

quantitative methods.⁵⁶ The major distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods is that quantitative research is framed on the use of numbers or using closed-ended questions, while qualitative is framed in terms of using words or open-ended questions. This research used qualitative case study methodology because it aimed at finding answers to a social problem that the people of South Sudan have faced.

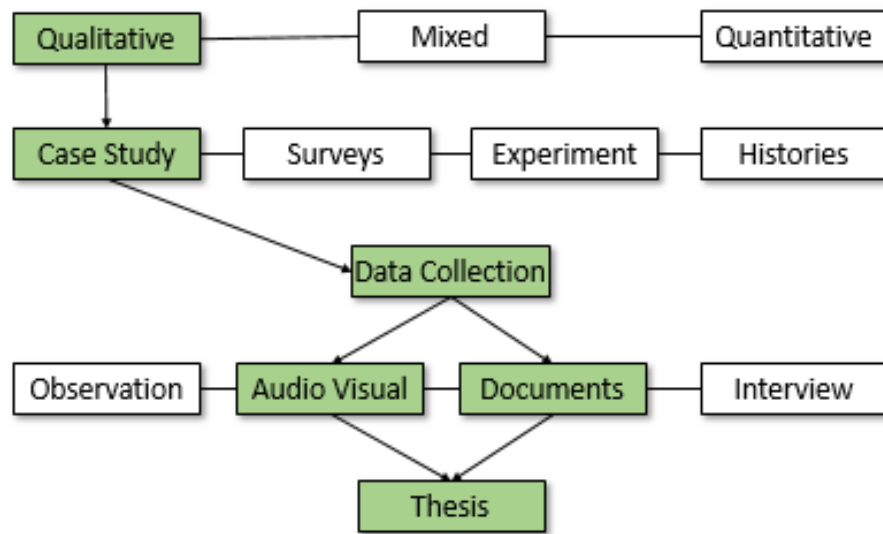


Figure 4. Research Methods Used in this Research

Source: Created by author. NOTE: Colored boxes depict part of the methodology used for this thesis.

Although qualitative methods bear less statistical power when it comes to verifying trends, it allows for consistency in the findings about human behavior, emotion, and personality characteristics that quantitative methods cannot match. This thesis dealt

⁵⁶ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 3rd ed. (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2009), 5.

with a social problem, that suited the use of a qualitative study. The availability of research material in the library and the internet provided the ease and quick access to online sources such as books, journals, reports, and other publications that were relevant to this research. The figure above illustrates the methodology employed by this thesis. The quantitative method was not suitable for this thesis as it mostly deals with measurable quantities rather than quality. Quantities of the dead or the displaced persons in this thesis were obtained from the various literature but were not the subject of this research, and were insignificant for this research to adopt a mixed method.

Single Case Study Research Method

Depending on the nature of the subject under the qualitative research method, a researcher may use case study, experiments, surveys, histories, and, economic and epidemiologic research. This thesis used the case study method in order to bring out the richness of the phenomenon in South Sudan and the extensiveness of the real-life context of the events surrounding the whole problem. The real-life events demand the use of the case study method to allow researchers to deal with a technically distinctive situation.⁵⁷ In this research, a case study method provided a detailed description of a social phenomenon that engulfed the South Sudanese people. It also provided a clear picture of the situation in Africa's newest country, and hence, its suitability in this case for an enabling basis for rational decisions by decision makers.

⁵⁷ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (Applied Social Research Methods)*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2009), 2.

South Sudan is an entity with a unique and complex situation, where the country just emerged from gaining independence, without any previous references of self-rule. It was, therefore, essential that it took a single case study evaluation. Graham Allison's single case study of the Cuban missile crisis was one such a one-time event that used a single case study, in which the U.S—Soviet Union confrontation could have produced a holocaust and doomed the entire world. The study that came out as a political science bestseller posited three themes, just as in this research, to explain the crisis that the U.S and the Soviets performed.⁵⁸ Therefore, apart from looking at what caused the civil war, this study also aimed at examining the existence of government institutions put in place to foster development, including the availability of basic public amenities.

The single case study was best suited for this research for a number of reasons: firstly, this method facilitated the investigation of the overall instability in both North and South Sudan in their contexts based on the literature that was reviewed, which allowed the researcher to critically review the documented information as necessary and realized that there were more stakeholders and players in the conflict than anticipated.

Secondly, this type of study provided a basis for an understanding of chronological events from a historical perspective, the current players both governmental and non-governmental organizations, and international, regional, and local actors whose contributions have shaped the current situation. Through understanding of the overall situation, the researcher was able to make a detailed analysis of the unique environment under investigation, thereby making key recommendations that may help to solve the

⁵⁸ Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (Applied Social Research Methods)*, 6.

South Sudan predicament. It is the hope of the researcher that some, if not all, the recommendations made through this research may be employed by policy and decision makers for a viable solution for South Sudan.

Data Collection Methods

There are four primary methods of data collection in qualitative analysis including observations, interviews, documents, and audio-visual materials.⁵⁹ The primary method for data collection for this qualitative study of the instability in South Sudan was through documents, which come under both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are generated through the period of the research, while secondary sources are the analyses of the primary sources.⁶⁰

This thesis did not use surveys or experimental methods due to the nature of the topic and lack of subjects to provide the required information. A survey would require more time than what was possible for this research. It also demands the collection of information from key informants who are citizens of South Sudan or residing in the diaspora but had experienced the conflict. Experiments, on the other hand, could not be employed as it is not possible to control social variables in South Sudan to prove the issues about the conflict. Nevertheless, the study ensured that the instability in South Sudan was not studied using one source of information, but enabled the use of a variety

⁵⁹ Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 180.

⁶⁰ Paul W. Smith, "Sustainment in the Army 2020: Using the Army's Sustainment Principles to Identify and Mitigate Risks Associated with Organizational Change" (master's thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2015).

of books, including online sources such as articles and journals, and audio-visual devices. Previous interviews of key players on the internet ensured that numerous aspects of northern Sudan and South Sudan's instability and lack of transformation were discovered and analyzed.

Before embarking on the research, secondary data sources were collected using the computer and categorized in the form of a database in accordance with selected themes such as historical events, the civil war, and recommendations. The researcher also made sure that there was accuracy in this data. This ensured the credibility of the research and made it easier for the researcher to locate the data for reference when required.

The researcher utilized multiple secondary data sources in an effort to enhance the credibility of this research and to investigate various research questions. The data source was mainly limited to documented materials that were brought together during the analysis and the review processes. The literature on established themes for the research and research questions was sought directly from the websites using Google search. A large number of themes was used to collect information from the internet but most notably those concerning civil war and instability in South Sudan, the current situation in South Sudan, poor despite oil, South Sudan crisis, fighting in South Sudan, Ethnicity in South Sudan, and many others. Important data as identified by this researcher was stored in different folders in the database, and named according to themes or research questions. This enhanced the understanding of the case and findings to be provided by various data components.

Database

The reliability of this case study is hoped to be reached through the creation of a database, where only accurate data from reliable sources was stored. The researcher avoided data from Wikipedia and other unsubstantiated websites. The collected data was sorted and properly organized using the computer in order to keep track of it and retrieve it when needed. Information was categorized into causes of the 2013 civil war, the significant historical events that greatly contributed to the shaping of today's Sudan and South Sudan, major actors, and stakeholders relevant to the South Sudan quandary at international, continental, and local levels. Above all, major contributing factors to lack of economic development from a variety of sources and perspectives, and recommendations have been highlighted. This facilitated the ease of retrieval when required by the researcher. It also included dates and time of collection of the information.

Data Analysis

This researcher employed thematic analysis to generate findings in chapter 4, where each research question was addressed in order to provide a clear description of the social phenomenon under investigation. The data collected would then facilitate a detailed analysis meant to identify a pattern on the occurrence of activities in Sudan, leading to the current situation. It involved extensive study of materials in order to get familiarized with the information, as well as to ensure wider coverage of essential data. The information to be analyzed was based on Sudan before secession of the South, the secession and independence, civil war of 2013, and the current situation. Other areas to

be considered were main actors and stakeholders in South Sudan, and their interests, goals, capabilities, and weaknesses.

Summary

This chapter provides a systematic plan for this thesis. It started by describing the research methodology followed by the type of case study to be employed in the research. This research used qualitative methodology, which best presents consistency in the findings about human behavior, emotion, and personality characteristics - the basis for this research. This was followed by a detailed explanation as to why this research was best suited for a qualitative single case study and not quantitative, surveys or experiments. Quantitative research methodology could not be used because it tests objective theories by examining relationships among variables and describes statistical data. Experiments need to prove changing variables, which could not be altered for this research. Surveys, on the other hand require a considerable amount of time, which was not available for this thesis. The sources of literature were identified with their data systematically stored for easy retrieval when required. The overall process to be adopted was finally explained just before this summary.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to investigate the major contributing factors to the instability in South Sudan, which have negatively affected the socio-economic development of that country since it became independent on 11 July 2011. To better understand this complex problem, this study has addressed several key areas including the causes of the 2013 South Sudan civil war, actors and stakeholders present in South Sudan and their interests, and activities and the international community. This research is relevant because national and international policy makers need to know about this complex situation in order to make policy decisions that support peace, stability, and economic development.

A critical look at the primary research question and a detailed analysis of the secondary research questions ensured a comprehensive literature review in chapter 2. Chapter 4 generates the findings through the thematic analysis of the literature review and ends with a summary of salient points and a conclusion.

Factors at Play in the South Sudan Crisis and Their Contribution to the Conflict

A number of factors have contributed to the deadly conflicts that have ravaged the new country of South Sudan since it attained independence from Sudan in 2011. These factors have either been common to both South Sudan and Sudan or specific to South Sudan. The factors have in turn affected all neighboring countries of South Sudan as refugees continue fleeing the country for survival and in search of a better life. Historical

factors have been singled out by this author as having played a major role in the conflicts between South Sudan and Sudan, and within South Sudan itself.

Historical Factors Shaping the Environment

Lack of socio-economic development in South Sudan, and the general instability in the country is in the opinion of this author, a legacy of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, and partly, the Sudanese government. The literature reviewed indicated that when the British colonized Sudan under the umbrella of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium in 1899, they had a segregation policy that only allowed for the development of the Arab Muslim north, and not the Black Christian south, claiming that the south was not ready for exposure to the world. This was evident from the official delineation of the border between the two Sudans based on race, yet physically the border did not exist. They ruled South Sudan through local tribal chiefs to settle local disputes and to avoid uprisings, while they were physically present in the north.

Consequently, when the barrier between the two areas was lifted after Sudan became independent in 1956, the south found itself in an extremely disadvantaged position of lacking almost everything in terms of development, while the north had made headways.⁶¹ This was the first factor at play in the Sudanese conflict that has greatly shaped the current situation. However, this was not a permanent situation as Sudan had a chance to make amends, especially after the discovery of oil in 1978.

The government of Sudan has been another major player in the Sudanese conflict. The people of southern Sudan were overwhelmingly agitated by the continued economic

⁶¹ Ottaway and El-Sadany, "Sudan: From Conflict to Conflict."

marginalization of the south by the Khartoum government. In 1983, when Lieutenant Colonel John Garang was sent to go and quell the mutiny by soldiers in the south, he defected and instead encouraged mutinies in other cantonments. This did not please President Nimeiri, who later imposed sharia law on the whole of Sudan, an action that infuriated the people of the south even further. The civil war that ensued resulted in the death of more than one and a half million people between 1983 and 1997. These wars were avoidable had the Sudanese government granted the south Sudanese autonomy early enough according to their demands, despite the south not being ready to self-govern.

In this analysis, Riek Marchar can be singled out as a major player in the Sudan/South Sudan conflict over the years through his switching of allegiances from one camp to the other just to remain in an influential position. From being a rebel leader in the SPLM/A in charge of Western Upper Nile zone under the leadership of John Garang, between 1984 and 1991, Machar with his friends Lam Akol and Gordon Kong announced that John Garang, their leader had been ejected from the SPLM following a disagreement in SPLM objectives. The fight that ensued resulted in what is commonly known as the Bor massacre, where more than two thousand people, mostly civilians were killed, while tens of thousands died in the following years from the resulting famine.⁶²

Between 1996 and 2002, Marchar and a number of other rebel groups in the south signed the Khartoum Peace Agreement that made him assistant to President Al Bashir, President of the Southern States Coordinating Council as well as commander-in-chief of

⁶² James Copnall, "South Sudan's Massacre Among Many," *Al Jazeera*, 23 April 2014, accessed 14 February 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/04/south-sudan-massacre-among-man-2014423103845492493.html>.

South Sudan Defence Force, fought other rebel leaders with South Sudan several times, before rejoining the SPLM when he realized that they had signed the CPA for a referendum, that would mean independence of the south from the north. Riek Machar was again the architect of the South Sudan civil war that erupted in December 2013, barely two years after independence, a war that resulted in more than 383,000 deaths, more than four million displaced, out of which 1.8 million are internally displaced.⁶³ Machar had been in and out of South Sudan since his military defeat in 2013. In 2015, he signed a failed agreement with the government of Salva Kiir, before signing yet another and delicate power-sharing deal in 2018, under which, he was again appointed the first vice president of the four existing vice presidents.⁶⁴

Other Factors at Play

Ethnic strife or tribalism in South Sudan is as chronic as a contagious disease and has claimed the most lives of the South Sudanese people than any other causes of death. Coupled with high levels of illiteracy throughout the country, especially in the majority youth, it is a reality that the cure and civilized way forward of nation-building is far-fetched. The cycle of violence is likely to keep occurring for many years to come. The ethnic conflicts in South Sudan are traced back to the British colonial masters who were more interested in the north of the country, while they ruled the south through tribal

⁶³ Lul Gatkuoth Gatluak, "Tribalism in South Sudan is an infectious disease," *Sudan Tribune*, 24 November 2018, accessed 14 February 2019, <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article66660>.

⁶⁴ Voice of America, "S. Sudan's Warring Leaders Sign Peace Deal to Share Power," 5 August 2018, accessed 15 February 2019, <https://www.voanews.com/a/south-sudan-s-warring-leaders-sign-peace-deal-to-share-power/4514628.html>.

chiefs. Their divide-and-rule policy separated southern Sudanese provinces from the rest of the country and slowed their political, economic, and social development. As a consequence, when the British left, southern Sudan remained organized on tribal lines.⁶⁵ These groups of people regularly fought for scarce grazing land for their animals, and hence, their enmity dates back to the colonial days. Facts are that young people have been left both idle and frustrated by their continued marginalization and high rates of youth unemployment. This makes them vulnerable to exploitation by extremists, who use them as political pawns and militants.

This is the reason any type of conflict quickly aligns itself on tribal lines and becomes remarkably violent. In addition, the high number of rebel leaders owning militias has led to an increased demand for fighters. This has resulted in them recruiting children in their ranks. UNICEF estimates the total number of child soldiers recruited since the beginning of the civil war in 2013 to be an alarming nineteen thousand. This figure alone implies that the country could still be unstable for a long time to come, as the majority of these children will never be enrolled in school.

As at December 2017, there existed nine rebel groups in South Sudan, all of whom were willing to dialogue and have a stake in Salva Kiir's government. With the mediation of Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the AU, and Troika, the government of South Sudan and these rebel factions had since the start of this bloody war signed more than a dozen agreements for the cessation of hostilities. These agreements had already been broken more than a dozen times by the end of 2017, at

⁶⁵ Heleta, "Roots of Sudanese conflict are in the British colonial policies."

times even before the commencement dates of the cessation of hostilities by any of the factions, including by the government forces. Rebellions starting from the capital Juba slowly spread throughout the country, due to the existence of government militia in other parts of the country, strategically positioned to reinforce government forces in Juba. Consequently, millions of people are forced to flee to neighboring Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia, fearing more bloodshed. It is truly a long way to go for peace in South Sudan.⁶⁶

South Sudan was born a failed state, and it was still in its primitive state the time it attained independence from the North. Both the British, who had colonized Sudan before 1956 and the Arab-dominated government of Sudan, after its independence between 1954 and 2005, had done nothing to develop South Sudan. The only and sparsely—available infrastructure was built by different NGOs and church bodies that operated in the south, and which were solicited for by the tribal heads. Health and educational systems have been non—existent. Formation of various rebel groups in the South was a demonstration to the North of continued economic and social marginalization. With no schools in the southern part of the country to keep the youth preoccupied, it was easy for rebel leaders to mobilize their respective fighters and engage in the fight for their rights and freedom.

Having attained independence from the north in 2011, the people of South Sudan, supported by the UK, United States, and Norway, thought that a solution to the long quest to free the Christian South from the dominant and repressive northern Arab government

⁶⁶ Moschetti, “A brief history of the civil war in South Sudan.”

was at hand.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, they overlooked the fact that South Sudan was the least prepared country for independence than any other former colonized nation in Africa. There was a lack of credible leaders to take the mantle of governance, so, the former rebel leaders of the SPLM took charge of the country.

Lack of credible leadership has been one of the major reasons for continued instability in South Sudan, that has seen the excitement felt by the people of South Sudan at independence diminish. This development has made it extremely difficult for the existing political system to apply instruments of national power DIME effectively. This is evident from the 2018 structure of the government that has four vice presidents serving at one time, as none of the former guerilla leaders is willing to accept a lower position. Apart from Riek Machar, who holds a Ph.D. in Mechanical Engineering, the rest are uneducated and lack the critical thinking skills to govern.

⁶⁷ Cohen, “South Sudan: The Only Solution.”

Table 1. Reasons for Displacement of People in South Sudan by OXFAM	
Study Site	Reasons for Displacement
Juba PoC*	Ethnic war between the Dinka and the Nuer war was cited as the main reason for men and women to seek refuge in the UNMISS PoC site in Juba, the capital of South Sudan. Juba's PoC site was holding 180,000 IDPs as of December 2013. The number increased exponentially to 1,672, 989 by July 2016.
Bor PoC	Approximately 98 percent of the IDPs in this site said civil war was the reason for their displacement. 79 percent of them were from Jonglei state where Paul general Malong's militia were believed to be perpetrating violence among the villages of the Nuer tribe.
Akobo Counties	In Akobo Counties 69 percent of the IDPs in this site cited insecurity arising from communal land disputes, lack of essential services in their villages, and GBV against women and girls in the form of violent attacks, rape, revenge killings, and abduction of children who are in turn used as child soldiers.
Twic East County	War and ethnic clashes were given as the main reasons for displaced persons in this site. Most of them IDPs came from the Jonglei state where fights between the Dinka, Nuer and Murle ethnic groups were rampant. Human rights violations, violence, restrictions in movement, and loss of homes and livelihoods were some other mentioned acts, which had been taking place before the 2013 civil war erupted.
Watau State	Main push factors forcing IDPs to leave their homes and find shelter elsewhere was the civil war and ethnic clashes. Extrajudicial killings, rape of women and girls, arbitrary arrests, detentions, loss of income, livestock and crops were other reasons given.

Source: Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, *South Sudan Gender Analysis*, (Oxford, England: Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, March 2017), accessed 11 March 2019, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/rr-south-sudan-gender-analysis-060317-en.pdf>. Note: PoC* Protection of Civilians.

Actors at Play in the South Sudan Conflict

The conflict in South Sudan has been characterized by the involvement of various actors ranging from state actors, non-state actors and stakeholders, all with diverse

interests, goals, capabilities, alliances, and those against as indicated in the strategic estimate table for the conflict. These actors are grouped into international, continental, regional and finally country levels.

International Actors- The UN and China

The UN established itself in South Sudan as an international actor in 2011 with the overall mandate of spearheading peace and stability. The mission had just transferred from the United Nations Mission in Sudan to the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) following that country's independence from the North. Apart from its main peace enforcement mission of protecting civilians, UNMISS is mandated to support the government of the Republic of South Sudan in developing its capacity to provide security, establish the rule of law, and to strengthen the security and justice sectors. Other tasks include mitigation and conflict resolution, and the overarching one of supporting the consolidation of peace.⁶⁸

During the 2012 Sudan-South Sudan civil war and 2013 South Sudan civil war, the UN provided shelter to many fleeing civilians in the UN camps. The March 2014 Secretary General's Report states that the humanitarian situation deteriorated sharply within two months following the outbreak of violence in mid-December 2013, with displacements reaching 900,000 persons, with 167,000 crossing into neighboring

⁶⁸ United Nations Mission in South Sudan, "Background," accessed 23 December 2018, <https://unmiss.unmissions.org/background>.

countries. The UN faced the challenge of providing food aid to the 3.7 million South Sudanese whose survival was very much in question.⁶⁹

The UN Security Council passed a US-sponsored Resolution 2206 of 2015, aimed at holding responsible six named individuals for their roles in the 2013 civil war as well as imposing sanctions on them. Russia and Angola, under unknown circumstances, are said to have blocked efforts to sanction former SPLA Chief of the General Staff Paul Malong and rebel commander Johnson Olony in September 2015. Malong was subsequently identified in the Separate Opinion issued by the African Union Commission of Inquiry in South Sudan as having recruited the irregular Dinka militia accused of leading the killing of ethnic Nuer in Juba at the onset of the conflict in December 2013. The UN Panel of Experts has continued to investigate the chain of command for operations that have targeted civilians. President Kiir has also been named in the report as part of those targeting civilians and extensive destruction of communities.⁷⁰ Following the signing of the 2018 peace agreement, the UN is monitoring the situation closely, and working with various NGOs on the ground in trying to alleviate the suffering of the civilians. Peter Run, a conflict resolution researcher at the University of Queensland, Australia has hinted that the US-sponsored sanctions against some firms and targeted elites have since taken effect and those concerned have complained that sanctions are contributing to economic woes of South Sudan.⁷¹

⁶⁹ United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on South Sudan*, S/2014/158 (New York: United Nations, 6 March 2014).

⁷⁰ Blanchard.

⁷¹ Peter Run, "Machar's return signals a significant stage in South Sudan's peace process" *The Conversation*, 8 November 2018, accessed 16 February 2019,

China

China has every now and then tried to bring the warring factions together through the regional mediator IGAD in order to establish its businesses in the country. These efforts have yielded very little to the extent that researchers and observers have called South Sudan a testing ground China's ascendant role as a global power.⁷² The world power saw the independence of South Sudan as a huge business opportunity as the newest country in Africa lacked almost everything from health infrastructure, roads, schools, Information Technology, shopping malls, hotel industry, water bottling companies among other businesses. Although the state-owned Chinese National Petroleum Company (CNPC) already existed in South Sudan, after 2011, the Chinese government sent in a large contingent of various private and state businesses in the hope of carrying out all the stated developmental projects. In addition, China strategically stationed 2,600 troops under the auspices of the UN in South Sudan, and used part of this force to protect a few Chinese investments that still existed there.

The 2013 civil war placed the Chinese plans of major infrastructure projects, loans, and other financial help from Beijing on hold. Many private Chinese businesses and investors consisting of more than one hundred registered companies left the country. By January 2018, the only major Chinese-funded infrastructure going ahead is the \$160 million contract of renovating the runway, navigation system, and parking lots of Juba

<https://theconversation.com/machars-return-signals-a-significant-stage-in-south-sudans-peace-process-106284>.

⁷² Kuo, "There's at least one place in Africa where China's 'win win' diplomacy is failing."

International Airport.⁷³ CNPC boasts of building an unspecified number of hospitals and schools in the oil fields where it operates, as well as a computer lab for Juba University. However, sporadic conflicts within this area have resulted in schools and hospital infrastructure being vandalized and underutilized. CNPC also sponsors students on a yearly basis for various courses to China as a show of social responsibility and good partnership with the government.

Continental-Regional Actors

The African Union has continued to remind the warring factions in South Sudan that there is no military solution to a conflict. Through the Peace and Security Council, the AU expresses support to the efforts by IGAD, the AU High-Level Ad Hoc Committee, and the AU High Representative for South Sudan. The AU had planned to deploy regional troops to South Sudan to support the already existing UN forces there. However, the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) expressed reservations despite the UN envoy on the ground strongly recommending the move. The Rwandan contingent was deployed under the AU in the Western Equatoria state, where the Joseph Kony-led Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebel group had in the past launched a series of kidnapping and killings of civilians.⁷⁴ The AU forces have a robust mandate of imposing peace in the country just as they did in eastern Democratic

⁷³ Kuo, "There's at least one place in Africa where China's 'win win' diplomacy is failing."

⁷⁴ British Broadcasting Corporation News, "South Sudan Conflict: African Union approves regional force," 19 July 2016, accessed 17 February 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-36833875>.

Republic of Congo (DRC), where they managed to defeat the M23 rebels. President Kiir has only consented to the deployment of the AU forces in South Sudan at the request of the state in need.

Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IGAD, with the support from the Chinese government, has done a commendable job in bringing together the warring factions for dialogue, every time they have fought. Since December 2013, IGAD has been mediating the current South Sudan conflict, and its efforts have not gone without recognition, despite the eruption of war following every mediation process. IGAD's mediation processes have led to the parties signing landmark agreements including the cessation of hostilities and the releasing political detainees. However, the organization's structural problems and lack of leverage to enforce its will on the parties have contributed to relapsing of conflicts. In addition, stakeholders have called for the exclusion of Uganda and Sudan from the peace process due to having vested interests in that South Sudan. When South Sudan's civil war broke out in December 2013, Ugandan forces intervened, securing Juba before retaking Bor alongside the SPLA.⁷⁵ This was done to prevent the government from falling to the rebels, who would ally with long-term regional rival Sudan. Likewise, Sudan must not be part of the mediation before border issues with the South are resolved.

⁷⁵ Rashid Abdi, "It's in Uganda's Interest to Keep Supporting South Sudan Peace Efforts," International Crisis Group, 27 January 2017, accessed 17 February 2019, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/sudan/its-ugandas-interest-keep-supporting-south-sudan-peace-efforts>.

Country Level State Actors Uganda-Kenya-Sudan-Ethiopia

The literature review indicated that the governments of Uganda, Kenya, Sudan, and Ethiopia have been spearheading mediation under the auspices of IGAD. Despite a shocking recommendation by these states for the government of South Sudan to have four vice presidents, all these countries have contributed to the conflict in South Sudan directly or indirectly. Rashid Abdi of the daily monitor states that President Museveni of Uganda will naturally defend Uganda's short-term interests in South Sudan, but that he should also work towards longer-term stability by supporting President Salva Kiir's pledge to bring peace through Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan implementation, negotiations, and national dialogue. Museveni is a long-term ally of the SPLM/A and seems to have vested interests in South Sudan. He has, however, been advised as a major regional actor with considerable experience in mediation, and a close relationship with the South Sudan government, to leverage these advantages to help the country overcome its political crisis through national dialogue and negotiations. Uganda's long term interests include the security of its citizens and border, reducing refugee flows, and the protection of its economic investments and trade.⁷⁶

Kenya is home to the majority of families of wealthy rebel and former rebel leaders of South Sudan. Sigal Mandelker, the US Treasury's Under-Secretary for terrorism and financial intelligence urged Kenya to investigate properties and assets owned by elite families from South Sudan, including its president and his rival, who have

⁷⁶ Abdi, "It's in Uganda's Interest to Keep Supporting South Sudan Peace Efforts," 64.

enriched themselves in their country's violent civil war since 2013.⁷⁷ Kenya however, seems reluctant to follow the directive. It is in the author's view that Kenya would rather concentrate on efforts to bring stability to South Sudan than to make follow-ups on bank accounts, as doing so would jeopardize Kenya's impartiality on IGAD.

Unlike Uganda, which is an ally of the South Sudanese government, Sudan is allied to the opposition. Sudan would rather have a protracted conflict in the South in order to continue benefitting from the oil in the disputed border area of Abyei. This is because Bashir has been implementing strategies that helped destabilize South Sudan since the oil-rich country gained its independence. Therefore, questions still linger as to why he helped broker a ceasefire between Kiir and Machar.⁷⁸ As things stand, however, the peace deal being implemented in South Sudan was finally agreed under the brokerage of Al Bashir.

Primary Reasons for Failure to Stabilize the Government

The specific primary reasons for failure to find a lasting solution to continued instability in South Sudan are difficult to pinpoint. However, the main ones have been highlighted in the preceding chapter as being the lack of credible leadership, noninstitutionalized government machinery, high rates of illiteracy, tribalism or ethnicity,

⁷⁷ Standard Digital News, "US calls for crackdown on South Sudan war money invested in Kenya," 14 June 2018, accessed 17 February 2019, <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001284082/us-calls-for-crackdown-on-s-sudan-war-money-invested-in-kenya>.

⁷⁸ Ahmed H. Adam, "Why is Omar al-Bashir mediating South Sudan peace talks?," *Al Jazeera*, 5 July 2018, accessed 17 February 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/omar-al-bashir-mediating-south-sudan-peace-talks-180705134746432.html>.

unemployment, and continued lack of developmental programs aimed at engaging the youth in order for them to contribute to national development. To reverse the damage caused in South Sudan requires decades of intense educational and economic developmental programs and stability, which is yet to be attained in this country.

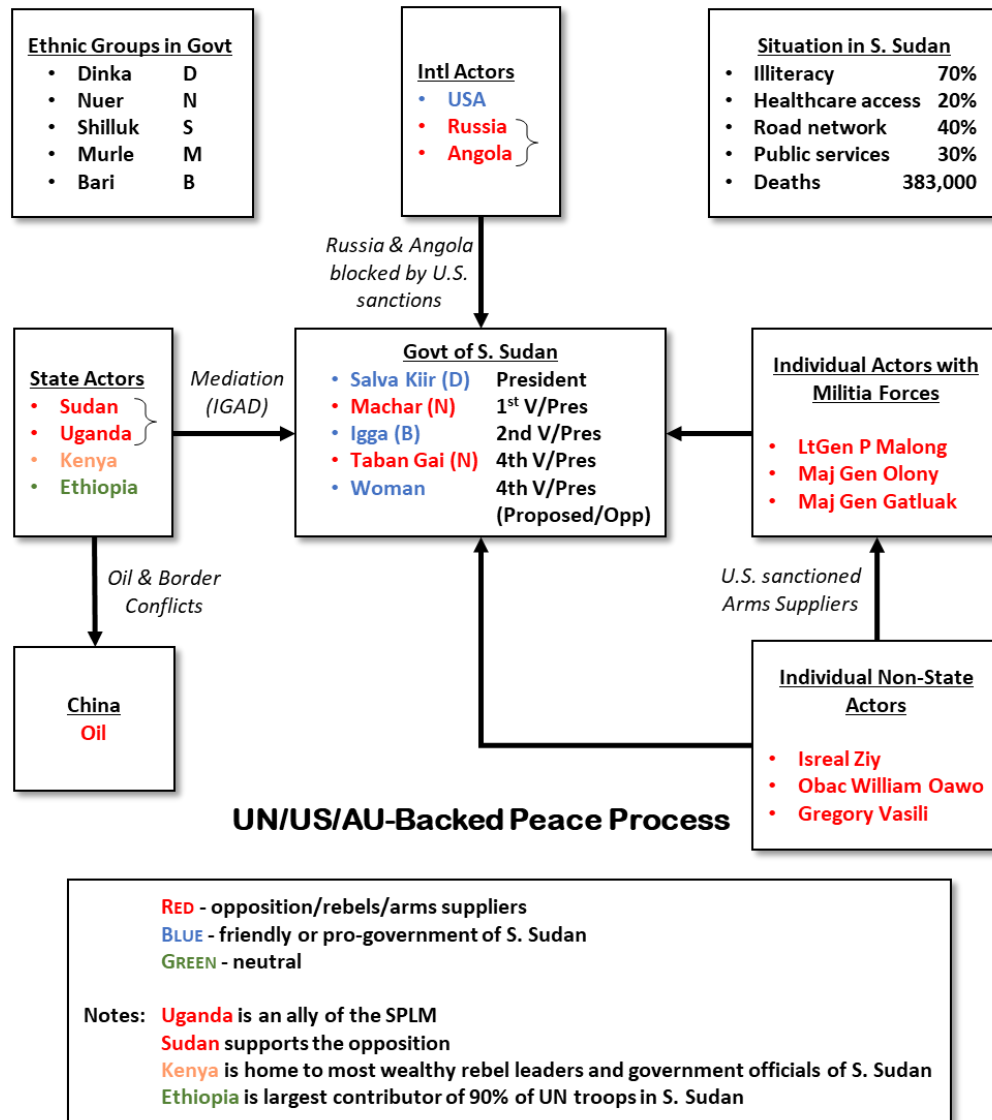


Figure 5. South Sudan Conflict as of December 2018

Source: Created by author.

Summary

In conclusion, chapter 4 analyzed the literature reviewed using thematic analysis in order to establish particular patterns formed in the South Sudan conflict. The instability in South Sudan and the failure to establish a working government is the result of numerous reasons as stated above. Further, the actors and stakeholders involved in various conflict resolution programs are unable to achieve their objectives due to underlying factors, that have already been stated, which require to be harmonized for the sake of peace and stability in the newest country in the world. This will facilitate a lasting solution without which peace and stability will be a farfetched dream.

Table 2. Stakeholder Analysis Matrix							
S/holder Name	Leadership	Impact	Influence	S/holder Interest	Suggested Action	Actions Affecting the Conflict	How to Engage S/holder
South Sudan Govt.	Salva Kiir	High	High	Stability/Peace	Institutionalize the govt.	Fighting rebel leaders	IGAD/AU UN
Rebel Leaders	All	High	High	Oil/War/Militia	Cease having militia	Recruiting militia/children	ICC/ Dialogue
Govt. Soldiers	S/Sudan Govt	High	High	Intimidation	Stop committing atrocities	Crimes against humanity	Education by govt.
Sudan	State	High	High	Oil	Resolve border issues	Failure to resolve border issue	IGAD/AU UN
Uganda	State	Medium	Medium	Reduce refugees	Mediation	Not reacting	IGAD/AU UN
Kenya	State	Medium	Medium	Reduce refugees	Freeze rebel bank accounts	Not reacting	IGAD/AU UN
Ethiopia	State	Low	Low	Reduce refugees	Promote dialogue	Lack of participation	IGAD/AU UN

Source: Created by Author. NOTE: Impact: High, medium, or low signifies stakeholder effects-expected effects on the conflict previously and in the future. Influence: High, medium, or low signifies previous stakeholder effects on the conflict.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

The purpose of this research was to investigate major contributing factors to the instability in South Sudan, which negatively affected the socio-economic development of that country since it became independent on 11 July 2011. Further, the thesis was aimed at trying to ascertain the extent to which the South Sudanese government is able to apply the instruments of National Power - Diplomacy, Information, Military, and Economic (DIME) in order to steer the country into prosperity. National and international policymakers need to understand the complexity of this situation in order to make decisions that support stability and economic development.

An observed general failure by the government of South Sudan to engage in democratic institutional reforms that would enable the provision of institutional arrangements to guarantee the legitimacy of government and the rule of law has left the newest country in the world unable to effectively manage its ethnic diversity. In addition, corruption and public financial mismanagement has been rampant at all levels of governance, thereby making it more difficult to create an enabling environment for wealth creation that can enhance human development. The future looks bleak as it is likely that the youth will be ineffective for decades to come due to lacking the opportunities to obtain an education, knowledge, and experiences that may make them better leaders.

Recommendations

Placing South Sudan under UN trusteeship to aid the development of viable self-government seems to be the best action to be taken. This is because South Sudan lacks everything: infrastructure, technology, roads and transportation facilities, healthcare, education facilities, private investment, institutions, including unavailability of most public services like clean drinking water and electricity. Much as concerted efforts were made by various actors and stakeholders to help the South escape the repressive colonial clutches of Khartoum, of all the African countries that came to independence since 1950, South Sudan had had the least amount of preparation.

A second recommendation is credible leadership, not only in South Sudan but also in neighboring countries like Uganda and Sudan, whose leaders have been mediating peace processes between the warring factions under the umbrella of IGAD and have other interests in the war-torn country. Both Museveni and Al Bashir have been presidents of their respective countries for thirty years or more, and are not suitable for mediation. These leaders have made some shocking recommendations during the peace process, including that of having four vice presidents in South Sudan, which was even implemented. Further, credible leadership within South Sudan would ensure the institutionalization of the government for its effective operations.

Currently, South Sudan is governed by former guerilla leaders, most of whom have lived a huge part of their lives in the bush fighting the Khartoum government, and every time there is a small disagreement, they mobilize their militia and start fighting. Therefore, a different crop of leaders, who are typically civilians preferably from a few

existing institutions of higher learning within the larger Sudan can solve this leadership problem.

A third recommendation is that the UN should consider being more proactive rather than reactive in its approach to the Sudan-South —Sudan conflict before it reignites. The UN should consider adopting the stakeholder analysis matrix and co-opt the various actors to resolve the current predicament in South Sudan. When the two countries signed a comprehensive peace agreement in 2005, which led to South Sudan's independence, they did not agree on boundary lines in the Abyei oil-rich area. As a result, Abyei's status remains unresolved to this day and has been a source at times of fighting. Even if Sudanese President Al Bashir was part of the mediating team to solve the internal power struggles of South Sudan, his country remained bitter about the secession of the South because it meant loss of territory and oil revenue.

People of the North had not internalized the new reality and felt deeply resentful. Equally, the South was angry at the North's refusal to allow a referendum to take place in this contested border region. Subsequently, there was clearly reciprocal anger in the dispute over the transit fees that the landlocked South had pay the North in order to ship its oil through a pipeline running to the northern Port Sudan terminal.

A fourth recommendation is that identified individuals involved in this deadly and bloody South Sudan civil war must be indicted to the International Criminal Court (ICC) on charges of crimes against humanity. Riek Machar, Paul Malong and other influential former rebel leaders with their respective militia groups have caused deaths and massive suffering to millions of innocent women and children of this part of Africa. By charging these and bringing them before the law, it would serve as a warning to would-be next

time offenders. The Bor Massacre resulted from Machar's announcement of the toppling of the late John Garang. More than two million lives were lost, and more than ten thousand people were injured.

Paul Malong is responsible for recruiting and training the militia said to have committed most atrocities that the South Sudan army is accused of during the civil war. Despite his advanced age, Malong formed his own movement in 2018, having been dismissed from the government in 2017. A common practice in South Sudan, when one is relieved of his government duties, has been to form his own militant movement. Currently, more than six former generals, including Agany and Malong, have formed their own movements, and are believed to be recruiting children into their ranks in order to boost their numbers. The first recommendation is more of a solution to these problems facing South Sudan today.

A fifth recommendation is to restore and use the instruments of national power-DIME, to their fullest. Instruments of national power are a bedrock of every state without which no state can function. Apart from bilateral relations with the US, and yet without any significant trade relations, South Sudan has very little diplomatic relations with other countries as it is preoccupied with its internal struggles most of the time. Information is lacking and although the military is present, it is just a collection of extremely unprofessional and primitive militia. The economy is still on its knees, lacking most public services. The US has constantly appealed to the UN to impose an arms embargo on armed groups in South Sudan, as it is through arms deals that the rebels continue having access to weapons. Rebel leaders owning oil wells must forfeit them to the state in an operation that is very delicate and must only be carried out with the help of outside

actors and stakeholders. Doing so will prevent these rebels from having more money to spend on arms.

A sixth and final recommendation is that the government of South Sudan should accelerate the rehabilitation and construction of schools and bring back the more than two million children who were forced out of school due to violence across the country since 2013. The government must also formulate and implement a policy to integrate former fighters into rehabilitation centers to reduce the number of youths who have nothing to do, and hence are vulnerable to be recruited by rebel leaders. This will make the future more viable for the whole country.

Recommendations for Further Study

This thesis recommends further research into the role of Russia and Angola, including that of neighboring country Uganda, in South Sudan, and to investigate what their interests have been in this war-ravaged nation. Due to the existent of a high number of rebel leaders and their militia, the government of South Sudan is clearly unable to tackle the development programs and enforce peace and stability at the same time without disruptions from these rebel groups. Therefore, concerted efforts are required from both actors and stakeholders in this region. The extent to which the presence of the oil companies from China and other countries had contributed to the conflict both between Sudan and South Sudan, and among the various rebel groups within South Sudan must be established.

Summary

This research endeavored to investigate the major contributing factors to the instability in South Sudan. The newest nation in Africa has a complex scenario with unique problems as illustrated below. The high number of former rebel leaders, each one with own militia with a motive of protecting their stolen wealth or fighting to get recognition, aggravates the complexity. The findings indicated that state actors and policy-makers needed to have a better understanding of the various stakeholders in the conflict in order to generate effective policies for effective and long-lasting solutions to the South Sudan saga. The instruments of national power are not fully exploited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdi, Rashid. "It's in Uganda's Interest to Keep Supporting South Sudan Peace Efforts." International Crisis Group. 27 January 2017. Accessed 17 February 2019. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/sudan/its-ugandas-interest-keep-supporting-south-sudan-peace-efforts>.
- Adam, Ahmed H. "Why is Omar al-Bashir mediating South Sudan peace talks?" *Al Jazeera*. 5 July 2018. Accessed 17 February 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/omar-al-bashir-mediating-south-sudan-peace-talks-180705134746432.html>.
- Africa Faith and Justice Network. "Brief Profile of the Civil War in South Sudan." 20 February 2018. Accessed 19 December 2018. <http://afjn.org/brief-profile-of-the-civil-war-in-south-sudan/>.
- Akeen, Lual A. "Who is Gen. "King Paul" Malong Awan Anei?" Paanluel Wël Media Ltd. 16 April 2018. Accessed 25 December 2018. <https://paanluelwel.com/2018/04/16/who-is-gen-king-paul-malong-awan-anei/>.
- Alam, Mayesha, Ségolène Dufour-Genneson, and Rebecca Turkington. *Security, Basic Services and Economic Opportunity in South Sudan: Perspectives of Women Post Independence and Pre-Civil War*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University and D³ Systems, Inc., 2014. Accessed 30 October 2018. <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Security-Basic-Services-and-Economic-Opportunity-in-South-Sudan-Perspectives-of-Women-Post-Independence-and-Pre-Civil-War.pdf>.
- Associated Press. "South Sudan Cease-Fire Violated Within Hours." *The New York Times*. 30 June 2018. Accessed 25 December 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/30/world/africa/south-sudan-cease-fire-violated-within-hours.html>.
- . "South Sudan civil war has caused 400,000 'excess deaths.'" *CBC News*. 27 September 2018. Accessed 30 October 2018. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/south-sudan-civil-war-deaths-1.4840424>.
- Biryabarema, Elias. "UK says killings in South Sudan conflict amount to genocide." *Reuters*. April 2017. Accessed 18 December 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southsudan-war/uk-says-killings-in-south-sudan-conflict-amount-to-genocide-idUSKBN17E2TF>.
- Blanchard, Lauren Ploch. R43344, *Conflict in South Sudan and the Challenges Ahead*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 22 September 2016. Accessed 24 November 2018. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43344.pdf>.

- Bogetti, Austin. "How China Came to Dominate South Sudan's Oil." *The Diplomat*. 11 February 2019. Accessed 11 March 2019. <https://thediplomat.com/2019/02/how-china-came-to-dominate-south-sudans-oil/>.
- British Broadcasting Corporation News. "Salva Kiir: South Sudan's president in a cowboy hat." 21 June 2018. Accessed 20 September 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12107760>.
- . "South Sudan conflict: African Union approves regional force." 19 July 2016. Accessed 17 February 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-36833875>.
- . "South Sudan country profile." 6 August 2018, accessed 15 October 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14069082>.
- Casimes, Sophie. "Bringing Stability: The Top Causes of Poverty in South Sudan." The Borgen Project. 2 August 2017. accessed 23 December 2018. <https://borgenproject.org/causes-of-poverty-in-south-sudan/>.
- Cohen, Hank. "South Sudan: The Only Solution." *Hank Cohen's Africa* (blog). 26 August 2014. Accessed 20 December 2018. <http://www.cohenonafrika.com/south-sudan>.
- Copnall, James. "South Sudan's massacre among many." *Al Jazeera*. 23 April 2014. Accessed 14 February 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/04/south-sudan-massacre-among-man-2014423103845492493.html>.
- Creswell, John. W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 3rd ed. Newbury Park: CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2009.
- de Waal, Alex. "Understanding the Roots of Conflict in South Sudan" Council on Foreign Relations. 14 September 2016. Accessed 20 November 2018. <https://www.cfr.org/interview/understanding-roots-conflict-south-sudan>.
- Deutsche Welle. "Poor despite oil-independent South Sudan." 9 July 2012. Accessed 24 September 2018. <https://www.dw.com/en/poor-despite-oil-independent-south-sudan/a-16082565>.
- Gatluak, Lul Gatkuoth. "Tribalism in South Sudan is an infectious disease." *Sudan Tribune*. 24 November 2018. Accessed 14 February 2019. https://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?iframe&page=imprimable&id_article=6660.
- Global South Development Magazine. "Causes of Conflict in South Sudan: Oil and Weak Institutions." Accessed 12 December 2018. <https://www.gsdmagazine.org/causes-of-conflict-in-south-sudan-oil-and-weak-institutions/>.

- Hackett, Mark C. "Modern History of Conflict in Sudan." Pulitzer Center. 12 April 2010. Accessed 8 October 2018. <https://pulitzercenter.org/blog/modern-history-conflict-sudan>.
- Hauenstein, Matthew, and Madhav Joshi. "What are the prospects for South Sudan's new peace agreement? Here are the critical next steps." *The Washington Post*. October 2018. Accessed 25 December 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/10/29/what-are-the-prospects-for-south-sudans-new-peace-agreement-here-are-the-critical-next-steps/?utm_term=.1d66f02a5db2.
- Heleta, Savo. "Roots of Sudanese conflict are in the British colonial policies." *Sudan Tribune*. 13 January 2008. Accessed 9 October 2018. <http://www.sudantribune.com/Roots-of-sudanese-conflict-are-in,25558>.
- Intergovernmental Authority on Development. "About Us." 2019. Accessed 23 December 2018. <https://www.igad.int/about-us>.
- Kelly, Stephen. "The Professional Case Study at the University of Huddersfield." Advance HE. 10 November 2018. Accessed 10 November 2018. <https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/knowledge-hub/professional-case-study-university-huddersfield-0>.
- Koerner, Brendan. "Who are the Janjaweed? A guide to the Sudanese militiamen." *Slate*. 22 July 2004. Accessed 8 October 2018. <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2004/07/who-are-the-janjaweed.html>.
- Kuo, Lily. "There's at least one place in Africa where China's 'win win' diplomacy is failing." *Quartz*. 21 November 2017. Accessed 11 March 2019. <https://qz.com/africa/1111402/south-sudan-china-win-win-diplomacy-struggles/>.
- Kushkush, Isma'il. "President Says a Coup Failed in South Sudan." *The New York Times*. 16 December 2016. Accessed 17 November 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/17/world/africa/attempted-coup-in-south-sudan-president-says.html>.
- Madrigal, Demetrius, and Bryan McClain. "Strengths and Weaknesses of Quantitative and Qualitative Research." UX Matters. 3 September 2012. Accessed 31 March 2019. <https://www.uxmatters.com/mt/archives/2012/09/strengths-and-weaknesses-of-quantitative-and-qualitative-research.php>.
- Mathieng, Bol. "Lack of Accountability and Causes of Current Political Instability: A Case of South Sudan." South Sudan Nation. February 2016. accessed 25 December 2018. <http://www.southsudannation.com/lack-of-accountability-and-causes-of-current-political-instability-a-case-of-south-sudan/>.
- McKenna, Amy, ed. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Chicago, IL: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 2019. Accessed 25 December 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gaafar-Mohamed-el-Nimeiri>.

- McKenzie, David. "Sudan president wins election, officials say." *Cable News Network*. 26 April 2010. Accessed 17 November 2018. <http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/Africa/04/26/sudan.election/index.html>.
- Mold, Francesca. "UNMISS announces extension of peacekeeping presence to new locations in South Sudan." United Nations Peacekeeping. 24 January 2018. Accessed 23 December 2018. <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/unmiss-announces-extension-of-peacekeeping-presence-to-new-locations-south-sudan>.
- Mores, Magali. "U4 Expert Answer: Overview of corruption and anti-corruption in South Sudan." U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre. 4 March 2013. Accessed 21 December 2018. <https://www.u4.no/publications/south-sudan-overview-of-corruption-and-anti-corruption.pdf>.
- Moschetti, Daniele. "A brief history of the civil war in South Sudan." Comboni Missionaries. 2018. Accessed 25 November 2018. <https://www.combonimissionaries.org/a-brief-history-of-the-civil-war-in-south-sudan/>.
- Mutiga, Murithi. "Kiir and Machar should be arrested and sent to exile to save South Sudan." South Sudan Nation. Accessed 25 December 2018. <http://www.southsudannation.com/kiir-and-machar-should-be-arrested-sent-to-exile-to-save-south-sudan/>.
- Ottaway, Marina, and Mai El-Sadany. "Sudan: From Conflict to Conflict." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 16 May 2016. Accessed 20 September 2018. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2012/05/16/sudan-from-conflict-to-conflict-pub-48140>.
- Oxford Committee for Famine Relief. *South Sudan Gender Analysis*. Oxford, England: Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, March 2017. Accessed 11 March 2019. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/rr-south-sudan-gender-analysis-060317-en.pdf>.
- Pinaud, Clémence. "Who's behind South Sudan's return to fighting?" African Arguments. 11 July 2016. Accessed 28 November 2018. <https://Africanarguments.org/2016/07/11/whos-behind-south-sudans-return-to-fighting/>.
- Prendergast, John. "The Paper Tiger in South Sudan: Threats without Consequences for Atrocities and Kleptocracy." The Enough Project. 24 May 2016. Accessed 24 October 2018. <https://enoughproject.org/reports/paper-tiger-south-sudan-threats-without-consequences-atrocities-and-kleptocracy>.
- Reid, Kathryn. "South Sudan conflict, hunger: Facts, FAQs, and how to help." World Vision. 13 February 2018. Accessed 19 October 2018. <https://www.worldvision.org/refugees-news-stories/south-sudan-refugee-crisis-facts>.

- Run, Peter. "Machar's return signals a significant stage in South Sudan's peace process." *The Conversation*. 8 November 2018. Accessed 16 February 2019. <https://theconversation.com/machars-return-signals-a-significant-stage-in-south-sudans-peace-process-106284>.
- Slav, Irina. "Sudan, South Sudan to Jointly Repair Oil Infrastructure." *Oil Price*. 8 June 2018. Accessed 5 November 2018. <https://oilprice.com/Latest-Energy-News/World-News/Sudan-South-Sudan-To-Jointly-Repair-Oil-Infrastructure.html>.
- Smith, Gayle E., and Susan E. Rice. *The Darfur Catastrophe*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute, 30 May 2004. Accessed 20 April 2019. <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/the-darfur-catastrophe/>.
- Smith, Paul. W. "Sustainment in the Army 2020: Using the Army's Sustainment Principles to Identify and Mitigate Risks Associated with Organizational Change." Master's thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2015.
- Sparks, Karen, ed., *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Chicago, IL: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 2019. Accessed 25 December 2015. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Garang-de-Mabior>.
- Sudd Institute. "South Sudan's Crisis: Its Drivers, Key Players, and Post-Conflict Prospects." 3 August 2014. Accessed 19 December 2018. https://www.suddinstitute.org/assets/Publications/572b7eb3cea73_SouthSudansCrisisItsDriversKeyPlayers_Full.pdf.
- Standard Digital News. "US calls for crackdown on South Sudan war money invested in Kenya." 14 June 2018. Accessed 17 February 2019. <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001284082/us-calls-for-crackdown-on-s-sudan-war-money-invested-in-kenya>.
- Tisdall, Simon. "South Sudan President Sacks Cabinet in Power Struggle." *The Guardian*. 24 July 2013. Accessed 17 November 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/24/south-sudan-salva-kiir-sacks-cabinet>.
- United Nations Children's Fund. *Annual Results Report 2016 Humanitarian Action*. New York: United Nations, 2016. Accessed 10 November 2018. https://www.unicef.org/publicpartnerships/files/2016arr_humanitarianaction.pdf.
- United Nations Mission in South Sudan. "Background." Accessed 23 December 2018. <https://unmiss.unmissions.org/background>.
- United Nations Security Council. *Report of the Secretary-General on South Sudan*. S/2014/158. New York: United Nations, 6 March 2014.

- Valavanis, Adam. "Another Hollow Peace Deal Signed in South Sudan." Council on Foreign Relations. 26 September 2018. Accessed 18 October 2018. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/another-hollow-peace-deal-signed-south-sudan>.
- Voice of America. "Warring Leaders Sign Peace Deal to Share Power." 5 August 2018. Accessed 15 February 2019. <https://www.voanews.com/a/south-sudan-s-warring-leaders-sign-peace-deal-to-share-power/4514628.html>.
- Vuni, Isaac. "Sudan's Kiir faces two contenders for the SPLM chairmanship." *Sudan Tribune*. 15 May 2008. Accessed 21 December 2018. <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article27153>.
- Water for South Sudan. "A brief history of modern Sudan and South Sudan." 2018. Accessed 17 November 2018. <https://www.waterforsouthsudan.org/brief-history-of-south-sudan/>.
- World Food Programme. "South Sudan: 9 Hunger Facts." 10 April 2014. Accessed 16 October 2018. <https://www.wfp.org/stories/south-sudan-9-hunger-facts>.
- World Heritage Encyclopedia. "Sudanese Nomadic Conflicts." Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing Press, 2018. Accessed 12 April 2019. http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/Sudanese_nomadic_conflicts.
- Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2009.
- Yowell, Brenna. "Ten Facts about the Ethnic Violence in South Sudan." The Borgen Project. 25 December 2016. Accessed 18 December 2018. <https://borgenproject.org/ethnic-violence-in-south-sudan/>.
- Zapata, Molly. "Sudan: Independence through Civil Wars, 1956-2005." 13 December 2011. The Enough Project. Accessed 17 November 2018. <https://enoughproject.org/blog/sudan-brief-history-1956>.