

FOREIGN POLICY AND PEACE BUILDING IN SOUTH SUDAN

BY

EMMANUEL DAUD JUBARA TOMBE

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DECLARATION

I Emmanuel Daud Jubara Tombe, confirm and declare that this dissertation entitled, “Foreign Policy and Peace Building in South Sudan” is my original work and has not been submitted for any other award of a degree and published at any institution of higher learning.

Signature: _____



Date: _____

02 / Nov / 2021

EMMANUEL DAUD JUBARA TOMBE

(Student's Name)

APPROVAL

This dissertation titled, “Foreign Policy and Peace Building in South Sudan” has been produced under my Supervision and it is now submitted for examination.

Signature: 

Date 2nd, Nov, 2021

DR. BADRU HASAN SEGUJJA

(Supervisor' Name)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the God Almighty for his mercy and grace towards me and to the soul of my beloved Father, Daud Modi Jubara Tombe for his blessing upon me Secondly, I want to dedicate this book to my beloved mother, Cecilia Juan Loku Nyarsuk, and my beautiful wife, Amani Barnaba, who has been there for me during the struggle Lastly, I dedicate this piece of work to my wonderful sweet family, my Children, Nabuli, Daudi Tombe, Wani, Faith Poni, Pitia.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
GA	General Assembly
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ILO	International Labour Organization
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IDPs	Internally displaced persons
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
R-ARCSS	Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan
SPLM/A-IO	Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement/ Army –In Opposition
SC	Security Council
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UN	United Nations
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
WCC	World Council of Churches

ABSTRACT

This study sought to assess South Sudan's foreign policy and peace building in the current political state where lack of peace and political instability has taken center stage. This was achieved by three specific objectives, which included; establishing the effectiveness of South Sudan Foreign Policy, to examine the nature of Peace Building in South Sudan, and to establish the Influence of South Sudan Foreign Policy on Peace Building in South Sudan. Political realism Theory by Richard Ned Lebow (1951) guided the study and mixed methods approaches were used. Descriptive, correlational, cross-sectional and narrative designs were used on a sample of 103 respondents. Survey questionnaire and interview guide were used to collect data from the respondents. Findings revealed that effectiveness of foreign policy in South Sudan is low, but not forgetting that despite the low average means, South Sudan was highly effective in implementing the two indicators of foreign policy, Low or limited efforts were being made towards peace building in the republic of South Sudan, despite the sole effort by the church to promote peace building in the country, and foreign policy in South Sudan has a positive and significant effect on the peace building in South Sudan. The study recommends that South Sudan government should improve their effectiveness in foreign policy; efforts should be made towards improving equity and social cohesion within the country and a coordinated improvement by the government of South Sudan, other government organs and partners in foreign policy implementation to subsequently influence peace-building process in South Sudan.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose, objectives of the study, research questions, and the scope of the study and significance of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

This background section covers the study historical, theoretical, conceptual and contextual perspectives.

1.1.1 Historical Perspective

Wars are responsible for loss of lives, destruction of property, shattered economies, destabilization of world peace and social order, abuse of human rights and paralyzes the working of institutions. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in Kenya between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army and the Government of Sudan in 2005, gave birth to the semi-autonomous government of Southern Sudan as well as granting the right of self-determination for the people of Southern Sudan through a referendum that was held in 2010. A referendum vote result of 98.83% led to the declaration of independence on the 9th of July 2011.

A country's foreign policy remains a fundamental state building pillar as the nation strives to position itself as an equal player in the international arena. The foreign policy of South Sudan must be fitted within the history of the state of South Sudan. Foreign policy plays a strong role in securing internal stability, regional and international peace that provides a good environment for foreign trade, economic cooperation and good neighborly relations.

Fragile states, South Sudan inclusive, find them in a situation of confusion in directing their foreign policies in terms of priorities and interests in times of political instability. Yet, if well

strategized, foreign policy can help a country to be uplifted from the state of fragility to the stage of stability with the help of foreign nations who share common interests with a fragile state. Unless it is directed toward good cooperation with other nations of the world, fragile states could risk serious security, economic, political and social ramifications.

Foreign policy is the most delicate undertaking especially in times of civil strife and this call to mind that foreign policy players should be mindful to exercise wisdom, intelligence, restraint and ensure due consideration to certain matters critical to the nation. Pursuing the policy of peaceful resolution of conflict in the country and rallying international community to support peace efforts at home reassures the world that leaders have political will to ending conflicts that keep nations fragile with devastating effects of insecurity and humanitarian crisis.

The foreign policy of South Sudan is in its infancy stages. Amidst immeasurable support for independence on July 9th 2011, many countries of the world opened their doors to South Sudan and in that gesture, opened embassies immediately in the Republic of South Sudan which is a clear foreign policy support from those countries to create good relations and maintain presence in the new nation. However, the lack of political will by the political leaders in the country to lay a strong foundation for a peaceful country that is all human embracing swerved the country from the promises of independence to a failing state.

Having thrown the country into conflict in 2013 on matters that would have been politically resolved in the interest of the people, looting the nation's resources, corruption and mismanagement since 2005 continues and the leaders now cry for financial support from the international community to fund the implementation of a peace agreement that they failed to honor in 2016, while international community takes on government primary responsibilities to provide lifesaving aid to a greater majority of the population. The government continuous to procure arms and restricts humanitarian work by introducing high work permit fees for

international aid workers, fees for movement of goods meant to rescue the vulnerable populations in the bushes and UN camps, and fees for registration of Non-Governmental Organizations.

Even at the glaring vulnerability, the leaders of South Sudan continue to use the arrogance of sovereignty and independence, which now place the country's foreign policy in dilemma as relations with other nations continue to fluctuate (Sen, 2016).

The country now faces many challenges compared to its 2013 pre-war period. The behavior of its leaders who failed to live to the real character of statesmen has brought it to her knees, and it now faces isolation from the world and internal revolts (Sen, 2016).

Advancing good foreign policy by fragile states irrespective of internal national security threats gives nations breathing space and support to overcome their problems. Such intercourses are fundamental in helping such nations navigate and avert imposition of international mechanisms that threatens the nation's sovereignty and economic viability or cause regime change in the country. For example, the failure of South Sudan to play good foreign relations has failed to secure the support of other countries in the imposition of arms embargo by the UN Security Council. It is now suffering from economic sanctions, arms embargo, travel bans for government officials, assets freezing and sanctions on government corporations such as the Nile Petroleum and the ministry of Energy and Mining (Sen, 2016).

Avoiding individual country sanctions such as those imposed unilaterally by the USA and the UN Security Council largely depends on a good foreign policy of the nation as it relates with others. On the other hand, bad foreign policy could lead to exacerbation of the internal fragility of the nation. For example, continued South Sudan's government blame on other nations for its internal failure to address governance and national security issues, corruption, weak institutions, human rights abuses by soldiers reflects bad foreign policy intercourse for South Sudan.

Because government bears the greatest responsibility to protect and ensure peace in the country it requires working institutions and political will from leaders. Government with all the resources should control security and ensure citizens are protected. To convince the world, the government must do the right thing for its people and pursue dialogue with opposition and other political forces to bring reforms in the country and win support of other nations. It cannot behave like bandits or terrorist groups. Restricting humanitarian access to the most vulnerable populations in the country is not only counterproductive to its foreign policy especially when humanitarian aid is being provided by other nations tax payer's money as a gesture of good will to rescue the people of South Sudan from the wrath of hunger and diseases. The primary mandate falls on the government to deliver basic services to its citizens and when the government of South Sudan fails to deliver these services and still restrict the movement of humanitarian personnel and delivery of aid to the most vulnerable is not only proving that the government is one that perpetuates violence but one that has failed to rule. It becomes difficult to engage in diplomatic relations with countries that sees the government as an obstacle to internal peace and regional security (GOSS, 2011).

1.1.2 Theoretical Perspective

Political Realism Theory by Richard Ned Lebow (1951)

The concept of realism was developed in 1930s and 1940s as an alternative to attempts to understand and conduct international relations based on international law. Founding fathers Nicholas J. Spykman, Edward Mead Earle, Frederick Schuman, E. H. Carr, John Herz, William T. R. Fox and Hans J. Morgenthau asserted the realism of their power-based approaches to foreign policy in contrast to what they described as a dangerous idealism of their predecessors. Writing in response to the appeasement of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, which they held responsible in large part for World War II, realist arguments had great resonance (Lebow, 2008).

According to the theory, realists believe that nation states are the main actors in international politics. As such it is a state-centric theory of international relations. This contrasts with liberal international relations theories, which accommodate roles for non-state actors and international institutions. This difference is sometimes expressed by describing a realist world view as one which sees nation states as billiard balls, liberals would consider relationships between states to be more of a cobweb. Realists believe that the international system is governed by anarchy, meaning that there is no central authority. Therefore, international politics is a struggle for power between self-interested states. Realists believe that no other states can be relied upon to help guarantee the state's survival (Autesserre, 2017; Walters & Scheinpflug, 2017).

Some realists, known as human nature realists or classical realists, believe that states are inherently aggressive, that territorial expansion is constrained only by opposing powers, while others, known as offensive/defensive realists, believe that states are obsessed with the security and continuation of the state's existence. The defensive view can lead to a security dilemma, where increasing one's own security can bring along greater instability as the opponent(s) builds up its own arms, making security a zero-sum game where only relative gains can be made (Miami, 2012). Political realism theory being an international relations theory best suites and applies to this study on international relations and diplomacy.

1.1.3 Conceptual Perspective

Foreign policy is the use of political influence in order to introduce other states to exercise their law-making power in a manner desired by the states concerned. It is an interaction between forces originating outside the country's borders and those working within them (Ahmed, 2019).

Foreign policy is “the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment” (Modelski, 1962).

Peace building refers to conflict prevention or resolution activities performed by either external players such as the UN or other international organizations, or local actors on a community level, with the common aim of establishing a sustainable peace corresponding to more than just an absence of violence, incorporating a structural transformation of a conflict society to a positive peace available for all (Marie-Solei Frère, 2015).

1.1.4 Contextual Perspective

This research was carried out in South Sudan. The players of South Sudan’s foreign policy are in Juba where the seat of the government is with all its organs and institutions. Most political actors are also in the country. Juba hosts all foreign missions in South Sudan. The foreign minister of South Sudan and the President often meet with foreign ministers and ambassadors in the country to discuss matters of mutual interests between South Sudan and foreign nations. The United Nations Mission in South Sudan was set up by the UN Security Council in its resolution 1996 (2011) of 8 July 2011 having determined that the situation faced by South Sudan continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region and decided to act under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

While the original mandate of UNMISS was to support the Government in peace consolidation and thereby fostering longer-term state building and economic development; assist the Government in exercising its responsibilities for conflict prevention, mitigation, and resolution and protect civilians; and help the authorities in developing capacity to provide security, establishing the rule of law, and strengthening the security and justice sectors in the country, the mission mandate focus was temporarily shifted from mainly peace building activities to: protecting civilians; facilitating humanitarian assistance; monitoring and

reporting on human rights; preventing further inter-communal violence; and supporting the IGAD process as and when requested, and within available capabilities following the outbreak of war in December, 2013.

The protection priority would be for displaced people sheltering in United Nations compounds and other locations, and would expand once conditions were created for their safe return home, he said, adding that the new posture of UNMISS would be in place until the two sides to the conflict finalized a political agreement (Scott, 2019).

Other UN agencies delivering humanitarian aid are also present in the country extending emergency response to victims of the war. This has a link with foreign aid and foreign policies of the donor countries. Regional Protection Force under the UNMISS to provide security to UN facilities, government installations and civilians in the UN internally displaced sites also supplements government effort to bring peace in the country and reduce influx of refugees to other countries.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Lacks of peace and political instability have taken center stage in South Sudan since independence. Peace being a fundamental factor in international relations and diplomacy of any country, the Transitional Constitution of South Sudan (2011), provides that the foreign policy shall serve the national interest and shall be conducted independently and transparently with the view to achieving the promotion of international cooperation and peace. According to research, the government's pursuit for its foreign relations is muddled up and may not navigate the country away from conflict and restore peace. There is a serious lack of strategic ideology in South Sudan to partly use its diplomatic relations to steering the country out of the current conflict and build good relations with other nations toward achieving peace. This instability calls for a clear understanding by South Sudan of her foreign policy to create good relations with its neighbors and the world, hold actors in foreign affairs responsible for

irresponsible conduct of foreign affairs, put the interests of the people of South Sudan first by peacefully resolving conflicts. For this particular study, peace building indicators according to CRS (2010) involves increased Equity, Social Cohesion and Church Action. In light of the above, this study sought to examine the role of South Sudan's foreign policy and peace building so as to end the post-independence instability and lack of peace.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to assess South Sudan foreign policy and peace building in South Sudan's current political state.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study was guided by 3 specific objectives and they were: -

- (i) To establish the effectiveness of South Sudan Foreign Policy
- (ii) To examine the nature of Peace Building in South Sudan
- (iii) To establish the relationship between South Sudan Foreign Policy and Peace Building in South Sudan

1.5 Research Questions

The research questions for the study were;

- (i) What is the effectiveness of South Sudan Foreign Policy?
- (ii) What is nature of Peace Building Indicators in South Sudan?
- (iii) What is the influence of South Sudan Foreign Policy on Peace Building in South Sudan?

1.6 Scope of the Study

1.6.1 Geographical Scope

This study was conducted in Juba, South Sudan. Juba is the seat of government hosting many foreign missions, relevant government institutions, UN agencies and political players in the country which is the reason for the choice. It also covered the South Sudan Embassy in Kampala where some key informants were interviewed from the embassy. The choice of the geographical scope was based on the location of the respondents who were in position to give information regarding South Sudan foreign policy and the role that it plays in the process of peace building. None other than juba city would fit this study given the fact that it hosts majority of the foreign missions that are influential in the peace building process. Kampala South Sudan embassy was also considered as good scope for this study given the nature of the role that Uganda is playing towards peace building in South Sudan.

1.6.2 Content Scope

The scope of this study covered the political situation in South Sudan, the exercise of foreign policy powers, foreign policy dependency on natural resources and the challenges facing the implementation of foreign policy. This research was both quantitative and qualitative research and was based on secondary and primary data collection. The researcher relied on survey, interviews, books on foreign relations, Constitutional law and national security, use of legal instruments, articles from journals, articles from newspapers, presidential decrees and public speeches, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan.

1.6.3 Time Scope

The Study focused on a period of 14 years from 2005 when South Sudan got semi-autonomous status through the Comprehensive Peace Agreement to date. Being a new

country and fragile, South Sudan's foreign policy is being developed and nurtured to achieve its vision and mission and contribute to regional and international peace and security.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The researcher strongly believes that these research findings will facilitate the government and the ministry of foreign affairs to review the current status of South Sudan's foreign policy, build and improve on the successes already gained. It will provide reforms to government policies and strategies in foreign relations with nations as avenues to facilitate peaceful settlement of international conflicts, preserve peace and promote cooperation, contribute to balanced, healthy and sustained economic development. The study will also help policy makers as well as legislators to review and align South Sudan's foreign policy and laws to help strengthen diplomatic relations and create more economic and security opportunities globally. The research findings are also intended to contribute to the growth of Kampala International University as center for research by aiding researchers whose research interests are worth pursuing.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviewed the relevant literature on the objectives of the study from different scholars and authors, legal frameworks and foreign policy statements from actors in the field of foreign affairs.

2.1 A Review of South Sudan's Foreign Policy Legal Framework

The Transitional Constitution of South Sudan (2011) provides that the foreign policy shall serve the national interest and shall be conducted independently and transparently with the view to achieving the promotion of international cooperation, for the purposes of consolidating universal peace and security, respect for international law, treaty obligations and fostering a just world economic order, achievement of African economic integration, promoting African unity and co-operation, enhancement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms regionally and internationally, the promotion of dialogue among civilizations and establishment of international order based on justice and common human destiny and the seeking of peaceful settlement of international disputes by negotiation and mediation.

The Transitional Constitution of South Sudan vests foreign affairs powers in the President providing that the President have power to declare war in accordance with this Constitution and the law, represent the State in its foreign relations, appoint ambassadors of the State and accept credentials of foreign ambassadors, direct and supervise foreign policy and ratify treaties and international agreements with the approval of the National Legislative Assembly.

What is lacking in the legal framework is the power to check the excesses and misdirection of the country's foreign policy by the actors. Parliament has no oversight function to ensure that the actors implement the foreign policy of South Sudan in the interest of the nation. It cannot be for the interests of the people of South Sudan when political leaders abuse the foreign policy to attract the wrath of international community to lay sanctions on South Sudan. Arms embargo which was introduced weakens the military position of South Sudan in the region and this affects the sovereignty of the country from external threats. Economic sanctions on government corporations affect service delivery to the people of South Sudan and this creates more discontent in the country.

The existence of this gap within the law makes actors in foreign affairs accountable to the people of South Sudan. There is need to review the legal framework to ensure that foreign policy actors are not free to say and do what they want without accountability. There must be a mechanism created to provide for checks and balances in order to safeguard the major interests of the people of South Sudan rather than serving individual's interests.

2.2 A Review of the role of foreign policy actors in the implementation of South Sudan's foreign policy

The role of the President in foreign affairs has long been recognized as falling within the domain of the President's power. Dycus, Bernie, Banks, Raven-Hansen (2011) quoting the U.S. Senate Reports Committee on Foreign Relations, "The President is the constitutional representative of the United States with regard to foreign nations. He manages our concerns with foreign nations and must necessarily be most competent to determine when, how, and upon what subjects negotiations may be urged with the greatest prospect of success. The committee considers this responsibility the surest pledge for the faithful discharge of his duty. They think the interference of the Senate in the direction of foreign negotiations calculated to

diminish that responsibility and thereby to impair the best security for the national safety. The nature of transactions with foreign nations, moreover, requires caution and unity of design, and their success frequently depends on secrecy and dispatch.

The conduct of South Sudan's foreign policy is a reflection of a nation that is suffering from leadership bankruptcy. Past studies show that the implementation of South Sudan's foreign policy is being carried out majorly by the minister of foreign affairs and the President playing very little role than he should at the front. The president travels less to countries of the world because many leaders of the world regard him as a failed leader (Niki Hailey, 2018). Limited progress has been made in recent years. What is missing from past studies is a comprehensive and structured approach in managing South Sudan's foreign policy to attain its objectives. Scholars have written much about the importance of a country developing its foreign policy on certain theories. Young Fuchang (2002) states that the People's Republic of China takes Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping theory as a guide to its analysis of the international situation and formulation of its foreign policies.

It is not clear as to what approach and theories South Sudan have adopted to pursue its foreign policy. We have seen the use of both peaceful and military means to address conflicts by the South Sudan government. In 2008, South Sudan and Sudan agreed and referred the matter of Abyei border conflict to the Internal Arbitration which is a good method of conflict resolution. But in 2012, South Sudan invaded Heglig an area claimed to be part of Sudan. The invasion of Heglig brought serious condemnation from the whole world and the African Union denouncing the occupation as illegal. The UN Security Council said the occupation and violence as a threat to world peace and security.

Even Sudan closed its border to South Sudanese who were getting most of their goods from Sudan compared to the interior of South Sudan, which relied much on goods from Kenya and

Uganda. It was a terrible decision militarily, economically when the leaders clearly know that South Sudan is a land locked state.

South Sudan, a landlocked country got its independence from Sudan on July 9th, 2011. Two years after independence, the country got itself into serious internal war that broke out as a result of power struggle within the ruling party the Sudan People's Liberation Movement. The regional body and international partners exerted efforts to contain the war by guiding the parties to peace deal signed in 2015. The failed 2015 peace deal led to the revitalization of the deal leading to another signing in September 2018. Whether the latter will hold is yet to be determined by the willingness of the parties to implement the agreement. While the parties promise commitment to its implementation, the deal is being criticized for failing to address the root causes of the conflict and also leaving out other rebel groups whom the government considers insignificant although many including the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations Bintou Keita believe there can never be sustainable peace in South Sudan without inclusivity when he said: "While the outcome of regional and international efforts to deliver a political settlement is yet unclear, the researcher must reiterate that peace will only be sustained if the revitalized agreement is inclusive, fair, addresses the root causes of the conflict and engages all stakeholders, including women and youth."

The failure of South Sudan's foreign policy actors to convince the world leaders at the UN General Assembly that while the war is going on, they are observing the norms of international law and international humanitarian law by allowing humanitarian access, protection of civilians and vulnerable combatants. It has led to the imposition of arms embargo and other individualized targeted sanctions on members of the warring parties by the United Nations Security Council.

Because of these and many other defects in the implementation of South Sudan's foreign policy, the American government has boldly stated its position on South Sudan as President Trump's Security Advisor John Bolton clearly pinned it on the wall: "The United States is now reviewing its assistance to South Sudan to ensure that our aid does not prolong the conflict or facilitate predatory behavior. We will not provide loans or more American resource to a South Sudanese government led by the same morally bankrupt leaders to perpetrate horrific violence and make human suffering in South Sudan.

2.3 A review of the Challenges facing South Sudan foreign policy

Preliminary literature shows that South Sudan's Foreign Policy is facing serious challenges. The country is witnessing the continuation of war, suffering of people and overflow of refugees to Uganda, Kenya, Sudan, Ethiopia and the Democratic Republic of Congo with no signs of stability.

One of the biggest challenges to the foreign policy is the lack of coherent projection of the foreign policy by the leaders of South Sudan. For example, there are serious political divisions within the country albeit the new revitalized peace Agreement (2018). There is no clear foreign policy road map to explain the resolution of the conflict in South Sudan to the world. The revitalized Peace Agreement creates positions of five vice presidents in the country representing different political parties with different political interests. Certainly, this cannot reflect a single voice in the implementation of South Sudan's foreign policy. This will undermine further the clear interests and objectives of the foreign policy because the players will be representing their own political views in foreign affairs on issues of governance, security and stability in the country.

Another challenge is balancing regional economic and security interests in the country vis-à-vis the fundamental interests of the people of South Sudan to be served by its foreign policy.

All these interests differ from one neighboring state to another. For example, the presence of UPDF in South Sudan (2014) is seen by the regional governments as an interference with the sovereignty of South Sudan and a threat to regional peace.

Uganda has lost billions of dollars in foreign trade when the war broke out in South Sudan, by taking sides in the conflict in South Sudan to protect her economic interest results in uneasy economic balance of trade within the region. It has been courting South Sudan's government to build its oil pipeline through Uganda. Kenya is also wooing South Sudan to build an oil pipeline to Lamu Port. This leaves Sudan also worried of its oil pipeline that has been the transport route of South Sudan's oil to Port Sudan in Kosti. All these and other interests place South Sudan's foreign policy in a critical situation.

Every leader in the region wants to take lead in resolving every simple problem that the South Sudanese have failed to resolve. And, South Sudan leaders are behaving like irrational people. For example, the Tanzanian ruling party Chama-Chama Mapinduzi offered to reconcile and reunites the various factions of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) as the best way to put the country back on track. The factions were hosted in Tanzania and assisted by the South Africans reached an SPLM reunion Agreement in Tanzania. The implementation of the reunion was hijacked from Tanzania by President Museveni. The leaders of South Sudan have failed to re-evaluate what this means to the efforts of Tanzania and what Tanzania thinks about Uganda in terms of foreign relations.

President Uhuru Kenyatta received, hosted and offered protection to the SPLM political detainees in Kenya during the wake of the crisis in 2013. He did this as a means to find solution to South Sudan's conflict and he has oftentimes gone to Juba to speak with President Salva Kiir over the peace process and the involvement of the political detainees. When IGAD rejuvenated the collapsed 2015 Peace Agreement, the revitalized peace agreement was meant

to be handled in three countries when parties failed to agree in Addis Ababa. Sudan, Uganda and Kenya were tasked to engage the parties and reach a peace deal before it was finally signed in Ethiopia. However, for unaccounted reasons, Kenya was knocked off in the process and it ended between Khartoum and Kampala before final signature in Addis Ababa on September 12, 2018.

2.4 Peace Building Indicators in South Sudan

Since cold war, interventions have internationally been employed to deal with internal conflict and liberal peace building has been at the helm of dealing with internal conflicts of several nations specifically those deployed by the United Nations (UN). After several engagement and enduring the effects of the financial crisis, the west has now shifted from liberal peace building to stabilization and counterterrorism with adhoc coalitions being set up in Africa for peace building in Africa (De Coning, 2018; Karlsrud, 2019).

Previous studies on peace and war lack the analysis of what aids success of peace building at national level, but rather concentrate on peace building failure at national level, which is quite unfortunate. However, it is emerging in the recent studies that local conflict resolution is paramount for peace building than the international interventions which have at times worsened the whole situation (Autesserre, 2017). The continued failure of international peace missions have led to promotion of national or local research which focusses on the contribution by local peace building processes (Bräuchler & Naucke, 2017).

International peace building improves the prospects for civil wars to be resolved; although, peace-building strategies should be designed to address specific conflicts, roots of the hostility, local capacities for change and the degree of commitment to assist a sustainable peace. UN peace building is positively correlated with democratization in the post war era, which leads to end of violence. Peace building success is more dependent on low levels of

hostility than the breadth of the local capacities. Peace building focuses on facilitating peace treaties that potentially turnout to be lifesaving than enforcement measures which at times may lead to more violence (Doyle & Sambanis, 2000).

South Sudan was ravaged by famine, displacement and violence. South Sudan fought two wars before it became independent in 2011. In 2013, another devastating civil war erupted in South Sudan. Peace building has become a major challenge in Africa facing post conflict societies; such has kept citizens of South Sudan in a state of conflict. Issues of border demarcation and leadership are central in peace building in South Sudan; inability by South Sudan to address the problems facing it could probably delay peace-building success. War torn South Sudan should practically

Exhibit the ability to handle an all-round government that can transform the people; formulate and implement policies focusing on peace building and to sustainable growth (Nwanegbo & Odigbo, 2013).

‘In recent literature on international peacekeeping and peace building interventions, attention has been drawn increasingly to local level dynamics and the reciprocal relationships with national conflict dynamics’. (da Costa & Karlsrud, 2012). “Through a case study of UN civilian peacekeeping support to local peace building in South Sudan, it is argued that there are important efforts being made to contextualize peace building activities for local circumstances, notwithstanding significant institutional obstacles limiting the impact of these efforts. It is also argued for further empirical scrutiny of if and how international peace builders are engaging with the local dynamics of conflict, seeking to improve the understanding of the heterogeneity of and interaction between actors at these levels” (da Costa & Karlsrud, 2012).

2.5 Literature review gaps

What is missing from past studies is a comprehensive and structured approach in managing South Sudan's foreign policy to attain its objectives. Scholars have written much about the importance of a country developing its foreign policy on certain theories. Young Fuchang (2002) states that the People's Republic of China takes Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping theory as a guide to its analysis of the international situation and formulation of its foreign policies.

It is not clear as to what approach and theories South Sudan have adopted to pursue its foreign policy. We have seen the use of both peaceful and military means to address conflicts by the South Sudan government. In 2008, South Sudan and Sudan agreed and referred the matter of Abyei border conflict to the Internal Arbitration which is a good method of conflict resolution but in 2012, it invaded Heglig an area claimed to be part of Sudan. The invasion of Heglig brought serious condemnation from the whole world and the African Union denouncing the occupation as illegal. The UN Security Council said the occupation and violence as a threat to world peace and security.

Following that row in 2012, the government of South Sudan shut down its oil production that passed through Sudan's pipeline to Kosti. This never went well with Khartoum and in response; Sudan closed its border to South Sudanese who were getting most of their goods from Sudan compared to the interior of South Sudan which relied much on goods from Kenya and Uganda. It was a terrible decision militarily, economically when the leaders clearly know that South Sudan is a land locked state. This led to serious security and economic ramifications for South Sudan. I had to reverse her decision years later and went back to Khartoum to renegotiate the opening of the border and resumption of oil production and transportation through Sudan's pipeline and high costs than previously agreed.

South Sudan, a landlocked country got its independence from Sudan on July 9th, 2011. Two years after independence, the country got itself into serious internal war that broke out as a result of power struggle within the ruling party the Sudan People's Liberation Movement. The regional body IGAD and international partners exerted efforts to contain the war by guiding the parties to peace deal signed in 2015. The failed 2015 peace deal led to the revitalization of the deal leading to another signing in September 2018. Whether the latter will hold is yet to be determined by the willingness of the parties to implement the agreement. While the parties promise commitment to its implementation, the deal is being criticized for failing to address the root causes of the conflict and also leaving out other rebel groups whom the government considers insignificant although many including the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations Bintou Keita believe there can never be sustainable peace in South Sudan without inclusivity when he said: "While the outcome of regional and international efforts to deliver a political settlement is yet unclear, the researcher must reiterate that peace will only be sustained if the revitalized agreement is inclusive, fair, addresses the root causes of the conflict and engages all stakeholders, including women and youth."

Instead of addressing their internal wrangles and seeking the support of the international community to solve these problems peacefully, the leaders of South Sudan are using the foreign platform to blame other nations for their failures. This is a diversionary tactic intended to keep citizens and international community away from scrutinizing the government. When the war broke out in 2013, the minister of Information Micheal Mukeui hurled blame on the West for fueling the war and agitating for regime change. "The West may have felt left out of oil exploration in South Sudan. The international community is being dictatorial instead of diplomatic in pushing its agenda by supporting the rebels and pushing for removal of an elected President. Oil exploration in South Sudan is a Chinese

affair and that may have resulted in an undeclared war from those who may have wanted a stake in it. South Sudan is a young country but we are sovereign and no one will dictate to us what to do.”

The world is not convinced that the leaders of South Sudan want the best for their people. The leaders know that conflict resolution require that root causes of the conflict be addressed to avoid the repeat of the conflict. What they have done with the revitalized peace agreement is the plastering of a deep wound. It is not convincing why the government of South Sudan is requesting for funds from foreign governments to implement the peace agreement when it has resumed oil production in thousands of barrels per day? They find money to fund the war but fail to find money to return peace in the country is ironic.

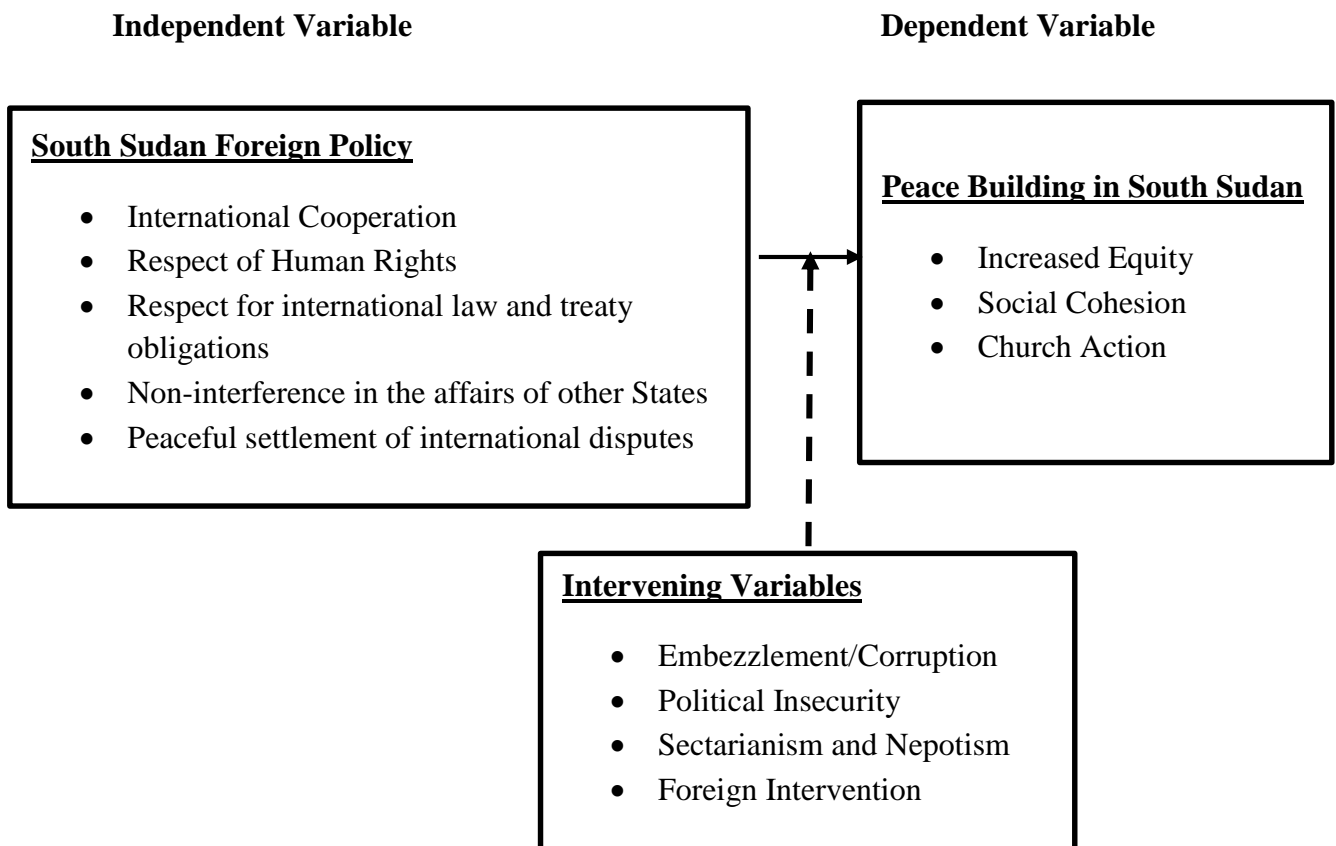
Domestic policy is sometimes a reflection of foreign policy and it can also be inferred from the conduct of the leaders of the country. So many examples project the failure of the country’s policy because of the leader’s actions domestically. When President Salva Kiir promoted three generals who are sanctioned by the UN for slaughtering civilians and perpetuating the war, it was seen as a slap on the face of international community and diplomatic relations with foreign nations. UN Security Council Resolution that ended in individual sanction of the generals was viewed by the international community as a mechanism to rescue South Sudan from further collapse and return to peace and security. Responding to the President’s action, the former American Ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley said: “The government of South Sudan is increasingly proving itself to be an unfit partner for this council and any country seeking peace and security for the people of South Sudan. The United States will never give up on its efforts but if there is to be true peace in South Sudan, its leaders must step up and make a true commitment to end this conflict once and for all.” Haley also accused President Kiir of promoting three generals who she said led the slaughter of innocent South Sudanese women, children, and elderly people

the same generals who were sanctioned by the Security Council in 2015. The reluctance of the government to just do what is right for stability does not augur well with nations who want to see peace in South Sudan.

For example, when President Kiir informed the whole world that he would prosecute all soldiers accused of committing crimes, he didn't keep his promise. The UN Panel of experts stated in their report that: "International consensus and numerous promises by the parties to investigate allegations notwithstanding, the Panel has found little to no evidence of formal judicial proceedings being undertaken by the parties to the conflict in line with international standards." It clearly shows that the president is not a reliable person and cannot be taken by his words. In such a situation, no country can commit its resources from taxpayers' money and fund diplomatic engagements as an effort to avert the continuing risks associated with the war to a country whose leaders are not predictable.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

South Sudan Foreign Policy and Peace Building in South Sudan



Source: Adopted from (Auer, Bisaz, Mendez, & Thürer, 2011; CRS, 2010; Hinds & Carter, 2015)

The above conceptual framework explains the concepts that were used in understanding this study's variables. As indicated above, this study's independent variable is foreign policy with several constructs as indicated above. The constructs included, International Cooperation, Respect of Human Rights, Respect for international law and treaty obligations, Non-interference in the affairs of other States and Peaceful settlement of international disputes (Auer et al., 2011), whereas the study's dependent variable was peace building in south Sudan which is represented by Increased Equity, Social Cohesion and Church Action (CRS, 2010). According to CRS, peace building indicators include; Increased Equity, Social Cohesion and Church Action. Despite having the above variables, there are other intervening

variables which affect both foreign policy and peace building but will not be studied in this research as represented by the dotted line above. The intervening variables for this study include; Embezzlement/Corruption, Political Insecurity, Sectarianism and Nepotism and Foreign Intervention. CRS peace indicators were found to be relevant to this study since they have been one of the civil society organizations that have been fundamental in the search for peace in South Sudan.

2.6 Operational Definition of Terms

Foreign Policy: Foreign policy is the use of political influence in order to introduce other states to exercise their law-making power in a manner desired by the states concerned.

Peace Building: Peace building refers to conflict prevention or resolution activities performed by either external players such as the UN or other international organizations, or local actors on a community level, with the common aim of establishing a sustainable peace

Increased Equity: This refers to an improvement or increase in the access of social resources and participation in determination of how the society lives harmoniously and peacefully

Social Cohesion: Social cohesion refers to the extent of connectedness and solidarity among groups in society. Social cohesion may also refer to the social process which aims to consolidate plurality of citizenship by reducing inequality and socioeconomic disparities and fractures in the society.

Church Action: This refers to organized work of the laity or congregation that is performed under the direction or mandate of a bishop in the fields of canon, morals, worship, education, and charity that are directed towards a harmonious, peaceful and better living of the society.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a description of the research design for the study which included the study area, research paradigm and design, population, the sampling techniques, instruments to be used, the procedure for data collection and data analysis.

3.1 Study Area

This study was conducted in Juba, South Sudan. Juba was selected because it is the seat of the government hosting many foreign missions, relevant government institutions, UN agencies and political players in the country. It is the reason for the choice also because this is where foreign policy intercourse takes place through ambassadors, foreign ministers, UN representatives and above all the central point where South Sudan's foreign policy decisions are taken. It will also cover the South Sudan Embassy in Kampala where some key informants will be interviewed from the embassy.

3.2 Research Approach

This study adopted a mixed methods approach. The researcher used both quantitative and Qualitative approaches were used to understand the study problem and further investigate and understand the study variables in order to achieve this study's objectives. Quantitative approaches were used to collect and analyze data from the survey. Whereas, qualitative approach using an exploratory design through qualitative methods of data collection. The choice for qualitative approach is to enhance participant's own categories of meaning and describe complex phenomenon in assisting comparison and analysis. (Amin, 2005).

3.3 Research Design

This study employed a mix of designs that were both Quantitative and Qualitative in nature and this is how they were applied in this study: -

Descriptive Design was used to establish the descriptive nature of the study variables and understanding the respondents' demographic characteristics. This was achieved through the use of means and percentages.

Correlational design will also be adopted in determining Influence of South Sudan Foreign Policy on Peace Building in South Sudan. Here correlation was used to establish the relationship between the variables.

Cross-sectional Design – Since data is going to be collected at one point in time and be analyzed at once.

Narrative designs were used in collecting qualitative data from the key informants for per this study.

3.4 Study Population

The study population was composed of key or senior staff in Juba at the ministry of foreign affairs and international cooperation, South Sudan Council of churches (SSCC) and the South Sudan embassy in Kampala. These will include [undersecretaries, ambassadors and diplomats] and [bishops, priests and youth leaders]

3.5 Sample Size

The sample size of survey research most normally refers to the quantity of units that were browsed which information was accumulated. Notwithstanding, test size can be characterized differently. There is the assigned example size, which is the quantity of test units chose for contact or information assortment. There is likewise the last sample size, which is the

quantity of finished meetings or units for which information are really gathered. The last sample size might be a lot more modest than the assigned sample size if there is extensive nonresponse, ineligibility, or both (Lavrakas, 2012).

Sample size in this study was determined by using Krejcie & Morgan table for determining sample size (Krejcie & Morgan, 1970) as indicated below:-

Table 3.1 showing Sample for the survey

Category of Respondents	Population	Sample size
Ambassadors/Directors	36	24
Diplomats	65	53
Bishops and Priests	38	26
Total	139	103

Table 3.2 Showing Sample for key informants

Key Informants	Population	Sample size
Undersecretary	1	1
Director Generals	6	3
Total	7	4

3.6 Sampling Techniques

Purposive sampling technique was used to select the key informants in this study. Purposive sampling targets specific respondents for a specific purpose.

Convenience sampling was also being used due to financial constraints and time limitations. The researcher identified respondents whom he could comfortably handle in his budget and prescribed time as per the university regulations.

3.7 Data Collection Methods

This researcher used both qualitative and quantitative research methods; two methods of data collection were used to obtain primary and secondary data.

a) Survey Research Questionnaires

The researcher employed questionnaires to collect primary data from a sample of 103 respondents. These included ambassadors, diplomats, bishops and priest.

b) Key Informants interviews (KIIs)

The study involved 4 key informant interviews with officials from foreign missions who included undersecretaries and director generals. This was done by the researcher using a set of questions to probe the key informants in this study as per the study objectives.

3.8 Data Collection Tools

The research was carried out through survey questionnaires and key informant interview guide. The use of key informant interviews and survey research questionnaires enabled the researcher to ask questions to respondents and generate probing questions to seek for clarification and missing information. Survey research questionnaires and key informant interview guides were the main tools in of data collection combined with the researcher for the interviews.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

Validity as the extent to which a measuring instrument on application performs the function for which it is designed (Uyimadu, 2005). Face and content validity have been defined by McBurney (1994) as following: Face validity is the idea that a test should appear superficially

to test what it is supposed to test; and Content validity is the notion that a test should sample the range of behaviour represented by the theoretical concept being tested.

This study's CVI was 0.90 and according to Amin (2005), CVI which is equal or greater than 0.70, the measuring instrument is considered to be valid.

Reliability is the tendency toward consistency found in repeated measurements (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010). The reliability of the instrument was ascertained using the internal consistency method. Having validated the questionnaire, a pilot testing was carried out on the instrument using respondents who were not part of the study. After the pretest, corrections were made to the final tool to ensure reliability.

3.4.2 Data Management and Analysis

Data was collected and prepared for analysis. The final refined data was a product of thematic analysis through retention of a general idea to examine the possible contrasts in views expressed (Bruan & Clarke, 2006). The researcher used manual coding on the transcripts to identify important responses from individual interviews. Quantitative data was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). Descriptive statistics on the respondents were determined using means and percentages while correlational analysis was used to establish the influence of foreign policy on peace building in South Sudan for this study.

3.5 Ethical considerations

The researcher sought a written approval from Kampala International University College of Humanities and Social Sciences, graduate School of research and Ethics committee. Consent was sought from the respondents selected for the study giving all necessary guidance on the conduct of the interview and the right to withdraw from the interviews and asking them to

sign a consent form. To address confidentiality concerns, the information gathered from respondents was coded to protect against divulging the names and identities of respondents and results were generalized.

3.6 Limitations to the Study

The researcher assumed that he would encounter challenges of time to reach and find every key informant given the fact that most of them are government officials who are currently busy with the challenges of peace implementation, which is lagging behind schedule to form a transitional government of national unity in May. Given the political environment in the country, some respondents might not be free and willing to speak on certain important issues raised by the study. The researcher mitigated these through requesting for interviews even on weekends and free time and also explain clearly that the research is purely for academic purposes and not for any personal political gain or meant to endanger the security of the nation.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presented results as analyzed using statistical package for social sciences (SPSS). Data cleaning and screening was done to enable the research obtain reliable results on the major analyses. Preliminary analysis included test for linearity and normality. Results are presented as per this study's objectives.

4.1 Response Rate

For this research study, 105 questionnaires were distributed to 3 categories of respondents who included Ambassadors/Directors, Diplomats, Bishops and Priests who are key or senior staff in Juba at the ministry of foreign affairs and international cooperation, South Sudan Council of churches (SSCC) and the South Sudan embassy in Kampala, Uganda. The response rate was calculated and presented in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Response Rate of Survey Respondents

Response	Frequency/Rate
Copies of the questionnaire distributed	105
Minimum study sample size	103
Returned copies of questionnaire	87
Response rate as per the sample size	84.5%

Source: Primary Data (2021)

In table 4.1, it was revealed that 105 questionnaires were distributed during the survey, and 87 were returned back to the researcher in a state that was acceptable which represented an 84.5% response rate. Due to several challenges ranging from bias and illiteracy by some of the participants who were not able to return the questionnaire, the researcher decided to go

ahead after numerous follow-ups to consider what he had gathered. The decision to use data with a response rate below 100% was based Sekaran (2003) who according to his study, 75% response rate is considered adequate in a survey research. This study's response rate of 84.5% was above the 75% threshold, thus the decision to go ahead and use the available data.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

These were collected from each respondent regarding them as individuals and organizational level. The demographic characteristics are presented in table 4.2.

Table 4.2A: Showing Sex of the Respondents

Sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Male	68	78.2	78.2
	Female	19	21.8	21.8
	Total	87	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Data (2021)

This study's findings revealed that this study was dominated by males in terms of sex. 78.2% were males and 21.8% were females with 68 and 19 frequencies respectively. The total respondents were 87 as per table 4.2A.

The table below shows the marital status of the respondents

Table 4.2B: Showing Marital Status of the Respondents

Marital Status

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Married	61	70.1
	Single	15	17.2
	Divorced	5	5.7
	Widowed	5	5.7
	Widower	1	1.1
	Total	87	100.0

Source: Primary Data (2021)

This study was dominated by married respondents with a 61-frequency representing 70.1%, this was followed by 15 singles representing 17.2%. The remaining respondents were divorced, widowed and widowers with 5, 5 and 1 frequencies representing 5.7%, 5.7% and 1.1% respectively.

Table 4.2C: Showing Education Level of the Respondents
Education Level

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Secondary	2	2.3
	Diploma	14	16.1
	Bachelor's Degree	37	42.5
	Master's Degree and above	34	39.1
	Total	87	100.0

Source: Primary Data (2021)

Table 4.2C indicates that majority of the respondents in this study were bachelor degree holders with 37 respondents representing 42.5% of the entire respondents. This was followed by 34 respondents who were holders of either a Master's degree or above, this represented 39.1% of the respondents. This study also involved 14 Diploma holders who represented 16.1% of the sample that was selected. Also 2 participants in this study were found to be holders of secondary school certificate representing 2.3%. Generally, it is right for one to make a fair judgment that all the respondents of this study were literate enough to understand the research tool and its questions on foreign policy and peace building in South Sudan. This is because the respondents with the least qualification in this study were able to read and write which is a requirement for a self-administered questionnaire.

Table 4.2D: Showing Religion of the Respondents

Religion		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Christian	75	86.2
	Moslem	12	13.8
	Total	87	100.0

Source: Primary Data (2021)

Table 4.2D revealed that majority of the respondents in this study were Christians by religion with 75 of the respondents representing 86.2%, the remaining 12 respondents were Muslims representing 13.8% of the entire sample that participated in the study. This is in agreement by previous studies where Christianity has been found to be the dominant religion in South Sudan (Rothfuss & Joseph, 2015; U.S Embassy Jubas, 2018; Wilson, 2019).

Table 4.2E: Showing Age of the Respondents

Age		Frequency	Percent
Valid	18-35 Years	11	12.6
	36 Years and above	76	87.4
	Total	87	100.0

Source: Primary Data (2021)

The study results in table 4.2E, regarding age, 76 respondents representing 87.4% were aged 36 years and above, this indicates that majority of the respondents were in their old age, 11 respondents representing 12.6% were in their youthful age i.e., 18-35 years.

4.3 Findings as per the Study Objectives

In section 4.4, the results were presented as per this study's objectives indicated in chapter one of this study under section 1.4. The objectives of this study were; - To establish the effectiveness of South Sudan Foreign Policy; To examine the nature of Peace Building in

South Sudan and to establish the Influence of South Sudan Foreign Policy on Peace Building in South Sudan.

4.3.1 Findings on Objective One: Effectiveness of South Sudan Foreign Policy

The first objective was to establish the effectiveness of South Sudan foreign policy. This study's findings are presented in table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Descriptive Statistics on effectiveness of South Sudan Foreign Policy

Descriptive Statistics		
Item	Mean	Rank
Peaceful settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation	3.13	1
Combating international and trans-national organized crime, piracy and terrorism	3.03	2
Non-interference in the affairs of other States	2.92	3
Maintaining amicable and balanced relations with other countries	2.83	4
Promotion of good neighbor-hood-lines and mutual cooperation with all neighbors	2.64	5
International Cooperation especially with UN, AU and EAU	2.32	6
Respect for international law and treaty obligations	2.31	7
Promotion of dialogue among civilizations and establishment of international order based on justice and common human destiny	2.30	8
Achievement of African economic integration, within the ongoing regional plans and fora as well as promoting African unity	2.18	9
Enhancement of economic cooperation among countries of the region	2.16	10
Respect of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms	1.72	11
Average Mean	2.50	

Source: Primary Data (2021)

Key

Mean range	Response range
4.00 – 5.00	Very High
3.00 – 3.99	High
2.00 - 2.99	Low

1.00 - 1.99 Very Low

Table 4.3 presents results on objective one of this study which was “to establish the effectiveness of South Sudan Foreign Policy”. The researcher used a five-point likert scale where the respondents in this study were asked to give their opinion by rating the items (indicators of effectiveness of foreign policy in South Sudan) as listed in table 4.4 based on a scale of “Very low to Very High”.

The results indicated that two of the 11 indicators of foreign policy effectiveness were rated as highly effective. “Peaceful settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation” was rated high with mean = 3.13, this was followed by “Combating international and trans-national organized crime, piracy and terrorism” mean = 3.03 and 1.20 standard deviation. The results on these two items therefore indicated that South Sudan was highly effective in implementing the two indicators of foreign policy i.e., by Peaceful settling international disputes through negotiation and mediation, and working towards combating international and trans-national organized crimes, piracy and terrorism.

It was also revealed that 8 indicators of effectiveness of foreign policy in South Sudan were found to be Low; that means that South Sudan has made low efforts in effecting the eight indicators of foreign policy as stipulated by the constitution of the republic of South Sudan. The items that were rate Low included; - Non-interference in the affairs of other States, Maintaining amicable and balanced relations with other countries; “Promotion of good neighbor-hood-lines and mutual cooperation with all neighbors; International Cooperation especially with UN, AU and EAU

Respect for international law and treaty obligations; Promotion of dialogue among civilizations and establishment of international order based on justice and common human destiny; Achievement of African economic integration, within the ongoing regional plans and fora as well as promoting African unity; and Enhancement of economic cooperation among

countries of the region”. The eight items above scored means of 2.92, 2.83, 2.64, 2.32, 2.31, 2.30, 2.18 and 2.16 respectively.

“Respect of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms” one of the items used to measure effectiveness of foreign policy in South Sudan was found to be Very Low mean = 1.72. This result means that there is very low Respect of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in South Sudan as per the findings of this study.

Generally, findings in table 4.4 revealed an overall average mean of 2.50 which means low effectiveness of foreign policy in south Sudan, thus as per this study’s objective one, it was revealed that effectiveness of foreign policy in South Sudan is low, but not forgetting that despite the low average means, South Sudan was highly effective in implementing the two indicator of foreign policy i.e. by Peaceful settling international disputes through negotiation and mediation, and working towards combating international and trans-national organized crimes, piracy and terrorism. The researcher also carried out interviews regarding the effectiveness of foreign policy in South Sudan and the respondents had this to say in their own word: -

“South Sudan has a problem with effecting its foreign policy, if any; the truth is that foreign policies are usually created by the interest of the country. Having said that, South Sudan has failed in numerous occasions to improve its relationships with the countries that they have decided to have relationships with. One of the major causes is the financial crisis that has hit the country and the subsequent reduction of foreign staff in foreign missions of South Sudan. This has negatively affected the effectiveness of the foreign policy, even though those embassies were not completely shut down, but there has been a shaky relationship between South Sudan and the countries that they had agreed to relate with. In this regard, I would really say that South Sudan is yet to sit down and formulate policies based on our interests abroad. There are many International Agencies based in South Sudan”

“I think South Sudan has the worst foreign policy in the whole of African continent, may be worse in the world. I think they are cooperating with international agencies but not fully to the acceptable standards. I think South Sudan only cooperates with UN, IGAD, African Union, East African Community, Uganda and Kenya, and may be somehow Sudan. Absolutely No, there is no respect of human rights in South Sudan, I think South Sudan is having the worst record of human rights in the whole universe, I think the first after Somalia. The laws are just in papers and are not implemented fully as they are supposed to be or they ought to be. The only cooperation that South Sudan has is the settlement of refugees which is a global obligation of every member state of AU and UN, but honestly South Sudan is not benefiting from its neighbors, it is its neighbors benefiting from it”.

The opinions from the key informants in this study were in agreement with the findings of the survey as discussed above, and the general finding on this objective one (to establish the effectiveness of South Sudan Foreign Policy) is that there is low effectiveness of foreign policy in South Sudan, despite the few indicators that they are highly affecting though not to the expected standard.

4.3.2 Findings on Objective Two: Nature of Peace Building in South Sudan

This study's second objective was to establish the nature of peace building in South Sudan. This was based on three indicators of peace building as per CRS (2010) indicators of peace building; the respondents were asked to rate their opinion on Increased Equity, Social Cohesion and Church Action. Results on the nature of Peace Building in South Sudan are presented in Table 4.4. The table below shows the descriptive statistics obtained from the study regarding nature of peace building in South Sudan. Increased Equity, Social Cohesion and Church Action were measured as indicated in the table below: -

Table 4.4 Descriptive Statistics on Nature of Peace Building in South Sudan

Item/Indicators	Mean	Rank
Increased Equity		
Joint activities by the church and other faith-based organizations to advocate for increased equity	3.38	1
Net enrollment of girls in primary schools	2.41	2
Joint initiatives between youth organizations and strategic governance agencies	2.06	3
Social and economic equalities between ethnic and other key identity groups	1.61	4
Citizen participation in annual budget development process	1.60	5
Transparency about extractive industry operations in in the national budget, including tax and royalty payments	1.55	6
Average Mean	2.10	
Social Cohesion		
Reduction in levels of inter-religious violence	2.86	1
Participation of youth community leaders in preventing violence	2.09	2
Number of sexual gender-based violence victims (SGBV) receiving professional assistance (psychosocial and medical)	1.92	3
Proportion of local statutory authorities that have referred conflicts to community-based dispute resolution	1.92	4
Revenue generated by extractive industry operations that is reinvested in projects benefiting the poor	1.48	5
Average Mean	2.06	
Church Action		
Number of social conflicts which church leaders have spoken in unison despite the internal ethnic divides	3.66	1
Number of public statements made to target audience by church leaders on associated rights	3.45	2
Level of resources committed by church in peace building	3.16	3
Number of people who can correctively cite 3 key messages relating to prevention of sexual gender-based violence from public statement made by church leaders	3.13	4
Positive developments in youth education or employment policies made by the church	2.84	5
Average Mean	3.25	
Overall Average Mean	2.47	

Source: Primary Data (2021)

Key

Mean range **Response range**

4.00 – 5.00 Very High

3.00 – 3.99 High

2.00 - 2.99 Low

1.00 - 1.99 Very Low

For the researcher to better understand the nature of peace building in South Sudan, three

indicators of peace (Increased Equity, Social Cohesion and Church Action) were investigated

in this study. Respondents in this study were asked to rate on a scale of 1-5 by giving their opinion on each of the constructs under each indicator. The indicators that were measure included Increased Equity, Social Cohesion and Church Action.

Increased Equity

Results in table 4.4 indicated that there was High Joint activities by the church and other faith-based organizations to advocate for increased equity, Mean = 3.38. Net enrollment of girls in primary schools and Joint initiatives between youth organizations and strategic governance agencies were also found to be low with mean = 2.86 and 2.09 respectively. Social and economic equalities between ethnic and other key identity groups, Citizen Participation in annual budget development process and Transparency about extractive industry operations in in the national budget, including tax and royalty payments were all found to be very low with means = 1.61, 1.60, and 1.55 respectively. The average mean regarding Increased Equity in South Sudan was 2.10 indicating a low level of equity in South Sudan. Nonetheless, findings indicated that there was High Joint activities by the church and other faith-based organizations to advocate for increased equity. One of the key informants had this to say in the interview.

“Yes, first of all, the issue of the youth is quite an interesting one. Apparently, we have so many organizations and these organizations have divided the youth in the country. The youth do not have an organization that really stands independent on their own. Compared to the times when South Sudan was in war, the situation has now totally changed because when the country got independence, 35-40% of our girls have enrolled in primary schools and some of them are already graduates. The church in south Sudan is doing its best in promoting girl child education by building health centers, information centers and schools and most of the girls are finding their way in these schools and can compete favorably with the boys. The Anglican and Catholic Church have promoted equal opportunities for boys and girls in South

Sudan. There is no equality between ethnic and identity groups and I think that where we have gone wrong as South Sudan because the 'Dinka and Nuer' believe that they are the largest tribe in the country and this is the reason why we are in conflict".

"Education in general has not been on top of the list of priorities of government in South Sudan let alone girl child education. Infrastructure in the education sector has been left unattended to and badly dilapidated while teachers are not regularly paid salaries which are peanuts compared to standard of living in the country. Therefore, girl child education is ironically being promoted by civil society organizations and foreign humanitarian agencies".

"The Catholic Church is the only Church denomination I know that has been actively engaged in promoting equity at grass roots level - county, payam and boma. The South Sudan Council of Churches engaged in similar activities that have been inconsistently rolled out due to funding challenges and has not seen impactful dividends. South Sudan witnessed mushrooming of different religious denominations and sects along the years and during the liberation struggle. The main Christian denominations were the Anglican (ECSS), Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches. Now these churches have dominance in different parts of the country and influence certain communities. The Episcopal Church of South Sudan and Catholic Church have been expanding parishes at local levels and have used these set ups to promote peace and co-existence particularly in areas that have experienced communal violence such as Jonglei State. Church Outreach activities have equally been productive in promoting peace".

"The Church and other faithful organizations have also used promotion of education as a tool to neutralize what are otherwise traditionally considered as hostile communities – most of who are pastoralists. South Sudan has sadly been set on diabolic ethnic parity trajectory. The government has been actively promoting ethnic hegemony by certain ethnic groups to the detriment of the rest of the population. A policy implemented by arming ethnic militia outfits

and encouraging them to engage in ethnic violence, forceful displacement of vulnerable communities and land occupation. This unproductive policy is meant to terrorize vulnerable ethnic groups into submission and servitude. Therefore, there is no ethnic equality in South Sudan. One or two ethnicities are favored and the rest left to reel out of existential threat leading to mass migration to neighboring countries, particularly Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia.

“One of the prime root causes of the ongoing conflict in South Sudan is lack of ethnic Equality. In fact, a reason (marginalization) that led South Sudanese to collectively fight against successive regimes in Sudan for independence. The ethnic discrimination that has shattered the once strong social fabric of South Sudanese has continued to fuel violence in the country and can only be turned around by a visionary and responsible political leadership. A leadership bent on working to create a national identity and character through policies and social programs. South Sudan needs a leadership that embraces and appreciates the rich ethnic diversity of the country and uses it to promote peaceful co-existence and economic development”.

Social Cohesion

Results in table 4.4 revealed that Reduction in levels of inter-religious violence and Participation of youth community leaders in preventing violence was low in South Sudan. Whereas, “Number of sexual gender-based violence victims (SGBV) receiving professional assistance (psychosocial and medical); Proportion of local statutory authorities that have referred conflicts to community-based dispute resolution and Revenue generated by extractive industry operations that is reinvested in projects benefiting the poor” were found to be very low with means = 1.92, 1.92 and 1.48 respectively. The average mean for social cohesion was found to be low with mean= 2.06. The above results indicated that there was no

or very low efforts by the government of South Sudan to promote social cohesion and emancipation in the country.

“Most of the sexual gender-based violence are cases of rape and general violence against women. No, the victims of gender-based violence don’t get professional assistance, because to them this is more like a taboo because they believe that the society will simply ignore them and they just suffer from inside. It is this youth that once they come to understand that they are being used, they should leave the fighting to go and what can bring peace and things will change. The local authorities are doing their best and each community is trying to fight for their peace”.

“I am not aware of any government run or funded program or intervention to assist victims of SGBV; this sexual violence has now involved boys, men and the elderly across gender. On the other hand, there are some national and international non-governmental organizations, mostly receiving funding from the EU and its partners, engaged in supporting professional interventions to assist victims of SGBV. One such organization is South Sudan Women’s Empowerment Network (SSWEN)”.

“There are youth organizations that have pragmatically embarked on activities to promote peace and peaceful co-existence of communities in South Sudan but at a negligible scale. The biggest challenge facing these groups is lack of support from government; they are often times terrorized and discouraged by the National Security Service”

“The government in South Sudan, as mentioned earlier, is engaged in a policy of discrimination based on ethnicity. Part of this policy involves annihilation of certain communities and grabbing of their ancestral lands. Therefore, local authorities are inadvertently engaged in these unproductive policies rather than proactively promoting peaceful co-existence”.

Church Action

Finally, church action was also investigated under the indicators of peace building and results revealed that there was high “Number of social conflicts which church leaders have spoken in unison despite the internal ethnic divides; Number of public statement made to target audience by church leaders on associated rights; Level of resources committed by church in peace building; Number of people who can correctively cite 3 key messages relating to prevention of sexual gender-based violence from public statement made by church leaders” with mean = 3.66, 3.45, 3.16 and 3.13 respectively. However, very low efforts were put by the church and other faithful organizations in “Positive developments in youth education or employment policies made by the church” mean = 2.84. Church action scored an average mean of 3.25 which indicated that overall, the church had highly made efforts towards peace building in South Sudan. To be able to affirm the results on the nature of peace building in South Sudan, the researcher also carried out interview with key informants, and this is what they had to say in their word church action in peace building; -

“Of course, the church is a home that maintains morality in the country. Believe it or not, the church is the only one trying to address issues more than the government. The church has been at the forefront in trying to bring peace in Sudan then and currently in South Sudan. In 1972, it was the world council of churches that brought about the Aids Ababa agreement. And again, it was the African council of churches that has been working to help to ensure that Sudan and South Sudan reach an amicable agreement in their quest for peace”.

“Yes. The Archbishop of the Internal Province of Central Equatorial of the Episcopal Church of South Sudan, His Grace Dr Paul Pitya Benjamin, has been quite vocal on SGBV crimes committed by government forces in the past few years in Central Equatorial. However, the Church really needs to do more. It must engage in public efforts to decry the government’s policies to terrorize communities using sexual violence and hold it accountable for these

heinous crimes; government must be obliged to provide professional interventions to support victims of the SGBV”.

“The Church has been actively engaged in peace negotiations initiated by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) after the December 2013 conflict, and continue to support process of peace building in South Sudan. However, it needs to do more in publicly denouncing the government’s continued attacks on civilian populations and using food and sexual violence as weapons of war and call for democratic transition”.

“The Church has historically played a pivotal role in the liberation struggle of the South Sudanese people and continues to advocate for peace. It also shouldered a huge responsibility of emotional healing of communities devastated by consequences of conflict and trauma. South Sudan has once again been broiled in a conflict since 2013 and levels of devastation far worse than any witnessed in the history of South Sudanese. This therefore requires the Church to once again take lead in supporting communities affected both within South Sudan and in refugee camps”.

By and large, Nature of Peace Building in South Sudan scored an overall average mean = 2.47. This therefore revealed, that as per this study’s findings, Low or limited efforts were being made towards peace building in the republic of South Sudan, despite the sole effort by the church to promote peace building in the country as per this study’s findings.

4.3.3. Findings on Objective Three: Relationship between South Sudan Foreign Policy and Peace Building in South Sudan

This study's third objective was to establish the relationship between South Sudan Foreign Policy and Peace Building in South Sudan. For this to be achieved, the researcher carried out Pearson Linear Correlation Coefficient (PLCC) on the two variables of "South Sudan Foreign Policy" and "Peace Building in South Sudan" using Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). This was to establish the relationship between "South Sudan Foreign Policy" and "Peace Building in South Sudan". The results from this study are presented in table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Influence of South Sudan Foreign Policy on Peace Building in South Sudan

Correlations		
	Foreign Policy in South Sudan	Peace Building in South Sudan
Foreign Policy in South Sudan		
Pearson Correlation	1	.654**
Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
N	87	87
Peace Building in South Sudan		
Pearson Correlation	.654**	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
N	87	87

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: Primary Data (2021)

To establish the relationship between foreign policy and peace building in South Sudan, the researcher used Pearson's linear correlation coefficient. Results in Table 4.5 there was a positive and significant relationship between foreign policy and peace building in South Sudan ($r=.654$, $p=.000$) at 0.01 significant level, as per this study's findings there is approximately a large correlation between foreign policy and peace building in South Sudan. According to Cohen (1998), such results indicate that improvement in the level of foreign policy will lead to a corresponding increase in the level of peace building in South Sudan. This means that foreign policy in South Sudan has a positive and significant effect on peace building in South Sudan.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

5.1 Discussion of the Findings

5.1.1 Discussion of objective one: effectiveness of South Sudan Foreign Policy

Findings on objective one of this study, which was to establish the effectiveness of South Sudan policy, indicated that there was low effectiveness of South Sudan foreign policy. This study's findings are discussed in relation to previously carried out as below.

According to Alasdair (2012), one of the difficulties in developing effective answers stems just from the absence of sufficient dependable facts and evidence of the state and of local standpoints. There is a necessity for bigger and detailed study into local perceptions and understandings of violence, which must reinforce any outside backing to short and long-standing settlement. As with the complete scale of U.S. foreign policy decision-making, U.S. policy effectiveness over the next period will need a unique adjustment in U.S. relations with the international political sphere. The essential dilemma between unilateral U.S. power and multilateral leverage will remain at the core of the U.S. strategic outlook; nowhere is the necessity of this shift clearer than in Sudan and South Sudan.

After the failure of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) to create a peaceful environment for political stability in the country, such economic and political crisis have led neighboring countries to intervene in national affairs of the country to pursue their own interests or regional bodies to achieves their interests (Ajou & Akuey, 2018). Such interventions have tampered with the effectiveness of foreign policy in South Sudan which supports and agrees to this study's findings on objective one.

5.1.2 Discussion of objective two: Nature of Peace Building in South Sudan

According to this study's findings on the nature of peace building in South which was the second objective, it was revealed that despite the general lowness of peace building in South Sudan, the church had highly played a major role in peace building in South Sudan. Hereunder the study shades light on the findings of previous studies in relation to nature of peace building in South Sudan.

Since 2013 after the civil war that displaced millions of people who are estimated to be refugees neighboring countries like Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan, religious actors and institutions have maintained their presence through the turmoil in South Sudan. "Bishop Edward Hiiboro Kussala (b. 1964), the Catholic bishop of Yambio, was described as "one of the most important religious individuals responsible for peace in South Sudan." One respondent cited his work to organize a peace conference at the Tourist Hotel in Yambio, which was attended by two groups of rebels, the government, SPLM-IO, the Arrow Boys militia, and government officials: "I was convinced by the way he talked, judging the warring parties seriously—the peace conference was successful." Another said, "Hiiboro is very influential because he mediates between the community, rebels and government to bring peace in our community. Bishop Hiiboro encourages youth to go to school, to work hard to become the future leaders of tomorrow." In his mid-fifties, Bishop Hiiboro is the youngest national-level religious actor identified as important for peace as cited by Wilson (2019), these findings are not any different from this study's findings as the church is still seen as the main player in the quest for peace in South Sudan. The same is also in agreement with findings by Rothfuss & Joseph (2015).

"South Sudanese leaders need to recognize the country's ethnic and cultural diversity as an asset that can contribute towards the building of a strong state and resilient society.

Successful diversity management must also include bottom-up processes that provide space for participation by an engaged citizenry. This requires greater awareness of South Sudan's pluralistic heritage; and, just as important, visionary leadership to build a modern state that draws its strength from grassroots experiences and indigenous institutions" (Charles & Kudrat, 2017).

5.1.3 Discussion of objective three: Relationship between Foreign Policy and Peace Building in South Sudan

This study's findings indicated that foreign policy positively and significantly affect peace building in South Sudan.

Countries have unique policy prescriptions depending on their size and a type that fits can be misleading. Nonetheless, there are several lessons resulting from implementation of peace somewhere else that can be applied in South Sudan. Based on lessons learnt from other situations, it is agreeable that the republic of South Sudan is a representation of a difficult environment for peace building. There are several conflicts in South Sudan, which are interrelated in complex ways, and some of them are situated along or across borders with its neighbors. Successful international involvement will depend on a number of factors which include "donors the pledges that they have promised to support peace building process in South Sudan, international assistance should be coordinated efficiently, the reality of peace building and reconstruction in Sudan as elsewhere lies in power and politics and success will primarily depend on the Sudanese themselves taking on major responsibilities for the implementation" (Sørbo, 2010). "Overall, there has been limited meaningful participation of local actors—such as community groups, faith-based organizations, women and youth groups, and grassroots and non-governmental institutions—in the mainstream peace initiatives" (Asige, 2017). Findings of this study are in agreement with previous studies with

foreign policy and intervention in South Sudan playing a pivotal, sensitive and influential part in the peace building of the republic of South Sudan.

5.2 Conclusions

5.2.1 Conclusions on Objective one: Effectiveness of South Sudan Foreign Policy

Based on this study's findings and discussions by this study in 4.2.1 and 5.11 above, this study concludes that effectiveness of foreign policy in South Sudan is low. This is despite its high effectiveness in peaceful settlement of international disputes through negotiation and mediation, and working towards combating international and trans-national organized crimes, piracy and terrorism.

5.2.2 Conclusions on Objective two: Nature of Peace Building in South Sudan

In conclusion as per the findings of this study, there are low efforts made by the government of South Sudan in promoting peace building in the country. Church action has highly played a key role in peace building in South Sudan. But the nature of peace building in South Sudan is low as evidenced by low levels of equity and social cohesion which are the key indicators in peace building as per CRS (2010) which has been operating in the country for a long period of time in promoting and working towards peace.

5.2.3 Conclusions on Objective three: Influence of foreign policy on peace building in South Sudan

As per the findings of this study and the discussions in the same, this research concludes that an improvement in foreign policy performance in South Sudan has an influence on peace building in South Sudan as per the Pearson linear correlation coefficient results presented in subsection 4.4.3 of this study.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Recommendations on objective one: Effectiveness of Foreign Policy in South

Sudan

Based on the findings, discussions and concussions of this research, the study recommends to the South Sudan government to improve their effectiveness in foreign policy by putting more efforts in promoting Non-interference in the affairs of other States, Maintaining amicable and balanced relations with other countries; “Promotion of good neighbor-hood-lines and mutual cooperation with all neighbors; International Cooperation especially with UN, AU and EAU; Respect for international law and treaty obligations; Promotion of dialogue among civilizations and establishment of international order based on justice and common human destiny; Achievement of African economic integration, within the ongoing regional plans and fora as well as promoting African unity; and Enhancement of economic cooperation among countries of the region.

5.3.2 Recommendations on objective two: Nature of Peace Building in South Sudan

This study recommends to the government of South Sudan, that efforts should be made towards improving equity and social cohesion within the country. More support to the church which has been seen as having played a pivotal role in the peace building in South Sudan should be given, for example by building more churches and mosques and promoting freedom of worship will improve the peace building in South Sudan.

5.3.2 Recommendations on objective three: Relationship between Foreign Policy and peace building in South Sudan

This study recommends for a coordinated improvement by the government of South Sudan, other government organs and partners in foreign policy implementation to subsequently influence peace-building process in South Sudan. In other words, this study recommends to South Sudan to improve should, International Cooperation, Respect of Human Rights, Respect for international law and treaty obligations, Non-interference in the affairs of other

States and Peaceful settlement of international disputes towards achievement of peace and stability in the republic of South Sudan.

5.4 Contribution to Knowledge

This study contributes to knowledge by providing new knowledge on the nature of South Sudan foreign policy and its relationship with peace building with increased equity, social cohesion and church action as the key indicators.

This study adds to the general knowledge for scholars and authors to refer to in the field of South Sudan foreign policy and peace building.

This study contributes to knowledge by adding to the already existing knowledge and recommendations pertaining peace and stability in the republic of South Sudan.

5.5 Areas of Further Research

More studies can be carried out on the following areas: -

Role played by international diplomacy towards attainment of peace and security in South Sudan

A comparative study can also be conducted on the relationship between foreign policy in South Sudan and any other states that have gone through the same instability but finally attained peace.

More studies can also be conducted on the role played by foreign policy and peace building; but with different indicators of peace building.

Foreign policy can also be broken down into several constructs and each construct studied against peace building.

Intervening variables that have not been studied can also be studied to as moderating variables

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: SURVEY RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESPONDENTS

Dear Participant,

Thank you for taking time to participate in this research study on *Foreign Policy and Peace Building in South Sudan*. This is part of the requirements of the *Master's degree in International Relations and Diplomacy* of Kampala International University. The data collected will be used for academic purposes only and will not be used for individual's identification. You are kindly requested to consider and answer all the questions as per the guidelines on each section. Kindly read and sign the consent form below, then proceed and answer the questions.

INFORMED CONSENT

I am giving my consent to be part of the research study of Emmanuel Daud Jubara Tombe on *Foreign Policy and Peace Building in South Sudan*.

I have been informed that the participation is voluntary and that the results will be given to me if I ask for it.

Initials: _____

Part A: Bio data of the Respondents

1. Sex ☐Male ☐Female
2. Marital Status ☐Married ☐Single ☐Divorced ☐Widowed
3. Education Level
- ☐Secondary ☐Diploma ☐Bachelors ☐Masters & above
4. Religion ☐Christian ☐Moslem
5. Age ☐18 – 35 years ☐36 Years and above

Part B: Effectiveness of Foreign Policy in South Sudan

The items below relate to South Sudan foreign policy. Kindly rate how South Sudan has performed as per the items below by ticking the applicable rating. (✓/Tick)

1 – Very Low	2 - Low	3 - Neutral	4-High	5- Very High
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Item	1	2	3	4	5
International Cooperation especially with UN, AU and EAU					
Respect of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms					
Respect for international law and treaty obligations					
Non-interference in the affairs of other States					
Peaceful settlement of international disputes					
Achievement of African economic integration, within the ongoing regional plans and fora as well as promoting African unity					
Promotion of dialogue among civilizations and establishment of international order based on justice and common human destiny					
Enhancement of economic cooperation among countries of the region					
non-interference in the affairs of other States					

Combating international and trans-national organized crime, piracy and terrorism					
Promotion of good neighbor-hood-lines and mutual cooperation with all neighbors					
Maintaining amicable and balanced relations with other countries					
Peaceful settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation,					

Section C: Nature of Peace Building in South Sudan

The items below relate to Peace building. Kindly rate how South Sudan has performed as per the items below by ticking the applicable rating. (√Tick)

1 – Very Low	2 – Low	3 - Neutral	4-High	5- Very High
--------------	---------	-------------	--------	--------------

[I]Increased Equity					
Item	1	2	3	4	5
Joint initiatives between youth organizations and strategic governance agencies					
Net enrollment of girls in primary schools					
Joint activities by the church and other faith-based organizations to advocate for increased equity					
Transparency about extractive industry operations in in the national budget, including tax and royalty payments					
Citizen participation in annual budget development process					
Social and economic equalities between ethnic and other key identity groups					

[II] Social Cohesion					
Item	1	2	3	4	5
Revenue generated by extractive industry operations that is reinvested in projects benefiting the poor					
Number of sexual gender-based violence victims (SGBV) receiving professional assistance (psychosocial and medical)					
Reduction in levels of inter-religious violence					
Participation of youth community leaders in preventing violence					
Proportion of local statutory authorities that have referred conflicts to community-based dispute resolution					
[III] Church Action					
Item	1	2	3	4	5
Number of people who can correctively cite 3 key messages relating to prevention of sexual gender-based violence from public statement made by church leaders					
Number of public statements made to target audience by church leaders on associated rights					
Positive developments in youth education or employment policies made by the church					
Level of resources committed by church in peace building					
Number of social conflicts which church leaders have spoken in unison despite the internal ethnic divides					

APPENDIX 2:
KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Dear Participant,

Greetings,

Introduction,

Do you voluntarily agree to participate in this study on *Foreign Policy and Peace Building in South Sudan*? _____

Thank you for taking time to participate in this research study on *Foreign Policy and Peace Building in South Sudan*. This is part of the requirements of the *Master's degree in International Relations and Diplomacy* of Kampala International University. The data collected will be used for academic purposes only and will not be used for individual's identification. Kindly allow me ask you some questions.

Part A: Bio data of the Respondents

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--|---|------------------------------------|--|--|
| 1. Sex | <input type="checkbox"/> Male | <input type="checkbox"/> Female | | | |
| 2. Marital Status | <input type="checkbox"/> Married | <input type="checkbox"/> Single | <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced | <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed | |
| 3. Education Level | <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary | <input type="checkbox"/> Diploma | <input type="checkbox"/> Bachelors | <input type="checkbox"/> Masters & above | |
| 4. Religion | <input type="checkbox"/> Christian | <input type="checkbox"/> Moslem | | | |
| 5. Age | <input type="checkbox"/> 18 – 35 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 36 Years and above | | | |

Part B: Effectiveness of Foreign Policy in South Sudan

- 6.1 Do think that South Sudan is cooperating with international Agencies?
- 6.2. If Yes, Which agencies and countries does south Sudan cooperate with?
- 6.3. Which areas has South Sudan cooperated with the agencies and the entire globe at large?
- 7.1. Do you think that there is respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and laws by the government of South Sudan?
- 7.2. What is you general opinion regarding human rights, fundamental freedoms and laws in South Sudan?
- 7.3. Comment on the role played by South Sudan in promoting peace with the neighbors and settlement of international disputes.

Part C: Nature of Peace Building in South Sudan

Increased Equity

8. Are there any initiatives between youth organizations and strategic governance agencies in South Sudan? How?
9. Comment on the enrollment of girls in primary schools.
10. Are there any activities that the church and other faithful organizations have organized to promote equity?
11. What are some of the activities that have been initiated by the church and other faithful organizations in promoting equity in South Sudan?
- 12.1. Is there equality between ethnic and other identity groups in South Sudan?
- 12.2 Comment on the equalities between ethnic and other identity groups in South Sudan in regards to the above.

Social Cohesion

13. Are there sexual gender-based violence victims in South Sudan?
14. If yes, do sexual gender-based violence victims in South Sudan get professional assistance?
15. Comment on the participation of Youth community leaders in promoting peace.
16. What role has been played by local authorities in promoting peace in South Sudan?

Church Action

17. Do you think church leaders are teaching messages relating to prevention of sexual gender-based violence in South Sudan?
18. Comment on the commitment of the church on peace building in South Sudan.
19. What role has the church played in promoting peace in South Sudan?

Thank you.

**APPENDIX 3: TABLE FOR
DETERMINING SAMPLE SIZE OF A KNOWN POPULATION**

N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	100	80	280	162	800	260	2800	338
15	14	110	86	290	165	850	265	3000	341
20	19	120	92	300	169	900	269	3500	346
25	24	130	97	320	175	950	274	4000	351
30	28	140	103	340	181	1000	278	4500	354
35	32	150	108	360	186	1100	285	5000	357
40	36	160	113	380	191	1200	291	6000	361
45	40	170	118	400	196	1300	297	7000	364
50	44	180	123	420	201	1400	302	8000	367
55	48	190	127	440	205	1500	306	9000	368
60	52	200	132	460	210	1600	310	10000	370
65	56	210	136	480	214	1700	313	15000	375
70	59	220	140	500	217	1800	317	20000	377
75	63	230	144	550	226	1900	320	30000	379
80	66	240	148	600	234	2000	322	40000	380
85	70	250	152	650	242	2200	327	50000	381
90	73	260	155	700	248	2400	331	75000	382
95	76	270	159	750	254	2600	335	1000000	384
<i>Note: N is Population Size; S is Sample Size</i>						<i>Source: Krejcie & Morgan, 1970</i>			

**APPENDIX 4: *OUTPUT OF COMPUTED
VARIABLE – IBM SPSS STATISTICS Viewer**

```
COMPUTE FPSS= (B1 + B2 + B3 + B4 + B5 + B6 + B7 + B8 + B9 + B10 +  
B11) / 11.
```

```
VARIABLE LABELS FPSS 'Foreign Policy in South Sudan'.
```

```
EXECUTE.
```

```
COMPUTE CIE= (CIE1 + CIE2 + CIE3 + CIE4 + CIE5 + CIE6) / 6.
```

```
VARIABLE LABELS CIE 'Increased Equity'.
```

```
EXECUTE.
```

```
COMPUTE CSC= (CSC1 + CSC2 + CSC3 + CSC4 + CSC5) / 5.
```

```
VARIABLE LABELS CSC 'Social Cohesion'.
```

```
EXECUTE.
```

```
COMPUTE CCA= (CCA1 + CCA2 + CCA3 + CCA4 + CCA5) / 5.
```

```
VARIABLE LABELS CCA 'Church Action'.
```

```
EXECUTE.
```

```
COMPUTE PBSS= (CIE + CSC + CCA) / 3.
```

```
VARIABLE LABELS PBSS 'Peace Building in South Sudan'.
```

```
EXECUTE.
```

**APPENDIX 5: *OUTPUT OF
CORRELATION IBM SPSS STATISTICS VIEWER**

Correlations

[DataSet1] D:\Admin\Emmanuel Tombe\Emmanuel Daud . J. Tombe.
Data Set.sav

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Foreign Policy in South Sudan	2.5047	.91790	87
Peace Building in South Sudan	2.4676	.70642	87

Correlations

		Foreign Policy in South Sudan	Peace Building in South Sudan
Foreign Policy in South Sudan	Pearson Correlation	1	.654**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	87	87
Peace Building in South Sudan	Pearson Correlation	.654**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	87	87

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

