Intergovernmental Authority on Development and Conflict Resolution in South Sudan's Civil Conflict (2005-2016)

By

David Ghaddafi & Dr. Linnet Hamasi

Abstract

The administrative boundaries of South Sudan stem from the colonial period. Since the country gained sovereignty in 2011, there has been constant reshuffling of political systems and power relations causing among other, elite confusion, manipulation and conflict throughout the country. This study sought to examine the efforts of Intergovernmental organization of conflict management in South Sudan. Specifically, the study sought to examine the causes of conflict in South Sudan, evaluate the influence of IGAD as a third party in South Sudan conflict resolution process, and examine the challenges encountered by IGAD in South Sudan conflict resolution process and to establish structural mechanism that can enhance IGAD's Mediation process in South Sudan conflict. The study was anchored on the functionalist theory which considers a society as complex system whose parts work in unison to promote stability and solidarity. The study used both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected by use of interview schedule from eight-member state consulates domiciled in Kenya. Secondary data was obtained from journals and online sources. The collected data was analyzed qualitatively interpretive phenomenological analysis. The findings indicated that South Sudan conflict was caused by historical injustices which account to socio-cultural, economic and political. Ethnical division between Dinka and Nuer ethnical created social conflict which were associated with political leaders. Economic factors also increased the conflict interest between the two leaders. The main role of IGAD was to moderate by facilitating, structures, process of engagement and political guide for conflict reconciliation. IGAD have had history of shortfall based on disobedience from parties on cease-fire. South Sudan have a long history of violence and wars which make it hard to arrive at agreement. Continuous violence has been fueled by availability, funding and poor policies on weapon in South Sudan. However, IGAD have resiliently conducted peace talks to avoid small problem escalating to war. It has also networked with international community through imposing necessary sanction on human right violation as well as UN peacekeeping mission in reducing the impact of violence on civilians. The study recommended that IGAD should also network with other countries and non-governmental organization in rebuilding South Sudan to promote development. This will reduce war when economic and investment is done to empower the people of South Sudan.

Key Words: South Sudan, Conflict, IGAD, Kenya, Conflict Resolution

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Introduction

Many countries in the world are dominated by conflicts. In Syria peacekeepers from more than one hundred countries are entangled in the country's war that stated as a civil war but later got out of hand. This led to the killing of at least half a million people in a period of eight years (Pring, 2017). Mexico is managing its internal conflicts with drug lords yearning for territorial power and money. Afghanistan also has witnessed internal and external aggression for many years leading to loss of many lives and properties. It took the intervention of United States of America who sent over 9,000 solders to neutralize terror groups such as the Taliban. However, the country still remains as one of the worlds' major conflict Zone.

Since the invasion of Iraq in 2003 by the USA, the country has remained an armed conflict zone which has led to the death of up to one million people (Murithi, 2009). Like other countries in the west and Middle East, major conflicts are spread all over the African continent. Mali witnessed internal conflicts when Ibrahim Boubacar took over as the president. Al-Qaida linked terrorists took control of the north of the country resulting to fighting that claimed the lives of at least 4,000 people (Kipyegon, 2018).

Somalia has perhaps experienced the worst case of conflicts in the east African region. The country has witnessed armed conflicts caused by ethnicity and clannism since the 1990s. Hundreds of citizen fled to other countries after the president Siad Barre was overthrown. Equally Sudan has been for a long time riddled with conflicts spanning for over 100 years resulting to civil wars and change of regimes. Conflicts in Sudan were largely dominated by attempts by groups to marginalize each other using state power. Different regimes deliberately avoided to address exclusion of some section of the country that were underdeveloped.

Right from the independence of Sudan from the British colonial government in 1956, the government of Sudan was overly dominated by Northern Arabs and it entered into an armed conflict with South Sudanese rebels. The conflict lasted up to 2005 when a Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed. South Sudan attained independence in 2011 but a short two years later, the country was entangled in another civil war this time between factions within South Sudan. The conflict was resolved in 2020 after the involvement of IGAD in the peace negotiation process.

The efforts of IGAD to enhance security arrangements in the horn of Africa especially in South Sudan took place in the context of a wide international agreement that regional organizations should contribute to conflict management and maintenance of peace and security (Healy, 2009). The UN's Agenda for peace in 1992 set out the objective of securing peace and security in the post-cold war in 1945-1989. The agenda highlighted the role that regional organizations were to play in preventing conflict and peacemaking. The country expressed fresh collaborative relationship between the UN and regional bodies in management of regional crises that is now decisively established in international practice.

Unlike the approaches used by international actors in solving conflicts worldwide, IGAD pursued a mediation strategy in solving the country's internal conflicts. It is on this

basis that the study sought to examine the causes of conflict in South Sudan, the influence of IGAD as a third party, the challenges encountered by IGAD in the mediation process.

Statement of the Problem

The horn of Africa has for a very long time been affected by constant political conflicts as witnessed in South Sudan and Somalia. The need for diplomatic interventions from regional bodies like IGAD is therefore necessary in fostering peace and political stability in the member states. The main reason for forming IGAD in 1996 was to promote peace and political stability through creating a mechanism to prevent, manage and resolve internal and external conflicts among the member states through dialogue.

The member stated through the presidents or heads of state also tasked the IGAD secretariat to develop a detailed and comprehensive strategy to enhance peace and security. Despite, the resolution to promote peace among its member states, the IGAD member states have continuously experienced extensive conflicts. For instance, there was war in South Sudan in 1983-2005 which led to the death of at least 2,000,000 people.

Likewise, war erupted between Eretria and Ethiopia which an estimated 10,000 soldiers lost their lives. Further, internal conflict arose in Darfur in 2003 where people also lost their lives and further where insurgents and terrorist groups through the Lord's Resistance Army in Northern Uganda committed heinous atrocities to people. Several scholarly studies have examined the effectiveness of IGAD in spearheading the efforts to promote peace among its member states, however none of the studies have assessed the four variables that this study sought to examine. It is for this reason that this study sought to examine the efforts of intergovernmental authority on development in south Sudan's civil conflict.

Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study were to;

1. Examine the causes of conflict in South Sudan

2. Evaluate the role of IGAD as a third party in South Sudan conflict resolution process

3. Examine the challenges encountered by IGAD in South Sudan civil conflict resolution process

4. Establish structural mechanism that can enhance IGAD's Mediation process in South Sudan conflict

Review of Related Literature

This chapter comprises of the review of literature and the theoretical foundation upon which the study was anchored. Literature from previous scholarly work, conference papers, journals and books were comprehensively reviewed.

Causes of conflict in South Sudan

Leonardi and Santschi (2016) among other scholars are of the consensus that colonial intervention in the sub-Sahara region led to establishment of territories inhibited along ethnic lines, however it is not clear whether the colonial intervention contributed to the creation of ethnic identities. One of the principles of Organization of the Africa Unity (OAU) which was

established in 1963 was to respect the colonial boarders (*utipossidetis*). This principle assumed that borders between African states were clearly demarcated; however according to Asiwaju (2012), this is not the case. Some disputes such the ones which have continuously taken place in South Sudan were due to boarder disputes and ethnic boundaries.

A study by Justin and De Vries, (2019) assessing whether local boundaries acted as a source of conflict in South Sudan established that frequent alterations of political systems and changes in internal borders in the country resulted into confusions. Multiple changes in administrative boundaries and identities led to ethnic identity mobilization creating territorial tensions. The study revealed that the decision by the president to increase the number of states from 10 to 28 in 2015 led to manipulation of borders and identities resulting in ethnic based conflict and violence. The idea also created tension between different levels of government as the president did not respond to his critics' demands further fueling political contestation in the country.

An analysis of the South Sudan coup assessing whether it was a political rivalry that turned ethnic by Sandu (2014) established that political maneuvers, ethnicity and mistrust contributed greatly to the conflicts in South Sudan. The study specifically made reference to the positive discrimination by promoting into the army ranks people from one ethnic group, the Nuer, who make up over 50% of the total national defense force. This made SPLA officer corps very unhappy with the placing of former rebel leaders above them in rank hence fueling more conflicts between the army that ideally was supposed to enhance peace in the region.

Role of IGAD as a third party in conflict resolution process

When South Sudan collapsed into another civil war in December 2013, IGAD was considered as the right mediator to reconcile the warring functions. IGAD had an experience of more than a decade mediating between South Sudan and North Sudan before South Sudan's independence in 2011. IGAD had good understanding of internal issues in South Sudan (Fetsch, 2017). IGAD appointed former Ethiopian foreign minister Seyoum Mesfin, who was joined by mediators from Kenya, General Lazaro Sumbeiywo, and Sudan, General Mohammed al-Dabbi.

IGADs Heads of State were the overseers of the mediation process. The functions in dispute were at three levels; President Salva Kiir of South Sudan, and former Vice President Riek Machar at one level. The other level was made up of the leadership committee attended by the parties' chief mediators, Nhial Deng Nhial, Juba; Taban Deng Gai, SPLM/A-IO; and a former detainee member. The last level had the technical or thematic committees (Knolf, 2016).

The IGAD's Heads of States body agreed to prioritize cessation of hostilities through a Cessation of Hostilities (CoH) agreement between the conflicting parties in South Sudan. The Heads of States also agreed on a regional "Protection and Deterrence" force (PDF) to create conditions necessary for negotiations and to enforce the CoH. A CoH was signed in January 2014 (PelinQuinn & Wilkenfield, 2012). Due to the involvement of many stakeholders in the negotiation process, the start of the mediation process was slow as the parties took time to stake out their positions.

The IGAD parties negotiated on how to bring peace in the country for one and half years. During this period there were clear signs that the mediation process was not bearing any fruits. In March 2015 through Hailemarian Dessalegn, the prime minster of Ethiopia, IGAD declared that the mediation process had failed. In the same month, the SPLA-IO and the government of Sudan started their armed conflict again. This time the aggression was

more intense that the earlier one as the government was keen on reclaiming the lost territories.

Challenges Encountered by IGAD in Conflict Resolution Process in South Sudan

An examination of the achievements and setbacks of regional mediation by Back, (2016) indicated that the idea of using IGAD in the mediation efforts in Sudan, South Sudan and other interstate conflicts arose as a result of the interwoven sensation of advancing western isolation towards Africa and due to the ever increasing intra and interstate conflicts within the continent. IGAD's mediation process has been instrumental especially after it turned out that after the achievement South Sudan's independence had been overshadowed by internal discord which had escalated into a large scale civil war since 2012.

As observed by Lionel (1999), IGAD's intervention in management of conflicts in South Sudan was influenced by the interests and actions of secondary actors. IGAD's member states were not always united in addressing the issues in the country due to different geostrategic interests. For instance, Uganda maintained a keen interest in managing conflict in Sudan due to a spillover effect related to the containment of the LRA activities. On the other hand, Kenya had a large number of expatriate and refugee population from South Sudan and therefore it was committed to finding a solution for the conflict. However, the explosion of political violence witnessed after the heavily disputed general election in Kenya left the country to deal with its internal issues first, hindering the old going on negotiations.

Even though IGAD's mediation efforts had attracted a lot of regional and international pressures (from the AU), the process was largely affected by geostrategic interests especially from the western countries like United States of America. Particularly, the U.S congress passed a low barring trade in Sudan unless progress in conflict management had been achieved. However, other countries such as China, Malaysia and India continued to exploit resources from Sudan especially Oil from the Southern oil fields. This negatively affected the IGAD's mediation process.

According to De Vries and Schomerus, (2017) logistical and structural challenges affected IGADs ability to successfully conflict management. The inability of the organization to effectively work in the country due to the ongoing violence and confrontations between the various factions impacted the peace making process. The other challenge identified by the study was the planning process that went into establishing the initial IGAD secretariat which did not do justice to the complexity of the case that it had to address.

Structural mechanism that can enhance IGAD's Mediation process in South Sudan conflict

IGAD need to develop a mechanism of getting support from the larger international community, notably the UN, AU and the donor community for an effective mediation process. The multitude of security challenges witnessed in the horn of Africa and other parts of the world can only be addressed multilaterally (Justin & De Vries 2019). There should be continued support to IGAD to further develop and enhance its secretariat capacity and to ensure that it has a professionally trained staff to be able to provide mediation and negotiation support. This scan only be achieved through strategic partnerships with the civil societies and international community.

There is need for a more inclusive approach in an attempt at containing and managing the security challenges in the East African region. Understanding the factors behind the conflicts is important in establishing the genesis of the conflict and possible solutions to the

conflict. The parties in the mediation process should examine the root cause, complexities surrounding the conflict for a better outcome.

On resolving the conflicts in South Sudan, Kipyegon, (2018) established that IGAD had no overall power of making the combatants adhere fully to the resolutions made by the mediation process. Therefore, it is important that IGAD is accorded the mandate of using the East Africa Standby Force (EASF) to enforce the resolutions and agreements made.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

The study was anchored on functionalist theory. This theory was developed by an American psychologist William James in 1890 and later advanced by Joseph Justrow in 1901. Under this theory, a society is seen through a macro level dimension where broad social structures that shape the society's ethos are examined. The theory considers a society as complex system whose parts work in unison to promote stability and solidarity. Wolff and Durkheim, (1960) as cited by Tandi, (2019) postulates a society a system which made up of sub-systems that have to work together to achieve a certain objective. Each sub-system performs a vital role and it's dependent on the other parts too.

Loyal and Malesevic, (2020) believes that institutions, norms and social individual roles serve a big purpose and that they are indispensable of each other. They determine the long term survival of the society. It is therefore important to have agreements and orderliness in the society to prevent people from deviating from good behaviour which can negatively influence the society's stability. If one organ of the society fails to act appropriately it impacts the other organs which may bring societal challenges creating social problems and subsequently leading to a transformation in the society.

Functionalism theory is relevant in this study because it lays an emphasis on the need for social stability, peaceful co-existence and collectiveness among nations. Both international and regional organizations collaborate to solve challenges facing one of their members which is just like one of the sub-systems in a system. This organ or sub-system in a system affects the entire system either directly or indirectly because a system requires all the parts for it to work efficiently.

Research Methodology

Research Design

A research design is a process adopted by a researcher to examine the relationship between the variables under study Orodho (2003). It is a strategy adopted to observe changes or collect data regarding a particular phenomenon for interpretation. This study was qualitative and adopted a case study research design. The research design was considered ideal for the study because it provided the researcher with a platform to collect data.

Target Population

The target population for this study included IGAD delegates based in South Sudan, officers in the ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya, the Government of Sudan and South Sudan senior officers who are knowledgeable on the issue of the Sudan conflict, the officers from the IGAD liaison office, and NGOs who work on peace in SS. Also, university students from Sudan and South Sudan in Kenya were also included in the study. The target population comprised of one hundred and sixty (160 respondents, informed by Babie(2013) on target population computing. Table 3.1 below shows the target population of the study.

Table 3.1: Target Population

Category	Target Population	Sampling Strategy	Sample Size
Delegates in IGAD office (SS)	25	Purposive	3
NGOs and CBOs	50	Purposive	5
Students from SS	208	Purposive	21
Ministry of Foreign affairs	43	Purposive	4
IGAD Liaison office in Kenya	32	Purposive	3
Total	358		36

Source: Researcher, (2021)

Sampling Techniques and Sample Size
The sample size comprised of 36 respondents which comprised of 10% of the target population as supported by Mugenda & Mugenda (2007) who indicated that this was sufficient sample size for a qualitative study such as this one. The sample included delegates in the IGAD office of South Sudan, NGOs and CBOs working on peace in SS, University students in Kenya from SS, officers from the ministry of foreign affairs in Kenya and officers from the IGAD liaison office in Kenya. The sampling procedure of all the categories was by purposive and simple random sampling. Purposive l sampling approach   was used to ensure that a reasonable representative sample was picked for the groups that were knowledgeable of the SS conflict and the IGAD intervention. Simple random sampling was used to sample University students in two Kenyan Universities (Private and public). This allowed all the students a chance to participate in the study.

Data Collection Instruments
This study relied on both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected using in-depth interview Guides and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Secondary data was obtained from thematic journals, relevant books, newspapers, IGAD reports on the conflict and the ministry of foreign affairs reports. Reports from the United Nations and the African Union were also important sources in this study.

The study utilized in-depth interviews to collect data from delegates in SSIGAD office, the NGO and CBO representatives, Ministry of foreign affairs officials and officers from the IGAD liaison office in Kenya. Focus Group Discussion Guide was used to obtain data from University Students from SS. This instrument served the purpose since it limited the re-experience of trauma experience during the conflict in SS.

Secondary data was obtained from thematic journals, relevant books, newspapers, IGAD reports on the conflict and the ministry of foreign affairs reports. Reports from the United Nations and the African Union were also important sources in this study.

Data collection Procedure
After the approval of the appointments by the respondents, the researcher began to conduct face to face interviews starting from SS and then with respondents in Kenya. Due to the COVID19 protocols some of the respondents agreed to be interviewed on phone and this took the same time as the face to face one.

The interviews were organized to last 45 minutes but the respondents were free to stop at their convenience. The researcher conducted a total of 10 different interview sessions with the help of two research assistants. The FGD guide was used to collect data from SS students in Kenyan universities. The researcher carried out three FGDs with a total of 7 students per FGD. There were 2 FGDs for male students and 1 for female students.

Data analysis and Presentation

Data from the in-depth interviews and the FGDs was analyzed qualitatively using interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA). IPA was deemed suitable for this study because it is designed to generate information from the experiences of a person or subject in relation to a life event or situation. IPA was also ideal for the study because of the small sample size that was used. The data were further filtered using content analysis to obtain main themes from the IPA model. Qualitative data were also represented in percentages to examine the subject variables.

Ethical Considerations

The researcher ensured that all the ethical practices were adhered to throughout the stages of this study. All the necessary permits were obtained before carrying out the study. These are NACOSTI, permit from the University and permit from ministry of education. The respondents were informed of their voluntary participation, where their consent was requested before commencing with the research. The respondents were also informed about the purpose of this study as well as the role of the study for academic purpose. They were further assured that the information collected will be treated with utmost confidentiality. The information which was collected were made anonymous, where codes were used in presenting the data collected in the study. The interview took one hour at most where the respondents were also given freedom of opting out of the study at will.

Presentation and Discussion of the Study Findings
Demographic information of the respondents

The following demographic characteristics were important for this study: gender, occupation and educational level. Gender was important since it showed how the SS conflict has affected the different genders and how they are responding to it. This characteristic also clarified why there were more male university students than female ones. The occupation was important as an indicator of the social -economic situation in the conflicted environment of SS. Education level was an important marker of how the efforts of IGAD to resolve the conflict were being received and perceived by the respondents.

All the respondents in this study were well vast with the SS conflict and the intervention by IGAD. Table 4.1 below is a summary of the respondents' demographic information.

Table 4.1: Demographic characteristics of Respondents

Demographic	Frequency(f)	Percent (%)
Gender		
Male	19	54
Female	16	46
Education Level		
University	27	75
Diploma	5	13
Form Four	4	11
Primary	None	None
Occupation		
Not employed	30	83
Employed	6	16
Age		
Below 35 Years	19	54
36-45 Years	6	16
46 and above	11	4

Source: Researcher (2020)

From Table 4.1 above it is clear that slightly more men participated in the study than women. However the difference is not so big and this is a good indicator of gender balance in this study. The study found out that most of the university students from SS were of male gender. This could be in line with what Deng (1995) said that the conflict had displaced most women and girls from their spaces.

Regarding the education level and the occupation the study found out that most of the participants were not employed although they had University and Diploma level education. Healy (2009) explained that when an environment is conflicted it becomes difficult for investors to be attracted and as a result the citizens end up lacking an employment as an economic mainstay.

Causes of Conflict in South Sudan

The first objective which interrogated the causes of conflict in South Sudan assisted in painting the picture about the genesis of the conflict. The study used responses from different categories of respondents to map the causes. This assisted in understanding the causes, impact and the main role of IGAD as a mediator in conflict resolution process.

From the respondent M1 of the IGAD liaison office it was noted that, South Sudan conflict is based on historical injustices socio-cultural, economic and political. According to the findings from interview some of the socio-cultural problems include religion fanaticism, racism and ethnicity. Due to different religion inclination and ideologist created a rift between different groups which emanate as far as centuries ago. This was combined with racism and tribalism where citizens were divided into different tribes and races. These ideologies created a rift along the ethnic, race and religion. On the above, a male respondent M2. Aged 45 years was quoted saying;

> The conflict of South Sudan can be traced to our history where South Sudan has been marginalized from Turco-Egyptians movement from North to South

> in 1870s. This was also enhanced by post independent regimes that favored the North over South Sudan. Socio-cultural injustices lead the South Sudan forming rebels which lead to conflict between the government and SPLM rebel groups. IGAD played the first mediation role leading to formation of South Sudan. Further, conflict in South Sudan were caused by power sharing between Machar and Kiir where the two parties resulted into power sharing through transitional government of national unity. The war has been on an off since a remember Sudan in my early age which have led war camps in even in Kenya Bounder (Respondent M1, aged 45 years)

According to the above quote it seems that the causes of conflict in South Sudan were along civil war that affected both the old Sudan and the newly formed South Sudan. The study established that the art of war has been passed through generations resulting to civilian accessing arsenals weapon as a means of self-defense. According to the study this made it difficult to resolve conflict amongst the tribes in the region. Due to prolong war, it has also made generations to train their young ones how to use weapons and this has made war to remain the act of defending the ethnic groups and next generation in any conflict.

A respondent from the female FGD indicated that the generational civils contributed 25% of the causes of civil war and conflict in South Sudan. The study findings seem to concur with Asiwaju (2012) who pointed out those ethnic boundaries and disputes have continuously and generationally created war in South Sudan.

The respondent said;

> I was born in the conflict; I have been raised in the same….What else do I know other than conflict. My mother died in the conflict and this means my brothers and father will never stop fighting to avenge her death. I am in Kenya here trying to get a University degree but when I go back believe me you I will fight for the rights of my people (Respondent F13).

From the above quote it shows that the SS conflict is estranged and to in order to solve it many factors must be put in place to support IGAD. The simmering tensions seem to be emanating from the historical injustices made over centuries by the Government mostly in the form of marginalizing the southern part of Sudan. The subsequent post independent injustices to the communities have increased the conflict leading to the birth of SPLM rebels. According to the study conflict in SS is like an art that is inculcated into the community from generation to generation... Most of the historical injustices are fights and tensions among ethnic groups.

On the same objective respondents from NGOs working on peace in SS attributed the conflict to political factors. Most of the respondents narrated that the war started from the two parties of Machar and Kiir sides who wanted to clinch on power. The Machar- Kiir complex was deeply rooted in the Dinka –Nuer ethnic differences. This view was supported by the respondents from the IGAD offices in SS who said that before the independence of South Sudan in 2011, the greater Sudan had been ailing from political inequality between the North and South. One of the male diplomat from the IGAD office aged 51 years said;

> For a long time, the country had conflicts because of political injustice. The North had controlled the government for long time which resulted latter to the breakup between the North and South. However, the same problems were

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> also carried down to the South Sudan. This has led to political intolerance between the political groups. The ability to access arsenal of war and weapons from political warlord and international funded. This have led to political intolerance in the region (Respondent R2)

From the above quote the study tends to indicate that the political conflict in SS goes down to one problem of clinching to power based on ethnic group. According to IGAD (2014) the political intolerance in South Sudan with leaders fighting for power in not a new thing in African Countries. However, IGAD played a major role in diffusing the conflict in Sudan region old regime as well as the South Sudan civil war.

The study found out that economic problems had also been associated with the conflict in South Sudan besides parties fighting for political representation. This translated to economic benefit to different stakeholders. A male respondent from the Ministry of Foreign affairs aged 39 years said;

> In any conflict of interest, there is economic conflict based on limited resource. South Sudan is endowed with minerals, where oil is the main source of foreign exchange. Due to this most political interest wants to control the existing oil which implies that foreign and local interest for more wealth increase the conflict. This subsequently led to civil war among different political inclination (Respondent R1).

The quote above shows that despite few responses on economic conflict, it remains that South Sudan beside been endowed with Oil, there is high poverty and hunger issues which have rob lives besides the civil war. Due to low resource in the country creating conflict of interest resulting to war. As much as political factors are to blame, resource available in South Sudan is also limited to some extent. Fighting for same resources as well as redistribution of the same resulted to a conflict of interest among different political inclinations. Sandu (2014) pointed the imbalance in employment of among defense forces where Nuer ethnic group represented 50% of total defense force.

Finally, the last theme indicated that socio-cultural factors were the cause of the war as attributed by 75% of the responds. Where all the respondents who supported socio-cultural reasons pointed out ethic based causes of the war. The diplomats revealed that Civil wars were triggered by ethic grouping in South Sudan aligned to President Salvar Kiir and his Vice President Machar. This was after Machar's removal as vice president, dispute erupted between presidential guard soldiers from the Dinka and Nuer ethnic group belong to Kiir and Machar respectively. These lead to civil war after that spread to unity, Upper Nile and Jonglei states. According to Ethiopian male diploma aged 60 years;

> The conflict was triggered by political fights between president Kiir and vice president Machar. This led to removal of Dr. Machar as vice president. The conflict erupted to the soldiers where Dinka ethnic group were aligned to Kiir and Nuer ethnic group supported Dr. Machar. Civilians were targeted based on ethnic lines which resulted to civic war, looting, destruction of property, sexual violence and rapes.

The above response highlighted two main tribes that is Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups who have fought based on political standoff between Kiir and Machar groups respectively. These

have led to distrust between the ethnic groups as well as conflict that would go for generations if not solved. The ethnic conflict also leads to social evil that robs women of their dignity, loss of property and violence that killed many from both ethnic groups. Justin and De Vries (2019) concurred that ethnic identity mobilization has been used in South Sudan as means to indicate political stands. Politicians have used ethical difference to solve internal boarder conflict to fuel political contestation in the county. Similarly, Sandu (2014) added that ethnicity in reference to positive discrimination in employment of one ethnic group also affect the results to ethnic conflict. In this case, Nuer ethnic group contributed 50% of total national defense force resulting into conflict of interest.

In conclusion the study findings on the causes of conflict in SS tend to point at historical injustices which were characterized by religion fanaticism, racism and ethnicity. The civil war in the Greater Sudan infiltrated in SS and became a way of life. To this effect the conflict became like an art that was inculcated from generation to generation. The ethnic tension between the Nuer and the Dinka has been a cause of conflict in SS for a long time now. Lastly the study findings showed that socio-economic problems like competition for scarce resources were also a factor that led to the SS conflict.

Role of IGAD as a Third Party in South Sudan Conflict Resolution Process

On the second objective of the role of IGAD in the SS conflict, the study findings showed that IGAD's role was to monitor the peace talks between the government, opposition group and armed faction through AU High-Level Implementation Panel in Sudan. IGAD provided the conducive environment for both the government and the armed groups in Darfur to hold talks. IGAD provided the political opposition and government with a platform for National Dialogue. This was corroborated by a response by male Djibouti diplomat age 44 years;

> IGAD has played an important role as mediator in both the large Sudan and the newly formed South Sudan. IGAD involvement brought to an end of conflicts between Sudan government and South Sudan rebels. This led to referendum for self-determination of South Sudan as republic. IGAD also ended the civil war through formation of transitional government of national unity that enables both parties share power. The member state provided infrastructure where meeting was done, Machakos in Kenya and other within Uganda to resolve the civil conflict (Respondent M4).

According to the above response the main role of IGAD was to facilitate the meeting of the government and the opposition leaders and provide a humble ground for negotiation. The study indicated that this was an important role of IGAD where the leaders could have peaceful negotiation and it reduced tension among the groups. IGAD has continually remained neutral in all the negotiation despite the two parties pointing out the issue of favoritism by the mediators. However, the IGAD members have tried to create neutral ground while assisting South Sudan in hosting the delegate and leaders from both end parties. The Machakos Agreement is an example of how Kenya facilitated agreement that were held in Machakos, other countries within IGAD member state have hosted the South Sudan leaders and delegates for defusing civil war.

From interviews with the NGO representatives it was found that in all the negotiations IGAD was impartial and gave all the parties room for negotiation. In the mediation process not all the individual party needs were met but the parties had to sacrifice for the common good. The respondents indicated that the mediation process by IGAD assisted in reducing deaths and

coming with amicable solution that benefited both parties. Hence, IGAD acted as mediator for providing infrastructure, structures, process of engagement and political guidance in the process of searching for mutual peace. According to a male respondent from the NGO aged 41 years old delegate;

> We have assisted the negotiation through facilitation but also remaining impartial to both groups. Despite, the claims by different groups that were sideling the others. In all our negotiation conducted was on a neutral ground while conducting the negotiation to give room for each party to table their grievance. The length of negotiation has always been affected by intolerance in parties, hard standing and demands. But with time we arrive at a win-win solution for both teams where they must both sacrifice (Respondent N2).

The above quote is similar to findings by PelinQuinn and Wilkenfield (2012) who revealed that there was Cessation of Hostilities (CoH) Agreement between conflicting parties in South Sudan which assisted in diffusing the violence. The parties also agreed that on development of a protection and deterrence force that would assist in negotiation and enforcement of CoH.

The respondents mentioned that IGAD mediation process was supported by UN, AU and international community which include China, EU, USA, UK and Norway. The international envoy assisted in peace keeping and putting international pressure for the peace agreement According to the response from the male Ethiopian 47 years' delegate;

> IGAD has been able to achieve the mediation process with help from the international community which include China, European Union, and United State of America, United Kingdom and Norway. The compromise peace agreement was achieved through international pressure for peace based on over half million people who were lost and other displaced by the war (Respondent M1).

Based on the above respondent and others from the FGD, besides IGAD other parties like China, European Union, and United State of America, United Kingdom and Norway have been assisting through passing sanctions. Some of the sanctions included cutting international ties, legal actions due to rape, death and loss of properties, cutting aid provided to the countries and burning any export from South Sudan. Such pressure has been able to defuse violence and ceasefire between the two groups. Knolf (2016) found out that IGAD with help of UN threatened sanction assisted in ensuring cessation of hostility in the Country. The AU, EU, UN, China and Norway were part of the team that assisted in enforcing the set sanctions.

According to the study findings, IGAD provided mediation solution through facilitating the negotiation between the conflicting parties. United Nations Mission in South Sudan were responsible in provision of humanitarian help to South Sudan. According to a male South Sudan diplomat of age 51 years';

> The United Nations Mission in South Sudan were responsible for ensuring peace with help of humanitarian groups to reduce the impact of civil war. IGAD were responsible for setting appropriate process and procedures, facilities and infrastructure for negotiation and conflict resolution. International sanctions from international community assisted in accelerating the negotiation process mediated by IGAD (Respondent M3).

The above quote revealed that the humanitarian groups have assisted with collaboration with IGAD member state in provision of food and medical, refugees' camp and other humanitarian aids. Hence IGAD have liaised with international community to ensure that South Sudan achieve peace as well as improve their economic, social and political development. IGAD states have been able to do this with the aid of international community.

In conclusion on the role of IGAD in the SS conflict, the study findings showed that IGAD provided a conducive environment for talks in Darfur. IGAD facilitated the meeting and provided a ground for negotiation. The findings pointed out that IGAD had provided a neutral ground while assisting SS in hosting delegates and leaders. IGAD also mediated the conflict by providing infrastructure, structures, process of engagement and political guidance. The findings further showed that the mediation by IGAD was supported by AU, EU, USA, UK and Norway.

Challenges Encountered by IGAD in South Sudan Conflict Resolution Process

On the third objective, the findings showed that IGAD encountered challenges in understanding South Sudan historic decade of war and changing the landscape for peace resolutions. According to the study the conflict in Sudan had a long history form Turco-Egyptians sovereignty movement from North to South to 1870s. The conflict according to the study findings was further demonstrated by marginalization of South Sudan by North Sudan in post independent regimes to SPLM military and government civil wars.

There was evidence that beside historical landscape of conflict in South Sudan which was attributed to by most of the respondents, the two parties were hardliners and disobedient, they disagreed to cease-fire negotiation which resulted to increase of causalities. Violence continued in South Sudan leading to deployment of UN mission in republic of South Sudan. According to the response from a male Kenyan age 45 years;

> IGAD have tirelessly participated in numerous negotiation talks which was affected by deviant of agreement to cease-fire. However, with time peace was achieved with assistance of UN mission in the Republic of South Sudan. IGAD were able to strike a power sharing deal that allowed transitional government between Kiir and Dr. Machar political divide (Respondent S6).

The above quote tends to show that due to intolerance from the two parties, the ceasefire took intervention of UN peace mission and international community. This affected severally the negotiation between the two parties. Knolf (2016) addressed the issue of introduction of sanction that reduced and eliminated latter the fight that killed, displaced and led to destruction among other social injustices. This was also presided with hard lines in negotiation which made IGAD to hold several talks in order to come with solution that will ensure win-win situation. According to the current finding the power sharing deal was appropriate to ensure that both parties become winners.

Respondents in an FGD indicated that continuous violence was also attributed to availability of weapons. According to the study findings the funding of political groups and availability of illegal weapon also increased the chance of violence. South Sudan coming from numerous long wars had resulted to acquisition of weapon arsenal for protection and war. The respondents indicated that this was the reason why it was difficult to bring peace where civilians knew how to use the weapon. Respondents from a male South Sudan diplomat aged 51 years;

> The South Sudanese have lived in war and most of the children have learned the art of war. With majority of the citizen owning weapons and trained to use, war can easily erupt. Other interest from warlords and international interference has also escalated the war. However, the UN peace mission in South Sudan has assisted in bringing change to South Sudan (Respondent N4).

The above quote indicated that access to weapon arsenal was a major challenge with young men been recruited to SPLA as well as long term civil war between the ethnic divide. This made them easy to go into war mainly because of boundary issues as well as retaliation between the ethnic lines. According to Back (2016) IGAD was appropriate candidate with understanding of intra and interstate conflicts within Africa. However, the conflict in South Sudan had been there for generation. Hence IGAD needed time to understand the war landscape and come with necessary process to ensure that the civil war has been defused. De Vries and Schomerus (2017) added that there was need for IGAD to learn on conflict management, despite logistical and structural challenges.

The study further showed that the political environment of IGAD members also affected the mediation process. Kenya and Uganda were affected by the conflict in South Sudan. These represent 31.25% of the respondents who pointed out the political environment of IGAD state members. Kenya had increased refugees that came for refuge while Uganda had problems with risk LRA groups on their Northern part of the Country. According to a male University Student aged 27years;

> Our country was one of the nations that were affected by the civil wars. Where the LRA movement had affected the Northern part of our country which required our army to contain the atrocity done to our nations. Kenya was also affected due to insurgent of refugees flowing to Kakuma Camps. Despite the challenges affecting the IGAD member states. The two conflicting communities used this as conflict of interest in the negations (Respondent G1).

From the above quote we could deduce that the two parties in the negotiation used different excuses as means of stalling the negotiation with issue of favoritism as well as conflict of interests. With this regard, Kenya having refugees' camps while Uganda sending soldiers to defend their northern part from infiltration of LRA activities. Loinel (1999) added that Uganda were keen in managing conflict in South Sudan as result of LRA activities in their northern side.

The other challenge faced by IGAD has been scarcity of financial resources, which contributed to the drawback in the Sudan peace process. Some of the meetings would be postponed and reconvened later, which slowed the momentum of the peace talks.

More so, IGAD lacks a standing mediation team, which can always be able to play an oversight role and mitigate conflicts by engagement of the early warning systems as opposed to trying to solve a conflict that has already escalated.

In conclusion, the study findings on the challenges faced by IGAD in the SS peace process show that the long history of the SS conflict made it difficult for IGAD to resolve. The two party hardliners had complicated the conflict by injecting ethnicity in the conflict. The deployment of the UN mission in SS has complicated the conflict even further by reducing the direct role of IGAD. The other challenge is the availability and the accessibility of the weapons making the environment too hostile for peace talks. The study findings

pointed out that the scarce resources and the lack of standing in mediation team by IGAD were also among the challenges.

Structural Mechanism to Enhance IGAD's Mediation Process
On the last objective the findings of the study indicated that IGAD with help of international community had to use several mechanisms to enhance the mediation process. The international community gave some international sanction for the South Sudanese government which accelerated the negotiation between the two parties. According to the respondent male respondent from the ministry of foreign affairs aged 57 years;

> European Union to South Sudan People's Defense Forces general as well as international sanction based on violations of human rights. The intervention by UN peacekeeping mission through development of large-scale camp for protection of civilians affected by the violence and increase of internal pressure have enabled IGAD to call for numerous negotiation in the mediation process (Respondent F3)

From the above direct quote it was found that IGAD had called for numerous peace talks with resilience approach with reference to numerous peace talks. The mediation process has assisted South Sudan gain peace with assistant with UN peacekeeping mission. Justin and De Vries (2019) contended that the mediation process needed intervention from UN, AU and donor community so as to address the existing conflict as well as humanitarian support to IGAD.

IGAD also utilized existing member's resource to facilitate meetings, provided refugee camps, provide delegates as well as knowledge to the groups. The member state consisted of several state representatives. According to a male delegate aged 49 years form the IGAD liaison office;

> We are comprised of Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti and South Sudan member states. Where each country provided delegates who starred the meetings while the South Sudan presented by the two parties. We have held several meeting within the member state representative representing the negotiation team (Respondent L2).

From the above voice we can say that the eight-member state delegation either formed the technical committees as well as chief mediators' team to ensure that there is right and neutral teams that can handle the negotiations. The structure assisted the teams achieve their goals the technical committees were set to handle issues separately to ensure that amicable agreement is achieved. Abu-Barde (2011) added that the leadership committee comprises of chief mediators, the dispute parties and the technical committees to assist in ensuring the teams are facilitated.

The study findings on structural mechanism put in place by IGAD showed that IGAD depended on the international community support. IGAD called for numerous meetings with a resilience approach. It also utilized resources from member states for meetings, refugee camps, delegates and dissemination of knowledge and information.

Summary of the Findings

The study sought to answer four research questions; that is what were the causes of conflict in South Sudan, what was the role of IGAD as a third party in South Sudan conflict resolution process, what are the challenges encountered by IGAD in South Sudan conflict resolution process and what were the structural mechanism that could enhance IGAD's Mediation process in South Sudan conflict.

On objective one which was on the causes of the conflict in SS the study established that the main causes of conflicts in South Sudan are deeply rooted in the history of the country. This is in addition to religious fanaticism, political intolerance, racism and economic discrimination of the people of South Sudan. Therefore, the factors causing conflicts in South Sudan can be summarized as political factors, economic factors and marginalization through religious lines, majorly contributed by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement.

On objective two which was on the role of IGAD in the SS conflict the study found out that IGAD played a major role as a third party in South Sudan conflict resolution process. The study revealed that IGAD had intensified the use of mediation process in the conflict resolution process. It is through IGAD's involvement that brought to the end the conflict that was there between the government of Sudan and South Sudan Labels. IGAD's first face of mediation process in the country took nine months that is from January to September 1994. Before the negotiation process started, the SPLM had presented a list of issues to be agreed on during the exercise. Some of these issues include; interim arrangement of transition and allowing humanitarian aid in the country through a ceasefire and self-determination of the country done through a referendum. The government of Sudan was ready to negotiate on all the matters raised but was hesitant of the self-determination issue.

Phase two of the negotiation process took place between 1997 and 2005. The Government of Sudan was hesitant in participating in the process but was forced by pressure from the international community. At this time the international community had started seeing the predicament and plight of the people in South Sudan. They had also realized that the conflict in the country was propagated by the North. The government of Sudan started incurring heavy losses in the battle field as a result of the strengthened SPLM' rebel capability from international assistance leading to an agreement of South Sudan's self – determination.

The next phase of the negotiation processes lasted for three years (May, 2002 – January -2005). During this phase, the main born of contention was either Sudan was to remain as a united nation or Self-determination of South Sudan through a Referendum. These issues were discussed in a round of talks that were held in Machakos, Kenya. The talks led to signing of an agreement "Machakos Protocol" on July, 2002. Later a comprehensive peace agreement that led to a referendum for South Sudan was signed on the 9th of January 2005. This brought to an end a civil war that had lasted for 20 years. South Sudan was finally declared an independent country through a referendum that was conducted in July 2011.

Lastly, when the country again went back to another Civil war, IGAD was considered as the right mediator having successfully mediated the past conflicts. Through sanctions from the international community the parties to the conflict (Macharr and Kiir) signed power sharing agreement bringing peace back to the country. The power sharing agreement helped Machar to return back to the country and subsequently formed the transitional government of national unity.

On the third objective which was on the challenges that faced IGAD during the mediation process. First of all, IGAD was trying to mediate over a conflict that his history could be traced back to a whole century. For instance, marginalization of South Sudan which

was the main cause of the conflict started in 1870s Turco-Egyptian sovereignty moved from North to the South. This was further aggravated by the Egyptians with the help of Britain to colonize Sudan and all other post independent Sudan regimes continued with South Sudan marginalization policy.

Another challenge that IGAD faced during the mediation process was power plays between authorities in Khartoum and the rebels. Differences between this two parties played out during IGAD all the mediation phases which made it difficult to reach mutual agreement or agreeable positions. In all the negotiation phases, the Government of Sudan had a dominant position especially in the military over the SPLM. This dominant position made the government of Sudan not to take the mediation process seriously and thus frustrated the mediation process.

The other recognizable challenge that IGAD faced in the mediation process was criticism of the nature of their mediation process. In most cases during the mediation process, mediators were often criticized by the participants' of the conflict of interest. Sometimes the mediators were often criticized for being influenced by some parties to take different directions and not being in control of the process.

On the fourth objective which was on the structural mechanisms put in place by IGAD the study found out that IGAD have conducted several mediations to ensure that violence is diffused before escalating. IGAD with cooperation of international community have been able to use sanctions to bring the two fighting parties to negotiate for peace. Such sanctions are associated with violation of human rights. IGAD have also cooperated with the UN peacekeeping mission to assist in supporting civilians affected by the civic war.

Conclusions of the study

The study concluded that the conflict arose due to long term continuous civil war that has run for generations. These are associated with socio-economic injustices, political and ethnical conflict. Due to little resources the community has been fighting for boundaries, jobs and political representation based on ethic divides.

On the role of IGAD as third party the study concluded that IGAD played the role of facilitation. IGAD provided a platform for meeting, delegate to provide guidance and assisted in collaboration with other international and donor community to provide humanitarian aid. IGAD also assisted the Sudan in coming with agreement that would create a cease-fire where there was a win-win situation. The study findings further concluded that the member state of IGAD provided security as well as refugee camps where possible to ensure that peace is achieves.

Regarding the challenges faced by IGAD, the study concluded that IGAD at first had issues in understanding the conflict environment of South Sudan. The access of weapons arsenal by the civilian had negatively affected peace leading to war. IGAD's member states conflict of interest also led to challenges in reaching amicable solution on the conflicts IGAD consist of eight-member state which includes South Sudan, Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, Djibouti, Uganda, Eritrea and Ethiopia. Each member state provided delegates to represent chief mediators and technical committee that assisted in coming with procedures. The negotiation team comprised of the two parties with representative. IGAD also networked with UN peace mission group and international community. The international community comprised of China, UK, USA and Norway who have assisted in both donations as well as putting sanction to the two parties.

Recommendations of the study

The study recommended that there is need for IGAD to increase the networking with other countries to enhance economic development. Economic development will enhance nation performance by reducing inflation developed by civil war. The economic approach will assist to solve existing political conflict associated with economic factors. In order to ensure there is no ethnic conflict, South Sudanese should learn from the post civic war in Rwanda genocide where it has enhanced their economic development.

The study also recommended that IGAD should ensure that the international community and neighboring countries come together to solve the problem. Through continuous international diplomacy and networking it will ensure that there is collective conflict resolution.

From the study findings it was recommended that IGAD should also consider inclusivity in solving the conflict where knowledge should be acquired from civilians. The talks will ensure that all parties are involved in conflict resolution. To ensure mediation process is done efficiently the mediator should also diffuse sign of conflict before resulting to civil war.

Suggestions for Further Studies

1. Further study should be carried out to examine the reasons why IGAD failed to resolve the conflict in Somalia.
2. Further study should be carried out to establish mechanism that could enhance IGAD's conflict resolution in Somalia.

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