UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

RESOURCE BASED CONFLICT IN AFRICA: A CASE OF OIL IN SOUTH SUDAN

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2018

DECLARATION

Declaration by the Student

I, the undersigned, declare that this research project is my original work and that it has not

been presented in any university or institution for academic purposes.

Signature…………………………   Date…………………………….

David Ngon Kueth Ruei

R52/75244/2014

Declaration by the Supervisor

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the

University supervisor.

Signature…………………………   Date…………………………….

Prof Peter Kagwanja

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family, relatives and colleages for their prayer and support

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

"Natural resources such as oil are the main sources of revenue to the countries in which they are located and at the same time as the root causes of conflict if not properly managed. As such research on resource based conflict in Africa is vital. This is particularly so since oil continues to generate new conflicts in the continent every now and then. The main objective of this study is to examine the reasons why the present of the natural resources such as oil has been seen as the main drivers of violent conflict to some African oil producing Countries, and to explore the role and effort of political elites to address the oil-based conflict in South Sudan. The specific objectives are to: examine the root causes of resources- based- conflict in Africa; investigate the connection between oil production and conflict in South Sudan; examine the role of the political elites in the oil-based -conflict in South Sudan and; analyze the various efforts to address the oil-based conflict in South Sudan. The two hypotheses guiding the study are: there is a relationship between oil production and conflicts in South Sudan and; there is a relationship between the influence of political elites and oil-based conflicts in South Sudan. This study is based on the resource curse theory and shall adopt mixed research survey design. It focuses on 15 main oil exploration companies with headquarters in Juba. Data will be collected from managerial level employees of these companies, as such, 2 managers per company will be targeted. This makes a total of 30 managers. In addition, data shall also be collected from employees of the ministry of petroleum and mining of the South Sudan national government. In this regard, 10 employees of the ministry shall be targeted. As such, the total respondents shall be 40 persons purposively sampled.. In addition secondary data on oil-base conflicts from former studies shall also be systematically reviewed. This shall include data from Nigeria, Angola and South Sudan among others countries. In this regard, only studies undertaken in the last five years (2013 to 2018) shall be considered. Data generated by the questionnaire will be analyzed using both descriptive statistics. Data from the open ended questions will be analyzed thematically. This study will be organized into six chapters. Chapter one provides the Introduction and background to the study. Chapter two, examine the root causes of resources-based- conflict in Africa; Chapter three investigate the connection between oil production and conflict in South Sudan; chapter four examine the role of the political elites in the oil-based -conflict in South Sudan while chapter five shall analyze the various efforts to address the oil-based conflict in South Sudan. Lastly, chapter six will present the Summary, Conclusion and the recommendations."

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

"This chapter presents the background to the study, the problem statement, justification of the study ,the objectives and the questions of the research, furthermore, the chapter reviews the available literature on the resource- based- conflict in African oil-producing Countries with more emphasis in Southern Sudan, Moreover, the chapter includes the scope and limitation of the study as well as the summary of literature gaps, finally, the chapter presents the theoretical framework, hypothesis, the methodology of the research as well as research design, data collection techniques, data analysis and lastly the bibliography."

1.1 Background to the Study

Africa constitutes of 54 countries and is richly endowed with natural resources: However, some scholars have indicated that these resources have been more of a curse than a blessing because they are believed to the cause of many conflicts in the continent, a concept known as " resource curse" or the "Dutch Disease."[1] More often than not, these conflicts have been blamed on African leaders. The African leadership has so far demonstrated lack of vision and commitment to building and create the critical capacity and the requisite human capital that would be used to transform the enormous African resources into different products that would add value to the process of economic development and structural transformation of the African economics[2]. In most cases, the conflict between the government and opposing groups over the control of such resource has been the major cause of conflicts.[3]

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[1] Lujala, P. (2010): The spoils of nature: Armed civil conflict and rebel access to natural resources, *Journal of Peace Research. Vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 15–28.*
[2] Samuel Agonda Ochola (2007) Leadership and Economic Crisis in Africa: Published and printed by Kenya Literature Bureau, www.kenyaliteratuebureau.com   pp 33-75
[3] Ibid.

The discovery of immense oil resources in Africa brought a new curse into the continent as post-independent African states content with the control and distribution of immense oil and gas resources. In African history, the oil discoveries occurred during the colonial period when African indigenous people had no idea and or, capacity to extract it.[4] This left the extraction and marketing of oil resources in the hands of foreign-dominated multinationals such as the "Anglo-Dutch Shell, Italian Agip, American Chevron, French Elf and so on[5]." This came with conflicts since of unanticipated scale although oil exploration has been identified as the source of many conflicts in the world.

It is worth noting that although conflicts are unavoidable in the access, exploration, exploitation and management of natural resources, the situation is aggravated by political patronage in oil exploration activities.[6] As already stipulated, oil exploration is also accompanied by the resource curse particularly in low and medium-income countries. As much as this "resource curse" literature theorizes that "the negative impact of the exploitation of oil resource is felt after the actual oil production, there is evidence that even in the initial stages of oil exploration there are conflicts that arise." According to Bamberger and Skovsted contradictory modes of governance and overlapping territorial claims are the major contributory factors to conflicts in oil exploration locations.[7]

Since conflicts have impact on development, it is in the interest of the government to ensure that there is stability in the country. In this light, it is important to undertake studies that investigate the nexus between oil and conflicts in Africa, seeing that failure to understand these

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Douglas A. Yates (2012), The Scramble for African Oil, Oppression, Corruption and War for Control of Africa's Natural Resources, Pluto press www.plutobooks.com

[6] Wesonga, W. (2017). *Energy Resources and Conflict management. A case study of the Eastern African Region.* Unpublished Master's Thesis. University of Nairobi.

[7] Bamberger, J., & Skovsted, K. (2016). Concessions and Conflicts: Mapping Oil Exploration in Somalia and Ethiopia. *Danish Institute for International Studies. Working papers.* Denmark.

conflicts could thwart development efforts in any country."The government's responsibility in managing natural resources extends to providing for the management of conflicts between resource exploiting companies and the communities inhabiting the region where the resource is found. This is however challenged by the emergency of civil war such as in the case of South Sudan where the credibility of the government is challenged. In this accord, Muigua in his study on the resolution of environmental conflicts in Kenya, establishes that most African nations have no legal provisions for managing disputes between contractors and communities.[8] This makes it hard to mitigate oil disputes in the continent as shown in the South Sudanese case which is the focus of this current study."

"Since the discovery of oil in South Sudan in 1970s conflict has remained in the rise, obviously this was due to disagreement between the north and the south. It was evident in 1974 after the American Oil Company, Chevron was granted a concession for onshore oil exploration in Sudan. When Chevron later discovered the first oil source in the Southern region North of Bentiu, today called Unity, the government of Sudan decided to go ahead with oil exploration in south regions[9]. Consequently, due to suspicious and grievances the Southerners had toward Northerners who dominated the central government since independent in 1956, majority of southerners who were serving in the government and those outside became more aggressive and stopped the oil exploration in 1984. This resulted in a massive displacement and loss of lives among the Southern pastoralists who had tried to resist. Ever since, this conflict sparked more rebellions across the country among intellectuals in the south.[10] Therefore, this marked the beginning of a new rebellion in 1983 under the leadership of Dr. John Garang. As a result, the South Sudan conflict which started as ethnic, religious and political ideology

[8] Muigua, K. (2011). *Resolving Environmental Conflicts Through Mediation in Kenya.* Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Nairobi.
[9] ibid
[5] Elke Grawert and Christine Andra: Brief 48 oil investment and conflict in upper Nile State South Sudan, Bonn International centre of conversion BICC Germany (2003)

evolved into a resources-based conflict soon after the discovery of oil in the Southern Regions."

"In South Sudan, as with other parts of the world, the effort of the world leaders and international communities to restore peace and security in most oil producing countries mostly in Africa has been futile. In this context, most oil rich African countries continue to experience civil wars, rebellions or insurgencies, military coups, political instability, and rampant corruptions. Moreover, the indigenous communities who have been living around the oil installation site before the discovery of oil always go on.[11] This raises concerns or grievances against their own governments as a result of their lands being occupied and polluted without meeting their well-being. In South Sudan for example, oil discovery denied pastoralists groups such as Nuer, Dinka and Shilluk, who lived around the oil fields land, grazing and water. It also led to massive displacement.[12] This exacerbated the persistent violent conflict in the South."

"It is therefore believed that the current conflict in South Sudan between President Saliva Kiir and his former Vice President Dr. Riek Machar has a legacy of the past as well as the presence of the oil in the new nation, which also exacerbated the violence. This raises the question, why oil is more of a curse than a blessing to the people who happen to have oil in their land? This current study sets to invstigate this dilemma in South Sudan."

1.2 Statement of the Problem

"During the last decade of the twentieth century the world has experienced the aspect of increasing number of resources based conflicts especially in developing societies, while such conflicts have been recognized throughout the history, the complexities introduced to it by the

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[11] ibid
[12] ibid

successive global development, the effect of globalization has made it possible for the nations to interact freely and do the business easily. Therefore, resources based conflict has become not only a domestic problem but also an international issue with its direct devastating implication on people and the economy. Additionally, central governments in some countries have used natural resources such as oil to consolidate their authorities against their opponents such as the rebel groups. On the other hand, the rebel groups in some countries have been trying so hard to control the Oil production sites in order to topple their governments[13]. As a result of this move, most of the world leaders including international communities have tried to look for a solution to this problem."

"In South Sudan, numerous efforts have been made to solve the conflicts facing the country since 2013. However, the role of oil in the conflict has not been systematically studied. Although bad governance, nepotism, tribalism, corruption, autocratic regimes, and other causes could contribute to the conflict in the country, the contribution of oil is yet to be well understood. Although recent empirical studies established considerable support for the view that oil wealth is associated with civil war and other vices that disadvantages the communities who would have benefited from the resources, the role of oil in the ever evolving South Sudan conflict need to be studied. This study seeks to analyse the relationship between natural resources and conflict in Africa with a special focus on South Sudan."

"1.3 Objectives of the Study"

"The ultimate objective is to examine the reasons why the present of the natural resources such as oil has been seen as the main drivers of violent conflict to some African oil producing Countries, and to explore the role and effort of political elites to address the oil-based conflict in South Sudan. The specific objectives are to:

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[13]   Abiodan Aloa (2007) Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa, the tragedy of Endowment: University of Rochester press, 668 Mr; Hope Avenue Rochester, NY 14620 USA.

1. Examine the root causes of resources- based- conflict in Africa

2. Investigate the connection between oil production and conflict in South Sudan

3. Examine the role of the political elites in the oil-based -conflict in South Sudan

4. Analyse the various efforts to address the oil-based conflict in South Sudan"

1.4 Research Questions

1. What are"the root causes"of resource- based- conflict in some of the African oil producing Countries?

2. What is the connection between oil production and conflict in South Sudan?

3. What is the role of political elites in the oil based conflict in South Sudan?

4. What are the various efforts undertaken to address the oil based conflict in South Sudan?

1.5 Hypotheses

1. Oil production contributes to conflicts in South Sudan.

2. Political elites influences oil-based conflicts in South Sudan.

1.6 Justification of the Study

Research on resource based conflict in Africa is vital. This is particularly so since oil continues to generate new conflicts in the continent every now and then. The findings obtained in this study could benefit scholars and policy makers in South Sudan as well as in Africa as a whole.

1.6.1 Policy Justification

"Generally it is obvious that natural resources such as Oil and other valuable minerals have been contributing so much in fuelling the violent conflict in some African oil producing

countries and also in other part of the world[14], the aim of this study is to understand how the presence of oil is more of a curse than blessing to the people who are living around or along the areas where oil is being discovered. As such, the findings obtained could provide basis for making policy positions by mediators within the process of solving the persistent conflicts related to oil."

The findings obtained could also be used by Regional Bodies in understanding resource based conflicts in Africa. This could provide baseline information on how to best mitigate resource based conflicts in other parts of the continent. It could also show the evolving nature of oil-based conflicts, making future dispute resolution easy to carry out.

1.6.2 Academic Justification

Furthermore, the study will be helpful to the field of academic as a future references or a sources of information for future studies in the field of natural resources based conflict especially in the oil sector. For those who may want to learn more on resources based conflict in Africa, this study could provide secondary data as well and suggest ways for further research in the continent. Suggestions to oil-based conflict resolution in the South Sudan could also strengthen learning on conflicts in the continent by enriching teaching materials on conflict resolution in Africa.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study

"The study shall only focus on the 15 oil exploration companies headquarted in Juba. Data will be collected from managerial level employees of these companies, as such, 2 managers

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[14] Michael L., Ross How do natural resources influence civil war? Evidence from thirteen cases: Cambridge University press on behalf of the International Organization Foundation Volume 58, No 1 (2004) pp 35-67, www.jstor,org

per company will be targeted. This makes a total of 30 managers. In addition, data shall also be collected from employees of the ministry of petroleum and mining of the South Sudan national government. In this regard, 10 employees of the ministry shall be targeted. Data will be collected using questionnaires from these managers and employees. In addition secondary data on oil-base conflicts from former studies shall also be systematically reviewed. This shall include data from Nigeria, Angola and South Sudan among others countries. In this regard, only studies undertaken in the last five years (2013 to 2018) shall be considered."

1.8 Literature Review

"This part reviews the literature on the concept and understanding on how the resources and conflict are related to each other and the fact that, the presence of oil fuelled the violence conflict mostly in the oil producing countries around the world."

1.8.1 An Overview of the Causes of Natural Resource Conflicts in the Oil Producing Regions in the World

"It is pertinent to point out that there is a continuous presence of conflicts in most of the Oil rich States; it is therefore believed that such conflicts arise out as a result of mismanagement of Oil revenue supported by the competition or monopoly over the control of such resources. Another factor is the fact that the global demand for Oil remains very high. This often draws foreigners into indirect or direct involvement in internal conflicts[15]. Since no industrialized society can survive today without substantial supplies of Oil, dwindling supplies of oil often contribute to anarchy in oil rich areas in the wake of human population growth and environmental scarcity as predicted by Robert D Kaplan.[16]"

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[15] Joseph S. Nye, Jr. David A. Welch(2013), Understanding Global conflict and cooperation, An Introduction to Theory and History, Pearson.

[16] Robert D. Kaplan (1994). The Coming Anarchy, the Atlantic Monthly, Feb. At 44; Robert D. Kaplan, and Now For The News, The Atlantic Monthly.

"In the early 1990s a growing number of researchers established a link between the abundance of resources and a number of socio-economic problems. In this regard, it was made manifest that natural resource abundance is associated with slow economic growth in some countries, often as a result of internal rebellions, mismanagement of natural resources revenues, corruption, inequality and poverty for the larger majority of a country's population. [17] In addition, Oil has been found to have the high risk of civil conflict because of the large rents it offers in contrast to all other natural resources. According to Collier and Hoeffler that 22 percent of states dependent on oil exports have experienced civil wars in any 5 years period.[18]"

"However, different studies have shown that the link between natural resources and conflict worldwide is often connected to the state's authorities. In this light, Paul Collier pointed out that resources conflicts are caused more by greed than by grievances. He contended that the main causes of resource-based conflicts is the silence force of "greed'' and not the loud discourse of grievances.[19]"

"Another factor in regard to the causes of resources based conflict is the warlord's activities as William Reno has pointed out in his debate, that warlords exploit the natural resources under their control in order to consolidate their economic and political grip on their territory.[20] This could increase or exacerbated violent conflict over the control of those natural resources. Paul Collier and Hoeffler pointed out that, primary commodities of all types including Oil, minerals and agricultural goods are linked to the onset of war.[21]"

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[17] Paul Collier and Anke Hoefflier, greed and grievances in civil war, World Bank and centre for the study of African Economics, 21 Winchester Rd Oxford OX2 6NA CSAE WPS/2002-01 (2002).
[18] Ibid.
[19] ibid
[20] Matthias, B. & Mehler, A. (2009). Oil and diamonds as causes of civil war in Sub-Saharan Africa, under what condition, German Institute of global and area studies.
[21] ibid

"Arguably though, oil itself is not a problem but it is the people around it who causes the problems. If we take a critical look among the oil producing countries in the world where a Country depends on Oil but does not exhibit any symptoms of Oil curse, one can find their citizens living in very peaceful coexistence compare to others. This means that the presence of oil is a blessing for them as evidenced in the people of Norway where Oil has been a blessing, not a curse.[22]"

1.8.2 Review on how Natural Resource such as Oil Fuels Violent Conflict in Africa

"Africa is a large continent with varied land mass endowed with a wide range of natural resources. However, despite the abundant of natural in the continent, there is immense poverty and protracted social violence since the colonial era. The exploitative nature of colonialist and wealth distribution mechanism of the colonialists left a bad legacy for oil management. Come independence around the 1950s to 1960s, since that time Africa has been characterized by fragile governances, low infrastructural development and protracted social unrest and political violence.[23]"

"According to United Nations reports, at least 40 per cent of civil wars on the African continent in the last sixty years have been connected with natural resources, although there have been different types of natural renounces conflict in Africa such as land ownership disputes in West Africa, Agro-pastoralists conflicts in East Africa, water and ethnic-racial conflicts and others across the continent, it has been indicated that Oil still plays a key role in triggering and sustaining conflict. As noted earlier by some researchers that oil has been linked to major conflicts in the oil producing countries in Africa such as Angola, Sudan and

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[22] Douglas A. Yates (2012) The scramble for Africa Oil, Oppression, Corruption and War for control of Africa 's natural resources, Pluto press www.plutobooks.com
[23] Daniel Don Nanjira, (2010), Africa Foreign policy and diplomacy from Antiquity to the 21st century volume one, Praeger security International www.abc.clio.com

Nigeria.[24]"Thus, Sudan and Angola have had major civil conflicts which threaten the existence of their Countries with organized armed groups fighting against the Central governments, although most of these conflicts are political, oil become the crucial factor determining the developments. Lujala pointed out that civil wars between 1946 and 2003 were likely to occur in regions with onshore Oil.[25]"

"Nigeria is the largest Oil producer in Sub-Saharan Africa since the mid-1990s. In the same light, there has been ongoing violence and uprising in the Niger Delta region with renewed call for self-determination and local control of oil resources. According to Hamiton report of 2004 violent conflict in the Niger delta alone is estimated to have killed about 1000 person between 1999 and 2004.[26] Basedau and Lay have indicated that Countries that depend mostly on Oil revenue are likely to see increases in the risk of civil war.[27] The conflict in Angola, for example, was exacerbated by the presence of oil revenue. Other researchers have also shown that conflict over the access to resources is very likely to occur if the location is combined with inter-group problems for instance if resources are located in regions which are culturally different from the rest of the country and also if these regions have conflict ridden relations with central government. In Sudan before the independence of the South, Oil was first discovered in the southern region which is predominated by African and animist or Christian, while the northern Sudan is mainly Arab and Muslim. As such in 1972 the military rule of Jaafar Nimeri came up with petroleum Act which stipulated that all petroleum found on Sudanese territory is the property of the state. This statement was too controversial for Southern Sudanese who looked at it as a plan for Central government to extract their oil without consent.

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[24] Michael L.Ross, how do natural influence civil war, evidence from thirteen cases, Cambridge University press on behalf of the international organization foundation volume 58, No 1(2004) pp-36-67.

[25] Lujala, P. (2010): The spoils of nature: Armed civil conflict and rebel access to natural resources, *Journal of Peace Research. Vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 15–28.*

[26] Aderoju Oyefusi oil dependence and civil conflict in Nigeria , Department of economic and statistic University of Benn Nigeria CSAE WPS(2007).

[27] Mathias and Basedau oil and diamonds as causes of civil war in Sub-Saharan Africa, under what condition, German Institute of global and area studies (2009).

Thus, the onset of oil discovery near Bentiu in the Southern region led the government of Sudan to tighten control over the oil area. They also came up with another idea of redrawing the borders between Northern and Southern regions to create the Unity province which added the oil fields to Southern Kordofan region. All these activities have led to massive displacement and rebellions among the southern Sudanese people.[28] It is thus evident that oil resources are linked with conflict in the world."

1.8.3 Review on History of Resources Conflict and how the Discovery of Oil has Exacerbated the Civil War in South Sudan

"The Republic of South Sudan gained its independence from Sudan in 2011 after a long period of civil war which lasted for more than 21 years, and estimated to kill a million of people and displaced more than a million to IDPs camps across the country and to neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda and others. However, the history of resource conflict between the North and South has a legacy of post-colonial era, for instance in 1821 during the time of Ottoman Empire Mohammed Ali Pasha sent his first expedition to discover the sources of the Nile in order to bring that area under his control so as to exploit the human resources and other natural resources such as gold and another mineral in the southern regions. In contrast, the Torit Mutiny in 1955 one year before the full declaration of independence of Sudan from the Britain in 1956 marked the full escalation of civil war between the North and South,[29] thus, different researchers have shown that the roots causes of conflict between the north and South was deeply rooted into ethnicity and religious ideology, others were misunderstandings between North and South on how to divide political powers, the uses, and development of its natural resources in the country throughout the years."

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[28] Elke Grawert and Christine Andra: Brief 48 oil investment and conflict in upper Nile State South Sudan, Bonn International centre of conversion BICC Germany (2003).

[29] Justice Achol Mading Mayien Jok (2012), The Secession of South Sudan printed and published by improved Visual Art Ltd Kampala Uganda.

"It is evidence that before the independence of the South from the North, southerners had suffered a lot from the hand of their fellows' northerners who were backed the central government. Hence, many peace agreements signed as to end the conflict between the North and South but most of them were violated among them was Addis Ababa Peace agreement signed in 1972 which provided a semi- autonomous to the people of the South , later on , at the implementation stage the government of Sudan under the military regime of Jaafari Nimeeri refused to implement the peace agreement in the pretext that it was not written or quoted in the Quran or Bible[30] meant it is likely to be broken at any time, so as a result the agreement began to collapse immediately. However, researchers believed to associate the collapse of Addis Ababa peace agreement of 1972 with the discovery of Oil for the first time in Sudan. The US American Company Chevron Overseas Petroleum, was the first Company to be granted a concession for onshore Oil exploration in Sudan .Therefore. Chevron went ahead with exploration and discovered the Oil source in Southern region North of Bentiu and started production in 1978 as such the government of Sudan decided to go ahead with exploration of oil in the southern regions for the exploration to go very smoothly the central government in Khartoum began to use the civil war as a pretext to clear those southern Sudanese areas where the Companies had discovered Oil or expected to find new oil wells. At this point the South-North conflict was previously started as a religious and political ideology has again turned into resource based conflict between the centre and the peripheries. Around 1983 the conflict intensified between the Southerners and the central government over the control of the oil fields which led to the death of some oil workers[31]"

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[30] James Stormes, S.J, Elias Opongo, S.J, Peter Knox, S.J, Kifle Wansamo S.J., (editors) (2016) Transitional Justice in post-conflict Societies in Africa, Hekima institute of peace Studies and International relation(HIPSIR) Paulines publication Africa Nairobi Kenya www.paulinesafrica.org
[31] Sudan ,Oil and human Rights, Human Rights Watch Brussels ,New York Washington D C (2003), www.hrw.org

"Therefore, this situation forced the Chevron to left the country in 1984. Another Scenario was the singing of Khartoum peace agreement in 1997 between the SPLA Nassir faction led by Dr Riek Machar and Khartoum government under the regime of Omer El Bashir. Thus, after the signing of the peace agreement, the Sudan government gave a green light for the resumption of oil production as stipulated in the content of the agreement, However, Lundin the Swedish Oil Company took over the lion share in the resumption of oil production around the Unity Oil fields in South Sudan. Hence, the Company was operated in the belief that Oil could benefit the economic development of the area and the country as a whole[32]."

"Due to fragility in the content of the peace agreement signed between Khartoum government and the rebel faction under Dr Riek Machar, it was evident that, the government of Sudan was not willing or ready to implement the peace agreement as expected, as a result more prevalence of rebel activities coupled with the division of tribes into various arms factions, led to full escalation of conflict again around the Oil fields which forced the local actors and NGOs including Human rights activists by accused the government of Sudan, that Oil money being used to finance the civil war, it has been said that between 1997 to 2003 many civilians were murdered and others were displaced around the oil areas by militias loyal to government including the government forces deployed in the area. According to Canadian human rights report that roads built by Oil companies enabled the government ground troops to reach their destinations more easily than before. As a result of this situation Lundin decided to leave the oil production. In 1999 Chinese and Malaysian dominated Oil Consortium took over the oil production.[33]"

"The most successful peace agreement was a CPA, the Comprehensive peace agreement signed between Sudan government led by the current president Omer El Bashir and

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[32] Ibid
[33] ibid

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SPLA/M led by late Dr John Garang, which ended the second civil war between the North and the South, this protracted conflict was fuelled by struggle for control of rich Oil reserve in Southern Region of the Country as well as ethnic and religious differences and desire for greater self-autonomy for the people of South Sudan[34], after the secession of South Sudan from the North on July 2011, one year later fighting broke out between the Sudan Army Forces and SPLA Forces at Oil rich state particularly at Higliq oil field and Abyie Area over the control of those areas along the border between line South and North."

1.8.4 Examine the Role of the Political Elites in the Oil-Based Conflict in South Sudan

"Political elites play critical roles in guiding how a country is governed. In most cases, political elites have been found to foster politics of ethnicity in Africa. The ideas of political elites are often seen as the primary lens through which communities operate in most African contexts. In this light, the interests of political elites on oil are likely to fuel conflicts in the areas where they come from. [35]Studies in oil conflicts should thus focus on the role of political elites."

"Aside from reinforcing ethnic politics, another approach to conflict in Africa relates to view of neo-patrimonial school of thought which focused on the rationality of corruption and bad governance. In Africa, elites influence views on how to manage natural resources. [36] When the elites come to power, chaos often come into place. The nature of politics in African states which focuses on capturing and maintaining power has threatened states' continuous existence as a sovereign. The winner-takes all politics often denies poor people opportunities to have stake in oil resources. This often breeds conflict over oil resources."

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[34] Michael J. Butler,(2009), International Conflict Management, Rout ledge Taylor and Francis group London and New York pp 144-155.
[35] Richard, J. (2002) "Violent internal conflict and the African state: towards a framework of analysis". Journal of Contemporary African Studies, (20)1: 29-52.
[36] Chabal, P., & Daloz, J. (1999) Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument. Oxford: Jamec Currey.

"Ake is of the view that "the elites in government having captured power, monopolizes it and finally regards the state as an instrument of plunder and brutality. They often find solace in protection through ethnic and primordial identities. The protection by their ethnicities defeats efforts to bring corrupt leaders to justice. This breads lack of accountability and transparency in governance. The end result is mismanagement of resources as a result of competition of control, chronic corruption and politics of patronage.[37]""

Obi argues that in the Nigerian context , since oil rent goes into state coffers, government leaders got an opportunity to control oil as means of amassing wealth. This was often sustained by corruption and political patronage.[38]

In the same accord, Woodruff argues that "state's wealth in most countries is often concentrated in the elites in government. This goes on as citizens watch in abysmally as their leaders plunders the country in the process of power and survival politics. The insatiable hunger for wealth sustains a culture of political hegemony by elites in the bid to continuously rape state resources. Eventually, civil discord takes place, leading to civil war and in some cases anarchy. This current study will investigate the level to which political elites contribute to chaos in the context of exploitation of oil resources.[39]"

1.8.5 The Various Efforts to Address the Oil-Based Conflict in South Sudan

Mcphail argues that "oil has many benefits for the local communities. These include: generation of sizeable revenues and, creation of jobs as well as business opportunities. Oil resources also bring new roads and access to water and power to isolated rural areas in which

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[37] Ake, C. (1994) Democratization of Disempowerment. Lagos: Malthouse.
[38] Obi, C. (2001) "Oil minority rights versus the Nigerian State: Conflict and transcendence". University of Leipzig Papers on Africa, Politics and Economics, 53: 1-19.
[39] Woodruff, W. (2005) A Concise History of the History Modern World. Great Britain: Abacus.

they are typically located. As such, ensuring that these benefits trickle down to the communities could address oil based conflicts."

Obi and Rustad are of the view that "oil production, although having the capacity to fuel conflict, can also avail numerous benefits to the local communities. These include blessing for economic development of the host communities in areas as social inclusion and equitable distribution of oil rents and benefits. This current study studies the level to which extending these benefits to the community could check oil-based conflicts."

Nwokolo argues that "local communities develop strategies to reap oil benefits such as monetary benefits formally and informally from oil MNCs and other petro-business operating within their domain.[40]""These benefits come in the forms of compensations for land acquired for oil exploration, oil spills and other environmental hazards. They also come from rents for protection and for not providing employments for the "youths" in the communities among others. This current study studies the level to which these benefits are used to check oil-based conflicts in South Sudan."

Mix and Shriver posit that "one of the ways in which countries such as Kenya deal with disagreements in the use of resources such as those in Ilemi Triangle is prioritization on security reform policies including mediation with regard. Violent disagreements are often mediated by regional inter-governmental organizations which are instrumental in maintenance of peace and security in the region. This current study will investigate how the government of deals with disagreement on the use of oil resources and whether the existing mechanisms are sufficient to deter armed conflicts over these resources."

Amutabi and Were argue that "in Kenya, especially in the northern frontier, there have been decades of cross border skirmishes, cattle rustling and proliferation of small arms. This

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[40] Nwokolo, N. (2012). *The political economy of oil resource conflicts: a study of oil village communities in Nigeria.* PhD Thesis. The University of Birmingham.

has led serious concerns by the national government on how to best contain insecurity in the region. Resolution of chronic conflicts in the region includes mediation, beefing of state security and incentives for the local communities to embrace peace and domestic conflict resolution mechanisms." [41] This current study shall investigate if some of these ways are used by to address disagreements in oil conflicts.

Yohannes is of the view that "another method of dealing with disagreements is careful determination of how natural systems interact, their interdependencies and their changing relationship over time. In the wake of conflicts, one can a solution would also require an understanding of the consequences of different conflict management approaches." [42] This study shall investigate how South Sudan studies the environment carefully to ensure that conflicts over oil are meticulously handled.

1.9 Summary of Literature Gaps

"It is obvious that most of the civil wars in Africa have a direct link with the presence of natural resources including oil and other minerals moreover researchers who have reviewed the civil wars in Angola, the Niger Delta region of Nigeria and South Sudan have confirmed that the presence of oil has been triggered the violent conflict. However, it is also too controversial that oil itself is not the direct cause of the conflict it may be the mismanagement of the oil revenue from some institutions including political leaders who have vested interest in dominating others as a result this may lead to violent conflict as Paul Collier pointed out that resources conflicts are caused more by greed than grievance he also went further that the main causes of resource based conflict is the silence force of greed and not the loud discourse of

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[41] Amutabi, M., & Were, E. (2000). *Nationalism and Democracy for People-Centered Development in Africa*. Eldoret: Moi University Press.
[42] Johannes,E., Zulu, L. C. & Kalipeni, E. (2014). Oil discovery in Turkana County, Kenya: a source of conflict or development? *African Geographical Review* 34(2), 142-164.

grievances.[43] For the case of South Sudan, although the current crisis has a legacy of the past it is evidence that in 1970s after the discovery of oil in the Southern region, the nature of the conflict became worse than before, that was because the central government wanted to control the areas where oil is being discovered at the same time the oil money was used to finance the civil war, as a result more rebellions frequently broke out in the South as opposing the central government of marginalizing them."

Moreover, this study does not denying the fact that oil has a link with a conflict but trying to highlight the fact that even before the discovery of mineral resource such as oil, conflict still exist among or between the societies. But the presence of oil could exacerbate the degree of conflict or fuelled the civil war through the changes it bring to socio-economic and struggle for political power for those who want to secure the control of national revenues.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

This study is based on the resource curse theory.

1.10.1 Resource Curse Theory

"In this current study, the Resource Curse Theory (RCT) shows how resources can breed conflict and how such conflicts can be checked. This is due to the fact that handling the "curses" associated with abundance of resources by equitable distribution of such resources could lead to peace and peaceful coexistence. According to the Natural Resource Governance Institute (NRGI), the term resource curse encompasses the significant social, economic and political challenges that are unique to countries rich in oil, gas and minerals. Contest over natural resources can result to violence.[44] This violence can be infuriated for a fight over religious,

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[43] ibid
[44] Natural Resource Governance Institute (2015). *The resource curse*. Resource and Governance Institute. Accessed on June 7, 2018 from: http://www.resourcegovernance.org/sites/default/files/nrgi_Resource-Curse.pdf.

culture and economic problems afflicting the society.[45] Since oil resources stride over areas with numerous stakeholders with various economic needs, resource curse can easily persist in South Sudan as oil exploration and exploitation takes place."

"The political as well as economic outlook of a state is that the resource curse is combined by ordinary belief that abundance of mineral deposits, such as oil in the case of this current study, results to slow growth and dispute's this view tends to appraise the comparative advantage theory which was enliven by Smith who opined that rich states have a comparative advantage over poor resource states.[46] In South Sudan, like any other developing country, huge oil deposits have led to unprecedented conflicts. In realization of this possibility, it is vital for the county and national governments to ensure that plans are put in place to solve any conflict that arises in the county over the oil resources."

"Research reveals natural resources as a curse. Plenty of resources quicken the resource curse in states which have weak institutions leading to corruption and disputes. Openness and responsibility play a principle role in overwhelming these challenges and hence worldwide collaboration is important. The resource curse is not unavoidable. There are countries which have benefitted from the abundance of resources. Openness can permit people to look into norms that lead to equal revenue sharing.[47] When this happens, the challenges associated with resource curse are mitigated. In line with this study, it can thus be postulated that if the South Sudanese government and all other stakeholders in the country can work in cooperation, practice openness, collaboratively come up with the right policies, put up the right institutions and ensure good governance of oil resources is enhanced, then conflicts over oil can be abated."

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[45] Collier, P. (2010). *The plundered planet*. New York: Oxford University Press.
[46] Smith M.A.S. (2008). *From Conflict to Collaboration: The Story of the Great Bear Rainforest*. Vancouver: Forest Ethics.
[47] Smith M.A.S. (2008). *From Conflict to Collaboration: The Story of the Great Bear Rainforest*. Vancouver: Forest Ethics.

1.11 Methodology of the Research

"This section looks at the methodological approach of the study to be adopted to achieve the objectives stated earlier. It focuses on the study design, area of study, target population, sample size, sampling design, data collection instruments, data collection procedures, piloting, reliability and validity of research instrument, data analysis and presentation."

1.11.1 Research Design

This is a structure used in conducting the research. The researcher will adopt mixed research survey design. In this form of design, data is obtained from multiple sources such as questionaires, key informants interviews, focus group discussions and content analysis. In this regard "multiple methods are useful if they provide better opportunities to answer research questions."[48] The method enables "the identification of salient characteristics and unique features of the target population to acceptable degree. It is used in describing characteristics of the relevant groups, determining the degree to which independent variables affect a dependent variable, estimate the percentage of units in a specified population exhibiting the same behaviour. It is also used when prior knowledge of the problem and information needed is clearly defined."[49]

1.11.2 Study Target Population

Cooper and Schindler define target population "as the total collection of elements about which the researcher wishes to make some inferences. Furthermore, a population can also be defined as a complete group of entities sharing some common set of characteristics."[50] The study shall only focus on the 15 oil exploration companies headquarted in Juba. Data will be

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[48] Mugenda, M. &Mugenda, O. (2003) *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches.* Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies.
[49] Ibid.
[50]"Cooper, D., & Schindler, P. (2008). Business research methods (10th ed.). New York, McGraw-Hill/Irwin."

collected from managerial level employees of these companies, as such, 2 managers per company will be targeted. This makes a total of 30 managers."In addition, data shall also be collected from employees of the ministry of petroleum and mining of the South Sudan national government. In this regard, 10 employees of the ministry shall be targeted. As such, the total respondents shall be 40 persons. In addition secondary data on oil-base conflicts from former studies shall also be systematically reviewed. This shall include data from Nigeria, Angola and South Sudan among others countries. In this regard, only studies undertaken in the last five years (2013 to 2018) shall be considered."

1.11.3 Sampling Design

Purposive sampling techniques will be used to choose the respondents."Purposive sampling (also known as judgment, selective or subjective sampling) is a sampling technique in which researcher relies on his or her own judgment when choosing members of population to participate in the study."Russell and Gregory posit that purposive sampling is best suited for studies where the objective is to identify information-rich cases.[51]"In this study, this non-probability sampling method will be used to identify the 10 respondents in the Ministries of Petroleum and Mining in the South Sudan Government national government as well as 2 managers per company in the 15 oil major oil companies in South Sudan."

1.11.4 Sample Size

For the purpose of this study the respondents will comprise of all respondents targeted by the study. This means that the 40 persons targeted by the study (30 from oil companies and

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[51] Russell, C., & Gregory, D.M. (2008). Evaluation Of qualitative research studies. *Evidence-Based Nursing,* 6,36-40.

10 from the government of South Sudan) shall be sampled. This makes a total population sample of 40 respondents.

1.11.5 Data Collection Instruments

"The study will employ two instruments namely: semi-structured questionnaire and document review guide. The multi-method approach will maximize the range of information available for the study, improve the trustworthiness of the data and enable triangulation of results. In semi-structured interviews, although the researcher defines the areas to be explored, there is room for diversion so as to allow both the respondent to elaborate further and clarify information.[52] Document analysis would be used to collect data on the nexus between oil and conflict in Africa with as special focus on South Sudan."

1.11.6 Instrument Reliability

"In order to evaluate feasibility, time, cost, adverse events, and improve upon the study design prior to performance of a full-scale research project, pilot study will be carried out as recommended.[53] Hence a pilot study for this study will be conducted by interviewing a few government ministry officials and oil company officials who will be outside the purposively selected sample drawn in South Sudan."

According to Mugenda and Mugenda "reliability is a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results after repeated trials."[54]"The data obtained from the pilot study will be used to ascertain the appropriateness and relevancy of the questionnaire to the study. Cronbach's alpha, a reliability coefficient which varies from 0 to 1 whereby a

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[52] Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E & Chadwick, B. (2008) *Methods in data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups.* Retrieved from: https://www.nature.com/articles/bdj.2008.192.pdf
[53] Hardy, M. & Bryman, A. (Eds.) (2004). Handbook of Data Analysis. London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi: Sage Publications.
[54] Mugenda, M. &Mugenda, O. (2003) *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches.* Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies.

value of 0.7 or less indicates unsatisfactory internal consistency reliability shall be used to test the reliability of items in the questionnaires.[55]"

1.11.7 Instrument Validity

Validity refers "to the degree to which a test or an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure. In order to ensure the validity of the instrument, internal and external validity tests will be carried out."[56] Face validity will be "assessed by finding out the ease with which the respondents answer the research questions. In this case, any ambiguous questions were adjusted to make them easy to understand and answer. Content validity, which offers adequate investigation of the study questions, will also be conducted."[57]"The questionnaire will be presented to the supervisors for review and their input on the constructs of the research was used to improve the questionnaire."

1.11.8 Data Analysis and Data Representation

"Data generated by the questionnaire will be analysed using both descriptive statistics. Data from the open ended questions will be analyzed thematically. As such, it shall be transcribed and then organized in themes and categories that emerge. This shall be followed by reviewing, categorizing, tabulating, and recombining evidence to ascertain meaning related to the study's initial objectives, research questions and issues.[58]"The emergent findings will be used to support the findings from document analysis. Furthermore, some of the questions shall

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[55] Malhotra, N.K. (2004). *Marketing research: An applied orientation* (4th edition) Pearson Education, Inc: New Jersey.
[56] Gay*, L.,* Mills*. G. &* Airasian, P. (2006). *Educational research*: Competencies for analysis and application (8th ed.). New York: Prentice Hall.
[57] Cooper, D.R., & Schindler, P. S. (2003). *Business research methods* (8th ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
[58] Kothari*, C. &* Garg, G. (2014). *Research methodology Methods and Techniques*. New Age International (P) Ltd. - New Delhi.

be quantified and analysed using descriptive statistics - frequencies, mean and extent of variability in the set. Furthermore, data will be represented in forms of graph, tables and charts.

1.11.9 Legal and Ethical Considerations

"Legal and ethical considerations are the standards for conduct that give recognition and distinguish acceptable and unacceptable behaviour to the process of research investigation."[59]"It is the responsibility of the researcher to assess carefully the possibility of harm to research participants. This should be done in every humble way possible by taking all reasonable precautions to ensure respondents are in no way directed to harm or adversely affected due to their participation in the research.[60] Confidentiality of the research respondents should always be maintained. The researcher will achieve this through identification codes instead of names to help maintain the privacy of all participants. In addition to this, the researcher will also sought consent to collect data from the relevant offices and the concerned local authorities."

1.12 Chapter Outline

"This study will be organized into six chapters. Chapter one provides the Introduction, Background to the study, Problem Statement, the Objectives, the Research Questions and hypothesis, Justification of Research, Literature Review, Theoretical Framework and model, and the methodology of the study."

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[59] Resnik, C. (2011). *Research Methods; Legal and Ethical considerations*. New York: Guilford Press.
[60] Bryman, A. (2012). Research Question in social Research. What is its role? *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 10 (4), 54-47.

"Chapter two, examine the root causes of resources- based- conflict in Africa; Chapter three investigate the connection between oil production and conflict in South Sudan; chapter four examine the role of the political elites in the oil-based -conflict in South Sudan while chapter five shall analyse the various efforts to address the oil-based conflict in South Sudan. Lastly, chapter six will present the Summary, Conclusion and the recommendations."

CHAPTER TWO

ROOT CAUSES OF RESOURCES- BASED- CONFLICT IN AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the discussion, interpretation and presentation of the research findings drawn from the research instrument by way of data analysis. It presents the analysis

and findings of the study as set out in the research methodology. The research data was gathered exclusively through the use of questionnaires.

2.1 Demographic Information

2.1.1 Age of respondents

Age in this study was significant due to the fact that age is an important factor that influences a person's understanding of the environment over time and pertinent issues facing the newest state in Africa. Age also influences a person's ability to comprehend issues and make meaningful contributions to this study.
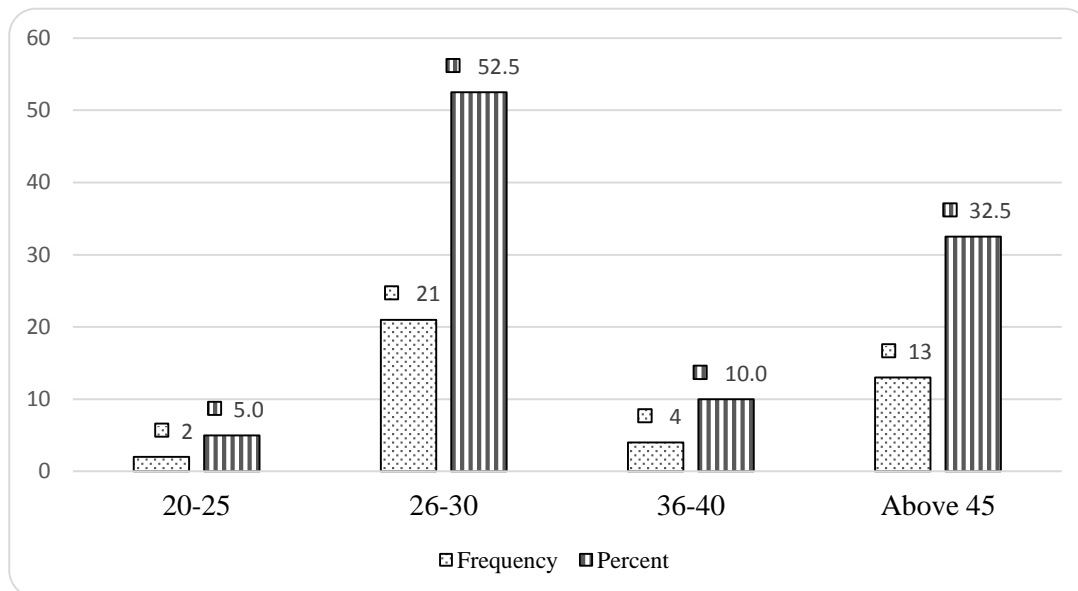
Figure 2.1 Age of the Respondents
Source: Researcher, 2018

"The findings indicate that majority of the respondents (21) were aged between 26 years and 30 years representing 52.5 per cent of the total respondents. 32.5 per cent of the respondents were aged above 45 years while 10.0 per cent were aged between 36 years and 40 years. Only 5.0 per cent of the respondents were aged between 20 years and 25 years."

Gender of Respondents

18 (45%)

22 (55%)
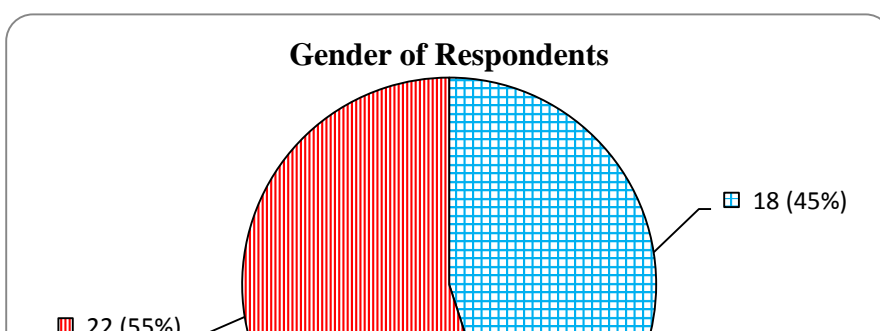
Figure 2.2 Gender of Respondents
Source: Researcher, 2018

"The gender of the respondents was important in this study, since it was critical in the comprehension of how particular different gender identifications impacted on responses. In the study 55% of the respondents were male, while female were 45%. This percentage difference on the gender profile was not significant enough to sway the findings to one particular gender. The slight disparity on the gender profile could be explained by the fact that mostly the family head which is usually the father or the elder son(s) in regard to the South Sudanese culture that undertake official functions such as responding to Academic and other official correspondence."

Level of Education

College (13%)

University (87%)

University   College
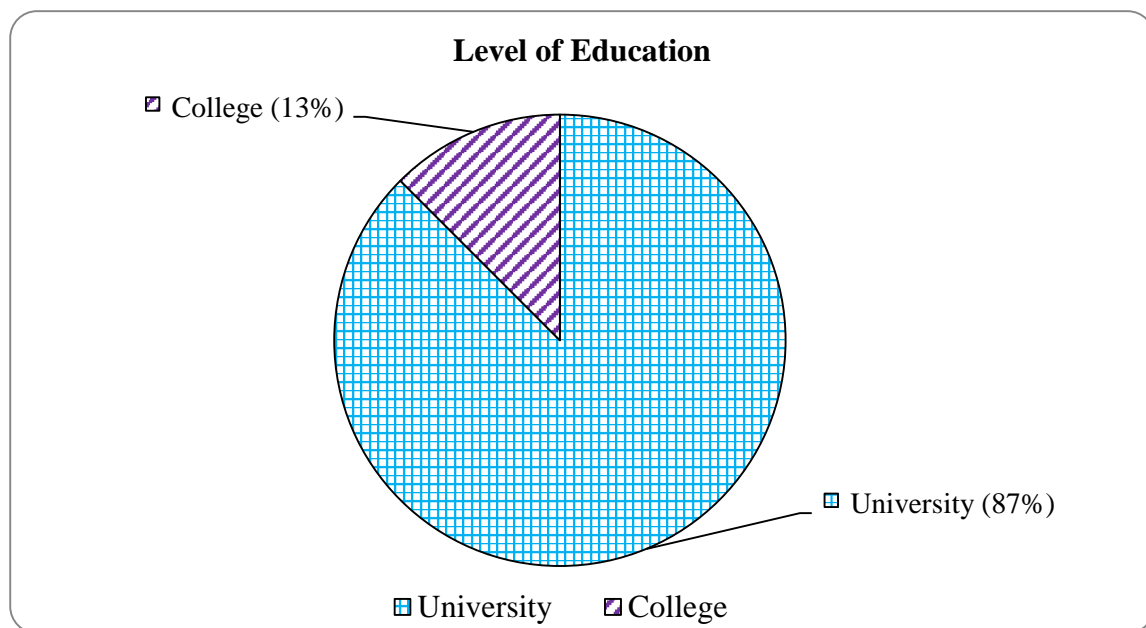
Figure 2.3 Level of Education

Source: Researcher, 2018

"The researcher sought to identify the respondent's level of education. The demographics have been stratified according to the respondent categories as shown in **figure 2.3** above. The findings in figure 2.3 above indicate that a whopping 87% of the respondents held a university degree while the remaining 13% held tertiary level college qualification. Majority of the respondents held more than primary school and secondary school qualification. This indicates that the respondents had requisite educational qualification for them to make meaningful contribution to this study. The study can attest that majority of the respondents had comprehensive knowledge concerning the political and military developments taking root in South Sudan, hence could offer detailed and informative responses sought by this study."
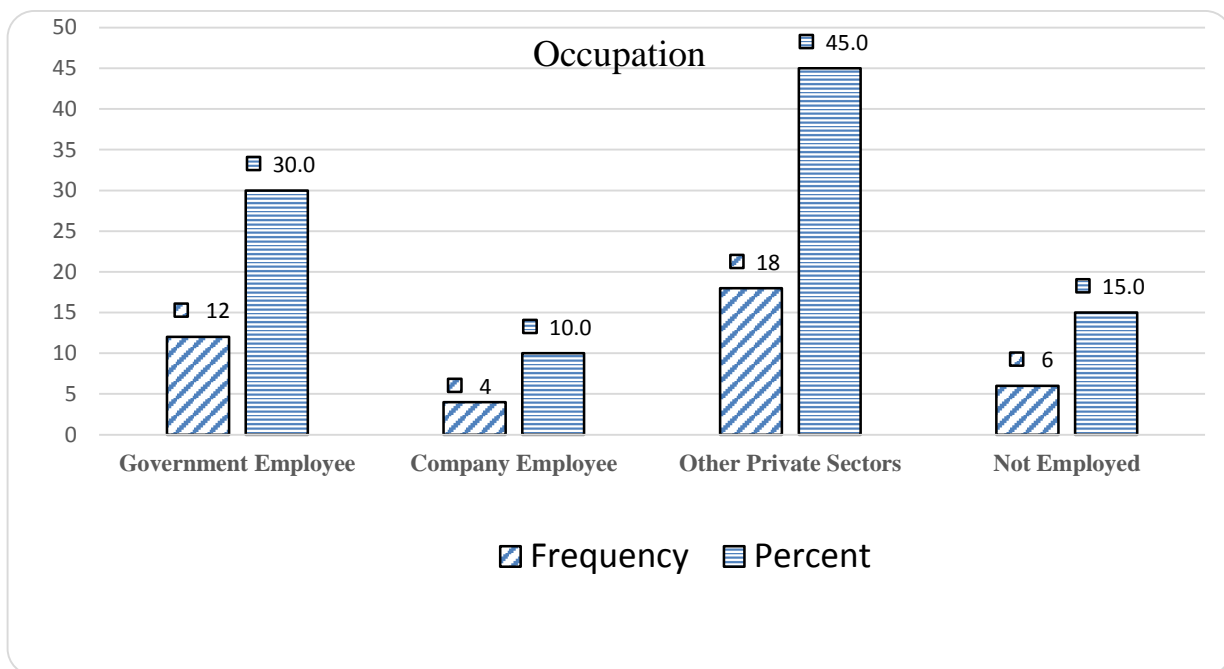
Figure 2.4 Occupation of Respondents
Source: Researcher, 2018

"The researcher sought to establish the occupation of respondents with the intention of demystifying the biases which could arise from loyalty to either side of the warring parties. From the findings of the study, majority of the respondents were in private sectors of the economy accounting for 45.0 per cent of the total responses. Government employees constituted 30.0 per cent of all the respondents while company employees were 10.0 per cent. Among the respondents, a significant 15.0 were not employed in any gainful venture."

2.2 The Role of Bad Governance in fueling Intra-State Conflict (Dysfunctional Political System)

"This study sought to determine the extent to which bad governance was contributing to resource based conflicts in South Sudan. The current political crisis and the armed conflict between the government and rebel forces loyal to Machar can be partly explained by the personal motives of and struggle between Kiir and Machar which constitutes bad governance.

However, there are a number of additional factors that have contributed to the current civil war that go beyond these two actors' individual decisions."When presented with the question;

> "*To what extent do you consider bad governance to contribute to resource based conflicts in South Sudan*?" most of the respondents (77%) said that bad governance contributed to such conflicts very highly. This was by: encouraging corruption, theft ,poor planning , sustaining unequal distribution of oil resources, contributing to lack of transparency, creating weak institutions, mismanagement of resources, slowing democracy, inhibiting reforms and interfering with mediation processes. The findings of the study are shown in the **Figure 2.5** below.
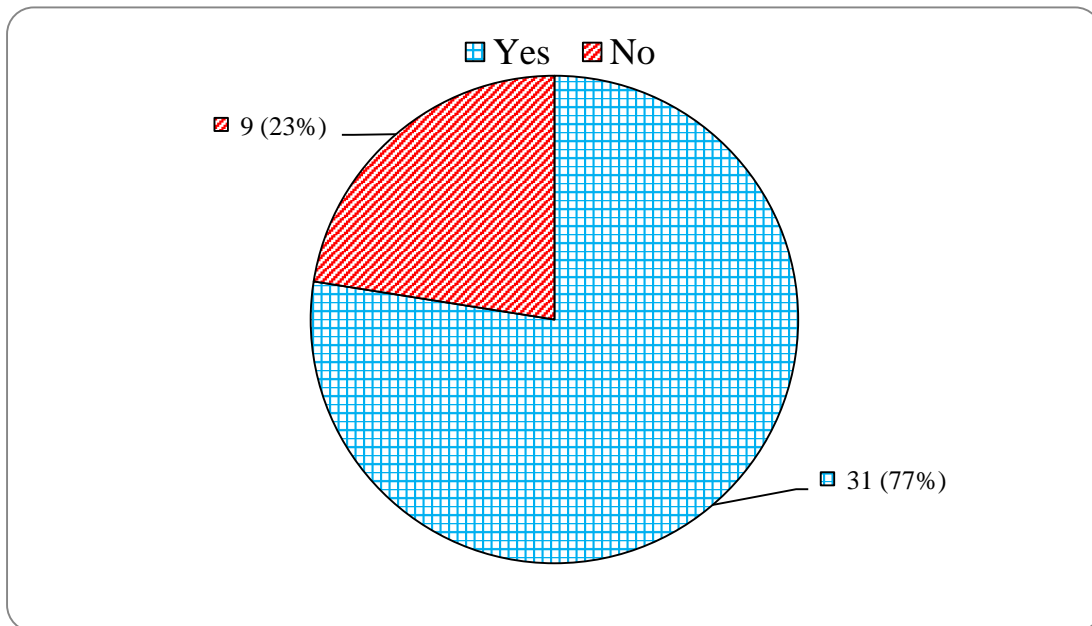
Figure 2.5 Bad governance as contributer to resourse based conflicts
Source: Researcher, 2018

"The political establishment in South Sudan has neglected the principles of good governance in steering the new state forward since the declaration of independence. The government's poor performance and it's under provision of public goods is particularly critical in the states of Jonglei, Unity, and Upper Nile (GIGA, 2016). Chronic insecurity in recent

years has also hampered development efforts in these areas and increased the population's dissatisfaction with the government. The government has largely failed to improve the population's living conditions and appears to be much more concerned with internal competitions about rent-seeking and access to resources and power."

"The two political leaders in South Sudan have differed ideologically on the strategies of governance. Particularly, Kiir and Machar have significant disagreements on fundamental aspects of the party and country's leadership, governance and directions. They believe in two different kinds of relations with Sudan. Contrary to Machar, Kiir is willing to keep good relations with Sudan and cooperate with Khartoum regarding their respective insurgents. Machar also disagrees with Kiir's way of running the country and has criticized his dictatorial tendencies. Article 101 of South Sudan's Transitional Constitution by itself, concentrates numerous powers on the President, who can run state affairs with very limited consultation, including removal of elected officials. The numerous dismissals of SPLM officials from any executive positions consequently express the result of a long-term struggle for power between Kiir and Machar with accusations of bad governance emanating from each."

"Some of the respondents ascribed the escalation of conflict to bad governance in form of corruption and plunder of national resources." As one of the respondent said;

"To me it was caused by selfish motives because all our leaders have an army and want power and they want power in order to control resources. As far as Garang was concerned, he had a vision that would have taken us to greater heights. But after his death I really do not know whether Salva Kiir is focused on that vision or if his vision is only for the promotion of himself. Independence has shown us how selfish our own people can be".

Another Respondent remarked that;

"This conflict is about dirty politics (read bad governance*). It is about greed for power. Riek Machar was trying to become the Chairman of the SPLM as a stepping stone to the Presidency in 2015 but failed after Kiir sacked him."*

"The SPLM's informal networks have sidelined the formal democratic institutions and processes provided through the South Sudanese constitution, which has reduced the population's confidence in the state. The result has been a weak state with limited institutional capacity coupled with lack of legitimacy and an unhealthy symbiosis between the armed forces, the government, and the state.[61] Bad governance has been instrumental in propagating conflict in South Sudan and several contentious issues attest to this phenomenon. Key among them is the security sector reforms which for long have catapulted the conflict from a violent crisis to an armed violent civil war spanning close to five years since its recurrence in 2013. Bad governance has also failed to promote reconciliation and nation building while at the same time propagating contestation over the distribution of wealth and power. This study will explain how these latent issues have contributed to bad governance resulting to the current conflict."

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[61] Koos, C. & Gutschke, T. (2014). *South Sudan's Newest War: When Two Old Men Divide a Nation*. GIGA Publication. Vol.1 No.2.

2.2.1 Failure to Promote Reconciliation

"Despite being applauded for ending the prolonged North-South conflict in the old Sudan, the CPA was unable to promote peace and reconciliation between the border communities whose relations had been shattered by state-backed violence. [62] One of the provisions of the accord was to engage northerners and southerners in programmes of reconciliation in order to recreate and promote national unity within a united Sudan. This, however, did not to see the light of day as the two sides became overwhelmed by a host of other CPA issues, such as South Sudan's oil passage, border security, nationality, contest over a number of border zones and the built up mistrust, all ending with the split of the country over these issues and to South Sudan's secession.[63] The idea of 'giving unity a chance' fell by the way side. The CPA provisions on reconciliation were ignored or given far less than their due weight. The result was that the Agreement fell short of its main commitment: to rebuild trust between communities and rescue the territorial unity of the country."

"Since South Sudan's independence in 2011, the world has mostly received bleak news from the country. Reports of ethnic violence, local insurgencies, widespread corruption, the autocratic practices of the dominant Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), and border conflicts with the country's northern neighbor, Sudan, have been common in the headlines. The current crisis began in July 2013 when President Kiir sacked his entire cabinet, including his chief rival, Vice President Riek Machar, without giving any reasons. Analysts agree that Kiir's move exposed a power struggle that had been taking place within South Sudan's ruling

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[62] Jok Madut Jok (2015). *Negotiating the End to the Current Civil War in South Sudan: What Lessons Can Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement Offer? Inclusive Political Settlements Papers 16, September*. Berlin: Berghof Foundation.

[63] Ibid

party, the SPLM.[64] A number of senior SPLM members, including Machar and the SPLM's secretary-general, Pagan Amum, had increasingly viewed Kiir's leadership as autocratic."

2.3 Corruption and Resource-Based Conflict in South Sudan

"This study sought to establish how plunder of public resources has impacted on the conflict dynamics in South Sudan. Some of the groups that had been included in the peace process and were subsequently involved in the SPLM-led Government had initially joined this process in the hope that they would get a share of the peace dividends, such as public offices and development projects for their constituencies.[65] However, they started to complain soon after the start of the implementation of the accord: they quickly realized that the huge revenues emanating from oil production had increased the value of the State and that those controlling the state apparatus stood to gain a great deal. Some of them began to point out corruption and nepotism in the distribution of government jobs, contracts and development programmes."

"This study referred to some respondents and their opinion(s) concerning the role of corruption in fuelling the current intra-state conflict in South Sudan. To that end, this study posed retrospectively and counterfactually the following question: Does corruption contribute to resource based conflicts in South Sudan? From the findings established it was evident that corruption was instrumental in propagating intra-state conflict. Majority of the respondents representing 80.0 per cent of the total responses indicated that corruption was a latent factor in fuelling the current intra-state conflict while 20.0 per cent differed that corruption was not the main issue fanning the current resource-based conflict in the new state. Those who indicated that corruption was to blame for the current intra-state conflict explained that corruption was responsible for lack proper national infrastructure, it was the reason behind unequal distribution

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[64] The Sudd Institute. (2014). *South Sudan's Crisis: Its Drivers, Key Players, and Post-conflict Prospects.* Special Report. No 2.
[65] Ibid

of resources and marginalization of some ethnic communities and that due to corruption some experts were excluded from resource management. Corruption was termed as a determinant in the current conflict as leaders scrambled to plunder natural resources. The findings of the study are shown in the figure below."
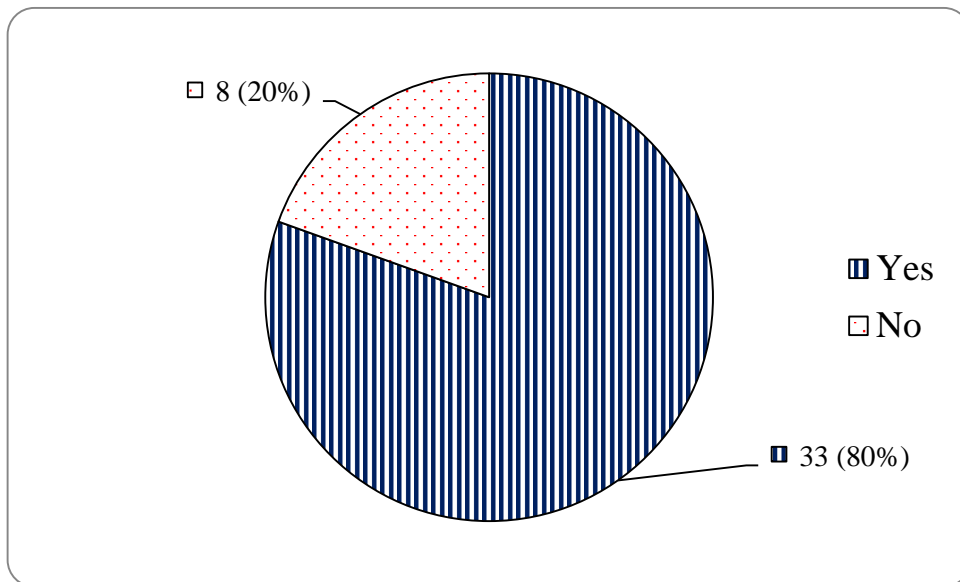
Figure 2.6 Whether Corruption is Fuelling the Current Intra-state Conflict
Source: Researcher, 2018

"According to Rotberg corruption and poor provision of social services make for a deadly combination.[66] Corruption has made many areas in the Upper Nile region to be inaccessible because they are remote and vast, further isolating communities as leaders plunder public resources. According to the responses obtained in this study, the government has done very little in the rural areas to demonstrate its seriousness in improving people's lives.[67] Due to corruption many young people, who essentially became the white army, had not had access to formal education or jobs, and it became very easy to arouse their frustrations with the government and provided a fighting force for the rebellions. Had there been jobs and schools

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[66] Rotberg, R. (2007). *Failed States, Collapse States, Weak States: Causes and Indicators* in R. Arts and R. Jervis (ed). International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues. London: Peason Longman.
[67] Respondents Remarks captured in the Questionnaire

and good living conditions, ethnic rivalry would not have engulfed the whole population as quickly as it has been the case throughout this crisis. Therefore, while political rivalries started the conflict, corruption may have only functioned as a trigger to social and economic difficulties that had built up over many years."

2.4 Historical Hatreds Ethnically Motivated

"After its eruption in Juba in December 2013, the current conflict quickly took an ethnic dimension along historical cracks and rivalry between the Dinka and the Nuer nationalities. The ethnic dimension of this conflict has made it brutally devastating, stoking fears of eminent genocide in the country. Ethnic rivalry and poor provision of social services have collaboratively rendered peace agreements and end of conflict practically impossible in South Sudan. The historical distrust between the Dinka and the Nuer has fueled the conflict to new heights with the civilian population carrying the highest cost of the conflict. More than 10,000 people have been killed and more than one million displaced since the outbreak of the latest violence.[68] Ethnicity and nepotism in the distribution of national wealth and government jobs has been the fanning element in the current conflict. This research study sought to establish the nexus between nepotism and tribalism in the current conflict in South Sudan."

"Typically, the researcher asked opinion on whether nepotism and tribalism were contributors to resource-based conflicts in South Sudan. According to responses obtained for this research, ethnicity led to discrimination of some communities on the allocation of jobs and distribution of natural resources. Additionally, the ethnic equilibrium in the government with a Dinka as president and a Nuer as vice president which has been widely viewed as an important safeguard to preserve stability between the two largest ethnic communities. This study sought

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[68] World Food Programme. (2016). South Sudan Regional Impact situation Report. UN Publication. Available at www.wfp.org Accessed on 8/22/2018

to establish whether nepotism and tribalism were instrumental in propagating resource-based conflict in South Sudan. The findings are as shown in the figure below."
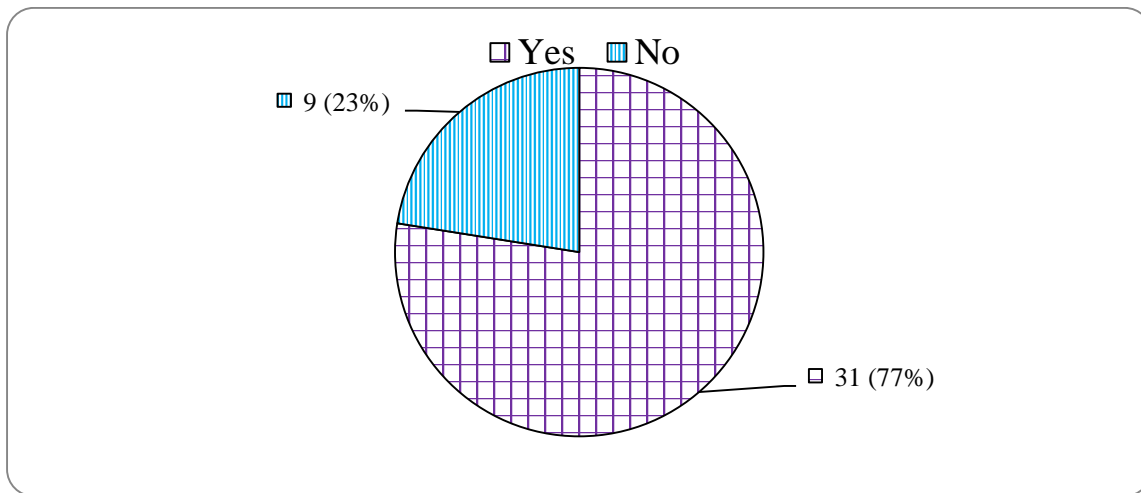
Figure 2.7 Does Nepotism and Tribalism fuel Resource-based Conflict
Source: Researcher, 2018

"The history of distrust between Nuer and Dinka ethnic communities has compounded the conflict dimension producing a protracted stalemate which has lasted for more than five decades. Although the Dinka and the Nuer fought side by side against the government in Khartoum for decades, their relationship has been ambivalent. In 1991, internal leadership struggles between late SPLM leader John Garang (Dinka) on the one side Dr Riek Machar (Nuer), and Lam Akol (Shilluk) on the other led to a split within the SPLM. Machar and Akol created the SPLM-Nasir faction. The major blowback for the SPLM (Dinka) was not only that a large faction of its troops broke away in a critical phase of the war, but also that the SPLM-Nasir faction switched sides to ally with the central government in Khartoum. After becoming Khartoum's new proxy in the civil war, the SPLM-Nasir, consisting mainly of Nuer fighters, killed many civilians in the town of Bor, in what was known as the Bor massacre, on 15 November 1991.[69] Even though this happened almost a twenty five years ago, the event

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[69] Ibid

remains present in the collective memory of the Dinka and the Nuer and has the potential to fuel resentment in the current struggle."

"As already mentioned previously in this study, during the decades old civil war and particularly after the split in the SPLM/A, the Nasir faction under Riek Machar splintered into many armed ethnic militias and controlled a number of territories. Some of these militias were either allied to the Government of Sudan, the SPLA or were independent. After the signing of the CPA, President Salva Kiir in what became known as the *Juba Declaration* essentially invited all the militia groups to join the government and the SPLA in the name of peace. The poorly planned integration of these militias into the SPLA basically created a loophole within the rank and file of the SPLA and the fighting force became overwhelmingly ethnic Nuers. This disproportionate representation of the Nuers in the army is alleged to have fanned ethnic-based violence, as many of the militia commanders were absorbed at inflated ranks, putting them above their former foes in the SPLA."

2.5 Population Pressure and Resource-Based Conflict

"According to the last national Census conducted in 2008, the whole county had a population of more than 8, 260 490 people.[70] According to UNHCR since fighting erupted in Juba in December 2013, seven out of South Sudan's 10 states have been affected by the violence, which has left an estimated 10,000 people dead and over one million displaced. Governments that depend largely on income from natural resource extraction often face a dilemma, popularly known as the *resource curse* or the *Dutch Disease*. This applies by and large to South Sudan, which has the most oil-dependent budget in the world. The combination of population pressure, corruption and dependence on oil rents has kept the current conflict

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[70] ACLED Africa Country Reports-South Sudan-2016

well-oiled with minimal expectation of conflict termination. The government's poor performance and its under-provision of public goods is particularly critical in the states of Jonglei, Unity, and Upper Nile. Chronic insecurity in recent years has also hampered development efforts in these areas and increased the population's dissatisfaction with the government."

"Large parts of the South Sudanese population have faced atrocities, displacement, and food shortages. As of the beginning of May, fighting and food insecurity had forced more than 400,000 people to flee to neighboring countries.[71] Up to 100,000 South Sudanese refugees had entered each of Ethiopia and Uganda. Yet most of the people fleeing their homes have remained within South Sudan's borders. Approximately 80,000 of the more than 800,000 internally displaced persons have sought shelter within local bases of the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS).[72] However, even these supposedly safe camps have come under attack, and people seeking refuge have been targeted and killed."

"The conflict has disrupted farming cycles, grazing patterns, and trade routes, and local markets have collapsed. Many of the displaced lost their livelihoods when they fled their homes. Food prices have skyrocketed since the July fighting, leaving many unable to meet basic needs. The annual inflation rate surged to almost 730% in August 2016, with food costs rising almost 850%.[73] The repeated looting of aid stocks has deterred aid agencies from pre-positioning supplies in many areas, and logistical challenges and ongoing insecurity have necessitated the costly delivery of food by air, and sometimes via air drops. The looting of the World Food Program's main warehouse in Juba, reportedly by government soldiers, during the fighting in July resulted in the loss of 4,500 metric tons of food, which would have fed 220,000

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[71] Basedau, M and Jan P. (2013), *How Ethnicity Conditions the Effect of Oil and Gas on Civil Conflict*: A Spatial Analysis of Africa from 1990 to 2010, in: Political Geography.
[72] Op cit
[73] Blanchard, P.L. (2016). *Conflict in South Sudan and the Challenges Ahead*. Congressional Research Service.

people for a month.[74] This study sought to establish how population pressures contributed to resource based conflict. The reflections of the study findings are shown in the Figure 2.8 below."
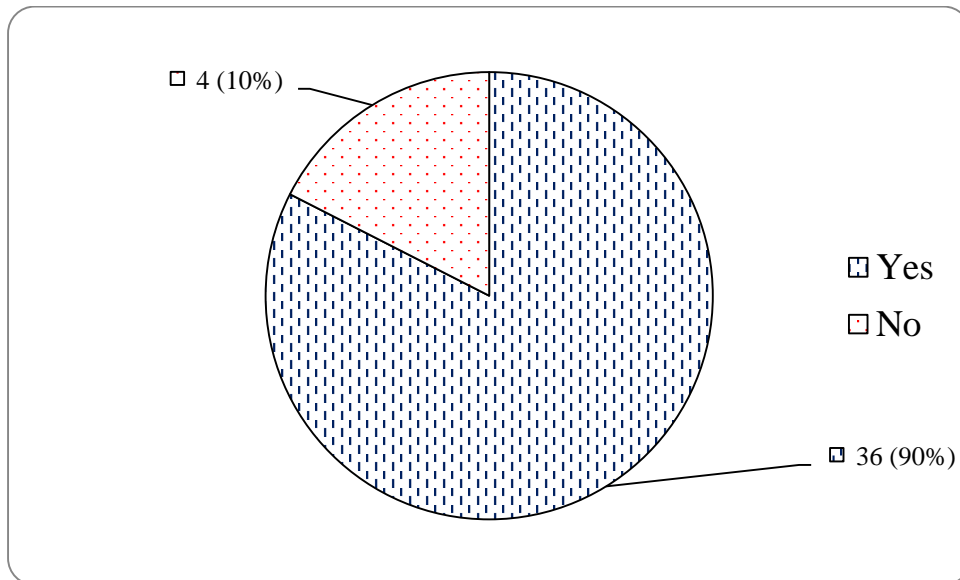
Figure 2.8 Does Population Pressure Influence Resource-Based Conflict
Source: Researcher, 2018

"According to responses obtained by this study, population pressure increases competition for the available natural resources, consequently leading to lack of jobs and increases in criminal activities. Population pressure has therefore exerted immense competition on the available natural resources producing hatred and ethnic bigotry which has characterized the current conflict in South Sudan."

2.6 Chapter Findings (Summary)

"This chapter sought to establish the root causes of resources- based- conflict in Africa through an empirical investigation of the current conflict engulfing the newest state in Africa. From the aforementioned, it is clear that there is a close inter-relation between resources and conflict in developing countries. Current scholarly discourse on resource endowment and

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[74] Ibid

armed conflict gained currency in the late 1990s, when empirical and theoretical literature emerged indicating a statistical correlation between a country's natural resource endowment and the occurrence of violent civil war."

"This has been demonstrated by the recurrence of the current South Sudanese conflict which has now lasted for close to five years. According to Collier and Hoeffler, civil wars are motivated either by greed or grievance. The current civil war in South Sudan is particularly motivated by personal greed orchestrated by ethnic elites led by the President and his Vice-President. This study has established under the economic theory literature models that rebellion is an industry that generates profits from looting, so that 'the insurgents are indistinguishable from bandits or criminals. Such rebellions are motivated by greed and corruption which are presumably so common in South Sudan that profitable opportunities for rebellion cannot be halted."

"As exemplified by the case of South Sudan, grievance is rooted in relative deprivation, social exclusion and inequality, due for example to structural cleavages. In the context of resource-rich societies like South Sudan, grievance is exacerbated by misappropriation of Oil rents, corruption, historical hatred between two ethnicities, resource scarcities, migration and a lack of employment opportunities among the frustrated youths who have taken up arms to challenge the status quo. As a result, three interrelated dimensions of the resource curse are distinguishable: slower economic growth; violent civil conflict; and types of undemocratic regime all of which are currently present in the new state of South Sudan. Summarily, the root causes of the conflict in South Sudan is anchored on number of latent issues have contributed to the current crisis. These include South Sudan's dysfunctional political system and inadequate political leadership (Bad governance), the historical distrust between the Dinka and the Nuer, corruption and the country's unhealthy dependence on oil revenue."

CHAPTER THREE

CONNECTION BETWEEN OIL PRODUCTION AND CONFLICT IN SOUTH SUDAN

3.0 Introduction

"This chapter investigates the nexus between oil production and recurrence of violent civil conflict in the republic of South Sudan. Primarily, the study will utilize empirical evidence gathered from South Sudan from respondents well acquainted with information on oil based economies and who have experienced the impact of oil related conflict(s). This study assumes existence of a causal relationship between natural resource endowment and the outbreak of violent conflict in Africa which is termed variously as highly complex and potentially harmful to state survival, regional stability and international relations. On the African Continent the problems associated with oil-based economies emerges and interacts with political, environmental, economic and sociological demands to produce aggressive behavior characterized by greed which results into violent conflict. Although Africa is immensely endowed with natural resources, they have played a significant role in many violent conflicts, consequently, this research study analyzed the case of South Sudan."

3.1 Background

"African continent is vast and the expanse is known to contain widespread reserves of natural resources with a great potential for mineral beatification. The great mystery lies with the poverty paradox and protracted violent conflicts and civil wars which have engulfed the continent for decades. According to Maphosa in his study of *conflict and resources,* despite Africa wielding great potential of mineral wealth, it is home to most of the least developed

countries of the world.[75] Further, this study articulates that More than two-thirds of the countries in Africa are fragile and characterized by a combination of weak governance infrastructure, little or no service delivery, protracted social unrest and political violence, questions about regime legitimacy, inter-communal strife, food insecurity, economic despair, disputed border conflicts and targeted attacks. Examples are Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Zimbabwe, Zambia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Senegal, South Sudan, Libya, Madagascar, Kenya, Egypt, Burundi, Rwanda, Nigeria and Uganda with the list continuing. Several empirical studies have demonstrated that countries whose wealth is largely dependent on production of primary goods particularly agricultural and oil exploration are highly prone to civil violence.[76]"

"Natural resources play a key role in triggering and sustaining conflicts. The resources that generate many of these problems are largely oil and gas, diamonds, columbium tantalite (coltan), drugs, gold, platinum, uranium and other gemstones; and also timber, coffee, water, land, grazing pasture, livestock and rubber."[77] Resource conflict is embedded in the social and economic grievance which is often quoted as a *resource curse* or rather in developed countries as the *Dutch disease*.[78] According to Collier and Hoeffler, "civil wars and violent conflicts are caused by either greed or grievance."[79] "Three distinguishable dimensions of *resource Curse* are identifiable; slower economic growth, violent civil conflict and undemocratic regimes in political establishments."[80] In most of African countries were natural resources constitute larger part of national budgets, violent conflicts motivate aggressive behavior which encourage

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[75] Maphosa, S.B. (2012). *Natural Resources and Conflict. Unlocking the economic dimension of peace-building in Africa.* Policy Brief. African Institute of South Africa. Briefing No.74.

[76] Humphreys, M. (2005). *Natural resources, conflict, and conflict resolution: Uncovering the mechanisms.* Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol.49 No.(4).

[77] Op cit

[78] Bannon, I. and Collier, P. (Eds), 2003. *Natural resources and violent conflict: Options and actions.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

[79] Collier, P. and Hoeffler, A. (1998). *On economic causes of civil war.* Oxford Economic Papers, 50, pp. 563–573.

[80] Ibid

insurgency or armed military confrontations which often result to protracted civil war or genocide. This study will highlight some of the conflicts in Africa which have been linked to natural resources. The table below shows some of these conflicts indicating the type of the natural resource involved and the period when the conflict took place.

Table 3.1: African Country's Conflicts linked to Natural Resources

Country	Period (Duration)	Natural Resources
Algeria	1992	Oil, Gas
Angola	1975-2002	Oil, Diamonds, Timber, Ivory
Burundi	1993	Land
Cameroon/Nigeria	1997	Oil
Libya	2011	Oil
DRC	1993	Copper/Cobalt/Diamonds/Gold
Liberia	1989-96	Iron/Diamonds/Rubber/Timber
Kenya	1991	Water/Grazing Pasture/Cattle
Rwanda	1990	Coffee/Land
Sierra Leone	1991-99	Diamonds/Bauxite/Timber
Algeria	1992	Oil/Gas
Sudan/South Sudan	1983-to-date	Oil/Land/Boundaries

Source: Maphosa, S.B., 2011

3.2 The Nexus between Natural Resources and Violent Conflict

"In the competition for natural resources two categories of belligerents can be distinguished; those which are not concerned with preserving the state or its people but are only concerned with looting and those who take control of the state and seek to maximize their profit through encouraging growth and stability in their new found domain. For instance, the availability of Diamonds and off-shore Oil in Angola enabled the MPLA (Popular Front for

Liberation of Angola) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNTA) to engage in protracted armed violent conflict long period time (1975-2002). While the military leaders amassed enormous wealth, civilian citizens and children suffered horrific violence during the struggle. Additionally, due to availability and diversity of natural resources in Sierra Leone and Liberia (Timber, Iron ore and Diamonds) warlordism thrived being partly financed by illegal trade of the country's Oil, Timber and Diamonds.[81]"

"To sustain its activities, all rebel organizations and militia groups need financing and supply of essential commodities. The great puzzle lies with how to raise the funding for sustaining these rebel activities. The obvious solution lies with the rebel organization's great capacity to utilize organized violence and havoc to achieve their ends. Since rebel organizations and militia groups are often rural based for obvious military reasons, they therefore turn to exploitation of the available natural resources and engagement in various forms of extortion and exploitation and trade in primary commodities and natural resources particularly minerals and Oil.[82] Several studies have demonstrated that armed conflict in Africa is not caused by only one motivation but rather a multiplicity of them."

Although the motivations for armed conflicts are varied, several scholars and policy makers have demonstrated that natural resources are part of the motivation allowing conflicts to start, escalate and be sustained for several years.[83] "In all rebellions, a clear economic aspect is ever present; more specifically, the aspect of resource predation and looting runs deep even if the initial instigation of the conflict may not have been necessarily linked to grievances

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[81] Reno, W. (1995). *Corruption and state politics in Sierra Leone.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[82] Rosser, A. (2006). *Escaping the resource curse.* New Political Economy, 11(4), pp.557–570.
[83] Herbst, J. (2000). *Economic incentives, natural resources and conflict in Africa.* Journal of African Economies, 9(3), pp. 270–294.

around natural resource exploitation. Lootable resources have therefore been indispensable, or at least handy, to sustain the conflict and among other things, feed them (Rebels)."[84]

This study sought to investigate the connection between oil production and armed conflict in South Sudan. This was achieved by asking respondents to indicate whether oil production contributed to violent conflicts in South Sudan? The responses were varied but majority of the respondents indicated that there was a close interrelationship between Oil production and recurrence of armed violent conflict in the country. From the findings it is clear that 83.0 per cent demonstrated a close linkage between Oil production and recurrence of armed conflict citing various reasons for such occurrence. Some of the reasons advanced for resource-based conflict included; violation of wealth sharing agreements, unequal distribution of Oil generated revenue, embezzlement of Public revenue, Oil availability becoming a '*curse*' instead of a "*blessing*", lack of compensation for the affected persons, purchase of arms from oil-sale proceeds particularly-guns and ammunition.[85] The role played by the availability of Oil in financing and sustaining the current conflict was frequently quoted by the majority of the respondents.

When asked to indicate whether Oil production in the country fueled violent conflict, majority of the respondents affirmed that Oil production was primary grievance by the two main warring parties in South Sudan-SPLM vs SMPL-IO. The findings are illustrated by the figure below.

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[84] Ibid.
[85] Respondents Remarks Obtained from the Questionnaire
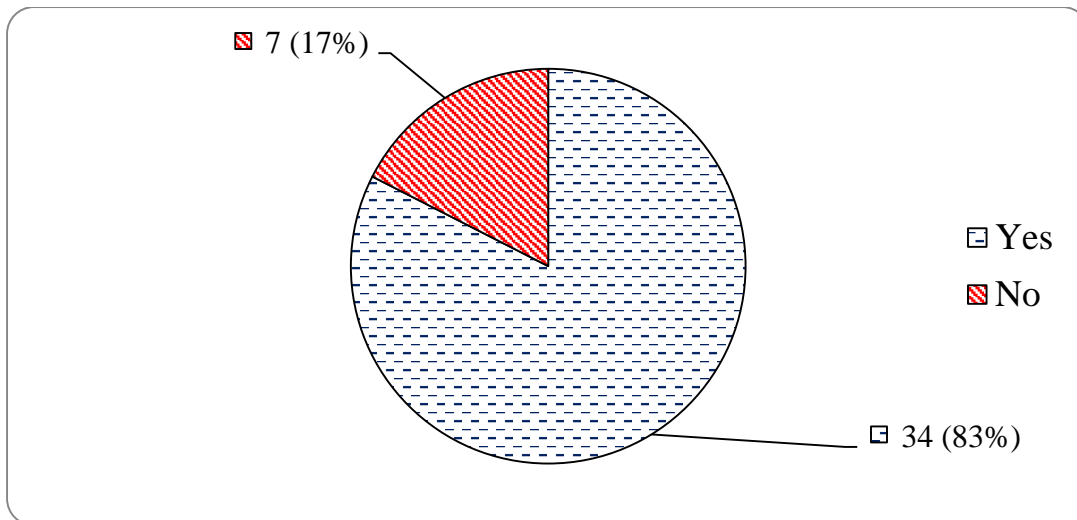
Figure 3.1 Responses on whether Oil Production contributes to Violent Conflict in South Sudan

Source: Field Data, 2018

Only a significant 17.0 per cent of all respondents indicated no causal relationship between oil production and violent conflict in South Sudan. There was no explanation for same. This study therefore makes an abstract generalization; that there is a close linkage between Oil production and the protracted violent armed conflict in South Sudan which recurred recently in 2016.

3.3 South Sudanese Oil Revenue sponsoring Government's Failure

"As earlier mentioned in this study, governments that depend largely on income from natural resource extraction often face a dilemma, popularly known as the *resource curse*. This applies to South Sudan to a greater extend which runs one of the oil-dependent budget in the world. The failure by the government to generate revenue from taxation has narrowed the income base given the near nothing industrialization capacity in the country coupled with rudimentary agricultural production and manufacturing. As a result the government seeks no legitimacy from its citizens hence no accountability, a possible explanation for the resultant lack of clear national policies on utilization of natural resources. The need to probe for an

appropriate policy on Oil in the country demanded this research study to critically review the national Oil policy in the country and its implementation. To that end, a question was posed to respondents to explain the nature of South Sudan's national Oil policy in regards to revenue allocation and facilitation of the current violent conflict."

"According to majority of the respondents representing 95.0 per cent of the total affirmed to the existence of a poor national policy regarding oil revenue distribution and misappropriation of the proceeds from oil sale in facilitating the current violent conflict. As shown in the figure below, majority of the respondents affirmed existence of a poor national Oil policy."
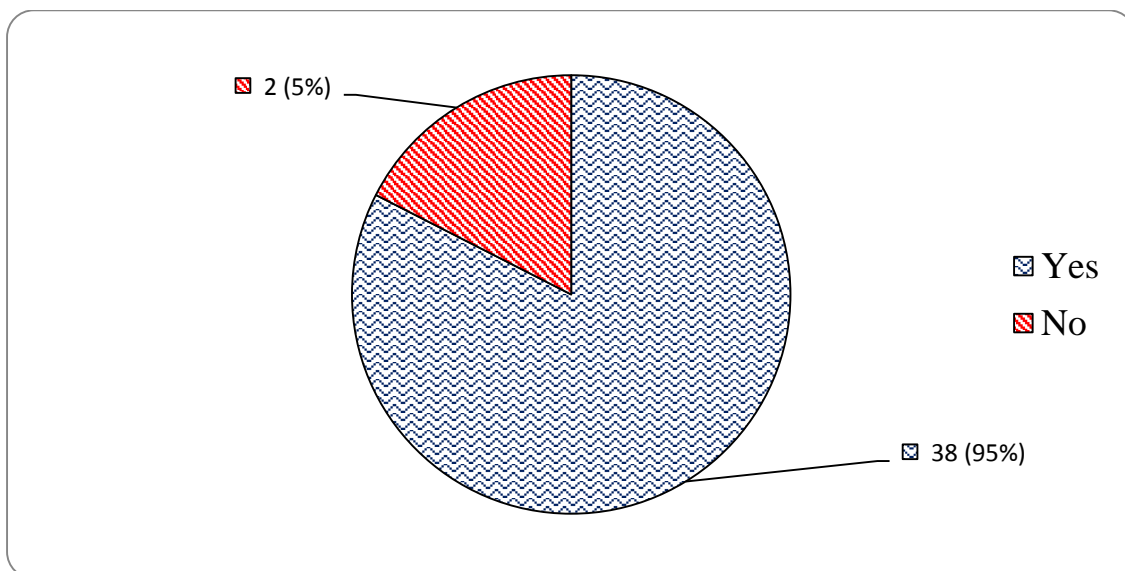
Figure 3.2 Respondent's Remarks on Existence of a national Oil Policy
Source: Field Data, 2018

"Some of the respondents in this research indicated that the government had largely failed to improve the population's living conditions and appeared to be much more concerned with internal competitions about rent-seeking and access to resources and power. Notably, government's poor performance and its under-provision of public goods is particularly critical in the states of Jonglei, Unity, and Upper Nile. Chronic insecurity in recent years has also

hampered development efforts in these areas and increased the population's dissatisfaction with the government."

"The ongoing violent conflict which has erupted in 2013 has disrupted economic situation in South Sudan and in the neighboring countries with severe economic effects have become increasingly apparent, and the country's fiscal position has deteriorated as government revenues have decreased. This has resulted in budgetary constraints and the abandonment of government plans to increase investment. The disruption of oil production due to the violence has had the largest economic impact, as 98 percent of the government's income stems from the oil industry. When fighting spread to the oil-rich states of Jonglei, Unity, and Upper Nile, the already-reduced oil output decreased by a further 40 percent since oil-field technicians were either evacuated or fled the troubled areas."

"Oil Production in the Upper Nile and Unity states declined particularly steeply, with the latter recording a loss of output of about 50,000 barrels per day (b/d) as oil fields were shut down in January 2014.[86] While this drop represented approximately half of Unity State's usual capacity, production in Upper Nile was not as heavily affected. Nevertheless, the output from Upper Nile's blocks 3 and 7, the two most productive blocks in South Sudan, decreased from about 200,000 b/d to approximately 160,000 b/d.[87] At the same time as the country's oil income has declined, the costs incurred by the conflict have eroded the small funding reserves accumulated since oil exports were resumed in summer 2013.[88] For instance, in February 2014 the country's legislative assembly approved a supplementary budget of 749 million South Sudanese pounds (254 million USD) to cover the costs generated by the conflict.[89]"

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[86] The Sudd Institute. (2014). *South Sudan's Crisis: Its Drivers, Key Players, and Post-conflict Prospects.* Special Report.
[87] Ibid
[88] Ibid
[89] Ibid

"According to Collier and Hoeffler there is an empirical evidence showing a relatively high dependence on primary commodities as exports is strongly related with the occurrence of violent armed conflict. Specifically, they assert;"

"*Primary commodity production does not depend upon complex and delicate networks of information and transactions, as with manufacturing. It can also be highly profitable because it is based on the exploitation of idiosyncratic natural endowments rather than the more competitive level playing field of manufacturing. Thus, production can survive predatory taxation. Yet for export it is dependent upon long trade routes, usually originating from rural locations. This makes it easy for organized military force to impose predatory taxation by targeting these trade routes.*" [90]

"Several other commodities such as gold, Coltan, drugs and timber have at various times been linked with many violent conflict flashpoints in Africa. In the case of high-value agricultural commodities, rebel groups are not directly involved in production but predate harvests when they are ripe. Such resource predation is manifested in Uganda, Burundi and the DRC, where rebel groups and armed bandits maraud and loot crop fields. In Sierra Leone the Revolutionary United Front started by levying taxes on coffee, and only shifted to diamonds once the industry was well established."

"Where natural resources like oil occur in large quantities they have been associated with a high incidence of targeted attacks and/or secessionist movements. Examples are Biafra (Nigeria Cabinda (Angola), Katanga/Shaba (DRC), West Sahara (Morocco), Bougainville (Papua New Guinea) and South Sudan, Abyei and Darfur (Sudan). Bannon and Collier assert that in many such contexts ethnic cleavages appear to cause the rebellion because some

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[90] Collier, P. and Hoeffler, A. (1999). *On economic causes of civil war*. Oxford Economic Papers.

particular ethnic group is living on top of the resource and has an incentive to assert its right to secede."

"Rather than improving the fortunes of the people, exploitation and production of mineral commodities have negatively affected socio-economic development and livelihoods in several regions and contributed to unprecedented crisis flashpoints, such as those in Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Cameroon/Nigeria, Casamance region, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, DRC, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Mauritania/Senegal, Nigeria (Niger delta), Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan's Abyei region and Zimbabwe. Just like earlier mentioned, diamonds in Angola were critical to the ability of UNITA to sustain its challenge to the government the same way Oil proceeds have been instrumental in sustaining conflict in South Sudan."

"This study has revealed that oil resources have helped in the perpetuation of the South Sudan conflict. This is majorly through oil resources being used to spread incitement and also procure weapons. The other ways oil resources were found to have helped in the perpetuation of the South Sudan conflict were; oil has led to competition of power and who has the control over it, leaders wanted to control the oil resources and thus the misunderstanding, rape cases and torture leading to a violation of human rights, poor education system and division of families."

3.4 Lack of Proper Compensation as a grievance in Sustaining South Sudanese Conflict

After very many years of armed civil conflict, the government of South Sudan promised to compensate war veterans after the attainment of independence. "Chapter V of the *Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan* proposed the establishment of a compensation and reparations authority. Given the nature and scope of the conflict in South Sudan, the issues of reparations and compensation were highly critical, given that the conflict has displaced millions of South Sudanese and left many without a livelihood. In this context,

reparations and compensation needed to focus on both material and non-material elements, including restitution, compensation, rehabilitation and guarantees of non-repetition."[91]

"According to the peace agreement, the new compensation and reparation authority "*shall provide material and financial support to citizens whose property was destroyed by the conflict*". Surprisingly, no mention is made of compensation for the loss of human lives or of compensation to which orphans and widows of victims of massacres or targeted killings would be entitled. The payment of compensation to murder victims is customary in some South Sudanese cultures." This has not been effected and majority of people were not adequately compensated or rather the government totally failed to be compensate them which has aggravated people's concerns and created hostilities directed towards the same government.

This study sought to establish if lack of (proper) compensation was instrumental in sustaining the current violent conflict in South Sudan by asking respondents to indicate whether lack of compensation to victims and survivors aggravated their concerns and grievances in sustaining violent conflict in South Sudan. The findings of their responses are as shown in the figure below.

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[91] Human Rights Council. (2017). *Report of the Commission on Human Rights in South Sudan*. A/HRC/34/63.
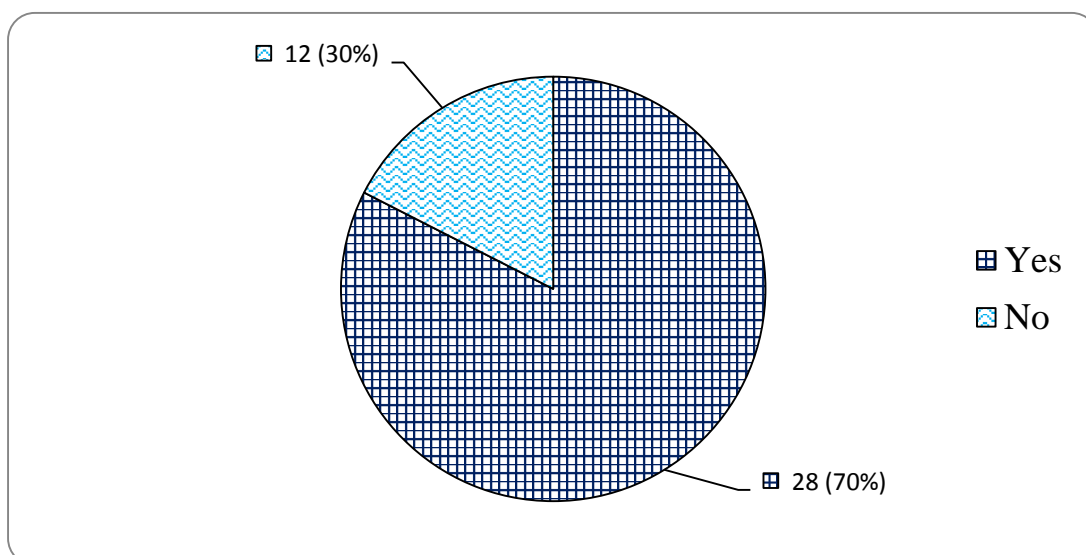
Figure 3.3 Do you think lack of proper compensation to Victims and Survivors Contributed to Violent Conflict in South Sudan
Source: Field Data 2018

From the above findings it is clear that lack of compensation and reparations for victims and Survivors of the decades-old-civil war has contributed to the sustaining of violent conflict in South Sudan. Majority of respondents representing 70.0 per cent affirmed that lack of compensation was a factor for the sustenance of the current conflict. Only 30.0 per cent of the respondents indicated that lack of compensation was not a considerable factor in the South Sudanese conflict. The explanation for the grievances presented by lack of compensation stems from lack of political will to effect the same.

"The establishment of the compensation and reparations authority has been hampered by the lack of political will of the Government of South Sudan. At the time of the signing the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan, President Kiir expressed his reservations about the establishment of the body, and argued that "*funds should be instead channeled into the reconstruction of infrastructure and the rebuilding of livelihoods*

of communities in the States most affected by the conflict"."[92] Many Governments officials argue that, *"instead of paying for reparations and compensation, funds should be invested in development and infrastructure".* "In the view of the Commission, this should never be an "either or" situation, given that every citizen is entitled to benefit from development funds. It is well established internationally that reparations are an acknowledgement and recognition of the wrongdoing done to a victim, without which many victims and survivors would not be in a position to rebuild their lives."[93]

According to a survey conducted in 2014/15, "it found that reparations for survivors enjoyed widespread support, with 81 per cent of respondents agreeing that the Government should provide compensation to victims of human rights violations and abuses."[94] Therefore, this study establishes that lack of compensation and reparations for the victims and survivors of civil war has created avenues for hostilities which have facilitated animosity towards the government which is seen as unconcerned with the socio-economic grievance of its citizens hence contributing to the sustenance of the conflict in the county.

"One important element of the compensation and reparations authority proposed by respondents was to address socioeconomic grievances in South Sudan to avoid further conflicts. Towards that end, the technical committee appointed to establish the commission for truth, reconciliation and healing and the compensation and reparations authority was demanded to consider how to integrate traditional dispute mechanisms into transitional justice mechanisms in order to address conflicts at the local level and avoid conflict escalation."

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[92] Sudan Tribune. (2017). *No Compensations argues Kiir*. Dated 7/8/2017. Available at www.sudantribune.co.ss. Accessed on 8/25/2018.
[93] Op cit
[94] South Sudan Law Society (2015). *Search for a New Beginning: Perceptions of Truth, Justice, Reconciliation and Healing in South Sudan*, June 2015. GoSS Publication.

3.5 Environmental Scarcity and the South Sudanese Conflict

This study sought to establish whether environmental degradation was instrumental in facilitating violent conflict in South Sudan. According to Homer-Dixon, "this concept describes the declining availability of renewable natural resources such as fresh water, soil, forests and fish. Environmental scarcity is an important dimension in the discourse on natural resources and conflict is the phenomenon of environmental scarcity. In view of the pervasive nature of human conflict particularly contemporary intrastate conflict and notions of human security and the popular cynicism about population growth, environmental degradation, climate change and resource scarcity create a linkage between violent conflict and environment."

"Africa continent's share of the world population is increasing exponentially (from 8,9 per cent in 1950 to 14,0 per cent in 2005), and is projected to reach 21,3 per cent in 2050.[95] With a large majority of the population directly dependent on four key renewable resources that are especially crucial to food production water; cropland; forests; and fisheries this growth in population does indeed present the largest and most complex of threats to human security. The environmental scarcity factor which causes conflict can be explained from three distinct dimension namely; demand induced scarcity, supply-induced scarcity and structural induced scarcity.[96]"

"Demand-induced scarcity is primarily created by population growth or increasing per-capita resource-consumption levels.[97] These decrease the amount of limited natural resources available to each individual. Supply-induced scarcity describes 'environmental change' resulting from depletion or degradation of a natural resource that occurs faster than it is renewed by natural processes. Examples include desertification in the Sahel region lacing the

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[95] UN Department of Economic Affairs: Population Division, 2014.
[96] Ibid.
[97] AISA policy Brief. (2012). Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict. No.458/8.

Sahara desert. Other classic examples include pockets of over-populated, over-grazed and over-cultivated interiors in Sudan, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Botswana, South Africa and Zambia.[98] Structural scarcity denotes unequal distribution and access to natural resources in which less powerful groups in the society, relative to other groups, are marginalized from equal access to particular resources. Resources concentrate in the hands of a few elite while the rest are subjected to greater scarcity. Such unequal social distribution does not presuppose actual shortage if the resource were to be distributed evenly."

"In many countries in Africa the colonial governments segregated local citizens, and this was one of the major causes of violent nationalist movements. In South Africa, for example, the system of apartheid provided whites with 87 per cent of the land, while almost 75 per cent of the country's black population lived in squalor and within restricted areas that accounted for only 13 per cent of the land. Resources were also inequitably distributed within the restricted areas, as local elites controlled access to productive agriculture and grazing land. The resource-based conflict which followed is an historical landmark which haunts the country to-date."

This study sought evidence from respondents on whether lack of proper environmental management contributed to conflict in South Sudan. From the findings this study established that 87.0 per cent agreed that environmental scarcities and inadequacies in management contributed to the outbreak and sustenance of violent conflict in South Sudan. The findings indicated that only 13.0 per cent disagreed of existence of any linkage between environmental scarcities and the current conflict in South Sudan. The figure below illustrates the Respondents responses as they were analyzed.

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[98] Ibid
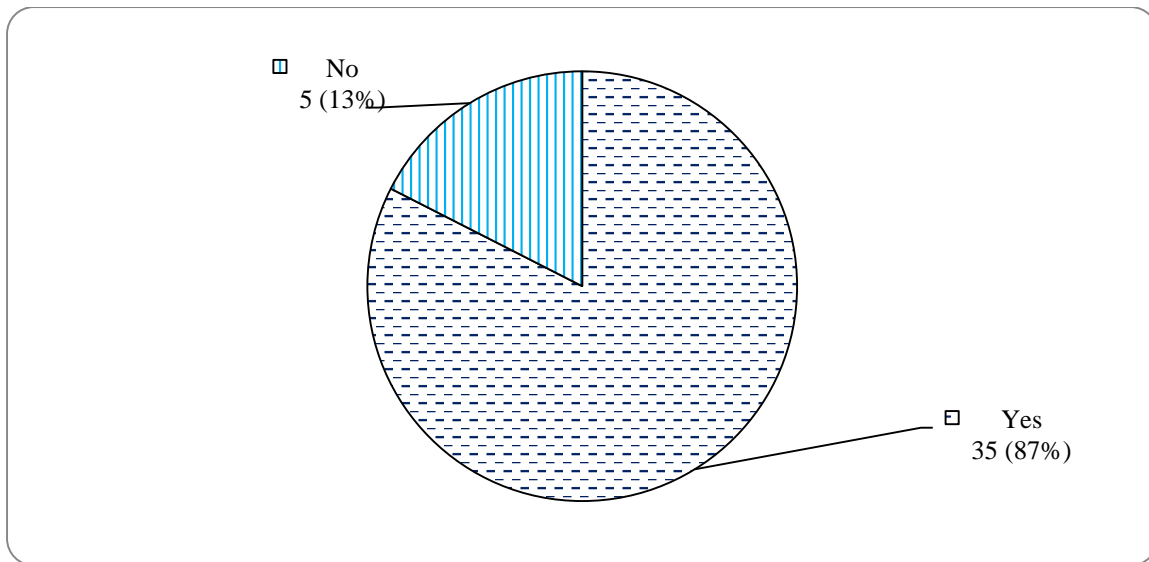
Figure 3. 4 Whether Environmental Scarcities Contributed to South Sudanese Conflict Source; Field Data, 2018

The study probed the respondents who agreed that environmental scarcities contributed to outbreak and sustenance of violent conflict in South Sudan, consequently, the respondents mentioned that; environmental degradation depletes resources leading to competition and greed which results into violent conflict, mass displacement and evacuation of people also leads to outbreak of violent conflict.[99] Others pointed at the oil spillage which destroy pasture and water for their livestock hence creating hostilities directed towards oil drilling companies. "The relationship between environmental scarcity and conflict is a complex one. Scarcities can interact with numerous social, economic, and political factors, such as the legitimacy of the political regime and the character of the economic system. These social effects can then, under certain conditions, cause ethnic conflicts, insurgencies, and toppling of regimes." [100] The interaction between environmental degradation in South Sudan has therefore resulted to resource grievance which is partly a factor for the outbreak of the violent armed conflict.

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[99] Respondent Remarks from the Questionnaire
[100] Ibid.

3.6 Other Oil-Related Factors causing Violent Conflict in South Sudan

This study sought to establish some of other oil-related factors responsible for causing violent conflict in South Sudan. The respondents were asked to mention some of the factors they thought contributed to the sustainability of the protracted violent in the country. Some of the responses obtained by this study included lack of transparency in revenue Allocation, Oil related corruption, dependency on a single foreign exchange earner, lack of employment, mismanagement of oil revenue, nepotism resulting to discrimination of some communities in the public service, lack of proper planning , insecurity in the oil related areas, displacement of people ,poverty , internal rebellion, competition of leaders on resource control, greed from leaders, poor policies, lack of education characterized by high levels if illiteracy, negative international influence on internal affairs and historical injustices among others.

3.7 Chapter Findings

"From the onset of this chapter, the ultimate objective was to utilize empirical evidence to investigate the nexus between oil production and recurrence of violent civil conflict in the republic of South Sudan. After probing respondent's remarks and finding coupled with the existing literature on the same, this study has established a close linkage between availability of Oil resource and the outbreak and sustainability of armed violent conflict in South Sudan. The finding is rooted in the narrative of greed and grievance which typically characterizes other African countries endowed with vast commercial natural resources. As already mentioned, Oil resource in South Sudan has resulted into more humanitarian conflict and suffering than development. This phenomenon fits to what has been variously been referred to as *resource curse* in Africa. Empirical evidence supported by 83.0 per cent of total respondents indicated a close nexus between availability of Oil rents and facilitation of militia and rebel activity in the newest country. Whereas, other factors such as environmental scarcities, poor policy

implementation, ethnic bigotry and political upheavals have contributed to the occurrence and

recurrence of violent conflict, the centrality of Oil sponsored conflict cannot be denied."

CHAPTER FOUR

INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL ELITES IN THE OIL-BASED-CONFLICT IN SOUTH SUDAN

4.0 Introduction

"This chapter presents the findings on the third objective of the study which was to examine the role of the political elites in the oil-based conflict in South Sudan. Data was collected using questionnaires. The findings are presented using pie charts."

4.1. Ways in which Political Elites influence Oil-based Conflict in South Sudan

To begin with, the researcher sought to establish various ways in which political elites influenced oil-based conflict in South Sudan.

4.1.1 Political Elites Fuel Ethnic Conflicts

The researcher sought to find out if political elites influence oil-based -conflict in South Sudan by fueling ethnic conflicts. To this, most of the respondents (90%) said yes. Only 4 (10%) were of the contrary opinion. These findings agree with those of Chabal and Daloz who are posit that in Africa, elites influence views on how to manage natural resources. This is particular so since when the elites come to power, chaos often come into place as different parties fight over control of resources in the wake of the doctrine of "winner-takes all politics" which often denies poor people opportunities to have stake in oil resources which often breeds conflict over these resources.[101] These findings are presented in Figure 4.1.

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[101] Chabal, P., & Daloz, J. (1999) Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument. Oxford: Jamec Currey.
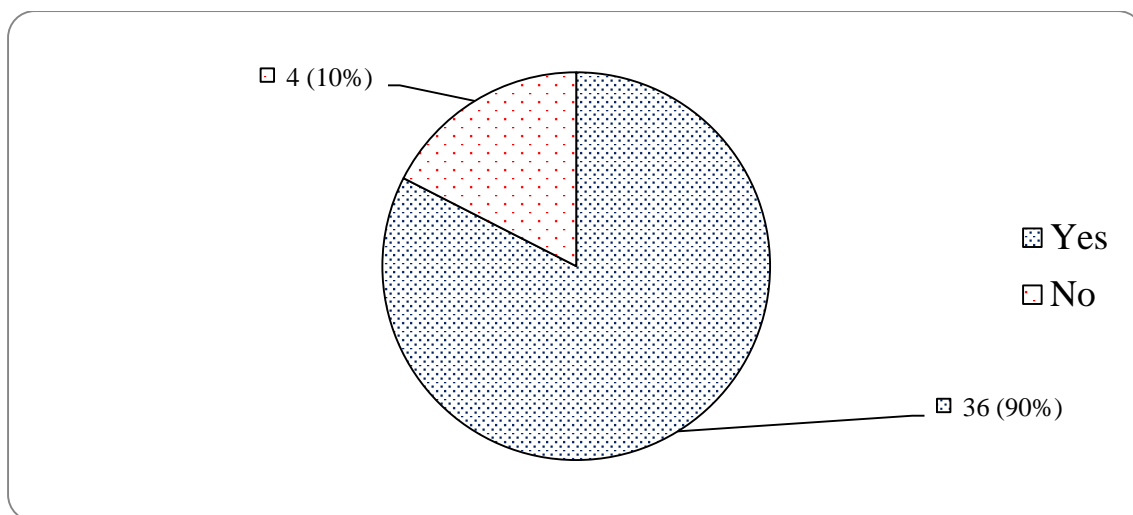
Figure 4.1 Political Elites Fuel Ethnic Conflicts
Source: Researcher, 2018

The respondents were also asked to highlight the ways in which political elites fueled conflicts. To this, the respondents said that this was through: arming the ethnic militias and financing the militias. These findings corroborate the findings of Lujala who argues that in countries such as Sudan oil is a crucial factor determining the developments of conflict.[102]The respondents also said that political elites did this by discrimination and segregation as well as advancing self-interests at the expense of the people and inciting people. Discrimination leads to the resource curse where fighting arises due to lack of sharing oil resources as argued by Smith.[103]

4.1.2 Political Elites Promoting Corruption and Patronage

Most of the respondents (83%) pointed out that political elites influenced oil-based conflicts in South Sudan by promoting corruption and patronage. Conversely, only 17% were of contrary opinion as shown in Figure 4.2. These findings agree with Elke Grawert and

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[102] Lujala, P. (2010): The spoils of nature: Armed civil conflict and rebel access to natural resources, *Journal of Peace Research. Vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 15–28.*
[103] Smith M.A.S. (2008). *From Conflict to Collaboration: The Story of the Great Bear Rainforest*. Vancouver: Forest Ethics.

Christine Andra who argue that most oil rich African countries continue to experience civil wars political instability, and rampant corruptions among others. This is usually sustained by political elites, which aggravates poor people who lived around oil installation sites before the discovery of oil always.[104]
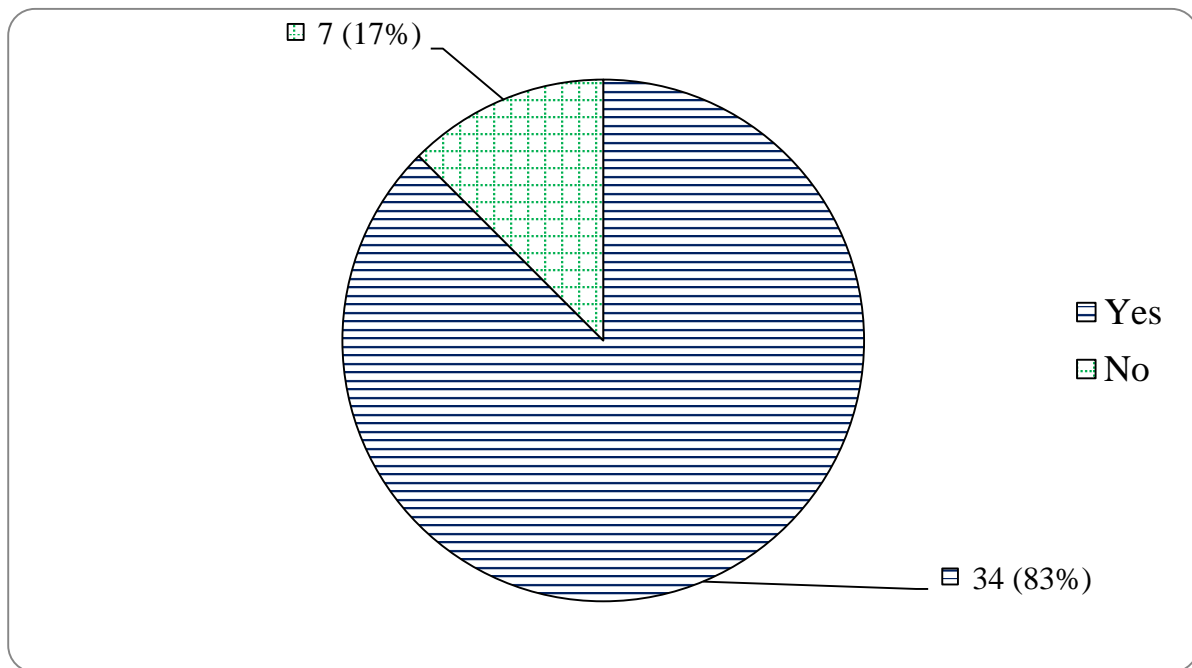
Figure 4.2 Political Elites Promoting Corruption and Patronage
Source: Researcher, 2018

When asked how political elicited promoted corruption and patronage, the respondents pointed out that this was through advancement of nepotism and favoritism and providing poor people with guns. This in turn contributes to the resource curse as argued by Smith since resources cannot be distributed equitably in such an atmosphere.[105]

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[104] Elke Grawert and Christine Andra: Brief 48 oil investment and conflict in upper Nile State South Sudan, Bonn International centre of conversion BICC Germany (2003).
[105] Smith M.A.S. (2008). *From Conflict to Collaboration: The Story of the Great Bear Rainforest*. Vancouver: Forest Ethics.

4.1.3 Political Elites Engage in Bad Governance

Political elites also supported bad governance and this led to oil-based conflicts in South Sudan. This is shown by 83% who were of that opinion as shown in Figure 4.3. This agrees with the findings of Chabal and Daloz who cite the neo-patrimonial school of thought which shows that corruption and bad governance by African elites influences conflict over natural resources.[106]
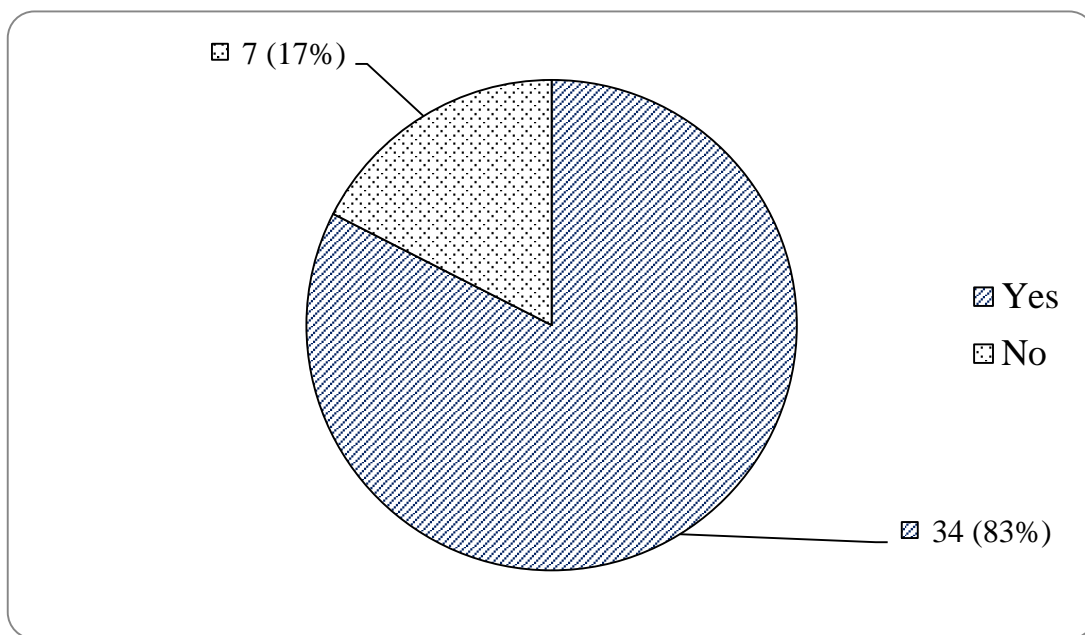
Figure 4.3 Political Elites Engage in Bad Governance

Source: Researcher, 2018

The respondents were also asked how engagement in bad governance by political elites influenced oil-based conflicts. To this, the respondents said that this was by fueling corruption which agrees with Chabal and Daloz,[107] by sustaining inequitable distribution of resources, misusing oil revenue, contribution to division among the people, leading to employment of incompetent people and allowing anarchy and violation of human rights which are part of the

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[106] Chabal, P., & Daloz, J. (1999) Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument. Oxford: Jamec Currey.
[107] Chabal, P., & Daloz, J. (1999) Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument. Oxford: Jamec Currey.

negative effects of the resource curse as argued by Smith.[108] These factors go on to contribute to discontent among the people hence eruption of conflict.

4.1.4 Political Elites Support Bad Policies on Oil Benefits Distribution

When asked if political elites supported bad policies on oil benefits distribution, most of the respondents (77%) answered in the affirmative while 23% were of a contrary opinion. These findings are presented in Figure 4.4. This further buttresses the findings of Smith who posit that bad governance supports bad policies on resource use, leading to disgruntlement and conflict among the people living around these resources.[109]
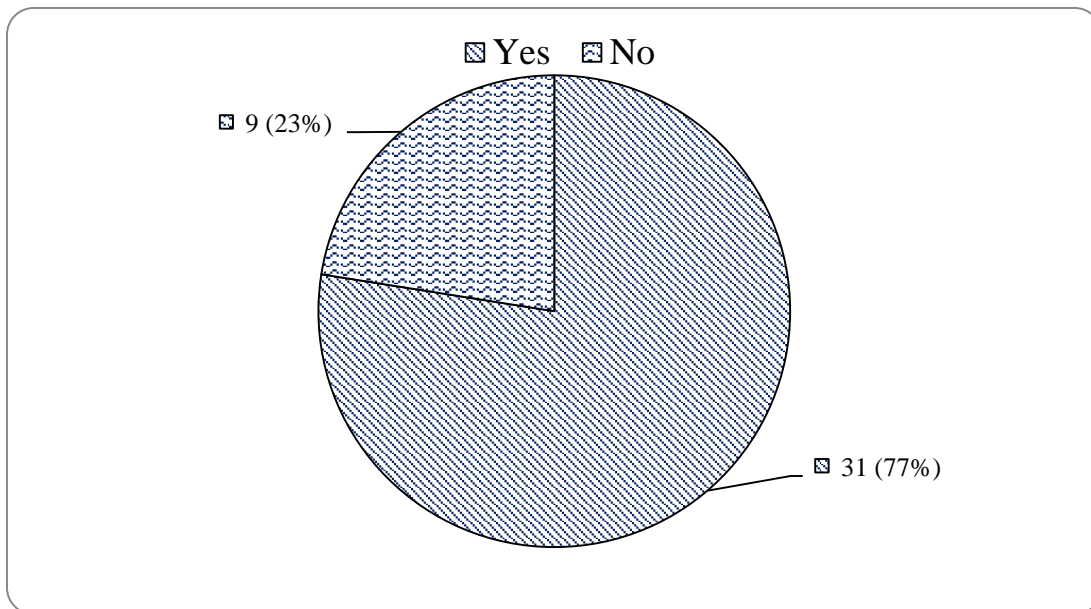
Figure 4.4 Political Elites Support Bad Policies on Oil Benefits Distribution
Source: Researcher, 2018

When asked how political elites supported bad policies on oil benefits distribution, the respondents pointed out that this was through misuse of oil revenue, promotion of nepotism

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[108] Smith M.A.S. (2008). *From Conflict to Collaboration: The Story of the Great Bear Rainforest*. Vancouver: Forest Ethics.
[109] Ibid.

and tribalism and support of exclusion of some south Sudanese from oil benefits leading to discord and discontent.

4.2 Other Ways in Which Political Elites Fueled Ethnic Conflict in South Sudan

The respondents were also asked to point out other ways which other ways do political elites fuel ethnic conflicts in South Sudan. To this, the respondents said that political elites fueled such conflicts by fuelling cattle rustling. They also supported nepotism and corruption which fueled conflicts among the people.[110] In some instances they oversaw violation of laws. Since they were in leadership positions, they influenced decision making in favour of their ethnic groups leading to the resource curse as disfavoured people took to arms as posited by Smith.[111] Some of them did so by arming the ethnic groups. Others incited the people. Others funded armed groups. In some cases, others legitimized corruption, patronage and violence, which is also in line with the position taken by Smith.[112]

4.3 Chapter Summary

"This chapter presented the findings on the third objective of the study which was to examine the role of the political elites in the oil-based conflict in South Sudan. To begin with, the researcher sought to establish various ways in which political elites influenced oil-based conflict in South Sudan. Herein, the researcher sought to find out if political elites influence oil-based - conflict in South Sudan by fueling ethnic conflicts. To this, most of the respondents (90%) said yes. Only 4 (10%) were of the contrary opinion. These findings agree with those of Chabal and Daloz who are posit that in Africa, elites influence views on how to manage natural resources. This is particular so since when the elites come to power, chaos often come into

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[110] Chabal, P., & Daloz, J. (1999) Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument. Oxford: Jamec Currey.
[111] Smith M.A.S. (2008). *From Conflict to Collaboration: The Story of the Great Bear Rainforest*. Vancouver: Forest Ethics.
[112] Ibid.

place as different parties fight over control of resources in the wake of the doctrine of "winner-takes all politics" which often denies poor people opportunities to have stake in oil resources which often breeds conflict over these resources.[113]"

"The respondents were also asked to highlight the ways in which political elites fueled conflicts. To this, the respondents said that this was through: arming the ethnic militias and financing the militias. These findings corroborate the findings of Lujala who argues that in countries such as Sudan oil is a crucial factor determining the developments of conflict.[114]The respondents also said that political elites did this by discrimination and segregation as well as advancing self-interests at the expense of the people and inciting people. Discrimination leads to the resource curse where fighting arises due to lack of sharing oil resources as argued by Smith.[115]"

"Furthermore, most of the respondents (83%) pointed out that political elites influenced oil-based conflicts in South Sudan by promoting corruption and patronage. Conversely, only 17% were of contrary opinion as shown in Figure 4.2. These findings agree with Elke Grawert and Christine Andra who argue that most oil rich African countries continue to experience civil wars political instability, and rampant corruptions among others. This is usually sustained by political elites, which aggravates poor people who lived around oil installation sites before the discovery of oil always.[116] When asked how political elicited promoted corruption and patronage, the respondents pointed out that this was through advancement of nepotism and favoritism and providing poor people with guns. This in turn contributes to the resource curse as argued by Smith since resources cannot be distributed equitably in such an atmosphere.[117]"

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[113] Chabal, P., & Daloz, J. (1999) Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument. Oxford: Jamec Currey.

[114] Lujala, P. (2010): The spoils of nature: Armed civil conflict and rebel access to natural resources, *Journal of Peace Research. Vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 15–28.*

[115] Smith M.A.S. (2008). *From Conflict to Collaboration: The Story of the Great Bear Rainforest*. Vancouver: Forest Ethics.

[116] Elke Grawert and Christine Andra: Brief 48 oil investment and conflict in upper Nile State South Sudan, Bonn International centre of conversion BICC Germany (2003).

[117] Smith M.A.S. (2008). *From Conflict to Collaboration: The Story of the Great Bear Rainforest*. Vancouver: Forest Ethics.

"The findings also show that political elites supported bad governance and this led to oil-based conflicts in South Sudan. This is shown by 83% who were of that opinion as shown in Figure 4.3. This agrees with the findings of Chabal and Daloz who cite the neo-patrimonial school of thought which shows that corruption and bad governance by African elites influenced conflict over natural resources.[118] When asked how engagement in bad governance by political elites influenced oil-based conflicts, the respondents said that this was by fueling corruption which agrees with Chabal and Daloz,[119] by sustaining inequitable distribution of resources, misusing oil revenue, contribution to division among the people, leading to employment of incompetent people and allowing anarchy and violation of human rights which are part of the negative effects of the resource curse as argued by Smith.[120] These factors go on to contribute to discontent among the people hence eruption of conflict."

"The study also sought to find out if political elites supported bad policies on oil benefits distribution, most of the respondents (77%) answered in the affirmative while 23% were of a contrary opinion. These findings are presented in Figure 4.4. This further buttresses the findings of Smith who posit that bad governance supports bad policies on resource use, leading to disgruntlement and conflict among the people living around these resources.[121] In this regard, the respondents pointed out that this was through misuse of oil revenue, promotion of nepotism and tribalism and support of exclusion of some south Sudanese from oil benefits leading to discord and discontent."

"Lastly, the respondents were also asked to point out other ways which other ways do political elites fuel ethnic conflicts in South Sudan. To this, the respondents said that political elites fueled such conflicts by fuelling cattle rustling. They also supported nepotism and

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[118] Chabal, P., & Daloz, J. (1999) Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument. Oxford: Jamec Currey.
[119] Chabal, P., & Daloz, J. (1999) Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument. Oxford: Jamec Currey.
[120] Smith M.A.S. (2008). *From Conflict to Collaboration: The Story of the Great Bear Rainforest*. Vancouver: Forest Ethics.
[121] Ibid.

corruption which fueled conflicts among the people.[122] In some instances they oversaw violation of laws. Since they were in leadership positions, they influenced decision making in favour of their ethnic groups leading to the resource curse as disfavoured people took to arms as posited by Smith.[123] Some of them did so by arming the ethnic groups. Others incited the people. Others funded armed groups. In some cases, others legitimized corruption, patronage and violence, which is also in line with the position taken by Smith.[124]"

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[122] Chabal, P., & Daloz, J. (1999) Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument. Oxford: Jamec Currey.
[123] Smith M.A.S. (2008). *From Conflict to Collaboration: The Story of the Great Bear Rainforest*. Vancouver: Forest Ethics.
[124] Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

VARIOUS EFFORTS TO ADDRESS THE OIL-BASED CONFLICT IN SOUTH SUDAN

5.0 Introduction

This study sought to establish various efforts and strategies employed over time to address the current conflict in South Sudan. Consequently, the study utilized empirical evidence coupled with existing literature to establish the various efforts that have been put in place to restore security and peace in the newest state in the international system. Some of the methods probed by this study included mediation, inclusivity, Peace Agreements, infrastructural development and equitable distribution of revenue. First, this study will probe the role played by mediation in the process of ending the current intra-state conflict.

5.1 Mediation

This study sought to establish the role played by mediation in solving the current intra-state conflict by seeking empirical evidence on the role of mediation in the current conflict. "In September 2016, the African Union Commission (AUC) organized a meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to discuss how its recently established Mediation Support Unit (MSU) could be made operational. The MSU was created to support the work of AU mediators and improve the AU's ability to respond to changing demands of conflict mediation. The IGAD-led mediation process, which brought numerous multilateral efforts together, persuaded the South Sudanese stakeholders to sign the August 2015 Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS). One of the key structures established in terms of this agreement was the Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (JMEC) chaired by the former president of Botswana, Festus Mogae, to monitor the implementation of the peace agreement."

This study sought from the respondents their opinion concerning the mediation process. Specifically, the study sought empirical evidence as to whether mediation was instrumental in resolving the current conflict. From the findings established, majority of the respondents representing 54.0 per cent of the total indicated that mediation was a central to conflict resolution while 46.0 per cent indicated that mediation was not part of the conflict resolution process. Those who objected to the role of mediation cited reasons such as favoring the Government as the only problem mediation presented to conflict resolution in South Sudan. The figure below shows the illustration of the study findings;
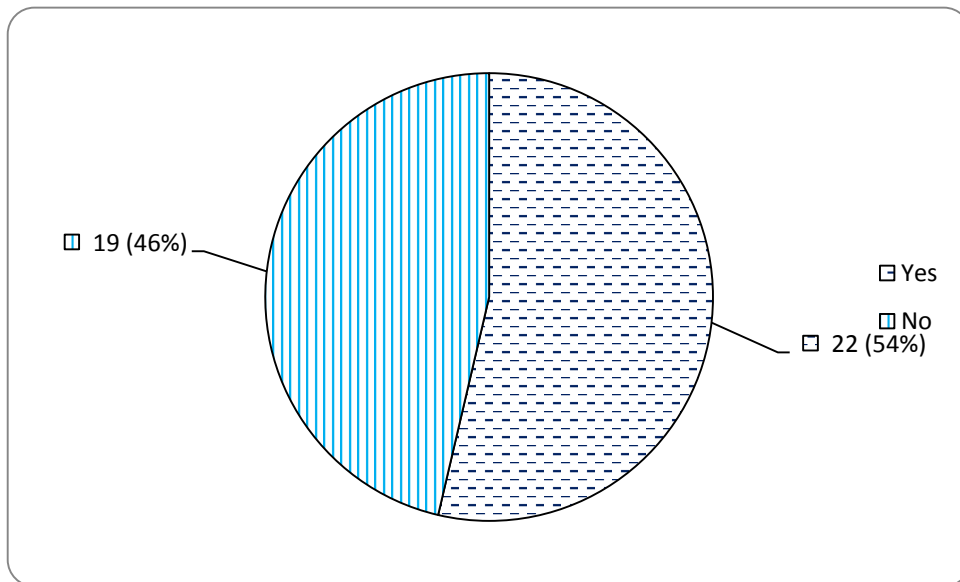
Figure 5.1 Responses showing the Role of Mediation in Conflict Resolution

Source; Field Data, 2018

5.1.2 Explanation

"From the start, IGAD had played a prominent and central role in the South Sudan mediation. Its members and those who initiated the negotiations are those most affected by and closest to the conflict.[125] IGAD's centrality also supports the subsidiarity principle promoted

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[125] Motsamai, D. (2017). *Assessing AU Mediation Envoys: The Case of South Sudan*. Institute for Security Studies (ISS).

by the AU that local conflicts should be dealt with by regional mechanisms. Its work was recently complicated by a near collapse of the peace deal in July 2016; a deal which increasingly became fragile. Its first move was to establish a High Level Ad-hoc Committee on 5 December 2014 to support peace negotiation efforts. The committee comprised of the presidents of South Africa, Algeria, Chad, Nigeria and Rwanda.[126] However, the committee did not meet until mid-June 2015 and its precise impact on the IGAD mediation remains unclear."

"The mediation effort is predicated under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter under which regional organizations can undertake activities in the area of conflict mediation and resolution. This study argues that, mediation has been instrumental in negotiating for the cessation of hostilities in South Sudan. Particularly, in January 2014, the mediation process resulted in the signing of two landmark agreements on the cessation of hostilities and the political detainees.[127]"

"This study argues that the authority's mediation process is in danger of failing due to a number of reasons, including the authority's structural problems and lack of leverage to enforce its will on the parties to the conflict. Ultimately, the mediation process may have a chance of success if the organization can tap into its mediation experience gained during the Sudan civil war and Somalia peace processes. Moreover, the authority's mediation of the South Sudan conflict has a chance of succeeding because it has been recognized by the African Union and the United Nations among others as the only process to resolve the problem. Mediation remains the central process through which conflict will be resolved in the country."

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[126] Sudan Tribune (2017). *IGAD appoints former Botswana president to head monitoring commission on South Sudan*, 20 0ctober 2015.

[127] Apuuli, K.P. (2015). *IGAD's Mediation in the Current South Sudan Conflict: Prospects and Challenges*. African Security journal. Vol.8, 2015, Issue 2.

5.2 Equitable Distribution of Oil-Benefits

One of the conflict grievance highly pronounced in the current South Sudanese conflict has been the unequal distribution of oil revenue in the country. The government of South Sudan relies heavily on the oil revenue to finance its budget. Due to the outbreak of the conflict, "foreign exchange receipts and government revenues accounting for over 98 percent of which come from oil sales, have plummeted as world oil prices have collapsed and the war has disrupted oil production."[128]"The International Monetary Fund (IMF) warned in June 2016 of "*a risk of total economic collapse*" and a macroeconomic situation in which "imbalances are large and economic buffers are exhausted.[129]"

This study sought to establish how distribution or revenue from Oil proceeds was effected in the country. The greed and grievance phenomenon of the conflict dimension has been mentioned in respondent's remarks terming the distribution of revenue as the most contentious issue. According to the study findings, 80.0 per cent of respondents indicated that there was no equitable distribution of Oil resources which was the central grievance between the warring parties. Greed among the ruling elites was termed as the root cause of the ongoing conflict since they looted state coffers to finance their respective militia and rebel activities through proceeds derived from Oil sale. The study also established that a significant 20.0 per cent of respondents believed that revenue derived from oil sale was equitably distributed. Those who remarked equity in the sharing of revenue were particularly civil servants. The findings are illustrated in the figure below.

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[128] Aide-Memoire. (2016*). International Monetary Fund 2016 Article IV Consultation with the Government of the Republic of South Sudan,"* May 31, 2016.

[129] Festus M. (2016). Opening Statement of the JMEC Chair at the Plenary of 23 June 2016.
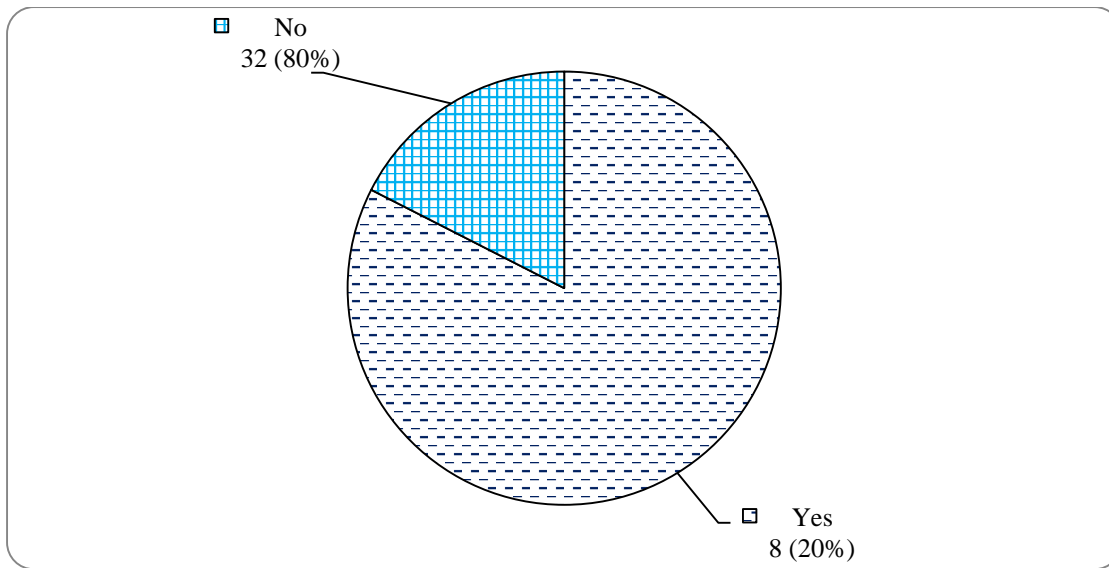
Figure 5.2 Is there equitable distribution of oil benefits?

Source: Field Data, 2018

5.2.1 Explanation

This study probed the explanation for the diversity in responses and deduced from the remarks that peace Accords called for equitable distribution of Oil resources hence the reference point for those who agreed to equitable distribution of oil rents. Particularly, Chapter VI (1.5) of the 2015 IGAD Agreement on the resolution of conflict in South Sudan called for sharing of wealth equitably among all the regions in the country.[130] Whereas, on paper it sounded very pleasing and equitable, the practical implementation of such general principles has been hampered by the greed and selfishness of the ruling elites. The country continues to suffer from dilapidated infrastructure which is currently in a very sorry state. The state of national infrastructure is dire and the South Sudan's economic situation is dire.

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[130] IGAD. (2015). *Agreement on the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan*. AU Secretariat.

"Additionally, the government revenues have plummeted leading to liberalization of the exchange rate in December 2015 which resulted in a nearly 90 percent devaluation of the South Sudanese pound.[131] Inflation reached close to 700 percent in September 2016 and continues to escalate where it is projected that the government could face more than $1.1 billion 25 percent of the gross domestic product in deficits in the 2016–2017 fiscal year.[132] Moreover, prices of basic commodities have skyrocketed as real wages have plunged, exacerbating the country's already severe food crisis, especially among market-dependent households in urban areas. For instance, the price of sorghum in Juba in March 2016 was 400 percent above the five-year average.[133]"

5.3 The role of National Infrastructure in the Conflict Dynamics

The South Sudan conflict has been politically instigated as already mentioned in this study which has assumed ethnic bigotry which has fueled genocidal enclaves. Whereas, there is a limited co-relation between infrastructural development and the occurrence of violent conflict, this study realized developmental inadequacies have contributed significantly to the grievances of the warring parties. Particularly, in Unity and in the Bahr el Ghazal region states. Specifically, this study sought to establish whether infrastructural development was a component in the current conflict. The findings established that national infrastructure for instance-the Juba International Airport was in a dilapidated state while urban roads and social amenities like schools and hospitals were ravaged by both the Sudan Civil war and the current intra-state conflict.[134] The figure below illustrates the empirical evidence based on the perceptions of the respondents who participated in this study. The respondents indicated that

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[131] International Monetary Fund. (2016). *"IMF Staff Completes 2016 Article IV Mission to South Sudan,"* news release, June 1, 2016.
[132] Ibid
[133] Ibid
[134] Remarks from the Respondents

proper infrastructure in the country facilitated the distribution of relief food, medical supplies and was instrumental in evacuation of civilians in battle zones particularly women and children. With availability of infrastructure investors were able to deliver commodities to the war-torn state while the opposite resulted to humanitarian suffering which increased human strife and doubled rivalries and animosity particularly between the two traditional rivals featuring Nuer and Dinka. The Figure below illustrates the responses regarding whether infrastructural development was instrumental in the conflict dynamics.
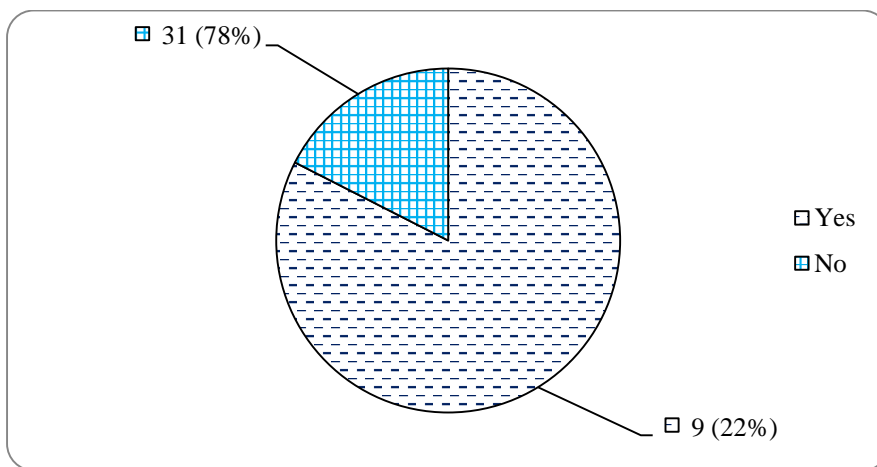
Figure 5.3 Does Infrastructure Development Influence South Sudanese Conflict

Source: Field Data, 2018

5.3.1 Explanation

This study probed further the findings illustrated above and established that majority of the respondents representing 78.0 per cent viewed infrastructure development as a critical pillar in the ongoing conflict by terming it as a grievance which the government of South Sudan has abandoned as political leaders engage each other in a bitter political feud which has ravaged the country and escalated to near genocide levels. A significant 22.0 per cent of all respondents contrasted majority views and exclaimed that infrastructural development featured nowhere in the current intra-state conflict terming infrastructure as the reason why investors are interested

in setting businesses in the country due to availability of passable roads and reliable electricity hence ability to generate income.

"Additionally, on the aspect of infrastructure development role in alleviating conflict in South Sudan, as the state was in the process of construction, the AU opened a Liaison Office in Juba in 2008 with the intention of supporting the implementation of the CPA. Among other tasks, it facilitated the observation missions of the AU during the 2010 elections and the 2011 South Sudanese referendum, which were the two major benchmarks of the CPA. [135] The mandate of the Juba office was also to facilitate the work of the AU Ministerial Committee on Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development and other fact-finding missions to South Sudan. This is a clear demonstration that there is close nexus between infrastructural development and conflict resolution."

5.4 Employment of Locals in Public Service

One of the reasons advanced by various scholars researching the conflict in South Sudan have demonstrated a close linkage between skewed allocation of public jobs to particular ethnic community while excluding the rest a factor which has raised hatred and animosity among the excluded. While accusations of ethnic favoritism in the public sector are amazingly very ripe, the government has done little to remedy the situation. The information obtained from the field indicated the disparities as informed by various respondents. Consequently, the figure below shows these respondent's responses obtained by this study regarding the role of employment in the public sector. From the findings it is clear that sharing of public jobs opportunities had a profound impact in informing the conflict dynamics.

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[135] *The profile of the AU Office in Juba, South Sudan*. Available at; www.peaceau.org/en/ page/40-2890-static-south-sudan-liaison-office. Accessed on 28/8/2018.
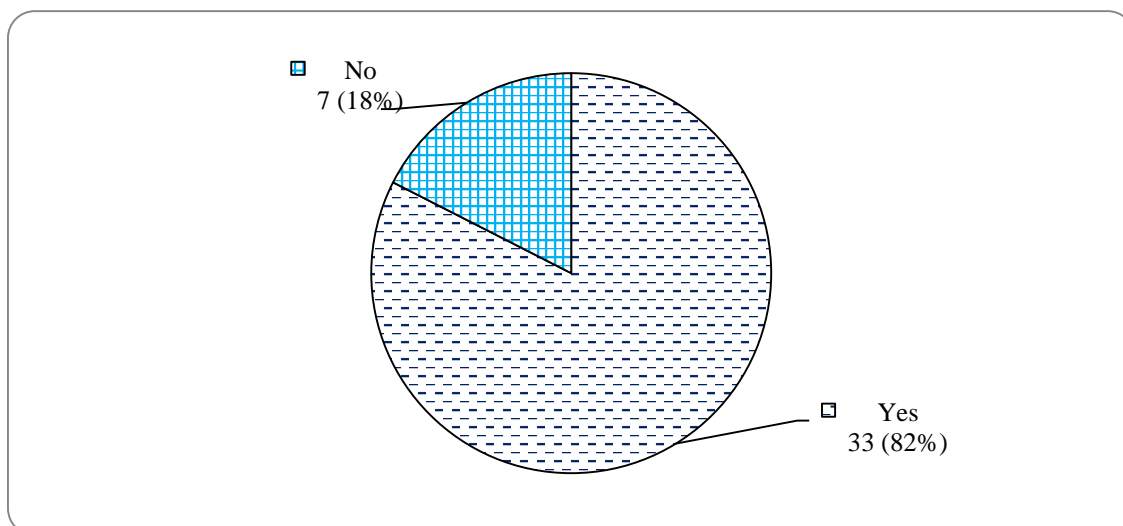
Figure 5.4 Does sharing of Employment opportunities reduce Violent Conflict?

Source; Field Data, 2018

5.4.1 Explanation

There is close co-relation between the sharing of public service jobs and reduction of violent conflict in South Sudan. After the signing of the 2015 IGAD peace Agreement the government committed to equitably share public service employment opportunities as well absorption of former military soldiers' into the national Army. "The August 2015 Agreement provided for a power-sharing Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU) for thirty months to oversee an ambitious plan for political, security, and economic reforms including sharing of public service employment opportunities."[136] By the time of writing this study there was no available public statistics revealing the composition of ethnicities in the public service.

"According to Knopf's special report on *ending the South Sudan's Civil wa*r both Dinka and Nuer leaders members of Kiir's and Machar's tribes, respectively have increasingly used inflammatory, polarizing, and ethnically demeaning rhetoric against one another and against other tribal groups, in regards to access to government employment opportunities terming themselves as better placed and qualified for employment than the rest even though the descent

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[136] Op cit.

into war was initially triggered by a political, rather than an economic dispute."[137] This study makes a generalization that failure by the government to share public employment opportunities equitably has fed the conflict grievance to sustain the violence and escalate the hatred and ethnic bigotry.

"Corroborating the above generalization is the an executive order issued by Kiir in October 2015 to increase the number of states in South Sudan from ten to twenty-eight in-order to employ more of his loyalist and supporters, a move that contradicted some of the core provisions of the peace agreement and was perceived to advantage Kiir's Dinka tribe consequently aggravating tribal tensions and adding another driver to the already bloody violent conflict."

5.5 Initiating Political Reforms and Political Legitimacy

"One of the most contentious issue which has characterized the protracted intra-state violent conflict has been the lack of political legitimacy of the current leaders as well near absence of democratic norms and ideals in the governance of the state. Whereas, the country has an established constitutional order, the functionality of the state structures is a far from being realized due to a number of political grievances entrenched in the socio-economic outlook of the country. The country has no meaningful history of good governance. Apart from institutional lack of legitimacy they also lack capacity to execute their mandate. As the AU Commission of Inquiry posited, "the crisis in South Sudan is primarily attributable to the inability of relevant institutions to mediate and manage conflicts, which spilt out into the army, and subsequently the general population." [138] The present state government is a loose network

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[137] Knopf, K.A. (2016). *Ending South Sudan Civil War*. Council Special Report No. 77, November 2016.
[138]"Final Report of the African Union Commission of Inquiry on South Sudan, pp. 106, 276.

of persons with varying and competing degrees of coercive force (military power) at their disposal but no political center of gravity."

"For instance, President Salva Kiir's political legitimacy has eroded significantly since the outbreak of the current intra-state war, due not only to his own shortcomings but also the chipping away of his authority by ambitious competitors within the regime. South Sudanese politics lack an individual of significant stature or credibility to take Kiir's place and unite the country's disparate factions. According to a statement by Festus Mogae, president Kiir's twenty-eight-states decree means that the only instance of a direct contravention of the constitution and the August 2015 agreement undermined the power-sharing formula at the center of the agreement and injected new local drivers into the conflict hence eroding all the political legitimacy the President enjoyed.[139]"

"As the AU Commission of Inquiry noted in July 2016, based on broad consultations with South Sudanese:"

"A majority of respondents on both sides of the conflict were of the view that both principals in the crisis, President Salva Kiir and [First Vice President] Riek Machar, were to be held responsible for the crisis, its escalation and the violations perpetrated. While there is a lack of clarity from views expressed on the form that responsibility should take, the Commission's conception includes criminal, civil or political (administrative) elements." This study sought to establish the respondents view concerning the political legitimacy of both President Kiir and Vice-President Riek Machar by asking them to indicate whether their respective political legitimacy was instrumental in sustaining the conflict. Specifically, the study probed whether initiating political reforms which targeted removal of the two leaders could yield substantial conflict resolution and the findings are illustrated below.

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[139] Statement by Festus Mogae, Chairperson of JMEC, to the JMEC Partner's Meeting on *the Status of the Implementation of the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan*, July 31, 2016, Khartoum, Sudan.
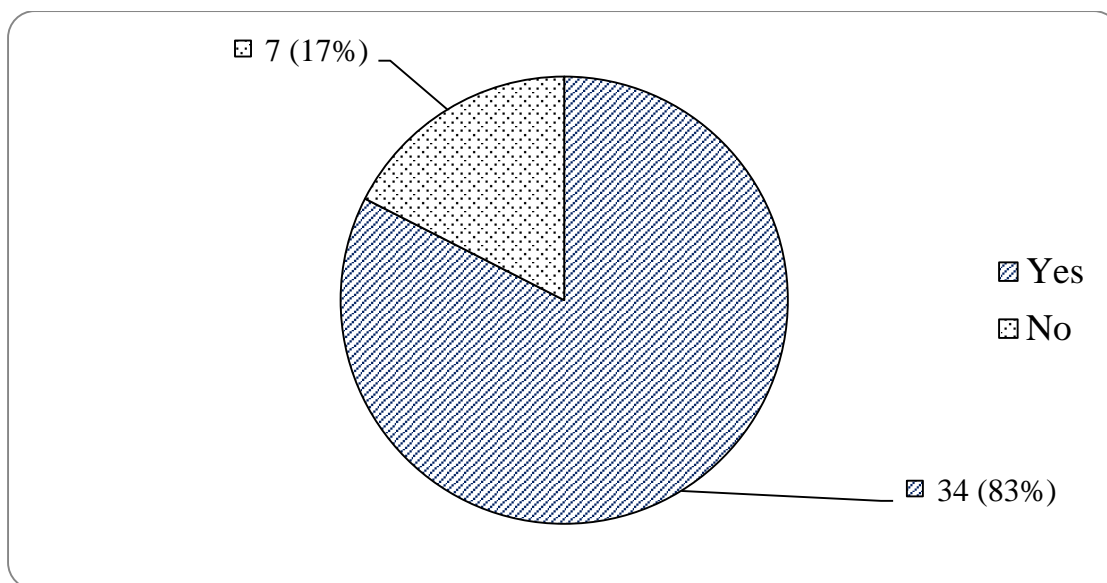
Figure 5.5 Can political Reforms targeting Kiir and Machar deliver Peace in South Sudan?
Source; Field Data, 2018

"The findings showed that majority of the respondents representing 83.0 per cent of the total preferred the exit of the two political leaders which could usher in political reforms and initiate political legitimacy. Only a significant 17.0 per cent of the respondents viewed the two leaders as capable of steering the country out of the conflict. Generally, this study argues that for the conflict in South Sudan to end, the two political leaders-Machar and Kiir should vacate the political scene and initiate political reforms where elections are held in a democratic space. As Knopf posits Given that Kiir and Machar are both widely discredited, their permanent exit from South Sudanese politics would give an immediate boost of credibility and support to a transitional UN and AU administration. [140] For an international transitional administration to succeed, Kiir would need to willingly relinquish power and he and Machar would need to be peacefully excluded from meaningful participation in South Sudan's political life and governan ce so as to end the current intra-state conflict."

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[140] Ibid

5.6 Chapter Findings

This chapter sought to empirically establish efforts which have significantly reduced the protracted intra-state conflict in South Sudan. Among the study findings include the central role played by mediation particularly IGAD-led mediation process which has been supported by majority of the respondents. The study has also established that equitable distribution of proceeds derived from Oil sales will deliver a considerable peace to the country a generalization which is supported by majority of respondents in this study. Initiation of political reforms has been lauded as an effort worth adoption which calls for the exit of both the current President and his former vice-President to offer lasting peace to the current inter-ethnic antagonism in the country. Majority of the respondents affirmed the probability of conflict resolution with the exit of the two leaders. This study corroborates such views with the statement that South Sudanese Conflict is politically instigated and can only be solved through political means.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION, SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The primary objective of this study was to examine the root causes of resources- based-conflict in Africa. The findings established in this study were derived through a rigorous empirical process which entailed lengthy data collection from Respondents in juba, the capital of South Sudan. This chapter will therefore present discussion of the study findings, the summary of the key findings and generalization as well policy recommendations suitable to end the protracted violent conflict in South Sudan.

6.1 Discussion

This study sought to establish the role of bad governance in facilitating eruption of violent resource-based conflict in Africa and established that bad governance was central to majority of resource-based conflicts in Africa. The propagation of conflict was effected through graft of public resources, poor planning, sustaining unequal distribution of natural resources, creating weak institutions, mismanagement of natural resources, slowing democracy, inhibiting reforms and interfering with mediation processes. Bad governance is entrenched in the culture of impunity which characterizes most of Africa's regimes. In south Sudan bad governance has played an integral role in perpetuating violent conflict which has lasted for close to five years. The point of contention which attracts intensive debate centers on the proposition which calls for exit of President Salva Kiir and Riek Machar who have been labelled as the war protagonist and whom South Sudanese term their armies/ generals as war mongers responsible for the protracted conflict which has lasted for decades.

6.2 Summary

Generally, this study found out that the major factors entrenched in bad governance and which have been sustaining the conflict in South Sudan were tribalism/ ethnic intolerance driven by political incitements. Others were; lack of will from the two warring parties, external interference, greed for political power struggle, dependency on a diminishing oil resource base, historical injustices for instance; marginalization, colonialism, dependency syndrome, social cultural erosion and skepticism on IGAD mediation team and Secretariat who have been accused of displaying their lack of a genuine grasp of South Sudanese socio-economic and military reality as well as lack of neutrality in the mediation process.

Corruption and theft of public resources featured prominently among the factors which have contributed to the recurrence of violent armed conflict in South Sudan. According to findings established by this study, plunder of national resources leads to lack of proper national infrastructures while greed by political leaders leads to unequal distribution of public resources. Graft of national resources has led to manipulation of national budgets by corrupt government bureaucrats which has resulted to marginalization of some communities while excluding qualified experts from government employment opportunities and other areas of resource management.

This research study has established a close nexus between availability of oil resources and sustainability of violent conflict in South Sudan. That is generalized helped in the perpetuation of the South Sudan conflict. This is majorly through oil resources being used to spread incitement and also procure weapons. The other ways oil resources were found to have helped in the perpetuation of the South Sudan conflict were; oil has led to struggle over political power and who has the control over it, political-elite control over oil revenue and violation of human rights.

Other factors which have been attributed to resource-based conflict in South Sudan include environmental degradation which leads to depletion of natural resources and competition of the remaining, violation of Peace Agreements, existence of poorly framed national policies which cannot be implemented by the current political establishment and violation of peace Agreements signed by warring parties to end conflict-a factor attributed to mistrust and ethnic bigotry. Additionally lack of employment opportunities for majority of South Sudanese aggravates conflict grievances and features prominently on political agenda presented by opposition parties to the current conflict.

The study further found out that the measures IGAD had taken to mitigate the security threats in South Sudan were; IGAD mediation teams which were sent as country missions to South Sudan to help mediate between the two warring sides, deployment of UNMISS peacekeeping bodies and employment of early warning mechanisms to prevent escalation of violent conflict. The biggest challenge mediators faced in its South Sudan conflict management efforts were political interference as well as external interference and interests from neighboring countries.

Lastly, the study established that political manipulation was responsible in fueling cattle rustling, propagating nepotism, protecting corrupt officials, violating constitutional laws influencing decision making in favor of their ethnic groups, arming their respective ethnic groups through incitement and political patronage directed towards funding armed groups as well legitimizing militia and rebel groupings.

6.3 Conclusion

The study concludes that breakdown of law and order in South Sudan creates security threats to the South Sudanese people and her neighbors. The most common way in which this happens is through spillage of millions of refugees and stateless persons to her regional neighbors which further threatens regional security and stability. This study concludes that the most possible solution that has been tried by the regional governments and the international community of states to manage the conflict was through mediation. The negotiated Agreement has offered "an equitable and sustainable distribution of power that includes but is not limited to the "compromised elites," as well as protections for minorities." This study therefore concludes that the most prioritized strategy the government of South Sudan has adopted to solve or contain the South Sudan conflict is mediation with warring parties.

This study concludes that mediation in South Sudan has played a crucial role which has brought considerable security to the country. The August 2015 Agreement "has provided for a power-sharing Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU) to oversee an ambitious plan for political, security, and economic reforms, including the approval of a permanent constitution and elections for a new government which has been effective since 2015 despite frequent violations by the warring sides."

Further, this study concludes that "President Salva Kiir and former Vice President Riek Machar, are to be held responsible for the current conflict in its escalation and the violations perpetrated.""While there is a lack of clarity from views expressed by respondents on the form that responsibility should take, this study proposes criminal proceedings or political means to remove them from office with the fundamental aim of protecting civilians."

Lastly, this study concludes that the August 2015 agreement necessitates the transitional government to "enact legislation to establish a court to investigate and prosecute individuals

responsible for violations of international and South Sudanese law from December 15, 2013, through the end of the transitional period." These individuals are the two ethnic leaders who bear the greatest responsibility in the commission of atrocities in the country and which have defied all the regional efforts and international concerns regarding peace in South Sudan. Therefore this study affirms the first hypothesis which states a close correlation between Oil production and eruption of violent conflicts in South Sudan. Further, the study tests positively for the second hypothesis which stated that political elites influences oil-based conflicts in South Sudan.

6.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings, this study recommends "a new policy based on safeguarding South Sudan's sovereignty while empowering its people to build a state grounded in a legitimate and enduring social contract. An international transitional administration with an executive mandate is the most realistic path if such an endogenous South Sudanese effort is to succeed.""This study therefore calls for a democratic election to be held in the country after a transitional administration has been fostered. By the time of writing this study, the status quo has been quite unsustainable for South Sudan, for neighboring states, and for donors attempting to arrest the grave human suffering but who are increasingly unable to do so in the hostile political environment that the war's protagonists have created."

"This study recommends for a comprehensive arms *embargo*. The imposition of a long-overdue arms embargo by the UN Security Council would be a tangible signal of international resolve which would be essential for prevention of further squandering of the country's remaining resources. As well it would minimize the threat posed by war mongers of the both sides to the conflict. A UN arms embargo could be easily monitored and would quickly lead to

a significant reduction in the large-scale import of munitions given the South Sudan's rudimentary road and airport infrastructure and relatively few access points."

"This study recommends for establishment of an international transitional administration which provides space for the kind of "*national process*" as prescribed by the AU Commission of inquiry which provides a forum for dialogue, inquiry and to recording of multiple, often competing narratives about South Sudan's history and conflicts; to construct a common narrative around which a new South Sudan can orient its future; to uncover and document the history of victimization and to recommend appropriate responses, including through a truth and reconciliation commission. The transitional administration should defer elections until reconciliation, accountability, and national dialogue processes culminate in a new permanent constitution, thereby removing the prospect of winner-takes-all elections looming over political, security, and institutional reforms."

"Further, this study recommends an economic bailout package to restore macroeconomic stability in the short term and to provide some construction of critical infrastructure needed to connect the country and support economic recovery. The economic bailout should target health, education, clean water and sanitation to stabilize the humanitarian situation, and facilitate the return of internally displaced persons and refugees to their homes as well as the recovery of their livelihoods as soon as conditions permit voluntary return."

There is a dire need to diversify the economy and stop over reliance on primary commodities. The country's dependency on Oil production has suffered the country's economy which has started to sneeze with depreciation of currency and run-way inflation rates. The country need to invest heavily on manufacturing and increase the industrial base. The reliance on oil revenue seems costly and could plunge the state in worse economic situation that it is currently positioned.

Lastly, this study proposes for an international transitional administration ready to change the current poltical environment would need to willingly relinquish power. this requires peaceful exit of both Kiir and Machar from the political scene of the country would usher in political reforms and create conducive environment for conduction of credible elections which would offer social contract between the governing and the governed. The current political stalemate has persisted for protracted periods due to political meddling orchestrated by the two leaders who command ethnic-based support which has destabilized the country from within.

6.5 Areas for Further research

Whereas this study has focused strongly on resource-based conflict, the need to further probe the delimitation of boundaries both within the state and international boundaries is equally important. The country still faces challenges with her neighbors concerning delimitation of national boundaries particularly Kenya concerning Ilemi triangle and Sudan concerning the contested Abyei region.

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APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

A. THE ROOT CAUSES OF RESOURCES- BASED- CONFLICT IN AFRICA

Questionnaires for the respondents

Q 1. To what extent do you consider bad governance to contribute to resource based conflicts in South Sudan?

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Q 2. Does corruption contribute to resource based conflicts in South Sudan?

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Q 3. Does nepotism and tribalism contribute to resource based conflicts in South Sudan?

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Q 4.Do you consider population pressure a factor contribute to resource based conflicts in Africa?

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B: CONNECTION BETWEEN OIL PRODUCTION AND CONFLICT IN SOUTH SUDAN

Q 5. Does oil production contribute to conflicts in South Sudan?

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Q 6. Do you think there is a connection between poor policies on oil benefits and distribution
and conflict in South Sudan?

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Q 7. Do you think lack of proper compensation to oil producing areas contributes to conflict
in South Sudan?

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Q 8. Do you think lack of proper enviromental management contributes to conflict in South
Sudan?

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Q 9. What are other oil related issues that contribute to conflict in South Sudan?

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C: INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL ELITES IN THE OIL-BASED-CONFLICT IN SOUTH SUDAN

Q10. How do political elites influence oil-based -conflict in South Sudan in the following ways?

Q10.(a) By fueling ethnic conflicts

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Q10. (b) By fueling promoting corruption and patronage

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Q10. (c) By engaging in bad governance

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Q10. (d) By supporting bad policies on oil benefits distribution ………………………………

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Q 11. In which other ways do political elites fuel ethnic conflicts in South Sudan?

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D: VARIOUS EFFORTS TO ADDRESS THE OIL-BASED CONFLICT IN SOUTH SUDAN

Q 12. Do you think oil-based conflicts in South Sudan have been addressed through the following listed ways?

Q12. (a) Through mediation, ,Yes or No

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Q12. (b) Through equitable distribution of oil benefits,Yes or No

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Q12. (c) Through development of infrastructure, ,Yes or No

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Q12.(d) Through development of employment to locals,Yes or No

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Q12.(e) Through other numerous socio-economic benefits,Yes or No

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Q12. (f) In which other ways do you think oil-based conflicts in South Sudan have been addressed?

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END

APPENDIX II: DOCUMENT ANALYSIS GUIDE

Title of Study/Literature	Author(s)	Year	Findings	Significance to this Study