976 that fought against government forces, effectively rendering the exploitation of natural resources in the province difficult. The conflict led to the 2001 Special Autonomy Law which revised the sharing of revenues accruing to Aceh from oil revenues from 5% to 70% and those from agriculture from 14% to 80%, besides conferring on Aceh province some degree of autonomy (Mahdi, 2011). The new law embedded redistributive justice into the governance framework, thus enhancing peaceful co-existence between contending parties. While this study gives informative insights, it presents institutional conflicts, rather than ethnic conflicts, despite the grievances that the Acehnese hold against the government.

Malaysia presents some useful insights on the range of legal and policy measures states use to manage identity (ethnic) conflicts. Various studies (Lee, 2019; Lee, 2017, Blatter, 2012; Lijphart, 2012; Kooiman, 2007) highlight the existence of an unusual political governance framework that has been used to manage ethnic conflicts in Malaysia. The constitution of Malaysia provides for a consociational model of governance that is intended to ensure the proportionate inclusion of all the ethnic groups, namely the Malay, Chinese, Indians and the Bumiputera in all spheres of public life such as education, the civil service among others. By law, educational institutions are free to use the dominant local language for learning and instruction! While Article 8 of the Malaysian constitution provides for equality and non-discrimination, it creates the “special position” of the Malay and Bumiputera, whose interests must be ensured in all public policy decision making

processes. This provision arose from the many years of the two groups' socio-economic and political subjugation during the colonial era. The provision is however silent as to how long the Malay and Bumiputera will continue to enjoy their special position, and especially as the country has eliminated the wealth gap between the minority Chinese and the majority Malay and Bumiputera.

Article 153 of the Malaysian constitution empowers the king, an ethnic Malay, to exercise his power as appropriate to safeguard the 'special position' of the Malay while the Sedition Act of 1948 prohibits questioning of the provisions of Article 153! These two features of the Malaysian legal system appear to assert the primacy of the Malay and the Bumiputera, much to the chagrin of the Chinese and the Indians who over the years have chosen to keep quiet, despite their displeasure with the laws and policies that discriminate against them.

Lee (2017) reports on the entrenchment of ethnic quotas in various public sectors such as education and employment. This study established that the quota system that was grounded on the preferential policies such as the New Economic Policy of 1970 had drastically decreased income poverty among the Malay and Bumiputera from 46% in 1970 to 0.6% in 2014, effectively bridging the horizontal interethnic economic disparities in Malaysia. This raises questions as to the continued use of the affirmative action laws and policies, since the original intention was to engender ethnic proportionality as earlier noted. Moreover, this study questions the salience of the consociational model of governance to the extent that it does not contribute to the integration of the ethnic groups of Malaysia. It is this study's contention that sustained use of the affirmative action laws and policies continues to disadvantage the Chinese and other minority groups into the foreseeable future

a situation that may form the basis of violent conflict in the future as discriminated groups seek redress.

In Nigeria, out of over 250 ethnic groups, the most dominant ones in terms of population are the Hausa 21%, the Yoruba 21%, Igbo 18% and the Fulani 11%, all four groups accounting for 71% of the country's population (Payne & Nassar, 2008). These ethnicities are important in understanding the political governance of Nigeria because her federalism is based on ethnicity rather than geography as happens elsewhere in the world. Her constitution provides for a federal system comprising the federal government headed by a president and state governments at the sub-national level in each state headed by a governor. Other than the supreme, court of appeal and the federal high courts each state has a high court, sharia appeal court and a customary appeal court. The provision for the customary and sharia appellate courts within the country's judicial structure is a pointer to the use of religious and cultural mechanisms for conflict resolution, in keeping with the broad range of identity markers that characterize the Nigerian population. Moreover, the integration of religion and customs in the judicial system is a pointer of their salience in the country's governance.

According to Jacob and Saad (2011) the constitution provides a consociational model of political governance midwifed through elite consensus. The duo argue that the political elite are assumed to represent the interests of their respective ethnic groups. To this extend, the politics of ethnicity are the hallmark of Nigeria's governance and the lens through which the country's political processes and enabling laws and policies must be seen and understood. Aning (2016:4) attributes the rise of security challenges in Africa, including Nigeria, to socio-economic injustices such as "marginalization, social inequality, political

exclusion, corruption, economic deprivation, unequal allocation and distribution of state resources” committed by those exercising state power against the (ethnic) groups constituting the population. Yagboyaju and Akinola (2019) argue that the constant shifts between civilian rule and military autocracy which have been heavily influenced by ethnic dynamics since Nigeria’s independence, have heavily influenced her governance framework. All these studies however do not address the specifics of structure and scope of the Nigerian governance framework over the years, a gap that this study sought to fill.

The Republic of South Sudan attained her independence in July 2011 after successfully seceding from the Republic of Sudan. The Sudanese People Liberation Army (SPLA) waged war against the defense forces of Sudan for a period in excess of 50 years, albeit with breaks in between, following mediation efforts. During the pre-independence period, various political governance instruments such as the constitution of Sudan were amended to make way for various agreements arrived at in the course of the war. At the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, South Sudan adopted an interim constitutional order that was later ratified by the Legislative Assembly and signed into law as the official supreme law of South Sudan on Independence Day, 9<sup>th</sup> July 2011. Changes have been made to the independence constitution and various Acts of parliament enacted along with policies aimed at addressing the needs and interests of the citizenry. However, not much is known as to the nature and scope of the political governance of the country as it relates to the management of the politically motivated ethnic conflicts that have been witnessed in the country since December 2013, a gap that this study sought to fill.

### **2.2.2 Effectiveness of Political Governance Strategies used in Managing Ethnic Conflicts**

The significance placed on ethnic identity in multi-ethnic societies requires that those institutions to which state power is vested must develop strategies through which they can deliver goods and services in a manner that alleviates rather than worsens ethnic relations. States throughout the world have devised various strategies that they use to steady the political terrain in their respective jurisdictions, producing different outcomes.

Welsch (2020) reports that some of the political governance strategies undertaken in Malaysia to address the ethnic conflict fault lines include the constitutional granting of special status to the Malay and Bumiputera as well as preferential treatment in access to socio-economic and political opportunities through the quota system. These strategies that were intended to entrench equity by empowering the hitherto disadvantaged Malay and Bumiputera have seen the country experience economic growth and its consequent leap into a second world economy. Lee (2017) established that the NEP developed in 1970 had managed to eliminate the income poverty to nearly zero by 2014, besides further noting that the disparities that existed in terms of education attainment and absorption of the Malay and Bumiputera into the public service had been corrected to a large extent. However, despite these achievements, all the ethnic groups of Malaysia cannot be said to be integrated or harmoniously coexisting, partly because of the special status and continued preferential treatment of the Malay and the Bumiputera as by law and policy dictated. This raises concerns on the possibility of the adopted political governance strategies contributing to ethnic polarization, drivers of exclusion or marginalization and potentially leading to latent conflicts turning violent.

In a study conducted by Fakhoury (2014) on the power sharing model in Lebanon that was established through the Ta'if Accords to help manage the conflicts between the Muslims and the Christians there, it was established that the system had brought stability into the country. The stability notwithstanding, Lebanon has found to be grappling with serious governance issues such as corruption perpetrated by the partners in government. This has been attributed to the lack of an effective opposition to check the actions of those exercising state power. The governance malpractices are increasingly causing tensions because resources meant to benefit the masses have been diverted for the benefit of the ruling elite. This outcome thus leads to the inevitable doubts on the efficacy of power sharing as an anchor of sustainable political stability.

In Africa, various governance related instruments have been developed by the African Union (AU) with calls to member states to domesticate them in order to realize progress. These include the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance and the African Charter on Principles of Public Service and Administration. Various continental strategies such as the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) and the Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) have also been actualized for countries to share experiences in their journey towards a developed continent as envisaged in the Africa Agenda 2063. The Africa Agenda 2063 has been put in place to guide optimal use of Africa's resources in order to accelerate her socioeconomic transformation. Despite the existence of these progressive instruments with solid recommendations, their implementation remains weak and this may explain the governance gaps in the continent (Mindzie, Wachira & Dunderdale, 2014).

In a study conducted in Kenya by Nyabira and Ayele (2016), it was established that the decentralization of resources through the devolved system of governance had played an important role in bridging some of the grievances that had been at the heart of conflicts in the country such as development marginalization and political exclusion. By devolving resources and empowering citizens at the lowest level of the community to participate in decision making as enshrined in Article 174 of the constitution of Kenya, the focus on the presidency as the sole source of a region's development is rapidly changing and with it a decline in the high premium previously attached to that office. The autonomy that is granted to the counties to elect their own leaders and run their affairs, independent but complementary to the national government is consistent with Lijphart's (2012) argument in favour of segment autonomy on matters exclusive to them as a pathway to ethnic conflict management. Despite the milestones attained on account of devolution in various parts of the country, the study does not address the subject of ethnic integration as a byproduct of decentralization, a factor that this study considers important in attaining national political stability, and hence will seek to address.

Moreover, new evidence suggests that the counties are increasingly the new frontiers of marginalization for ethnic minorities in Kenya. For instance, in a study conducted by Mutungi, Kikaya and Ichuloi (2019) in Mandera County, it was established that while 98% of the community members are ethnic Somali, ethnicity there is understood at the level of the clan. The study provides evidence of dominance of the political governance institutions by members of the Garre clan, a situation that has contributed to worsening relations between that clan and others such as the Degodia and Murrule. This case suggests that while devolution may have contributed to the availability of economic



resources, especially funding at the subnational level, it may not have contributed to inter or even intraethnic integration as envisaged by the country's political governance framework.

In other African cases, institutions have been created to deal with issues that may be specific to a given ethnic group or community. In a review conducted by Powell (2010), it was established that the political leadership of Uganda created the ministry of Karamoja Affairs to specifically deal with the grievances voiced by the Karamojong ethnic group. In this regard the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme (KIDDP) was established as the key vehicle towards alleviating the community's grievances, key among them marginalization.

KIDDP is anchored on Article 38 of the Uganda constitution which provides for citizen participation in governance affairs and further seeks to engender generational integration into the Ugandan social fabric. The program has however faced problems in terms of implementation with the community resisting it because of the appointment of officials from outside the Karamojong community and what they consider a one sided disarmament. Some of the community members argue that they cannot be led by outsiders or surrender their weapons while their neighbours in Kenya have theirs, thus slowing down KIDDP (Powell, 2010). This brings in a new twist on the regional dynamics in the design and implementation of state strategies aimed at conflict management and or mitigation.

Like any other country, South Sudan too has made efforts in terms of developing political governance strategies that she thinks will help in the management of the politically motivated ethnic conflicts. These include the signing of power sharing agreements among the various actors involved in the conflict, each representing their constituents' interests as

well as decentralization of government to the states so as to take services closer to the consumers. There is however a deficiency of documentation as to how effective those strategies have been in as far as addressing the drivers of the conflict as exemplified by the frequent outburst of violence over the last eight years since the conflict broke out in December 2013. This is the gap that the study sought to fill.

### **2.2.3 Political governance Challenges undermining Ethnic Conflict Management in South Sudan**

Various factors account for the success or failure of the efforts made by states to achieve different desired outcomes, especially in the area of governance. The diversity of actors within and without the political space of any country points to the multiplicity of interests at play before any political decision can be made. Some of the interests if unfulfilled may turn to be the impediments to the stability and progress that a country desires and hence the basis upon which politically motivated conflicts become protracted.

In a study conducted by Dekkene (2015) in Lebanon, it was established that the power sharing arrangement that had ushered in a prolonged period of political stability was the very same reason why the country was increasingly experiencing recurrent conflicts. The study attributes the instability that has been witnessed in the country since 2010 to elite capture of state resources through pervasive corrupt practices. This finding was consistent with that of Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer (2011) which established that the police and the judiciary were among the top recipients of bribes in Lebanon. Malaeb (2018) argues that the lack of independence in the judiciary due to political interference has contributed to the persistence of corruption in public spheres,

leading to increase in poverty and economic distress and souring of relations among the different groups as each accuse the other of corruption and impoverishment of the other.

Lebanon has further been beset by the inability of the ruling elite to ensure effective governance of all the spaces within the countries territory. A study conducted by Atzili (2010) documents the presence of transnational armed groups such as the Hezbollah, the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the al-Qaeda whose presence it argues is a result of state weakness and illegitimacy. The state's inability to offer effective core services such as security in some parts of the country have made it easier for the non-state actors to rise and fill in the gap, effectively challenging the legitimacy of the government arising from power-sharing arrangements and further laying the ground for violent manifestation of conflict among the contesting groups as evidenced by the mass protests witnessed in 2019.

Studies on Myanmar have pointed to the role of military coupes on the stability of a nation as well as ethnic relations. The BBC (2022) reports that the military take over spurred the regrouping of ethnic armies to fight the military junta. The disobedience was coming hot on the mistreatment of the Rohingya minority leading to over 700,000 fleeing into Bangladesh. The presence of the ethnic militia groups highlights the consequences of the failure of governance as it leaves the locals to protect themselves. International actors have been drawn into the raging conflict, further pointing to the possibility of some of the ethnic armies being beneficiaries of support from the international actors.

In a study conducted by Bamidele (2020) in Nigeria, it was established that ethnic political hegemony has contributed to the recurrence of conflicts in the country. The study argues that Nigerian politics are organized along ethnic lines and this has the effect of straining relations between perceived majorities and minorities. The situation is

compounded by the presence of ungoverned spaces, leading to the rise of ethnic civilian armies such as the Fulani citizen army that has challenged the authority of the state in the recent past. Arguments have been made to the effect that the failure to contain the Fulani citizen army partly stems from the fact that president Buhari himself is an ethnic Fulani and hence his administration may not be willing to use the necessary instruments of force to subdue the civilian army and restore order.

A study conducted by Taye (2017) on the salience of federalism in Ethiopia established that the system did not contribute in any way to interethnic integration but rather exacerbated existing differences due to ethno nationalism. The Human Rights Watch (2014a) reports ethnic cleansing of non-Oromo communities in the state of Oromia fuelled by what the organization refers to ethnic federalism. The strong attachment to territory as an identity marker has been argued to be a driver of the ethnic cleansing. Aalen (2002) argues that disagreements about access to and use of land, grazing land or water resources, regional hegemony and access to state resources as well as language policy in education and administration are key contributors to the conflict. The subsisting conflict between the national government and the Tigrayans further serves to highlight the place of ethnic federalism as it relates to political power, given the pathways to self-determination, and even secession provided by the Ethiopian constitution in Article 39 (1). This article of the Ethiopian constitution has the potential to foster long drawn conflicts in the country.

South Sudan has experienced numerous challenges, most of which are rooted in her political governance architecture. While there are challenges in the country such as high poverty indices and poor relations among the various ethnic groups that constitute the population of South Sudan, little is known as to what exactly the dynamics are that feed

into ethnic conflicts while undermining the adopted political governance frameworks. These are the gaps the study was seeking to explore and fill in terms of workable recommendations that can resolve the conflicts therein.

### **2.3 Summary and Gaps in the Literature**

The reviewed studies have indicated that the nature and scope of political governance frameworks adopted by multi-ethnic states to manage conflicts differ from one country to the other. Some countries provide within their laws and policies preferential treatment of disadvantaged groups as an affirmative approach to bringing parity in the countries socio-economic and political realms. These countries include Malaysia which by law and policy has granted special socio-economic and political status to ethnic Malay and the Bumiputera. Others like Lebanon and Nigeria have the consociational model of democracy that provides for ethnic inclusivity and equity in resource sharing as argued by Fakhoury (2014) and Jacob and Saad (2011) respectively. Kenya is no different with her devolution approach as advanced by Nyabira and Ayele (2016). However, the frameworks are open-ended in terms of implementation timelines, implying the possibility of continued marginalization but on a rotational basis and consequently the protraction of conflicts in the affected countries, with parties alternating grievances. Constitutional provisions on secession as is the case in Ethiopia as reported by Taye (2017) may also be potential bottlenecks to stability and ethnic integration. This study sought to establish the status of the political governance framework in South Sudan, assessing its place in the protracted conflict that seems to be defying different management interventions.

The studies further revealed that some of the strategies deployed such as decentralization have had various degrees of success or lack thereof. However, the review

revealed that previous researches have focused more on success of governance models, rather than the specific strategies adopted in implementation of the frameworks aimed at ethnic conflict management.

Additionally, while the entrenchment of various ethnic conflict management interventions into the reviewed country's frameworks has had some success, it has not as yet delivered the intended developmental dividends aimed at addressing marginalization in the African illustrations compared to the Asian countries such as Malaysia. Instructively though, emergence of transnational armed groups has continued to challenge the legitimacy of the political arrangements intended to manage ethnic conflicts, some of which have been more of a response to the lack of political will by the ruling elite to address the plight of their electorate as was the case with Hezbollah in Lebanon. Other gaps emerging from the studies include the appropriateness of the mode of decentralization adopted by a country and its potential in addressing the drivers of intergroup conflicts. Thus, determining the same in the case of South Sudan will go a long way in enriching the extant literature.

Methodologically, the review notes that most of the studies have used either cross-sectional design or the longitudinal design. While these are good designs in their own right, this study is interested in describing the situation as is in South Sudan and hence was seeking to use the descriptive research design. Moreover, there is an over-reliance on the questionnaire for data collection in the existing studies and while this study will use the same tool, it will go further to use the interview method as well as Focus Group Discussion so as to ensure triangulation of data to give an accurate picture of the variables under study.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter expounds on the methodology that the study used to answer the research questions. Therefore, the chapter explains and provides a justification for the research design, research site, target population, sample size, sampling procedures, data collection methods and data analysis approaches. The chapter also provides a highlight of the legal and ethical concerns that guided the study. Each part of the methodology is discussed on its own in the sections herein.

#### **3.2 Research design**

A research design is defined as a plan that guides a study by bridging the research questions with the data collection and reporting process (Dirreheim, 2004). In other words, a research design acts as a framework upon which all the constituent elements of the methodology are integrated in a coherent whole. Based on this understanding, this study will use a descriptive research design. This design was preferred because of the possibilities it offers the researcher in terms of an in-depth analysis and understanding of the research problem. This design enabled the researcher describe various aspects of political governance of South Sudan as they relate to ethnic conflict management in Juba County. With regard to the independent variable, the design helped the study describe the nature, structure and scope of South Sudan's political governance framework and the impact these aspects have on the management of ethnic conflicts. Moreover, by responding to questions on the what, when, where and how of political governance strategies, the study was able to determine the effectiveness of those strategies in managing ethnic conflicts in South Sudan.

The challenges of political governance in South Sudan was also be investigated so as to help in describing their impact on the management of ethnic conflicts. In a nutshell, the descriptive research design aided in describing the relations and differences between and among the issues under study, thus help in the development of a data-based profile of ethnic conflict management through governance interventions in the study area (Kamau, Githii & Njau, 2014). Both quantitative and qualitative approaches to research was integrated during the collection and analysis of data so as to ensure that the research questions are adequately attended to and the output from the research can be relied on by the range of actors in remedying the political governance drivers of ethnic conflicts.

### **3.3 Research site**

The research site of a study simply refers to the actual geographical area where a study is to be undertaken (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The choice of research site is informed by various factors among them availability of the respondents that are knowledgeable on the variables under study, accessibility of the area for purposes of observations where that is needed, among others. Accordingly, the research site for this study was Juba County in Central Equatorial state which is one of the 10 states of South Sudan as per the 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2020 peace agreement (Vhumbunu, 2020). Juba County is the socio-economic and political capital of the republic of South Sudan. It hosts the capital city of Juba, which serves as a melting pot of South Sudan's different ethnic groups, economic activities and political processes. This county was selected because of the recurrence of violent conflicts whenever there is a disagreement among the major political actors within the country, conflicts which are linked to access to and control of political power which in turn determines who gets to control and appropriate national resources.



Juba County was also be selected because it is where most of the governance institutions of South Sudan are based, which play a role in the management of ethnic conflicts in the country, including within the county.

### **3.4 Target Population**

According to Kamau, Githii and Njau (2014), target population refers to the actual participants, whether they are people or institutions that a researcher seeks to observe during the data collection process, based on the commonality of the characteristics they possess which are of interest to the researcher. This view is consistent with Obwatho's (2014:60) perspective in which he describes a target population as 'the group about which a researcher wishes to draw conclusions'. In this study, a target population is understood to mean the set of adult people comprising the participating ethnic groups living in Juba County, state officials working in various governance institutions as well as representative of nongovernmental organizations involved in governance and conflict management. From this population, a sample was obtained to participate in the study so as to generate the data that was analyzed and the findings then generalized on the target population.

The range of target population for this study comprised of representatives of the six major ethnic groups in the county namely Bari, Kakwa, Kuku, Mundari, Dinka and the Nuer, all who have been involved in the violent ethnic conflicts witnessed in Juba county, government officials drawn from various institutions actively involved in policy making and implementation. The specific government institutions that participated include the Legislative Assembly, directorates of Governance Affairs, Policy Research and Monitoring, Peace building and Conflict Management, Security and Protection as well as the County commissioner of Juba County and the governor of Central Equatorial state.

Two non-governmental organizations namely Support for Peace and Education Development Programme (SPEDP) and Africa Development Initiative (ADI) who are actively involved in advocacy for ethnic conflict management through responsive governance interventions were also involved. The twelve potential respondents from each ethnic group are based on the maximum allowable number for a productive Focus Group discussion (UNICEF, 2020) and as further elaborated in section 3.5.1. This number was standardized for all the ethnic groups due to the lack of reliable statistical data for each ethnic group in the study area; what exists is general information that the Dinka are the majority but the specific number and especially in Juba County is unknown. The distribution of the target population is as summarized in Table 3.1

Table 3.1: Distribution of Target Population

<b>Stratum</b>	<b>Proportion (%)</b>	<b>Populations</b>
Representatives of ethnic groups		
– Bari	6.5	12
– Kakwa	6.5	12
– Kuku	6.5	12
– Mundari	6.5	12
– Dinka	6.5	12
– Nuer	6.5	12
Legislative Assembly	2.7	5
Government Departments		
– Governance Affairs & Legislative drafting	13.9	26
– Policy Research and Monitoring	9.0	17
– Peace building and Conflict Management	11.2	21
– Security and Protection	6.4	12
Non-governmental Organizations		
– SPEDP	9.7	18
– ADI	8.1	15
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>186</b>

GoSS (2022)

### **3.5 Study Sample**

According to Crewell (2012) a sample is a subgroup of the target population that the researcher narrows down to observe or collect data from so as to generalize on the target population. Thus, a study sample refers to the actual respondents selected by a researcher to participate in his or her study.

#### **3.5.1 Sampling procedures**

This study used a mix of probability and non-probability sampling techniques in order to collect data from the respondents. To start with, the target population was stratified into three strata namely ethnic groups, government institutions and the nongovernmental organizations, each stratum representing a category of potential respondents. For the ethnic groups' representatives, the study randomly picked twelve members from each of the six ethnic groups in the three Payams that comprise Juba County, namely Juba, Kator and Munuki. This decision is informed by the absence of consistent and reliable documented statistics on the membership of ethnic groups and the need to understand the study variables at a deeper level, from the perspective of the ethnic groups. The figure of 12 is considered as the most ideal number for a productive FGD as argued by Creswell (2012). The 12 members from each of the participating six ethnic groups will constitute a Focus Group Discussion (FGD). In constituting the FGDs, the study will consider gender, regional representation in terms of the Payams, duration of stay in Juba County and age so as to ensure the full demographic dynamics of the study area are taken into account. Thus, the stratified and simple random sampling techniques was used to ensure members of the target population drawn from the various strata have an equal chance of selection and that the final sample is as proportionate and as inclusive as possible.

Purposive sampling, which is non-probabilistic, was used to obtain data from the leaders of the five political groups represented in the Legislative Assembly, Juba County Commissioner, heads of participating government departments as well as the leaders of the two non-governmental organizations involved in advocacy for ethnic conflict management through responsive governance interventions. This particular sampling technique is intended to ensure that the study benefits from perspectives of respondents who have interacted with political governance interventions, either as beneficiaries, implementers or coordinators within the context of ethnic conflict management. The purposively chosen respondents was assumed to have access to more information relating to the study variables by virtue of the positions they hold, hence be in a position to respond to the study questions from a position of information and deep knowledge (Creswell, 2012). With these specific sampling procedures in place and considering the difficulties in obtaining the actual target population due to the challenge of consistent statistics especially on the ethnic groups, the study will result to census sampling since the number of available targeted population is small that is 186 as shown in Table 3.1.

### **3.5.2 Study sample size**

Based on the choice and rationale given for the sampling procedures in section 3.5.1, and the small target population, the study sample size was a mirror image of the target population. For the six ethnic groups that was participating, due to the challenges of instability in South Sudan that started in 2013, barely two years after her independence, there is an absence of verifiable statistics on the exact numbers for the country's population's demographics. Thus, to ensure the study benefits from the perspectives of each of the six ethnic groups in respect of the study variables, twelve adult members from each of the participating ethnic groups was obtained to constitute a Focus Group Discussion

(FGD) panel using the criteria given in section 3.5.1. In addition to that criteria, the membership to each FGD was six males and six females representing an ethnic group, the reasoning here being the need to get the views of each gender since the two genders experience conflicts differently and also perceive the interventions differently. These potential ethnic group respondents were targeted on the understanding that they have either directly or indirectly experienced ethnic conflicts or the governance interventions that have been instituted to manage the conflicts.

Similarly, for the Legislative Assembly, the leaders of the five political groups represented in it was selected for key informant interviews. The five groups represented in the legislative assembly of South Sudan as per the peace agreement of 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2020 are the Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU), Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army in Opposition (SPLM/A-IO), South Sudan Opposition Alliance (SSOA), Other Political Parties (OPP) and Former Detainees (FDs). For the government departments and the nongovernmental organizations, heads of departments and organizations was involved in key informant interviews while the rest of the membership in these two strata will respond to a questionnaire. Thus the study sample size was as presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Distribution of the sample size

<b>Stratum</b>	<b>Proportion (%)</b>	<b>Sample size</b>
Representatives of ethnic groups		
– Bari	6.5	12
– Kakwa	6.5	12
– Kuku	6.5	12
– Mundari	6.5	12
– Dinka	6.5	12
– Nuer	6.5	12
Legislative Assembly	2.7	5
Government Departments		
– Governance Affairs & Legislative drafting	13.9	26
– Policy Research and Monitoring	9.0	17
– Peacebuilding and Conflict Management	11.2	21
– Security and Protection	6.4	12
Non-governmental Organizations		
– SPEDP	9.7	18
– ADI	8.1	15
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>186</b>
GoSS (2022)		

### 3.6 Data Collection

The study used both secondary and primary data. Secondary data was obtained from official publications from the Government of South Sudan (GoSS) and reports from Intergovernmental organizations and NGOs. Primary data on the other hand was obtained from the study respondents using questionnaires, FGDs and interview guides.

#### 3.6.1 Data Collection Instruments

The questionnaire was used to collect data from participants from participating institutions other than heads of the institutions while the interview guides was used to collect data from heads of institutions and political groups in the Legislative Assembly. The FGDs were used to collect data from representatives of the ethnic groups. The questionnaires was composed of open and closed-ended questions. The open-ended

questions helped in collecting the views and opinions of the respondents on certain aspects of the research questions while the closed-ended questions helped generate quantitative data that enabled the researcher highlight trends of the issues under investigation. The questionnaires were preferred because they were relatively easy to administer and they generated useful information within a shorter period of time. This tool was administered by the researcher with the assistance of two research assistants, where one was deployed to government departments and the other to the nongovernmental organizations. A pre-deployment training was done for the research assistants to ensure they understood the goals of the study and that they were well equipped to translate the items if and when needed or be in a position to respond to any queries that arose from the respondents during data collection (Boynton, 2004).

When collecting data through the FGDs and the key informant interviews, the study made use of a guide comprising of standard questions to obtain relevant information from the respondents. For the FGDs, the researcher organized the meetings with the participants at a time and venue agreeable to the members of each panel. The study conducted face to face interviews with the key informants but was also flexible to use technology as appropriate to accommodate key informants who were unavailable for face to face interviews. The key informant interviewees were assumed to be more knowledgeable compared to other respondents in their respective stratum on account of the positions they held and the nature of work that they performed regarding political governance and ethnic conflict management (Creswell, 2012). The FGDs and interviews were facilitated by the researcher and the data obtained recorded in a field notebook. Where permission was

granted by FGD participants and the interviewees, the conversations were video recorded and stored for referral during analysis.

### **3.6.2 Pilot testing of research instruments**

The study piloted the data collection instruments before their actual use in the field. Piloting allowed the investigators establish any potential weaknesses in the instruments so that they are corrected before their use for actual data collection (Hassan, Schattner & Mazza, 2006). In this regard, the study conducted a pilot test in Yei River County which has similar profile elements as Juba County since both lie in Central Equatorial state. Treece and Treece (1982) recommendation that the pilot can be done on 10% of the sample size was adopted. The results from the pilot were used to check the reliability and validity of the research instruments.

### **3.6.3 Reliability of research instrument**

Reliability measures are concerned with the consistency of the research tool in producing similar results after repeated trials (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The test-retest method was thus used to ensure that the research instrument was reliable. The study targeted a coefficient of reliability greater than 0.7 as recommended by Nachmias and Nachmias (1996). While a coefficient of more than 0.7 was preferred, the study was aware of how difficult that can be to achieve because of reasons such as the repeated nature of the test. Indeed, since a pilot participant may not know whether the test was repeated, they may not necessarily recall the response they gave in a previous test, thus making it fairly difficult to attain high scores. Moreover, potential changes in the phenomena under study in the period between the two tests can also contribute. After the piloting, the coefficient



was found to be 0.76 after two tests at intervals of two weeks, hence the tools were considered reliable for data collection.

#### **3.6.4 Validity of research instrument**

According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1996), validity of a research instrument refers to that instrument's ability to measure what it was envisioned to measure. In this study, the researcher satisfied himself by examining the tool against the objectives and existing literature that on the face value, the data collection instrument could measure what it was supposed to measure. The areas of focus was the structure of statements and indicators that made up the data collection instrument. In addition, the researcher shared the instrument with the supervisors for their input given their expertise in the study area. The recommendations they gave were incorporated into the tools to make them better suited for collecting the data sought to respond to the study objectives.

#### **3.7 Data processing and Analysis**

After data was collected from the respondents, it was subjected to a process of cleaning it which was intended to help identify, correct or remove inaccurate data from the data set as explained by Obwatho (2014). During the data cleaning exercise the investigator was on the lookout for incomplete responses and inconsistencies in the responses. The essence of the data cleaning process was to transform it into a form that is useful for analysis. The transformation entailed simple processes like correction of wrongly spelt words and summarization of verbatim responses by grouping similar responses from diverse sources.

Due to the need to generate both quantitative and qualitative data as already explained under research design, the study adopted descriptive statistics for purposes of analysing the quantitative data. The raw numerical data was keyed into the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 26 to generate different types of descriptive statistics such as percentages and frequency counts which were in turn used for purposes of analysing the similarities or differences between and among the study variables. The descriptive data was presented using graphs, tables and charts. Qualitative data which was obtained from the open ended questions in the questionnaires and the key informant interviews was summarized and organized into objective-based themes, with the content emerging therefrom analysed and presented in the form of narratives. Direct verbatim quotes obtained from respondents was used as appropriate to ensure the voices of the respondents were incorporated in the descriptions summarized by the narratives. The analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data was done concurrently using an embedded strategy as explained by Creswell (2008).

### **3.8 Ethical and Legal Considerations**

Ethics in research refer to the ‘moral principles or codes of behaviour’ that a study must observe to ensure rights of respondents as well as those of other stakeholders involved in the research are upheld (Gatara, 2010). The main issues of concern from an ethical and legal standpoint during research include referencing of cited works, obtaining informed consent from respondents on their willingness to participate in the research before engaging them as well as recording their responses, acquisition of permits or other authorizations from the institution and other relevant bodies as by law established. To ensure compliance, the study referenced all cited works and obtained an authorization letter from Africa

Nazarene University and a research permit from the Directorate of University Education in South Sudan before commencing the data collection exercise. During the data collection exercise, the researcher further explained to the respondents the purpose of the study so that they understood the academic nature of the study and if they chose to participate give informed consent as per appendix I. The researcher further guided respondents on the anonymity of their responses as a measure of protecting their identities. Finally, the study findings will be disseminated through presenting a paper in a conference or workshop and its eventual publication in a refereed journal to benefit researchers in the future.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Introduction

The study sought to examine the influence of political governance on ethnic conflict management in Juba County, South Sudan. To achieve this, the study sought to evaluate the nature and scope of the political governance framework used by the government of South Sudan in managing ethnic conflicts in Juba County, the effectiveness of political governance strategies used by the government of South Sudan in managing ethnic conflicts in Juba County and the political governance challenges undermining effective ethnic conflict management in Juba County. This chapter presents an analysis of the findings of the study based on the specific objectives. The qualitative responses that emerged during the study are integrated within the quantitative datasets for corroboration purposes.

#### 4.2 Response rate

The study targeted to collect data from 186 respondents using a questionnaire, FGDs and KIIs. In this regard, 103 questionnaires were administered to respondents drawn from the participating government departments and non-governmental organizations, other than heads of departments or organizations. Out of the 103 questionnaires administered, 89 of them were returned, representing a return rate of 86.4% as shown in Figure 4.1. On processing the questionnaires to ascertain their completeness, the study established that they were all fully answered. With fully answered questionnaires and a return rate of 86.4%, the researcher proceeded with analysis since the return rate was more than the 70% recommended by Kumar (2018). All the 11 KIIs and the six FGDs fully constituted were conducted as scheduled, thus delivering 100% response rate. This was partly because of

the arrangements and reminders to the respondents made by the researcher prior to the sessions.

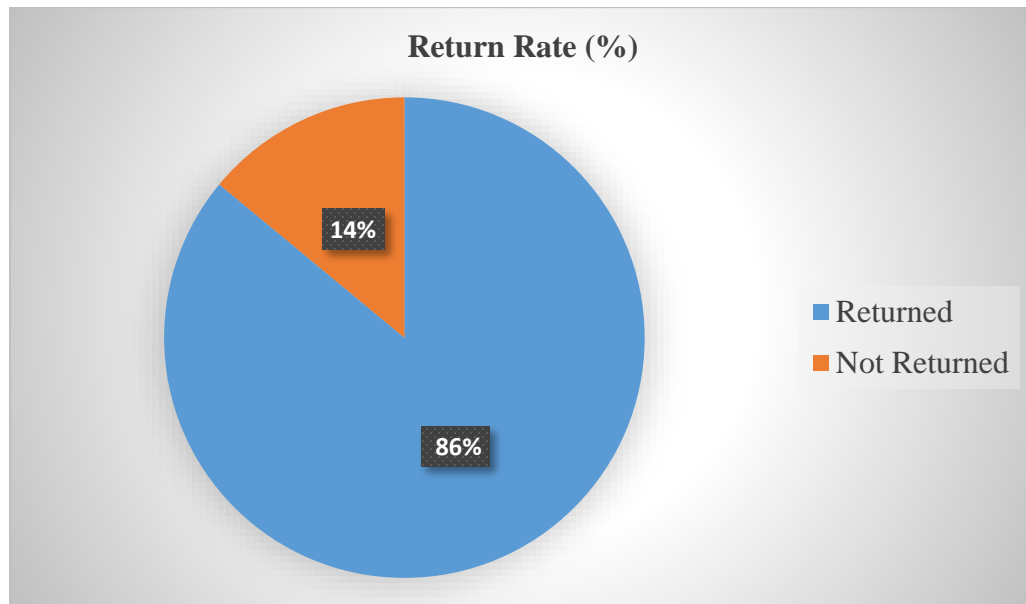


Figure 4.1: Questionnaire Response Rate  
Source: Field data (2022)

### 4.3 Biodata of Respondents

The study sought to determine the demographic characteristics of the respondents in terms of their age range, their highest levels of academic attainment and the duration they had lived in Juba County. The findings in respect of these items are as presented in subsections 4.3.1 to 4.3.3.

#### 4.3.1 Age Range

The study sought to assess the age range of the respondents in order to determine their views on the linkage between political governance dynamics and ethnic conflict management in Juba County. The study findings presented in Table 4.1 demonstrate that 41.6% (n=37) of the respondents who comprised the majority were aged between 38 and 47 years followed by those aged between 48 and 57 years who accounted for 27% (n=24)

while those aged between 28 and 37 years were found to be 24.7% (n=22). A further 6.7% (n=6) were found to be aged between 58 and 67 years. None of the respondents indicated that their ages fell within 18 and 27 years or over 68 years. Based on this data, the study argues that ethnic conflict management within the context of political governance is likely to be successful if the main focus is on people aged between 28 and 57 years, whose cumulative majority is 93.3% and are also within the productive age, all factors remaining constant. The fact that the study was also conducted in a county that houses the country's economic and political capital, dynamics which are pull factors for the productive ages, may also help in contextualizing this finding.

Table 4.1: Age range of respondents

Age Range (in years)	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
18-27	0	0
28-37	22	24.7
38-47	37	41.6
48-57	24	27.0
58-67	6	6.7
Over 68	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field data (2022)

### 4.3.2 Highest Level of Education

The respondents' level of education was sought by the study to help determine their capability to answer the research questions. As per the data presented in Figure 4.2, 34.8% (n=31) who represent majority of the respondents were found to be degree holders, 32.6% (29) were diploma holders, 14.6% (n=13) had attained a certificate level of education, 10.1% (n=9) had attained a secondary education while 7.9 % (n=7) had a postgraduate education. None of the respondents were unschooled or had a primary level of education. The study finding that cumulative 75.2% of the respondents (equivalent to three quarters)

had attained a post certificate level of education meant that the study benefited from informed responses. The fact that the respondents were drawn from formal institutions of government and non-governmental organizations where formal education is a requirement for employment may also help account for the high literacy levels among the respondents. The study thus benefited from the analytical and reasoning abilities of this well-educated pool of respondents in making sense of the link between political governance and ethnic conflict management.

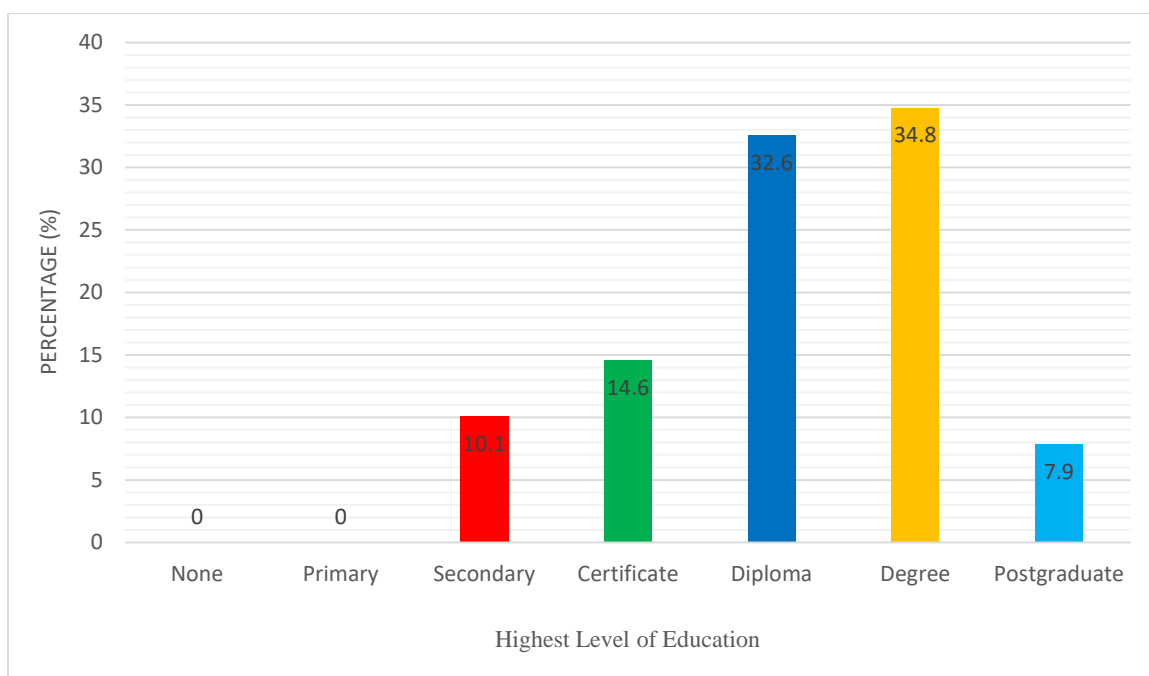


Figure 4.2: Highest level of education  
Source: Field data (2022)

#### 4.3.3 Duration of Stay in Juba County

The study sought to establish the duration of stay in the study area, on the assumption that respondents who had lived in Juba County for long had witnessed or had been affected by the ethnic conflicts experienced there related to various dynamics of political governance. The findings in light of this characteristic were as presented in Figure

4.3. The findings show that a majority of the respondents 41.6% (n=37) had lived in Juba county for over 10 years, 31.5% (n=28) had inhabited the study area for between 6 and 10 years, 20.2% (n=18) had lived in Juba county for between 1 and 5 years while 6.7% (n=6) had lived in the study area for a period of under one year. It is this study's contention that the duration a respondent had stayed in the study area played a role in the depth of information they offered in respect of research questions based on their experiences or observations. Based on this argument therefore, the study benefited a lot given that most of the respondents had lived in the study area for more than half of the period the study covers i.e. 2013 to date.

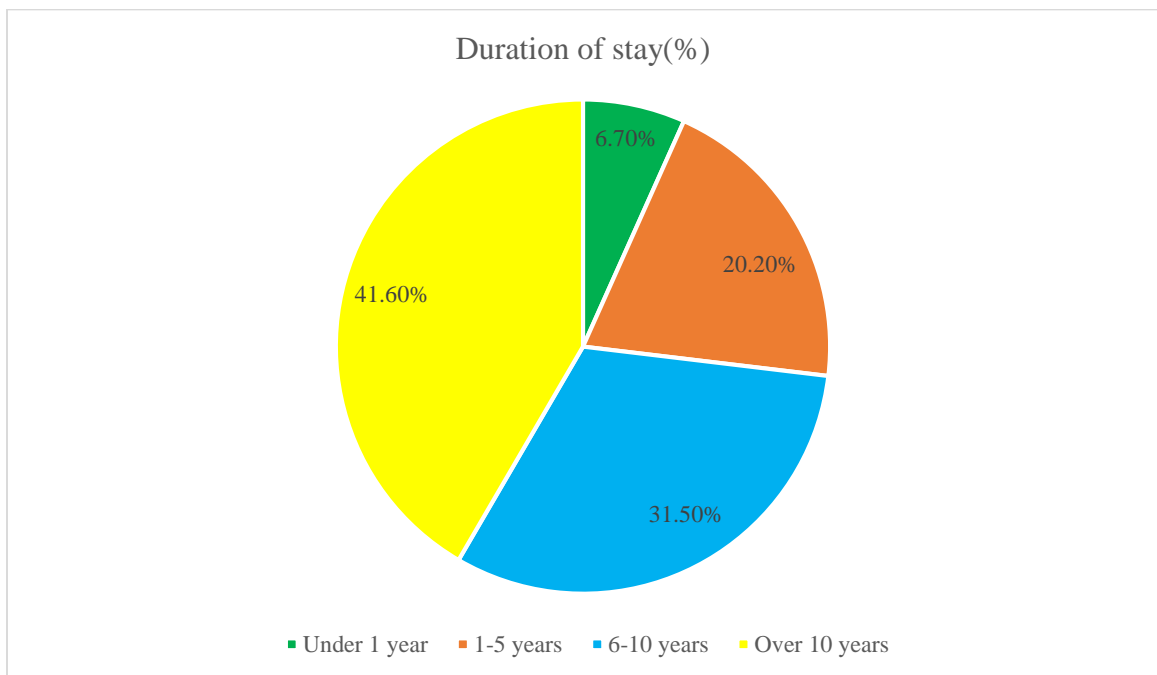


Figure 4.3: Duration of stay in the study area  
Source: Field data (2022)



#### **4.4 Presentation of Research Analysis, Findings, and Interpretation**

In this section, the study presents, analyzes and interprets the findings based on the research objectives. The specific objectives that formed the basis for the subsections 4.4.1 to 4.4.3 are: an evaluation of the nature and scope of the political governance framework used by the government of South Sudan in managing ethnic conflicts in Juba County, an assessment of the effectiveness of political governance strategies used by the government of South Sudan in managing ethnic conflicts in Juba County and a determination of the political governance challenges undermining effective ethnic conflict management in Juba County.

##### **4.4.1 Nature and scope of the political governance framework used in managing ethnic conflicts in Juba County**

This objective sought to examine the nature and scope of the political governance framework that various state actors utilize in the management of ethnic conflicts in South Sudan and Juba County in particular. The first question sought to establish the familiarity of the respondents with the political governance framework for managing ethnic conflicts in South Sudan. To this question, 98% (n=87) of the study participants responded in the affirmative as a further 2% (n=2) indicated they were unaware as shown in Figure 4.4. This finding was corroborated by the KIIs and members of each of the six FGDs, where most of the members in each group indicated familiarity with the political governance framework. This finding imply that majority of the target population understands the political governance framework of South Sudan that has been used for managing ethnic conflicts and are therefore likely conversant with the provisions therein.

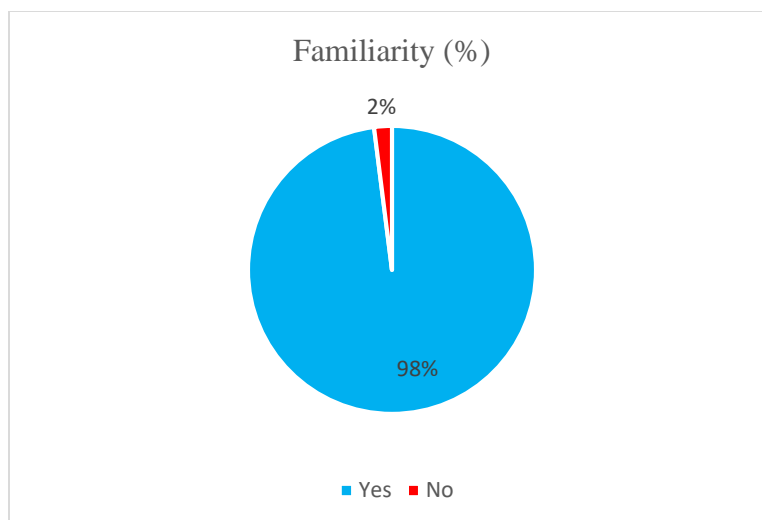


Figure 4.4: Familiarity with political governance framework  
Source: Field data (2022)

The second question sought to establish the specific components of the political governance framework used for managing ethnic conflicts in Juba County and South Sudan by extension. In this regard, the respondents listed the constitution, Acts of parliament such as the Local Governments Act, government policies and various peace agreements as the basic instruments upon which ethnic sensitive political governance is anchored in Juba County and the rest of the country. These responses point to the fact that the political governance of South Sudan is first and foremost grounded in the law of the land as well as peace agreements that have been negotiated as pathways out of the politically motivated ethnic conflicts that have characterized the country since December 2013. Instructively, while the responses from the questionnaires indicated the constitution, acts of parliament and government initiated affirmative action policies, those from the FGDs indicated their familiarity with the peace agreements. This study notes that the FGDs comprised of members of the dominant ethnic groups not necessarily working with the government and since the agreements were negotiated during the conflicts in which their interests were

articulated besides the agreements receiving some considerable publicity, this may inform their familiarity inclination. The KII cited a mix of the constitution, laws, policies and the peace agreements, indicating their full grasp of the range of the framework.

During the FGD sessions and the KIIs, the researcher prodded the respondents further for details on the range of the framework as it relates to ethnic conflict management. A sample of the responses that emerged from among the KIIs and the membership of the FGDs in terms of details of the political governance framework as it relates to ethnic conflict management included the following:

Our constitution provides for a decentralized form of governance anchored on the states. This structure allows for the flow of resources from the central government to the states, counties and *payams* to address some of the reasons that justify their involvement in violent conflicts such as developmental marginalization. The Revitalized Peace Agreement also provides for ten states as the foundation for the decentralized governance structure (KII A, 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2022).

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) protects the right to ethnic identity and as such no one should be discriminated simply because their ethnicity is different from that of the appointing authority (KII F, 24<sup>th</sup> March 2022).

The Revitalized Peace Agreement provide for the sharing of power at the level of the vice president among the key leaders representing various ethnic and political groups in order for them to collectively oversee the implementation of the peace agreement aimed at preventing recurrence of conflicts. As long as ethnic interests are taken into account in sharing of political power as well as benefits from the government, I believe there will be a reduction or even elimination of interethnic conflicts in Juba and in the whole country (FGD 1 participant, 25<sup>th</sup> March 2022)

The sampled responses presented above are evidence of the value attached to ethnic inclusivity in the legal and negotiated instruments as a way to minimizing and managing ethnic conflicts. The details further point to an appreciation and understanding on the part of the South Sudanese population on the factors responsible for conflict escalation and de-escalation. This study argues on the basis of these insights that political will among the political elite is important in the drive towards a peaceful and stable country, starting from

the *payams* to the national level. The Revitalized Peace Agreement as explained by the KIIs was found to be an important piece of the political governance framework because of the clarity of its scope. The agreement covers a range of the conflict drivers in South Sudan and by extension in Juba County such as reforms in the security sector, representation in the Legislative Assembly, resource management, the life of the Revitalized Transitional Government of National Unity, the composition of the cabinet and portfolios to be managed by each of the five vice presidents, who are basically parties to the conflict whose epicentre has been Juba County.

The study further sought to obtain the views of the respondents with respect to the contents of the political governance framework as it relates to ethnic conflict management using a three-point likert scale where 1- Agree, 2-Not sure, 3-Disagree and the findings expressed as percentages were as presented in Table 4.2. Out of the six statements presented to the respondents, five of them attracted a positive response, indicating the respondents' agreement with them by over 50% while one attracted a negative response, with a majority of the respondents registering disagreement at 57%. For each of the six statements in the scale, none attracted a significant unsure response that could tilt those agreeing or disagreeing in the opposite direction.

Table 4.2: Provisions of governance framework and ethnic conflict management

<b>Statement</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
The constitution of South Sudan has well spelt out mechanisms for addressing the drivers of ethnic conflicts/grievances	85%	6%	9%
Affirmative action policies implemented by the government have clear target audience and timelines within which they are to be implemented	51%	0%	49%
Peace agreements stipulates how important decisions are made among the parties to the agreements	89%	1%	10%
Local governments are well resourced to address marginalization grievances of ethnic groups in their jurisdictions	68%	0%	32%
Political leaders and government administrators are regularly sensitized and trained on conflict sensitive governance approaches	37%	6%	57%
Public participation and ethnic inclusivity in public service are provided for in the law and peace agreements	62%	2%	36%

Source: Field data (2022)

From the FGDs and the KIIs, the information from the questionnaires as presented in Table 4.2 was corroborated and in some cases some insights offered. For instance, a KII affiliated to a government department explained that while affirmative had clear target audience, some of them lacked the element of timelines within which they were to remain in force. Here is what they said:

The government has put in place affirmative action measures to eliminate some of the grievances that have emerged during the conflict cycles as catalysts for interethnic violence. However, some of these policies have no timelines within which the intended purposes are to be achieved. For me the most progressive document is the Revitalized Peace Agreements because it has the specifics in terms of the timelines and areas of responsibility for the various actors, all in an effort to manage the conflicts and return the country to peace and stability (KII C, 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2022).

In responding to sensitization and training of political leaders and government administrators on conflict-sensitive approaches to governance, a participant from FGD 3

was of the opinion that this was not the case and if that happened, then some of the leaders and administrators chose not to make use of the skills learned. This is what they said:

Some political leaders and government workers in positions of responsibilities are very arrogant and behave as if the country belongs to one ethnic community. They out rightly discriminate against people not from their ethnic groups and communicate in their mother tongue. It is very frustrating when you go to a government office seeking a service and you are addressed in a language you do not understand (FGD 4 participant, 28<sup>th</sup> March 2022).

The study findings imply that the political governance framework of South Sudan has the necessary regulatory guidelines that serve as a base for supporting politically motivated ethnic conflict management.

#### **4.4.2 Political Governance Strategies used to Facilitate Ethnic Conflict Management**

This objective sought to assess the effectiveness of the political governance strategies used in the management of ethnic conflicts in South Sudan and Juba County in particular. The first question under this objective sought to establish the political governance strategies used for managing ethnic conflicts in the study area. Among the responses that were stated in the questionnaires or articulated during the FGD and KIIs include the use of military force waged by new army recruits (*Mathiang Anyoor*) against rebelling community militia groups in Juba County and the larger Equatoria region, roll out of affirmative action packages, proportional power-sharing arrangements in the executive and legislative arms of the government at senior level, decentralization of government anchored on the state, inclusion of ethnic minorities in civil service, roll out of the peace and reconciliation commission and the stimulation of private sector development to help in creation of opportunities especially in the area of employment.

Some of the sampled verbatim excerpts emerging from the KIIs and FGDs in respect of the strategies used to manage ethnic conflicts include:

The government has a duty and responsibility of ensuring security for everyone and where sections of the population attempt to create instability, the government must act. Remember that while the army is not political, it comes under the authority of an elected civilian. So use of military force according to me is justified in the course of governance and especially in an area like Juba County which is the entry point into the country and a magnet for investors. Otherwise, if instability initiated by ethnic militia is left to continue, it may bring down the government, and cause investment fears – given the geopolitical location of Juba County (KII G, 24<sup>th</sup> March 2022).

One of the significant developments that we are proud of as a community is the appointment of our son to the second highest position in government. Vice president James Wani is from our community and with him at that level, he ensures our interests are protected. Our area has also benefitted from appointments to the state and national institutions partly due to his influence. It will even be better if General Thomas Cirillo can get a position to increase our share in national government and work with James in ensuring the safety of our people and flowing of more resources to our *Payam* (FGD 6 participant, 28<sup>th</sup> March 2022).

These excerpts highlight the use of military force as a strategy for managing ethnic conflicts that turn violent, thus threatening national security. From the FGD 6 excerpt, the strategy of power sharing is supported by the members of this ethnic community as it assures them of the protection of their interests as well as the institutionalization of the decentralized form of governance which the participant perceives as an avenue for obtaining resources from the national government.

In an attempt to determine the effectiveness of the political governance strategies used in the management of ethnic conflicts, the study used a three-point likert scale with statements reflecting expected dimensions of governance effectiveness where 1- Agree, 2- Not sure, 3-Disagree and the findings expressed as percentages were as presented in Table 4.3. The data contained in Table 4.3 indicates that none of the statements attracted a

positive response in terms of effectiveness of the strategies in the opinion of the questionnaire respondents. This set of findings are a significant indictment of the state political actors' strategies for they clearly are not aligned with the most basic tenets of progressive governance that contribute to peace and stability especially in transitional contexts such as that of South Sudan. The respondents that returned unsure responses were insignificant such that they could not swing the minority response except on the item of local governments enjoying autonomy and decision making powers on matters specific to them. An unsure response of 17% was significant because were it to be combined with the response of those agreeing, then the majority finding would shift from disagreement to agreement.

Table 4.3: Effectiveness of political governance strategies

<b>Statement</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
All citizens enjoy their political rights irrespective of ethnic affiliation	42%	6%	52%
Decentralized units are proportionately resourced based on levels of development	17%	9%	74%
Power sharing arrangements are inclusive and honoured by all parties	47%	0%	53%
Quota system based on states has contributed to the detribalization of public service	15%	7%	78%
Local governments enjoy political autonomy and decision making powers on matters specific to them	36%	17%	47%

Source: Field data (2022)

From the FGDs and KIIs, the study established that most of the governance strategies deployed to aid in conflict management had not been effective, thus corroborating the data from the questionnaires. Participants cited the persistence of violent conflicts, the ease with which militia groups are mobilized, disproportional dominance of members of the Dinka



in government institutions as well as the inadequacy of resources to decentralized units as some of the indicators of ineffectiveness. In one of the FGDs, a respondent explained ineffectiveness of the strategies as follows:

There is no doubt that the Dinka are the Majority in our country but not in this county. Yet when you look at most national and local institutions based here in Juba County, you can clearly see they outnumber all other communities, including the indigenous one simply because of nepotism practiced by the appointing authorities who are mostly Dinka. We have been advocating for a quota system in sharing opportunities and equity in resource distribution but no one seems to care. Down here, people do not elect leaders in the counties; the county commissioner is appointed by the governor who in turn is a presidential appointee. (FGD 4 Participant, 28<sup>th</sup> March 2022)

A KII explained their view on ineffectiveness of the strategies thus:

The power sharing agreements are trashed regularly and they are not replicated at the lower levels. One cannot say that the decentralized units are effective since they do not have the autonomy to chart their own development paths. Institutions such as the Peace and Reconciliation Commission only exist in the capital and has not penetrated the grassroots mostly because of insecurity (KII J, 24<sup>th</sup> March 2022).

The study findings are emphatic that the strategies have not been effective mostly because of lack of the necessary political will among the elites. While the strategies exist on paper, they have not been implemented in practice and where attempts at implementation have been made, the necessary resources to ensure success have not been allocated.

Finally, the study sought to draw from the respondents possible strategies that can be deployed to help with ethnic conflict management. The suggestions made in this respect included ensuring sustainability of programs, expanding the political power sharing arrangements at the national level to accommodate some of the local political-military leaders that control armed groups in the study area such as Thomas Cirillo, state sensitivity to vulnerability and livelihoods dynamics in Juba County and encouraging public

participation in the governance process from the level of the *Bomas* and *Payams*. A participant in FGD 1 explained that:

Government programs ought to be sustainable and sensitive to the grievances, vulnerabilities and importantly, the livelihood dynamics in this county. Most of the indigenous communities here are farmers supported by the government and non-governmental organizations but in the recent past, migrating armed Dinka cattle herders have been invading our lands and letting their animals into our farms, setting off violent clashes with the community youth. At times we feel they (Dinka) do this deliberately to render us dependent on food aid like them and to deny us a source of income. What is the purpose of the government supporting our livelihoods but then letting other groups destroy them? If it were not for Cirillo's group, the Dinka and the Nuer would have rendered us homeless (FGD 2 participant, 30<sup>th</sup> March 2022).

A key informant interviewee also explained as follows:

I think it will be a good idea to incorporate General Thomas Cirillo in the national power arrangement. As long as he is not there and he has a standing army loyal to him, I don't think there will ever be sustainable peace and stability in Juba County and the larger Equatoria region (KII A, 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2022).

Thus, there is a range of unexplored strategies which in the opinion of the study respondents provide platforms for sustainable ethnic conflict management if adopted.

#### **4.4.3 Challenges to Ethnic Conflict Management**

This objective was intended to establish whether the political governance challenges undermining ethnic conflict management in Juba County, South Sudan. To make this determination, data was collected using open-ended questions and a three point likert scale comprising of ten items which the study considered key indicators of challenges. The findings were as presented in Table 4.4. From the study findings, it was instructive to note that each of the ten items presented for consideration by the respondents attracted a positive response, with the least percentage being 61%.

The major hindrances were found to be lack of political goodwill towards implementation of the law and peace agreements as reported by 100% of the respondents and high levels of corruption in the public service leading to inability to provide public goods and services in some areas as reported by 92% of the respondents. The other core challenges were ineffective management and control of the security agencies, leading to their divisions along ethnic lines and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons due to the presence of ungoverned spaces as reported by 87% and 84% respectively of the study respondents that answered the questionnaires.

Table 4.4: Governance challenges to ethnic conflict management

<b>Statement</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
Dominance of one community in the public service	76%	2%	22%
Perceptions of illegitimacy towards the government among some ethnic groups	61%	0%	39%
Ineffective management and control of the security agencies leading to divisions along ethnic lines	87%	0%	13%
Lack of equity in distribution of resources to address development grievances feeding ethnic conflicts	72%	1%	27%
Proliferation of small arms and light weapons due to the presence of ungoverned spaces	84%	0%	16%
Failure of disarmament and demobilization of tribal fighters and militia groups	76%	3%	21%
Corruption in the public service leading to inability to provide public goods and services in some areas	92%	0%	8%
Lack of public participation in making decisions affecting the citizens	63%	1%	36%
Lack of political goodwill to implement the law and political agreements among ethnic group leaders	100%	0%	0%
Youth unemployment	74%	3%	23%

Source: Field data (2022)

The pervasiveness of these challenges was further demonstrated in their prominent mention during the FGD sessions and the KIIs despite these categories of respondents not having

access to the questionnaire. A KII drawn from among the participating NGOs captured the dynamics as follows:

Ethnic conflict management is not easy but is also not rocket science because it has worked in other countries such as Malaysia. The challenges here in my opinion are related to high levels of corruption, privileging of some groups in accessing state resources at the expense of others, the securitization of ethnicity and importantly, the lack of political goodwill to end the recurrent conflicts. For me, Juba County is always a launchpad for violent ethnic conflicts, meant to incite ethnic passions and reactions in the Dinka and the Nuer political bases in the northern parts of the country. High numbers of youth unemployment provides an enabling environment for conflict to worsen because they can be easily mobilized (KII K, April 1<sup>st</sup> 2022).

This excerpt captures so many of the issues that had been raised and received favourable responses from the questionnaires. Similar perspectives emerged from the FGDs as attested by this verbatim excerpt:

The challenges here boil down to lack of selfless political leadership. Weapons are so easily accessible and the enablers of that access are political leaders who also mobilize the young unemployed people and arm them to kill their fellow citizens. Such leaders use the genuine community grievances like marginalization to advance their own interests of accessing and maintaining power. Despite its hosting the national capital, Juba County is far from competing with other cities due to the recurrent violent conflicts (FGD 5 participant, 21<sup>st</sup> March 2022).

When asked to suggest some of the remedial measures that can be taken to overcome the challenges, the dominant responses across the different data collection instruments was commitment from political leaders since they are the core of governance. Other proposals advanced by the respondents included entrenching a culture of public participation in decision making and implementation as well as guaranteeing some autonomy to the ethnic minorities within the county. KII A proposed the building of the institutional capacity of the decentralized units to the *Payam* level while ensuring vertical and horizontal coordination across the levels of the decentralized units.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the discussion, summary and conclusion based on the study findings. The chapter also makes recommendations regarding areas that policy makers and implementers need to address in order to alleviate the challenges undermining the efficacy of the political governance framework that guides ethnic conflict management in Juba County of South Sudan.

#### 5.2 Discussion

This section discusses the results on the influence of political governance on ethnic conflict management in Juba County, South Sudan. The discussion of the study findings is guided by the study objectives that sought to evaluate the nature and scope of the political governance framework used by the government of South Sudan in managing ethnic conflicts, the effectiveness of the political governance strategies used in managing ethnic conflicts and the political governance challenges undermining effective ethnic conflict management in Juba County. The study findings are discussed within the context of the existing literature, whether empirical or theoretical.

From the biodata findings in respect of age range of respondents, their level of education and duration of stay in the study area, the study notes that the age range for an overwhelming majority of respondents representing 93.3% were within the productive age of 28 to 57 years and were gainfully employed either in government institutions or in the NGOs. Given the purposive nature of the sampling frame and the nature of the work performed by the respondents, it follows that they were likely aware of the political

governance dynamics as they relate to ethnic conflict management. This argument is in line with Jedwab, Christiansen and Gindelsky (2014) assertion that economic factors, in this case employment as pull factors to urban areas for the productive age of a population. As a melting pot of different ethnicities, conflicts emanating from ethnic differences thus become inevitable and so political actors must look for ways of managing them by engaging actors within this age bracket as key stakeholders as the data shows.

In terms of educational attainment, the study finding that 75.2% of the respondents which translates to three quarters, had attained a post certificate level of education was significant given the high level of illiteracy as reported by UNESCO (2018). The study concurs with Campbell (2016) that formal education is an important explanatory factor influencing a person's or institution's level of civic involvement and decision making. Thus, post-secondary education had imparted upon the respondents analytical and reasoning abilities such that they could make sense of the link between political governance and ethnic conflict management, thus benefitting the study.

The findings on duration of stay that 73.1% of the respondents had lived in the study area for over five years meant that the majority of the respondents had witnessed the ethnic conflicts there in and the political governance responses intended to address the conflict drivers. Thus, the respondents could give authoritative responses as they had seen a range of interventions deployed and what had become of those interventions.

### **5.2.1 Nature and Scope of Political Governance Framework**

With regard to this objective, the study established that nearly everyone was familiar with the political governance framework used for conflict management in South Sudan and Juba County as reported by 98% of the respondents and confirmed in the FGD

sessions and KIIs. When asked to cite specific components comprising the framework, the respondents highlighted the constitution of South Sudan, Acts of parliament, government policies and the peace agreement. The dominant part of the framework that was repeated in all six FGDs was the peace agreement, a phenomenon that was attributed to the presence of representatives of the ethnic groups in the negotiations.

This range of instruments comprising the political governance framework are similar to those that have been used in other countries such as Malaysia where the constitution and government policies such as the NEP have played a critical role in the management of identity conflicts as reported by Lee (2017) and Blatter (2012). The finding on presence of Acts of parliament such as the Local Governments Act that establishes decentralization mirror the case of Indonesia's Special Autonomy Law for the province of Aceh as noted by Mahdi (2011) which was intended to address marginalization concerns.

The study finding that the political governance of South Sudan has the necessary regulatory framework to guide ethnic conflict management was demonstrated by all items in the likert scale receiving positive responses, though at different strengths of agreement. For instance, while the respondents were emphatic on the sufficiency of constitutional and peace agreements provisions for conflict management as reported by 85% and 89% respectively, the support for affirmative action policies was fairly low as reported by 51%. Among the constitutional mechanisms for ethnic conflict management cited were the courts of laws and the public complaints office. However, the power of appointment of officers of this institutions vested in the office of the president was described as a contributing factor to people's lack of confidence in the institutions due to their loyalty to the appointing authority.

Instructively, the study finding that there was minimal sensitization and training of politicians and administrators on conflict sensitive governance approaches is not unique to South Sudan because Yagboyaju and Akinola (2019) report of similar situation in Nigeria. This study argues that this failure was contributing to the worsening of interethnic relations in Juba County because political leaders and state officers are influential and their followers repeat what they see their leaders do. The governance instruments must thus be enforced to ensure leaders are responsible for their actions of omission or commission.

### **5.2.2 Effectiveness of Governance Strategies for Ethnic Conflict Management**

The study found that decentralization, power sharing and ethnic identity protection were important indicators of effectiveness. An analysis of the Revitalized Peace Agreement which received repeated mention as a key part of South Sudan's political governance framework shows that it provides for power sharing while protecting ethnic identity as a measure aimed at managing the interethnic conflicts that are politically motivated. While the provision for power sharing as an intervention for ethnic conflict management is similar with the case of Lebanon as reported by Baytiyeh (2019), it differs in terms of time scope. The Revitalized Agreement provides for a 36-month Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU) and sets the number and proportion of state officials for appointment into the Legislative Assembly and the cabinet among the parties to the conflict. This particular provision is significant because it gives the time scope for the TGoNU during which arrangements for a democratic government should have been put in place through elections. This intervention in South Sudan is temporary since it's transitional unlike the case of Lebanon where sharing of power between Christians and Muslims is stated in the constitution, hence permanently amplifying identity difference in perpetuity.



The use of brute force through state security agencies in the name of restoring law and order was found to worsen ethnic conflicts rather than manage them as such force was interpreted as an intimidation mechanism by the Dinka dominant government, keen on subjugating other ethnic groups by all means including force. The use of state security agencies in ethnic conflict settings as a management tool has been found to worsen tensions between communities, particularly between those perceived to be dominating and controlling government and those that marginally represented in Sri Lanka (Amrutkar, 2012). A similar situation was reported by BBC (2022) in Myanmar where military force against civilians had contributed to regrouping of ethnic militias to protect their people.

The strategy of integrating ethnic minorities within the public service was found to be significant especially from the FGDs and KIIs. The citing of senior government officials such as the vice presidents who is an ethnic Bari was the point of referencing and a source of pride and feeling of inclusion from the membership of the FGD drawn from that community. This finding is comparable to the situation that was in Nigeria as reported by Adekanye (1998). The suggestion to have others such as General Cirillo appointed to senior state offices means that the strategy if well-conceived and executed has the potential to spur ethnic conflict management, thus delivering peace dividends in the long term in Juba County.

From the likert scale, the finding that none of the statements attracted a response in favour of effectiveness of the strategies was significant because it meant that the indicators of strategies' success were either being ignored or deliberately frustrated. This is significant because while some of the strategies are progressive, they are not executed in practice, thus serving to further drive the exclusion narrative that stands out among the grievances aired

by ethnic minorities in South Sudan and Juba County in particular. For instance the finding that decentralized units are not well resourced as reported by 74% of respondents and the failure to detribalize the public service as reported by 78% of the respondents means the marginalization and exclusion grievances expected to be addressed through decentralization persist and so does the conflict. This finding is consistent with Bamidele's (2020) finding on under resourcing of decentralized units as partly driving the ethno-political conflicts in Nigeria.

Some responses obtained from among the KIIs held the view that the under resourcing of the decentralized units was deliberate to continue centralizing power and resources and thus entrench patronage networks aimed at creating dependence. Under resourced units cannot pursue political autonomy in decision making and implementation on matters specific to them as rightly demonstrated by a majority response of 47%. The study finds the failure to resource the decentralized units as unusual since the constitution of South Sudan is very clear that the decentralized system is the governance model for the country. The net effect of deresourcing the sub-national units means that marginalization continues to persist and this coupled with the absence of a quota system to detribalize the civil service suggests that interethnic conflicts remain protracted.

### **5.2.3 Governance Challenges to Ethnic Conflict Management**

The study determined that there were various political governance challenges that were hindering ethnic conflict management. Among the major ones that were prominent from the FGDs and KIIs were corruption manifested in nepotism, patronage and influence peddling by the political elite at the national and local levels. This finding is buttressed by the finding of 92% of respondents indicating corruption as a stumbling block to ethnic conflict management. Officials at the local levels were reported to be engaging in

corruption with reckless abandon simply because they were well connected higher up in the political chain, hence protected from the demands of accountability. The inability of accountability mechanisms to punish such wayward officials as suggested by Powell and Di Maggio (1983) leads to continued discrimination which was found to be a driver of the ethnic conflicts in Juba County.

The finding on corruption as a political governance challenge in the management of ethnic conflicts has also been reported by Dekkene (2015) in the case of Lebanon as a contributing factor to deteriorating relations among the actors to the conflict there. Corruption was the end product of state capture by the political elite, meaning unavailability of resources to allocate to the decentralized units to address developmental marginalization and thus protraction of the interethnic tensions and conflicts. This study argues that unless there is a reconstruction and reconfiguration of the state machinery to be professional and ensure accountability of individuals, the ethnic angle will always be a scape goat to those engaging in activities that undermine good governance such as corruption.

An important challenge that came through from the KIIs and FGDs and which attracted 100% response in its favour from among the respondents of the questionnaire was the lack of political goodwill to manage the conflicts. Political goodwill forms the foundation upon which governance interventions succeed or fail in that where it is present, negotiations towards ending a conflict are fast tracked and so are the agreements emanating from the negotiations. It ensures the provision of the necessary resources needed to accomplish a task. This argument is consistent with Solomon and Woocher's (2010) perspective that the prevention of mass violence is hinged on the presence of political

goodwill to break deadlocks. This is the point at which the media and other pressure groups become necessary in extracting that will, which is the case in South Sudan and especially with regard to the conflicts in Juba County.

The study finding that proliferation of small arms and light weapons and the failure to disarm and demobilize tribal fighters and militias as reported by 84% and 76% of the respondents respectively was significant. The ease with which weapons found their way into the country as well as the mobilization of the fighters meant there were many ungoverned spaces, including unmanned borders through which these illegally held weapons and activities took place. This finding was consistent with the finding of a study conducted by Atzili (2010) in Lebanon which established that the presence of ungoverned spaces had contributed to the rise in transnational armed groups to fill in the vacuum created by the absence of state actors. As a metropolitan county, Juba was also attracting people from all over the country and with such inflow of populations, social ills such as the proliferation of small arms and the springing up of vigilante and militia groups, some created, armed and maintained by political actors to advance their interests becomes inevitable. The study argues that security was a political function and hence these were indicators of failure of political governance which were thus contributing to the recurrence of ethnic conflicts in Juba County.

The dominance of members of the Dinka ethnic group in the public service was found to have contributed to worsening of interethnic relations as the rest of the groups labelled them as favoured on account of sharing ethnicity with senior state officials. This was found to have caused a feeling of uneasiness among the other groups culminating in the formation of factions within government institutions, including in the security services.

The effect of this scenario was divided loyalties in the civil service, making the delivery of services difficult. As such poverty has persisted, some of which is now attributed to marginalization responsible for driving ethnic conflicts. This is the very reason for the protraction of the conflict in Sri Lanka with the Tamils pointing to the dominance of the Sinhalese as their reason for demanding for secession (Mushtaq 2012).

### **5.3 Summary of Findings**

This study sought to establish the influence of political governance on the management of ethnic conflicts in Juba County, South Sudan. This investigation was guided by the need to establish the nature and the scope of the political governance framework, the strategies and challenges undermining ethnic conflict management in the study area.

The findings from the first objective established that a vast majority of the study respondents were familiar with the political governance framework for supporting ethnic conflict management. The framework was found to be comprised of the constitution of South Sudan, Acts of parliament, government policies and peace agreements, especially the Revitalized Peace Agreement which was popular with respondents drawn from the various strata constituting the study sample. The implementation of the framework was however found to be weak on account of too much power being vested in the institution of the presidency which is not adequately oversighted as should be the case in democracies. The Revitalized Agreement was found to have proper scope in terms of timelines, roles and responsibilities for the various parties to it.

The second objective on the effectiveness of the political governance strategies adopted to help in ethnic conflict management had mixed returns. The study established

that the use of force by the security agencies was worsening relations between the forces and a local population yearning for good governance but repressed by the very institution supposed to secure them and assure them of their freedoms. Power sharing was found to be another strategy that was anchored on the revitalized agreement and had been fairly successful. This was attributed to the fact that it had just been implemented in 2022. The study did not however benefit as to how long the implementation would hold since the research took place just months into the implementation. Decentralization, though the backbone of governance in the country as stipulated in her constitution, was found to be under resourced and this had contributed to continued marginalization. Thus, the ethnic groups falling within the jurisdiction of Juba County were not benefitting from decentralization as anticipated. The under resourcing was thought to be deliberate by the national government in order to continue exerting control on the decentralized units and the people by extension.

The final objective examined the political governance challenges undermining ethnic conflict management in Juba County. In this regard, the study established that corruption, lack of political goodwill, inequality in distribution of state resources, proliferation of small arms and ethnic militia groups and the disproportionate domination of the public service by one community was undermining governance efforts aimed at ethnic conflict management. The study respondents suggested that commitment from political leaders in their capacity as drivers of governance, entrenching a culture of public participation in decision making and implementation, guaranteeing some autonomy to the ethnic minorities and the building of the institutional capacity of the decentralized units to

the *Payam* level while ensuring vertical and horizontal coordination across the levels of the decentralized units would go a long way in overcoming the challenges.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

Based on the findings in respect of objective one, the study concludes that South Sudan has an adequate political governance framework with the necessary mechanisms to support ethnic conflict management at the national as well as at the lower levels. All that is required is political goodwill to implement the provisions in the framework and the county will have a conducive environment in which all the ethnic groups represented therein can thrive.

In terms of political governance strategies for ethnic conflict management, the study concludes the use of military force was worsening the relations between the security agencies and the local communities. The effect of this was the mushrooming of community militias and vigilante groups supported by some political actors to create instability, thus undermining ethnic conflict management. It would thus be better to support decentralization by way of providing resources and ensuring that the power sharing deal holds so as to create an environment conducive to coexistence and group emancipation.

Finally, the political governance challenges bedevilling ethnic conflict management in South Sudan and trickling to the subnational units are surmountable. They are essentially challenges rooted in poor governance practices which can be rectified in order to allow the progressive strategies play their facilitative role in ethnic conflict management. The political leadership must rise to the occasion in terms of offering the requisite leadership to overcome the challenges because their good will in the right direction is all that is needed to turn the conflict tide in Juba County.

## **5.5 Recommendations**

Based on the findings and the discussion flowing therefrom, this study makes the following recommendations:

Given that the political governance framework to aid ethnic conflict management in South Sudan and Juba County in particular is well documented and known, the study recommends that the provisions in it that are often overlooked should be dutifully implemented holistically. The constitution as the foundational legal document and the Revitalized Peace Agreement are comprehensive and their scrupulous implementation will contribute in a major way to management of the ethnic conflicts in Juba County and the larger South Sudan.

Secondly, the study recommends that decentralization be implemented fully by way of allocating resources needed to address the drivers of ethnic conflict. This can be done by entrenching provisions within the constitution on the volume of resources that are to be devolved to the states and the counties below them. This will ensure resources get to the grassroots which have been the theatre of violent interethnic conflicts, some motivated by developmental marginalization. The terms of the peace agreement especially in respect of power sharing must be implemented to the latter to pre-empt any excuse of failure to implement them as spurring conflict.

Finally, the study recommends that the tenets of good governance be implemented as the guiding light for a reformed public service whose sole focus is on provision of goods and service in the most efficient way. Continuous training and sensitization workshops will go a long way in transforming the mind set of political actors as well as professionals in



public service on their role in conflict causation and management for them to become more sensitive in the manner they approach service delivery.

### **5.6 Areas for Further Study**

Given that the study was conducted in a metropolitan area, it is suggested that a similar study be conducted in a non-metropolitan area to allow for comparison of findings and understand any underlying dynamics. The range of respondents may also be expanded so as to include civil society organizations such as the church and the media with a view to understanding how they perceive and support political governance approaches aimed at ethnic conflict management.

The study also proposes an assessment of the usage of instruments of force such as the security agencies in quelling violent conflicts. The research should entail pathways of cooperation between the security agencies and local communities in the peaceful management of ethnic conflicts.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Questionnaire

My name is Lam Tungwar, a postgraduate student at Africa Nazarene University pursuing an MSc degree in Governance Peace and Security Studies. I am conducting a study titled “Influence of Political Governance on Ethnic Conflict Management: The Case of Juba County, South Sudan”. The study findings will only be used for academic purposes. I therefore request your participation in the study to enable me finalize on the thesis, which is part of the requirements for me to complete the program of study successfully. If you would want to participate in the study, please indicate with a (√) or (×) against the statements below.

I freely elect to participate in this study after being briefed on its purpose.

I DO NOT wish to participate in this study after being briefed on its purpose.

### Section A: General Information

1. What is your age range?
  - a. 18-27 years ( )
  - b. 28-37 years ( )
  - c. 38-47 years ( )
  - d. 48-57 years ( )
  - e. 58-67 years ( )
  - f. Above 68 Years ( )
2. What is your highest level of education?
  - a. None ( )
  - b. Primary ( )
  - c. Secondary ( )
  - d. Certificate ( )
  - e. Diploma ( )
  - f. Degree ( )
  - g. Postgraduate ( )
3. Duration of stay in Juba County
  - a. Under one year

- b. Between 1-5 years
- c. Between 6-10 years
- d. Over 10 years

**SECTION B: Nature and Scope political governance framework for ethnic conflict management in South Sudan**

4. Are you familiar with the political governance framework used for managing ethnic conflicts in South Sudan?

Yes ( )

No ( )

5. If your answer to question 4 above is yes, please state some of the specific components of political governance framework of South Sudan used for ethnic conflict management that you are familiar with?

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 .....  
 .....

6. To what extent do you agree with the following statements in relation to the nature and scope of the political governance framework of South Sudan aimed at managing ethnic conflicts, especially in Juba?

*Key: 1- Agree, 2-Not sure, 3-Disagree*

	1	2	3
i. The constitution of South Sudan has well spelt out mechanisms for addressing the drivers of ethnic conflicts/grievances			
ii. Affirmative action policies implemented by the government have clear target audience and timelines within which they are to be implemented			
iii. Peace agreements stipulates how important decisions are made among the parties to the agreements			
iv. Local governments are well resourced by the national government to manage ethnic conflicts in their jurisdictions			
v. All administrators are regularly sensitized and trained on conflict sensitive governance approaches			
vi. The constitution, Acts of parliament and government policies provide for public participation and ethnic inclusivity in public service			

**SECTION C: Strategies used to facilitate ethnic conflict management**

7. What specific strategies are you familiar with that have been used to facilitate ethnic conflict management in South Sudan and Juba County in particular?

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- .....  
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8. To what extent would you agree with the following statements in light of the effectiveness of strategies used to guide ethnic conflict management in Juba County?

Key: 1- Agree, 2-Not sure, 3-Disagree

	1	2	3
i. All citizens enjoy their political rights irrespective of ethnic affiliation			
ii. Decentralized units are proportionately resourced based on levels of development			
iii. Power sharing arrangements are inclusive and honoured by all parties			
iv. Quota system based on states has contributed to the detribalization of public service			
v. Local governments enjoy political autonomy and decision making powers on matters specific to them			

9. What other strategies would you recommend to facilitate ethnic conflict management in Juba County?

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 .....  
 .....  
 .....

#### **SECTION D: Governance Challenges to Ethnic Conflict Management**

10. To what extent do you agree with the following statements in relation to the governance challenges undermining ethnic conflict management in Juba County, South Sudan.?

Key: 1- Agree, 2- Not sure, 3-Disagree

	1	2	3
i. Dominance of one community in the public service			
ii. Perceptions of illegitimacy towards the government among some ethnic groups			
iii. Ineffective management and control of the security agencies leading to divisions along ethnic lines			



iv.	Lack of equity in distribution of resources to address development grievances feeding ethnic conflicts			
v.	Proliferation of small arms and light weapons due to the presence of ungoverned spaces			
vi.	Failure of disarmament and demobilization of former SPLA fighters who were not absorbed into the official security forces			
vii.	Corruption in the public service leading to inability to provide public goods and services in some areas			
viii.	Lack of public participation in making decisions affecting the citizens			
ix.	Lack of political goodwill to implement political agreements among ethnic group leaders			
x.	Youth unemployment			

11. What suggestions would you make aimed at overcoming the governance challenges that undermine ethnic conflict management in Juba County, South Sudan?

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## **Appendix II: Focus Group Discussion Guide**

1. What are the main drivers of ethnic conflicts in South Sudan and especially here in Juba County?
2. What legal and policy documents geared towards the management of ethnic conflicts are you familiar with?
3. Would you say that the laws and policies you have just cited, address the drivers of conflicts you earlier on mentioned?
4. What specific efforts or interventions have you seen the government put in place to help with management of ethnic conflicts in South Sudan and especially in Juba County? Please explain.
5. What specific governance activities or programs have been put in place to support ethnic conflict management in line with the efforts or interventions adopted by the state actors?
6. Would you say that the activities or programs instituted by the state actors have been effective in the management of ethnic conflicts in Juba County? What indicators can you point to in justifying your response of either effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the activities and programs?
7. What governance challenges would you say undermine the efficacy of the legal and policy framework and the range of strategies used in managing ethnic conflicts in Juba County?
8. What suggestions or proposals can you recommend that can enhance the effectiveness of the political governance measures instituted by the government for ethnic conflict management in Juba County?

### **Appendix III: Interview Guide**

1. What are the legal and policy documents that have been used for guiding ethnic conflict management in South Sudan?
2. Other than the laws and policies you have just cited, are there emerging and relevant ethnic conflict management gaps that are not taken care of in the existing framework that have been presented to the government to be considered for enactment or adoption?
3. In your opinion, would you say with confidence that the legal and policy framework in place has an ethnic conflict management component incorporated in it? Please explain.
4. What are some of the political strategies used by state actors in managing ethnic conflicts in South Sudan and especially in Juba County? Please explain.
5. What specific governance activities or programs have been put in place to support ethnic conflict management in line with the political strategies adopted by the state actors?
6. Would you say that the political strategies used by the state actors have been effective in the management of ethnic conflicts in Juba County? What indicators can you point to in justifying your response of either effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the strategies?
7. What challenges would you say undermine the efficacy of the legal and policy framework and strategies in managing ethnic conflicts in Juba County?
8. What suggestions or proposals can you recommend that can enhance the effectiveness of the political governance measures instituted by the government for ethnic conflict management in Juba County?

## Appendix IV: ANU Introduction Letter



9<sup>th</sup> March 2022

**RE: TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

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Lam Tungwar Kueigwong (19J03DMGP025) is a bonafide student at Africa Nazarene University. He has finished his course work and has defended his thesis proposal entitled: -


***“Influence of Political Governance on Ethnic Conflict Management in South Sudan: The Case of Juba County”.***

Any assistance accorded to him to facilitate data collection and finish his thesis is highly welcomed.


A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Rodney Reed".

**Prof. Rodney Reed**  
**DVC, Academic & Student Affairs.**

## Appendix V: Research Authorization



**REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN**  
**CENTRAL EQUATORIA STATE-JUBA**  
**MINISTRY OF GENERAL EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION**  
**CENTRAL EQUATORIA STATE-JUBA**  
**OFFICE OF THE MINISTER**



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Ref: SMOGE&I/CES/OHM/17.A.1 Date 22nd March 2022

Re: **TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

Subject: **LETTER OF NO OBJECTION FOR LAM TUNGWAR KUEIWONG**

Reference to the letter dated 9<sup>th</sup> March 2022, and written by Pro. Rodney Reed, DVC, Academic & Student Affairs from Africa Nazarene University upon assistance to be rendered for the subject to collect information in regards to his thesis in the same university.


The state Ministry of General Education & instruction has no objection for him to carry his information findings studies within Juba County of Central Equatoria State.

On the same note, the Ministry requires that he is accorded maximum cooperation in the conduct of his activity of studies.

Please accept the assurance of my highest regards.

*22-3-2022*

**Hon. Cirisio Zakaria Ladu Vepo**  
**Minister of General Education & Instruction**  
**Central Equatoria State – Juba**



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### Appendix VI: Map of Study Area

