ST. PAUL'S UNIVERSITY

THE EFFECTS OF WAR AND ETHNICITY ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS AMONG SOUTH SUDANESE IN NAIROBI KENYA

Deng YOR Daniel

SUPERVISORS

PROF. ESTHER MOMBO

AND

DR. ALKANO WARIO

This research paper is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Masters of Art Degree in Interfaith Christian-Muslim Relations at St. Paul's University.

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DECLARATION

This research project is product of my original work and has not been presented to any other institution or examination body. No part of this research should be reproduced without my prior consent or that of St. Paul's University.

NAME OF STUDENT: DANIEL Y. DENG

INDEX NUMBER: ICMRLIM157517

Sign……Date……

Student

WORD COUNT:

CORE SUPERVISORS: PROF ESTHER MOMBO

SIGN……. Date……..

ASSISTANT SUPERVISOR DR. ALKANO WARIO

SIGN……. Date……..

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is about the ethnicity and war on Christian-Muslim Relations among South Sudanese in Nairobi. The two religions, Christianity and Islam has been the main focus in both Sudans, but currently, ethnicity has taken shape among south Sudanese in the Diaspora. The purpose of this dissertation was to investigate how the ethnicity and war has affected Christian-Muslim relations among South Sudanese refugees in Nairobi. The research adopted the descriptive research design and used a sample of 60 respondents. The study respondents were mainly spiritual leaders selected from South Sudanese churches in Nairobi and the Jamia Mosque. Research data was gathered using questionnaires and thereafter the data was analyzed using content analysis techniques. The findings have shown that the causes of war and ethnicity in South Sudan are power struggle among the political leaders along ethnic lines. The leaders have succeeded in drumming support from their ethnic kin in order to consolidate the grasp on power. Other causes blamed for war and ethnicity in county are the low literacy levels among the populations. This illiteracy is common among all communities and regions in South Sudan and has ensured that the elite and educated political leaders can easily manipulate the masses to follow and support them without encountering any challenge of resistance from the illiterate people. Other factors that have contributed to the war in South Sudan include corruption, patronage, impunity, militarization and arm proliferation. While the majority of respondents acknowledged that South Sudan population is dominated by people who confess the Christian faith, it also has a number of Muslims that profess the Islam faith. There is open mistrust among the followers of the two religions, with Christian being suspicious of the Muslims and vice versa. This mistrust originated from the civil war that pitted the Muslim Northerners and the Christian southerners and was reinforced by the introduction of Sharia Law by government that was then controlled by the Muslims from North Sudan. This mistrust is not only confined to South Sudan but has spilled over to the neighbouring countries where many south Sudanese are living as refugee camps. The Christian/Muslim mistrust has been witnessed at the Kakuma Refugee Camp (KRC) where there have been frequent conflicts along religious and ethnic lines. Majority of respondents indicated that the war in South Sudan has affected the Christian-Muslim relations negatively by instilling hatred among the two religions. According to majority of the respondents the ethnic war in South Sudan has planted the seeds of hatred among the South Sudanese whereby even when there are in foreign countries as refugees that still do not trust each other even though they originated from the same country. The war has caused trauma among the refugees in Kenya which has resulted in conflicts among south Sudanese refugees from different ethnic backgrounds. These conflicts have been common at the Kakuma Refugee Camp and which have necessitated the holding of peace and reconciliation meetings within the camp organized by various humanitarian organizations. Majority of the refugees have been psychologically affected and to date some are still traumatized. They cannot forget the atrocities caused to them and their loved ones. Some refugees feel that it is their tribesmen that are being targeted and this makes them feel unsafe wherever they are. Majority of the respondents agreed that the ethnic war in South Sudan has divided the religious community between tribes that are fighting. Among South Sudanese citizens, conflict has affected to the point where people do not worship together. Even Christians from different ethnic backgrounds do not worship together because of the mistrust caused by the war. It is now common to

find churches whose congregation a purely from one South Sudanese ethnic group. This practice of one ethnic group and one church is evident in urban centres in Kenya as well as within the Kakuma Refugee camp. The war has impacted negatively the Christian-Muslim relations and the brotherhood relationship and the love that existed before is no more and hatred has thrived between the Christian and Muslims. The war has brought about identity concealment and people living in denial of the situation and loss of trust for other tribes. It is recommended that Christian and Islamic leaders should play a key reconciliatory role in reconciling Christians and Muslims within the refugee community. A council of leaders within the refugee community needs to be formed and which brings together elders from all ethnic groups. The council of elders will play a mediating role wherever there is inter-ethnic conflict. Youth should form youth groups in their respective ethnic groups and organize sports tournaments and cultural activities which will help the youth to bond together and create friendship. On their part women can form women groups that include women from all religions and ethnic groups. These women groups can be used as avenues to undertake joint businesses and organizing meetings to be used as forums for preaching peace and reconciliation. Interreligious dialogue should be initiated at the all localities in the country. . National government politicians and the states leaders should united and encourage the youth and women to adopt tolerance peaceful co-existence across the country. The States and the Church should be the one taking the role of civic education in the country that will enhance unity within the country and outside as well and they should champion for the dialogue base on love, tolerance, mutual respects of one ethnic and religion.

ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

ATR: African Traditional Religion

DVC: Deputy Vice Chancellor

IGAD: Inter-Governmental Authority on Development

KRC: Kakuma Refugee Camp

NDA: National Democratic Alliance

NIF: National Islamic Front

OAU: Organization of African Unity

SPLM: Afar People Liberation Movement

SPLM-IO: Sudan People's Liberation Army – In Opposition

SPLA/M: Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement

VC: Vice Chancellor

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Christian-Muslim relations in Africa have much resemblance of suffering. Of course people are suffering greatly today as a result of deteriorating conditions and relations between Christian and Muslim groups. Since relations have been deteriorating after the colonial masters, the full picture is complex and related directly to the British and other colonial masters. The effects of war and ethnicity on Christians-Muslim relations between the communities are based not only on religion, but also more specifically are combination of economic, political, social and cultural factors.

The conflict in South Sudan has several stages, the pre-independence war in 1955 between the Southern people and the North before 1956, while elements of ethnicity have taken centre stage in conflict. The war fought by Anyanya1 ended in 1972 with Addis Ababa Agreement between the Southern and the Northern resulted to ethnic tension. The Anyanya 2 remained in the bush fighting the government until the second war of SPLA/M in 1983. There were elements of ethnic intimidation by Anyanya within the South during the recruitment to their rank. Southerners used the enforcement of Sharia as stepping point to start the second war. Other factors that triggered the war were the discovering of oil, re-demarcation of borders and the political marginalization that gave Egyptian responsibility to the Canal for agriculture scheme that encouraged the southerners to take arms and use religion for the mobilization of the people to support guerrilla war. Christians in the South are 75 percent while 25 percent is a composition of Muslim and African tradition Religion.

The war of Anyanya one left 500,000 people dead. Addis Ababa Agreement was signed to bring the lasting solution to the problems among the South Sudanese, but it came with more serious implications for the South. The Addis Ababa Peace Agreement was dishonored by Jaffar Nuimeiri in 1983. All the Northerners were against the spirit of the Agreement because Nuimeiri was for the support of the Southern independence. In these wars, southerners lost 2 million people. The number of refugee rose highly within the East Africa and the Western World. The war has an implication on southerners themselves, while the ethnicity that kicked in within South Sudan became widespread and made million people become refugees. The war fought with Sudan causes misunderstanding between the refugees of South Sudan in diaspora and has caused enmity.

The colonizers may long have gone but for the people of South Sudan, their departure had not translated into liberty. They had an internal matter to contend with. Their rejection of subjugation led to resistance and resistance instantly embraced rebellion. The end product was a bitter and protracted war that lasted twenty-one years. Finally, like a dream come true, South Sudan became African's 54th newest nation on July 9, 2011 and a matter of days on the 14th, it became 193rd member of United Nations taking its place in the World community. Acknowledging welcoming remarks made by UN President Ban Ki-moon, South Sudan's Vice-President Riek Machar Thurgon alluded to the then pending issues that the South and the North were expected to resolve. He noted that it was the country's deepest and most sincere wish to resolve all outstanding matters between North and South swiftly and peacefully (Shimanyula, 2012).

Fighting among some of the communities in South Sudan has been taking place since time immemorial. Kuol Manyang former Jonglei state governor concurs with elders but says skyrocketing of tribal conflict is a demand of dowry. On the average, between forty and sixty head of cattle are required for dowry among the communities. Neither the Lou Nuer nor Murle have fully embraced modern methods of accepting cash in lieu of livestock for bride price. With most families no longer owing large herds, young warriors easily resort to cattle raids. This has mostly given rise to an increase in stock theft and cattle raids. Apart from cattle raids, Murle abduct children from other Murle homes and sell them to childless Murle for cattle. A boy would be sold for forty head of cattle and a girl for thirty cattle. That culture of Murle abducting children that extended to other communities for stealing children from their neighbours has destroyed social relations among the citizens especially in Jonglei State. A former State Governor of Jonglei indicated that the culture of the Murle, young warriors are singled out by elders as strong men only after accomplishing daring missions mostly of raiding cattle and kidnaping children and women (Shimanyula, 2012).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The negative propagation of ethnicity that emerged in South Sudan has put Christian-Muslim relations to test. The conflict between communities of South Sudan in Kenya has been occasioned by negative ethnicity born out of persisting wars in South Sudan. This conflict today is affecting the attempt by Christian-Muslim relations to create harmony and co-existence of communities with divergent religious beliefs. The refugees of South Sudan in Nairobi come from different ethnic communities. While

majority are Christians, there are 25 percent of refugees that are Muslims and African tradition believers.

This thesis evaluated the effects of war and ethnicity on Christian-Muslim relations among South Sudanese refugees in Nairobi. The thesis was borne out of the effects of war which are social, political, cultural, and religious and which has no respect or of anyone. The current conflict based on ethnicity created a need for research on Christians and Muslims South Sudanese refugees in Kenya and how war and ethnicity in South Sudan has impacted them.

The thesis was driven by the following key objectives; to establish the causes of ethnic war and its effects on the relations among South Sudanese refugees in Kenya, to examine the effects of negative ethnicity on Christian-Muslim perception among South Sudanese community in Kenya and to explore the possibility of peaceful coexistence among Christian-Muslim South Sudanese refugees in Kenya.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the research was to assess the effects of ethnicity and war on Christian Muslim relations among the south Sudanese refugees in Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

i. To establish the causes of ethnic war and its effects on the relations among South Sudanese refugees in Kenya.
ii. To examine the effects of negative ethnicity on Christian-Muslim perception among South Sudanese community in Kenya

iii. To evaluate ways of peaceful coexistence among (South Sudan) Christian-Muslim refugees in Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

i. What are the causes of ethnic war in South Sudan and how does it affect relations among South Sudanese Refugees in Kenya?

ii. How has the ethnic war impacted on Christian - Muslim relations of South Sudanese Refugees in Kenya?

iii. In what ways can Christian and Muslim South Sudanese refugees peacefully coexist in Kenya?

1.5 Research Hypotheses

H_1. The cause of ethnic war is the cause of suspicion and mistrust among South Sudanese refugees in Kenya.

H_2. Negative perceptions on ethnic hinder peaceful coexistence between Christian-Muslim South Sudanese refugees.

H_3.There are possibilities for Christian and Muslim South Sudanese refugees to coexist peacefully in Kenya.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

The research focused on the effects of ethnicity and war on relations between Christian and Muslin South Sudanese refugees in Kenya. The research was conducted in Kenya and focused on South Sudanese refugees living in Nairobi. Suspicion on the part of the respondents proved to be a challenge. Some respondents failed or were unwilling to provide the required information. However, this was overcome by explaining the purpose and benefits of the study to respondents. Some respondents had doubts on the intentions of the researcher and as such wanted to withhold

information. However the researcher reassured respondents of the academic nature of the study and that the information provided would be treated in confidence as no names would be used. The respondents were also constrained with respect to time and did not have adequate time to immediately attend to the questionnaires. In order to mitigate this challenge, the researcher used the 'Drop and Pick' method where the questionnaires were administered to the respondents and collected after a period of two weeks.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

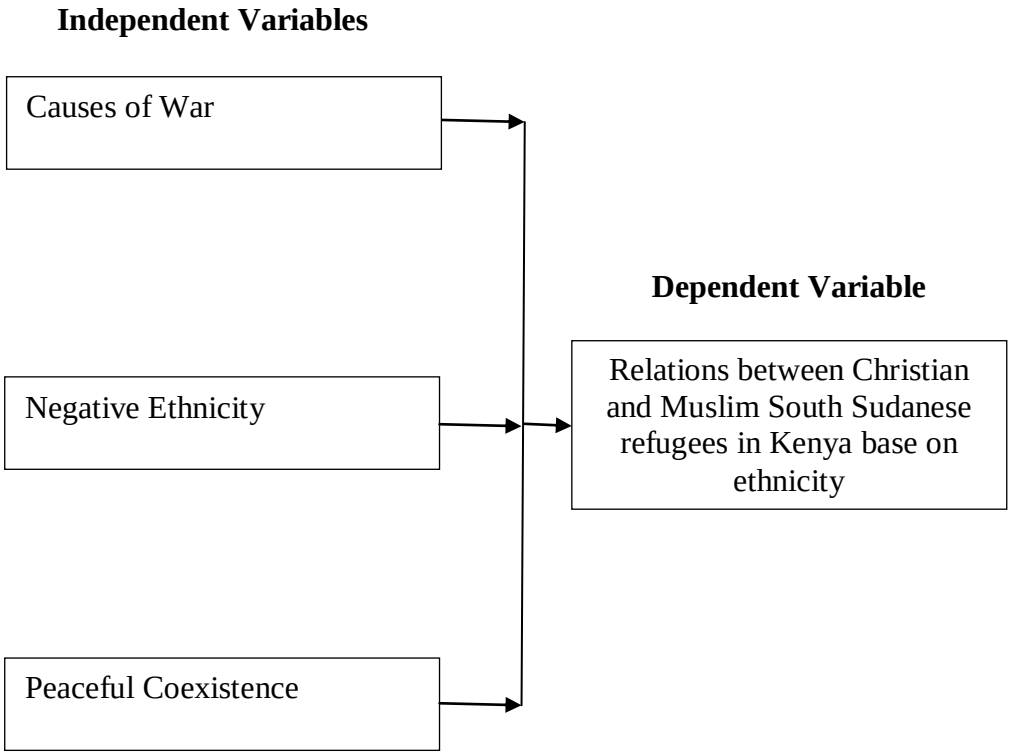


Figure 1.1: Theoretical Framework

1.8 Justification of the Study

The war in South Sudan has had monumental negative effects in the social, cultural, political and religious spheres. This conflict of religions and ethnicity has not only been confined to South Sudan but has found its way to refugee camps in the East

African region where thousands of south Sudanese refuges live. Efforts to find a lasting solution to the conflict are still ongoing while other initiatives have failed. This thesis is one of the many initiatives that will contribute to the attainment of peace in South Sudan and peaceful coexistence between the Muslim and Christian communities especially those within the refugee community.

The thesis has resulted in recommendations that are aimed at contributing to the cessation of the conflict. These recommendations and the factors that fueled the conflict need to be brought out in the discussion of the conflict and which can be incorporated into the search for permanent solution to the ethnicity and Muslim-Christian conflict. It was therefore necessary that the research was carried out to find the causes of this conflict with an aim of finding a possible solution. The solution to the conflict that caused mistrust among the ethnic communities shall bring harmony and peaceful co-existence in the region. The animosity between communities, Christians and Muslims has gone beyond the borders of South Sudan and is now experienced within the refugees in Kenya.

The Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa can be seen from five perspective which are: Christian-Muslim Relations in Political sphere; Christian-Muslim Relations in the economic sphere; Christian-Muslim Relations in the cultural sphere; Christian-Muslim in the social sphere; and Christian-Muslim Relations in the religious sphere (Mbillah, 2009: 23, Dushimimana. 2013, 10). It therefore follows that the approach to solving the Christian/Muslin conflict must follow the five spheres and this is what this thesis has contributed to.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

South Sudan has been in the war for many years seeking self-determination from the North as a part of her solution for South Sudan problem. For self-determination to come, it came through self-sacrifice for five decades, it has taken millions of lives to gain a complete independence in 2011. The history of South Sudan cannot be complete without going back to the history of former Sudan. In1983, the war erupted, continued and resulted into 2011 independence for South. After independence, the country leadership has not been able to forge a right way for future destiny, and that resulted to 2013 conflict which has fueled ethnic division despite of religions faith and the past suffering. The ethnic tension and war in South Sudan could be a result of the past slave trade where each and every community protected herself from external aggression, and the lack of Christian-Muslim relation among the South Sudanese.

This chapter will examine the causes of ethnicity and war, politics, social, cultural, economic, and will evaluate and analysis the effect of ethnicity and war since the formation of the SPLA and the continuation of ethnic at post- independence and the war of 2013 to 2016 where war range from political to ethnic dimension.

2.1 Historical background and the dynamic root causes of conflict and civil war in the south.

The name Sudan comes from the Arabic expression Bilad al-Sudan meaning ‘the land of blacks’. In medieval Muslim literature, it was applied generally to African south of the Saharan. Sudan before independence was an area of 967, 500 square miles or

about 2.4 million square kilometers. It measures almost 1,300 miles from North to South and 1,100 miles from East to West. It shares borders with Egypt, Libya, Chad, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia and has a coastal frontier with Red Sea. However, both North and South Sudan lie within the Nile Basin and its tributaries. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the greater part of the South was insulated both from the North and the outside world. The reasons for this insulation were both physical and socio-political (Mulu; 2008).

The inhabitants of Sudan are of varying ethnic origins. The 1955/56 census listed fifty-six separate ethnic or major tribal groupings and five hundred and ninety seven significant sub-groupings. The Arabs made up the largest single group even though the definition of this category is complex since Arab can refer to ethnic, linguistic, and cultural characteristics in a variety of combination.

Civil war has been an unpleasant fact of three-quarters of Sudan's post-colonial experience. At the heart of the conflict is an amalgam of racial and religious, political and economic tensions that defy easy description. The root causes of the present conflict stretch all the way from the pre-colonial to the colonial period. The comprehensive understanding of the conflict necessitates a division of Sudanese history into three period: pre-colonial Sudan (up to 1899), Colonial Sudan (1899-1956) and post-colonial Sudan.

2.2 Christianity in the Nuba Kingdom

2.2.1 First trend

Nubia is the name given to the stretch of land along the Nile River starting from Aswan in the north all the way down to the confluence of the Blue and the White Nile near modern Khartoum. The Arabic rendering al-bilaad an-Nuubah has sometimes given rise to a misunderstanding in which proper, which lies along the Nile, is confused with the Nuba Mountains in Kordofan. Nubia is the land in the Nile Valley between the first and the sixth cataracts. In the period between the fifth and the fourteenth century it was the homeland of the Nubian people, who organized themselves first into three and then into two kingdoms. But we can say that the influence of the Nubian Christianity Kingdoms was not confined to the Nile Valley, but extended even farther south, and well into Western and Eastern Sudan, encompassing at certain times part of the Nuba Mountains and Darfur and bordering on the Christian kingdom of Axum (Abyssinia) in the south-east.

2.2.2 Second trend.

First contacts with Christianity

Even before the official conversion of the Nubian states to Christianity, there must have been a growing Christian influence in Nubia, especially from the North. Egyptian monks and hermits fled from persecution into northern Nubia to find peace and solitude. The most important of these persecutions were those under the Roman emperor Diocletian in 297, which was for the Coptic Church such an important event that it came to mark the first year of the calendar.

Some legends that were preserved in the Coptic Church indicate the great influence on Nubians. In addition, because of the ongoing trade relations it is very likely that Egyptian Christian merchants penetrated Nubia as well as Nubian traders traveling into Christian Egypt. So it is highly likely that already in the fourth and fifth centuries

after Christ, and well before the official conversion of Nubia, that a small but growing number of Nubians accepted the Christian faith (Wheeler, William, Werner 2000, p112-113).

The Nubian church in the all three states of Nobatian, Alodian and Makuria was organized according to the Byzatine model. Although the Nobatian and Alodian Churches were of the Monophysite persuasion, Greek became their liturgical languages. In all ecclesiastical customs the Nubian churches imitated their mother churches in Alexandria, Syrai, Palestine and Byzantium. This is true not only for Nobatia and Alodia, but most certainly also for Makuria, which, to the best of our knowledge, followed the Chalcendonian (dyophysite) creed. It must be noted, however, that at this early stage the two "confessions" certainly did not differ significantly in the liturgy or customs. The central core of the teaching of the dyophysite and the monophysite confessions were identical, with a few semantic differences. In addition to this both sides were intent on demonstrating that they were the real, authentic expression of the historic Christian faith (Wheeler, William, Werner 2000, p.28).

The conversion of Nubia as a process:

The work of evangelization went on. The people were taught and baptized. We can assume that not all Nubians were baptized immediately, but that this was accomplished over a period of decades. It is not possible to know how long this process of Christianization took altogether. It can be assumed, however, that it took several generations, as there was no forced conversion and as the sheer lack of manpower made it impossible to reach every village and hamlet immediately. Another uncertainty lies with question of how deeply rooted the Christian faith was in

this first phase. Certainly people's minds were still shaped by their pre-Christian beliefs, and it can be assumed that they retained a number of practices and beliefs that had been part of their traditional religious life before the gospel came to Nubia. That the Bible was not yet translated into the Nubian languages, as it later was, must have limited the Nubian understanding of the faith in this early period. Nonetheless, conversion appears to have proceeded rapidly and after about one or two generations, to be a Nubian meant to be a Christian (P. 29)

2.2.3 Third trend to independence (1899-56)

The Anglo-Egyptian agreement on the right of self-determination of the Sudan ended the Condominium administration and started the self-government period. "However, the agreement was also criticized as it did not account for the basic problems of the country, such as inter-ethnic hostilities, minority rights, socio-economic development and the role of religious orders. In November 1953 Parliamentary elections were held and Ismail al-Azhari became the first Sudanese Prime Minster in January 1954. A Sudanization Committee was set up on 20th of February, the "Appointed Day", to replace all foreigners in responsible governmental and military posts: "the transitional period of self-government preceding self-determination was limited in the agreement to a maximum of three years from the "Appointed Day. "When the results of the Sudanization Committee were announced in October 1954, Southern suspicion, nurtured over fifty years, turned into hostility. "The republican government succeeded to the entire territory of the former Condominium, but did not command a united people. The split between the nationalists had left a legacy of factionalism in party politics. Al-Azhari handled both his supporters and his opponents astutely, but Sudanese parliamentary democracy was inaugurated in an atmosphere of political opportunism rather than statesmanship, and depended on personalities rather than

principles. Still more serious was the rift between North and South, which was made evident in August 1955, when a military mutiny led to a breakdown of public security in the Southern provinces (p.18). This was the first independence and the first rebellion of the southerners against the successive government in the North.

2.3 Slave trade in the Sudan, and its effect on the south

At the beginning of nineteenth century each of the Sudanic states had their own tribal zones. The Tunisian traveler and scholar Muhammad al-Tunsis identifies them as the lands of enslaveable people: the Nuba South of Sinnar and the Fartit South of Darfur. Neither Nuba nor Fartit were specific ethnic labels, but expressed the combination of ideas about religion and ethnicity that defined the categories of "free" versus "slave," who could raid and who be raided (Johnson 2016, p 61). It is significant that al-Tunisis's list did not explicitly mention the Shilluk and Dinka. Before Egypt's invasion of Sudan, both peoples were as often raiders as raided. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the whole of southern Sudan had become a tribal zone of the old Turco-Egyptian empire followed by the advancing Anglo-Egyptian state, Johnson notice. The raiders was used by Egyptian to convert the southern to Islam, while the people of south having division that gave their archenemies upper hand for slave. For some two centuries the Shilluk dominated the White Nile, using canoes to raid Baggara cattle keepers and downstream Muslim villages, and alternately taxing or disrupting trade where the east-west trade routes crossed their territory. By the end of the eighteenth century Aba Island was as Shilluk Island and the river from Alay to Kaka was known to neighboring Arabs as "Bahr Shilluk," the river of Shilluk (Mercer 1971, 407-18, Johnson 2016, 61).

Armored cavalry were at the core of the armies of Sinnar and Darfur, but they were of little use against canoe-borne raiders. Nor did they have a marked edge over Dinka spearmen, who developed their own tactics to neutralize cavalry's advantage, as the Turco-Egyptian army learned to its cost in its first foray into the White Nile Plains in 1827 (Bartoli 1970,7-8,32-35. Johnson (2016, 61). In the west the formal cavalry-mounted slave raid launched from Darfur into the forest valleys of western Bahr el-Ghazal had become a stylized form of warfare during the first half of nineteenth century, aimed at increasing scattered communities of Fartit rather than the stronger Malual Dinka who, together with the Ngok Dinka to the east, controlled most of the river Kiir, the geographically misnamed Bahr-el-Arab (O'fahey 1980, 93-94. Johnson 2016, 61). Despite often being in conflict with these demographically strong Shilluk and Dinka societies, the Sinnar Sultanate and Baggara also often sought them as allies (Hofmayr 1925, 66-68; Henderson 1939, 63-64; O'fahey 1980, 99; Johnson 2016, 62.).

The Turco-Egyptian invasion of Sudan in 1820 disrupted these local balances of power. The viceroy of Egypt, Muhammad Ali, sought to secure gold and slaves for his army with which to challenge the over lordship of the Ottoman sultan. The failure to find both in sufficient quantities did not lessen the impact on the peoples of from Nuba to Sinnar who were subject to new forms of land tenure and taxation. With these new demands came new opportunities. Johnson say salve raiding, slave trading, and slave owing had been state activities in Sinnar and Darfur, but Egypt's demand for taxes to be paid in slaves enabled northern peoples such as the Shaiqiya and the pastoralist Rufa'a and Baggara to participate in government slave raids, paying their taxes in captured slaves and keeping the surplus. However, after Egyptian flotilla

opened up the Nile tributaries south of the Shilluk to commence in the 1840s, hard-pressed Nubian peasants found a way not just to escape debt but to acquire wealth through employment in the trading companies that soon entered southern Sudan searching first for ivory and then for slaves (Spauding 1982; BjØrkelo 1989; Johnson 2016,63). As a result, about 100 new captives were off-loaded at Holy Cross, and given to the new mission in 1855. However, without adequate resources to enforce the decree, it had no lasting effect on the slave-trade in the South (Dau, 2000 p, 167). Until the 1860s, the European powers, especially Britain, were not much aware of the slave trade out of East Africa, and through the Red Sea. As the knowledge this grew, Britain tried to limit and stop slave-trading which originated in Sudan.

2.4 South Sudan Resistance to Slave Trade and Arab Identity

The evolution of the Southern identity of resistance began in the period preceding the Anglo-Egyptian condominium rule, a time when the South was a hunting ground for slaves, and continued in the colonial era, which, while objectionable in principle, gave the people of the South the only period of peace that they had experienced for centuries. As in the North, the precolonial period in the South could be described as traditional, while the intervention of colonial administration marks the transitional stage that also generated the modernization phase, which in turn was accelerated by postcolonial development.

However, at the time of the Turkish conquest, much of what is now northern Sudan was under the control of two Kingdoms, Sennar and Darfur, while the adjacent southern waterways and the adjoining pastures and plains were dominated by the four largest ethnic groups, the Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk and Anuak, while had resisted

northern incursion for centuries. Since Muhammad Ali, the Turkish ruler in Egypt, could not satisfy his need for gold in the North, he sought to extend the scope of his search with the help of his northern subjects, who hoped to tighten the government's demand for revenues and acquire their own fortunes in the South. Captain Salim, a Turkish naval officer, led expeditions during the period 1839-41 to explore the source of the White Nile and to be probe the economic potential to the region. He succeed in penetrating the swampy Sudd region as far as Gondokoro and Rajaf near today's southern capital town of Juba and thereby paved the way for subsequent expeditions. These groups of explorers, soldiers, traders, and Christian missionaries included Europeans, Egyptians, Syrians, other Ottoman subjects, and northern Sudanese, many of whom soon established their own armies throughout the South. Abel Alier described the "tragic drama" that was to sow "the seeds of bitterness, violence and resistance" and the degree to which that legacy has continued to poison North-South relations to this day. Madding observed that the resistance to incursions from the Turks and Arab slave raiders fostered in southerners a deep-rooted suspicion and hatred of any foreigners coming from the North; they regarded all of them as invaders and exploiters. Southern resistance before the condominium rule was thus a struggle against waves of slave hunters from the North, and in the North today there is a strong feeling against the mention of the slave trade. Even teaching about slavery during the colonial era was uniformity condemned in the North as an encouragement of southern anger and hatred toward the North promulgated by the vicious agents of imperialism.

The southern spokesman at the 1956 Round Table Conference on the South Problem, however, argued that slavery "cannot be forgotten especially where nothing has been done to demonstrate clearly a change of heart among the responsible offspring of

those who were responsible for it. A distinction should be drawn between a discussion of slavery that aims at fanning South-North hostility and a realistic understanding of the way in which the past has conditioned the present. Being blind to the origins of the identity conflict means that the nation cannot learn from the lessons of history and heal the wounds of the past. And when that history repeats itself, as recent allegations of the return of slavery have tragically demonstrated, and those wounds are reopened, whatever prospects for healing there are considerably diminished. A clear understanding of the past, then, is one of the prerequisites for curing the present ills.

Southern groups whose resistance movements have been well documented include the Dinka, the Nuer, the Atwot, the Anuak, and the Zande. Most of the leaders of these movements were charismatic holy men, some classified as a prophets, committed to peace and justice among their followers in the South, but evoking violence against foreign aggressors. One of episodes was that when the Aliab Dinka clashed with government forces, kills the governor for the protection of the local community. Clearly, considering the imbalance between the powers of the condominium government and the tribes armed with spears, southern resistance could only be judged as an expression of the human instinct for freedom and foolhardy courage (78). Pervasive southern resistance and the government's view of the people of the South as savages led the British to appoint military men as administrators in the South for the first two decades of condominium rule. But, ironically, the spiritual leaders of the resistance movement only wanted their people to be left alone in peace and security, while the government wanted to penetrate their society and assert its control. It was a clash of identities, cultures, and the substantive values of power, the coercive force of modern, Western-style government came in direct confrontation with the

divine authority of traditional African leadership. As Collins observed: “Thus, even though the men possessed divinity, the *kujurs*, known among the Nilotic people as prophets, consistently professed peaceful intentions, their desire to remain aloof from the government was invariably interpreted as belligerence and their appeals to supernatural powers regarded as unabashedly subversive.

However, Dinka refer to the Turko-Egyptian and Madhist periods as the time when “the World was spoiled”, an abomination of which they speak with consistency and vividness. In the extensive interviews conducted by Mading with Dinka chiefs and elders about the past, presente, and future of their people in the context of the Sudan, their theme of identity of resistance to Arab-Islamic North. They remember the Madhist revolution as first claiming to secure the people from the repressions and the exploitation of the foreigners that is (Turko-Egyptian) rule, but then turning out to be itself a major causes of destruction for the people of South Sudan. In the words of Chief Giirdit, “Although the Mahdi started as liberator, his rule became bad. He wanted to enslave the people in the South”. Chief Giirdit specified the Turks and Dongolawi tribe of the Mahdi as the sources of destruction in the South. Giirdit emphasized that people of Mahdi were the one spoiled our country… capture our people and sold them. They would attack and destroy an area, and when they conquered (that area) they would take the people and add them to their army as slaves… if a man had children, one might give them a child or two in the hope that they would spare his life and maybe help him with some means of livelihood”.

Chief Makuei Bilkuei made the point almost obsessively: “in was the Ansar {followers of Mahdist) who destroyed the country… they would come with camels,

donkeys, mules and guns. They killed, destroyed the areas until they reached southern part of the country. According to Makuei, they took the people and sold them. They said, '*La illah, ila Allah, Muhammad Resul Allah.*' That mean there is no God but the One God and Muhammad is God's Messenger'. They chanted that way while they slaughtered and slaughtered our people, the chief said. Chief Arol Kacwol sounded almost sarcastic when he commented on the destruction, it came from these people who are now our relatives-the Arabs. That was how they humiliated us", Although the accounts of the chiefs and elders present the Dinka as pathetic victims of unscrupulous human hunters, they also substantiated the theme of Southern resistance alluded to by Major Titherington. According to chief Albino Akot, once the message of an Arab attack was transmitted: "the Dinka would beat the drums of war… The scouts would go ahead to look for where they (Arabs) were. The Arabs would stop and sleed, thinking they had left the Dinka behind, but the Dinka would come and attack them again. In this story, a distinction should be drawn between a discussion of slavery that aims at fanning South-North hostility and realistic understanding of the way I which the past has conditioned the present. Being blind to the origins of identity conflict means that the nation cannot learn from the lessons of history and heal the wound of the pasts (p. 75]. In the words of Robert Collin, "The decision to plant the bitter seeds of Arabs intervention quickly blossomed into the distrust and fear which still dominates relations between the Northern and types of slavery, but rather of how deep-rooted historical animosities between two different and territorially separate communities are being dealt with today. Northern blindness to the historical roots is merely escapism.

What is particularly important about these accounts, however native they may sound to someone with a sophisticated understanding of history-is that they reflect a

perspective of alienation from the North and a degree of moral affinity with more distant European. Indeed, the view of history is in large measure an explanation of contemporary conditions and relationships, reinforced by influence of Christianity and Western culture on modern Southern identity.

2.5 The success of British in the South

The important factor in the way the British won the confidence of the rural population not only in the South but throughout the country was their policy of indirect rule. As chief Rian put it, "Local leaders took care of local administration such as setting the disputes relating to cattle. Then the British would come periodically to review the cases. When they found that a person had been penalized too severely in a particular case, they reduced the penalty to a lesser sentence… so the Dinka began to like the British and to cooperate with them because of that tactic. They (Dinka) began to be aware of the government." As southerners began to observe the British, judge them favorably, and trust them, they became receptive to their innovations. It was then that missionary work, which southerners associated with government, and which they had initially resisted, began to bear fruit. Indeed, evolution of interracial and cross-culture relations in the South owed much to missionaries.

Despite the implied mutual respect, and perhaps because of it, the policy of civilizing the South through the missionaries was culturally more than revolutionary in the past. The Christian method of religious acculturation differed marked from the Islamic method, for while Muslim education is largely supplementary to preexisting, cultures, Christianity aimed at replacing the old order with modern Western-oriented worldview. Rev. Wilson Cash explained this radicalism: "When the C.M.S.(Church Missionary Society) viewed the Sudan as a missionary sphere it was with a view to

planting the Gospel of Christ among a people who were being introduced to modern life guided by Western minds.it was an effort to demonstrate that a part from Christianity true progress could not be obtained. The beginning of the work coincided with the dawn of a new era and yet when it was only dawn. The changes most people saw coming in the Sudan had not to any great extent affected the pagan tribes, but those who looked into future saw that the old order must pass away and give place to an entirely new condition of life. The abandonment of the relationship between politics and religion in tradition society and separation between the faith and national politics created among the educated southern Sudanese an attitude different from that which prevailed among the Muslims of the North. To a Muslim, "Islam… is a creed and a regulation at the same time. A religion and State which can never be severed" ; to the educated southerners, "Religion is a matter of individual consciousness Mading emphasized." The long-term implications of the South-North separate were not clear to the British, but they did contemplate the possibility of the South's being eventually linked with East Africa.

As Robert Collins observed, initially this separation between the British administrators in the North and those in the South signified a qualitative differentiation, with the cream of political service confined to the North and the non-pensionable military officers in the South. The attitude toward the South of the dominant group that served in the North was, according to Collins, racist: "At worst, they adopted Arab attitudes toward the Africans of the Southern Sudan, regarding them as savages compared with the more sophisticated northern(85}. At best, they ignored the Southern Sudanese, hoping that they could be controlled with as little expenditure as possible. Throughout the condominium many members of the political

Service had neither understanding of nor sympathy for the Southern Sudan and its peoples and made little effort to acquire either (p, 85}.

2.6 South Sudan ethnic war, SPLA confrontation

A new history of South Sudan has much to draw on (Johnson 201, 18-19). There are still many challenges, quite apart from the basic contradiction here of attempting to fit a *longue durêe* history into a Short History series. There are lingering stereotypes in the earlier literature commonly referred to and promoted by South Sudanese themselves that must be confronted. Because the historiography of South Sudan has lagged behind much of the rest of Africa's, the quality of the sources and the way they have been used must be examine. Richard Gray characterization of southern Sudan as isolated from the great centers of power and historical trends of the continent (Gray 1961, 8-9, Johnson 2016 18-19), writers have taken the region's historical isolation as proven, even describing the region as "cut off from the rest of the world" and "as remote an environment as can be found" (LeRiche and Arnold 2012, 4; cf Poggo2009, 21, and Johnson 2016). Writers have also found the complex ethnic makeup of South Sudan a challenge to describe. Embarrassed by the colonial overtones of the word "tribes," they replace it with either "ethnic group" or "clan," implying that all South Sudanese societies are bounded by small kin-based groups. There are serious objections to using "tribe" in any contexts (Ehret 2002, 7, and Johnson 2016), and "ethnic group" are not interchangeable. Anthropologist Ferguson and Whitehead make a useful distinction between tribes as "bounded and/or structured political organization" and ethnic groups, which "are a cultural phenomenon with only latent organizational potential" (2000, 15, 2016 19).

After the formation of the SPLA/M, there was an immediate conflict over goals and leadership between Anyanya and the SPLM/A based on tribes. A younger group of veterans that included John Garang, Kerubino Bol, Salva Kiir, and William NyuonBany obtained the support of the Ethiopian government (fighting secessionist movement in Eritrea) by advocating the creation of a "New Sudan" based on a secular form of government, not secession for South Sudan. However, Anyanya 2 senior and older politicians adhered to the separation of the Southern platform and retained the loyalty of a member of Anyanya 2. The split at the foundation of the SPLA meant that it failed to create a united southern movement, and fighting broke out between the SPLA and the mainly Nuer adherents of Samuel Gai Tut. The SPLA was never only a "Dinka army", but Nuer proximity to the Ethiopian border meant that fighting quickly degenerated into a Nuer-SPLA fight, Johnson notice (2016, p.142). As early 1986 the war was no longer just a North-South war, nor a Muslim-Christian war, nor even an Arab war (James 2007; Johnson 2011a, 131-37). It was tribal and ethnic war.

2.7 An intensive of dichotomy ethnic war in south Sudan rather than Islamic war during SPLA/M movement (1984-1990s)

The SPLM's commitment to united Sudan meant that it was able to form a common political front with exiled northern opposition Sudanese parties gathered together under the umbrella of National Democratic Alliance (NDA). But the civil wars in Ethiopia were also intensifying. Khartoum (with US support) backed the anti-Derg Forces, while the SPLA became increasingly involved in supporting its patron, much to its cost, both militarily and politically.

As the beginning of 1991 the SPLA was on the verge of taking control of most of the South. The fall of the Derg in May deprived the SPLA of the its bases, its supplies, and its support and left it vulnerable to a flanking attack through Ethiopia by Sudanese army. The SPLA's policy of suppressing political dissent within the movement backfired by generating more opposition in South Sudan. In August 1991 Garang's leadership was challenged by two commanders none other than Riek Machar and Lam Akol in Nasir near the Ethiopian border, now left vulnerable by the collapse of their former Ethiopia ally. The Nasir faction announced its goal to be the total independence of the South, but from the start it had the surreptitious support of Khartoum, who arranged a merger with the remaining Anyanya 2 militias. Fighting broke out in the areas the SPLA had previously secured. The fighting generated ethnic cleansing between Dinka and Nuer. The Nasir faction failed to create a cohesive movement. The underlying contradiction of claiming to fight for the total independence of the South while collaborating with Khartoum could not be resolved. Khartoum used the Nuer splinter groups to open up oil fields for exploitation, first the aid of Canadian companies and then with substantial investment from China, other Asian countries, and Sweden (Large and Patey, 2011, Johnson 2016 145) This strategy was adapted to other theatres as well, notably northern Bahr-el-Ghazel, the Nuba Mountains, and Darfur. As Moorcraft notice that the ethnic, religious, and cultural roots of the north-south conflict were clear enough, but the mosaic of conventional and irregular military forces, militias, warlord and plain bandits in the south was of Byzantine intricacy. While both Khartoum and the SPLA adopted the North Vietnamese model of fighting and talking, perhaps the best Asian comparison is with the military patchwork in China in the warlord period(1916-1928), where

regional armies and militias loyal to ethnic groups and charismatic commanders flourished (Moorcraft 2015, p 134).

However, many Nuer, were prepared to follow their traditional general, Machar, and Nuer units around Nasir openly backed him. Instead toppling the SPLA, Machar and Akol, a Shilluk, responded by founding a rival organization, SPLA-Nasir. This hardened the ethnic divisions that plagued the Southern resistance movement and also helped prompt the civil war after independence (Moorcraft 2015, 101). Even irritating for Garang, Khartoum sent weapons and cash support to the SPLA-Nasir. Re-armed, Machar pushed into traditionally Dinka areas and eventually the mainly Dinka command of the SPLA felt forced to retaliate. Machar's armed push was intended to show his strength and drive other commanders away from Garang camp, although attacks on the Dinka areas were much more like to confirm Dinka solidarity around Garang, another classic Machar miscalculation. Machar's Nuer troops and militias, known as the 'White Army', captured much territory belonging to Garang's camp. The White Army was largely made up of Lou Nuer, from the Upper Line ad Jonglei, who would traditionally smother their faces with white ash. Their main preoccupation had been cattle-raiding, especially against their age-old enemy, the Murle people.

On 15 November 1991 Machar's motley array of fighters captured Bor and Killed over, 2000 Dinka, according to Amnesty International figures; other estimates were much higher. Although Machar dubbed the 'Bor massacre' a 'myth and propaganda' at the time, he apologized for the atrocity in 2012. The massacred of Dinka was not

forgotten by Dinka leaders, and it became a brutal symbol of the Nuer-Dinka rift in 2013 to 2016.

2.8 Proposal of South self-determination

General Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, then president of the OAU, hosted peace talks between the NIF government and two SPLM factions at Abuja in 1992. Garang's SPLM restated its objective of a secular state but qualified this by declaring that should the Khartoum government remain adamantly committed to an Islamic state, the South and other "marginalized areas" should exercise their own right for self-determination, with independence as an option (SPLM 1992). The SPLM delegates were under pressure from the Nigerian government and OAU observers to formulate a united negotiating position. The delegations merged and issued a joint statement, committing themselves not only to championing "the right of the peoples of Southern Sudan to self-determination," but affirming "the wishes of the people of Abyei, the Nuba Mountains and Southern Blue Nile, shall likewise be expressed through the process of self-determination together with the South (SPLM/SPLA 1992), and Johnson 2016). The joint declaration did not lead to a reunification of the SPLM, nor even to a lessening of conflict between the factions. But it did put the principle of self-determination-for the South as well as other regions of Sudan-back into public circulation as a method of ending the war.

The right of self-determination was reaffirmed in a series of subsequent negotiation and declarations. The round of negotiation initiated by the IGAD governments in 1994 included self-determination through a referendum as the basis on which negotiation between the government and SPLM should take place in their Declaration

of principles. The 1995 Asmara Declaration, signed by the Umbrella opposition National Democratic Alliance, also recognized the right of self-determination for the South and other areas. The 1997 Khartoum Agreement between Riek Machar's SPLM faction and NIF government promised South Sudan only an independence referendum in the undisclosed future, and this was incorporated in the constitution of the same year. Together these documents committed the Sudan government and all the main northern Sudanese opposition parties to recognizing some form of self-determination as a means of ending the war.

2.9 Lack of unity in South Sudan resulted to ethnic war

The struggle for liberation led by the Sudan People Liberation Movement (SPLM) was one of only a few experiences that transcended ethnic boundaries. There was a unity of purpose during the war, which promoted the belief in a separate nationhood vis-â-vis the north, most notably in the period leading up to the 2011referendum on self-determination. However, even this unity of purpose had not been unconditional. In the recent past, particularly between 1983 and 2005 during the second round of the war between north and South, there was violent discord within the SPLA. Ethnic militias were created and bitter wars were fought between South Sudanese. In the year after 2011, the SPLA experienced a near-fatal factionalisation. Such conflicts made many citizens and foreign observers fear that independence and the removal of common enemy might plunge young state into civil war (Stifung 2012, 59). Despite the ethnic character of the first few months of the war, south Sudan as a whole did not respond to attempts at ethnic mobilization. Retired politicians formed themselves into ethnic councils-the Jieng (Dinka) Council of Elders, and the Nuer Council of Elders-which while loosely affiliated with the government or opposition on the ethnic basis

that demonstrate any substantial popular support Johnson explain (Johnson 2016, 180).

2.10 Independence day and challenges

'We have waited for 56 years for this day to come. It is a dream that has come true!". On 9 July 2011, six months after southern Sudanese had voted overwhelmingly for independence, Salva Kiir Mayardit, chairman of the SPLM and the president of the new Republic, proclaimed the freedom had come. Amid the cheering and dancing of at least 100,000 people at the John Garang Mausoleum and in the presence of heads of and government from around the world, freedom song brought tears to the eyes of most everyone present. Salva Kiir, the president of the Republic said, today on, we shall have no excuses or scapegoats to blame. It is our responsibility to protect ourselves, our land and our resources. Nothing could stop the dream from coming true. Salva Kiir, now as president, stood on podium and declared: today is the most important day for the people of South Sudan, the proclamation of the whose birth and emergence as a member on the community of the world nations you have just witnessed. It is a day which will be forever engraved in our hearts and minds. But dreams can turn into nightmares (Hilde 2016, p1,15).

2.11 Ethnicity and culture of war

According to Johnson (2016, 176-7), one of the contributing to south Sudan's post-independence crisis was the government's failure to use the six-year interim period before the independence referendum to confront directly the internal wounded of the civil war and promote reconciliation between South Sudanese communities. There was no active program of reconciliation and compensation at the community level.

Civilian communities throughout South Sudan had subject to attacks by opposed armies and allied militias and recruitment into armed forces. Johnson acknowledged that Jonglei had been the recruiting ground for government-backed Nuer and Murle militias, and both Jonglei and Unity States became the main battlefields in the conflict between the SPLA and Riek Machar's fragmenting faction in the 1990s (Wawson 1991; Johnson 2009; Thomas 2014, Chap 7; Johnson 2016, 177).

The legacy of wartime violence had a serious effect on social relations within war-affected civilian communities, especially for women and youth. The increase in violence against women was linked to the increase in the violence against noncombatant (Pinaud 1013, 95-99,123-29, Johnson 2016, 177). Young men were subject to conscription by the SPLA and competing militias, or targets of government counterinsurgency programs that saw them as potential rebel recruits. Armed and introduced to a brutal gun culture military training and political indoctrination, many young men were no longer controlled by the social restraints of family and community (Pinaud 2013, 117-27, Thomas 2014, 187-89, Johnson 2016, 177). In some societies the new military institutions replaced or altered the older age-set systems. Among the Nuer of Upper Line and Jonglei the formal initiations of boys into named age-sets by their elders ceased to be a universal practice. In the early years of the war the SPLA discouraged the formation of age-sets, sometimes co-opting historic age-sets names, such as Koryom ("Locust"), for their own battalions (Stringham 2016, and Johnson 2016).

With the fragmentation of the SPLA in the Nuer areas during the 1990s, however,, youth in Nuer increasingly took control of their own ad hoc military organization, the bunam, which almost entirely replaced the age-sets. The Murle used their more

hierarchical age-set system for recruiting into the government-backed (Khartoum) militias. As the war continued, the need for younger recruits led to a shrinking of the age between age-sets, with junior age-sets challenging the authority of senior sets (Thomas 2014, 194-202, Johnson 2016, 178). The same happened in Eastern Equatoria, too, junior age-sets sometimes displaced elder ones by gaining seniority through mass enlistment in the SPLA (Kurimoto 1996, 107; Simonse 1998, 73, and Johnson 2016, 178). This culture practice has encouraged 2013 ethnic and political within the SPLM/A between President Salva Kiir and Dr. Riek Machar which is currently has chairman of the SPLA IO movement.

2.12 The influence and effects of ethnic war in South Sudan

After the beginning of December 2011, as citizens of South Sudan marked the first five months since the country attained independence after separating from North, a new spell of ethnic violence and bloodshed swept across Jonglei. The ethnic violence involved the Nou Nuer and Murle. The Lou Nuer warriors claimed that the Murle stole their cattle and adducted their women and girls)Shimanyula 2012, 34). The relations have never been easy between the warriors of the two communities, despite persistent attempts by tribal peacemakers to bring an end to the hostilities. Archbishop Daniel D. Bul said in his efforts as a church leader to persuade the warriors to stop fighting failed to succeed. “The church cannot force the two communities to make peace. Peace is in their hands Shimanyula notice. The vows of revenge revolved around the abduction of girls and women as well as cattle raids by either community. In this revenge, Nuer and the Murle as *bunam* youth groups took initiative in rearming and retaliating against Murle cattle raids, and the revived Murle militia under new leadership recruited youth to fight both the Nuer and the government (Johnson 2016,

179). Negative ethnicity manifest itself when we begins to imagine that we are superior to others because of religion, food, language, songs culture, or even look are better (Wamwere 2008,97-98). Negative ethnicity is not only a matter of one community feeling better and superior to another; it also applies to one community feeling worse and inferior of others.

2.13 Cause of war and ethnic slaughter in 2013 and 2014

The revenge killings of ethnic immediate after the Juba violence as armed groups of Nuer attacked Dinka and other civilians in Akobo, Bor, Malakal, and Bentiu, despite their (Dinka) lack of involvement in the slaughter of Nuer people in Juba. Fighting between government and opposition forces continued throughout 2014 and 2016, often targeting mainly civilians (Johnson 2016, 179). According to (Hilde Johnson 2016, 203), by 16 December hostilities had already spread to Unity State. On that day fighting broke out among staffs at a base camp of the Greater Pioneer Operation Company in the Unity oil field. The security forces entered houses, sometimes stole valuables, and killed or wounded civilians and unarmed soldiers. The perpetrators are Nuer, the victims Dinka (P 203). This kind of killings has increased vulnerability between all the tribes in south Sudan and resulted to ethnic anarchy.

2.13.1 Ethnicity and anarchy

According to Wamerer (2015, 207), emphasis where negative ethnicity holds way, laws are made and arms borne to protect some oppress others. Inimical to justice, negative ethnicity begins with substituting the rule of just law with the rule of ethnic unjust law. Ethnic anarchy, where every armed person is a law unto himself, the weak-children, the old, and the infirm- perish in number. In a country where one

ethnic tribal elite is in power, grand-scale corruption is common. Corruption amounts to the powerful stealing from the powerless. I agreed with Wambrer about ethnic anarchy and corruption by the elite against powerless. The ideology of elite has put South Sudan into deep negative ethnic war because live challenging in the richer country in the religion. Wambrer said, corruption and poverty is justified by negative ethnicity, however, it is not held in contempt. Rather, it is accepted and admired because eating is the only rationale for leadership and people know you cannot amass that stinking wealth without stealing.

2.14 Intermarriages between Christians and Muslims

There are cases in South Sudan and the Nuba Mountains where Christian young men married Muslim girls. In most cases there is no strong demand that a man change his religion. When such marriages happen, relationships between the two families are built, and friendly communications established within the areas. Of course, the situation in South Sudan and Nuba Mountains is quite distinct from the situation in the Northern Sudan. In the South and Nuba country there is no racial and cultural gap. In some families, it is possible to find Christian, Muslims, and African traditional religion peacefully living together. In such families, the members support each other when there are religious celebrations. To promote the concept of intermarriage between Christians and Muslims, the religious leaders (Christian and Muslim) in the Nuba Mountains took action to support intermarriage. According to African Rights, July 1995, at the Religious Tolerance Conference which took place on December 10, 1994 in Nuba country (SPLA area), it was resolved that “intermarriage between Muslims and Christians is permitted, and anyone who preaches or agitate to prohibit it shall be disciplined”. This may be viewed as a special, a result of special

circumstances existing in the Nuba Mountains. The above mentions are the cases of intermarriages between Christians and Muslims in south Sudan and Nuba Mountains (Brown 1997, 64-6).

2.15 Co-existence of Christians-Muslim religions

According to Polito, he observed that Christian-Muslim Relations in the Sudan has been the priorities of the church throughout all these years during the civil war Sudan despite many contradiction that reflected in the Sudan constitution in relation to the position of religious and politics. Therefore, Polito attempted to investigate into the constitution of 2003, in the article 24 of the 1998, of the constitution of the republic of the Sudan which give everyone rights to freedom of conscience and religion and the right to manifest and disseminate his religion or belief in teaching practice or observance. Article 24 said no one shall be coerced to profess for faith in which he/she does not believe or perform rituals or worship that he does voluntarily accept (Polito, 2003:2]. Nevertheless, the church in then Sudan at this period encountered religious persecution especially with rise of National Congress Party, where the freedom of worship and religious tolerance was denied to non-Muslims.

In 1994, Christian-Muslims Relations was attempted by the ministry of culture in sponsored the Islamic Holy Books for the festivals in conjunction with Church organizations to allow allowed the church to interpreted the Bibles for the festivals, that show positive relations both Christian-Muslim Relations in the country. Christians interpreted this moved as the results on international community pressure to the government in Khartoum while the government wanted to show the world that there is religious co-existence. In this regards, Christians teaching was allowed in the

government schools as a part of the curriculum, and the time, Christian's schools on Friday were off day for the Muslims and Christians prayers. On Sunday Christians attended the church services for only two hours {Polito, and Angoli:32). In this period Christians politicians who were in the Government played important role in contributing to Christian-Muslim Relations which led to the visitation of Pope John Paul 11 in February 1993 to Sudan, as well as George Carey, the Archbishop of Canterbury. This was initiative from Catholic Church and the Episcopal Church of the Sudan which were so influential at the time and played great role in bringing both government and the rebels in South together who have been accused of invoking religious persecution and human rights violation. The church had to opportunity to intervened and encouraging peaceful negotiations towards reconciliation and lasting peace talks between the government and Sudan People Liberation Movement/Army [SPLM].

2.16 Challenges of war on refugee in South Sudan

According to Bariagaber (2006), by the early 1990, the SPLM/A had developed into fighting machine capable of defeating larger government forces, overrunning towns, and above all, defending the territories it had seized. At the same time, it enlarged it theater of operations beyond the South to include Kordofan, Darfur, and Blue Nile Provinces in the Northern Sudan. As consequence, there was dramatic rise in 'significant military operations', initiated either by the government and government allied militias or by the SPLM/A. These 'significant military operations' further increased in frequency in the latter half of the 1990s and caused massive flows of refugees across borders. Others remained in Sudan as internally displaced persons. For example, at the beginning of 2000, there were about 4,000,000 internally

displaced persons, many of which moved to the North to find refuge. With these many displaced persons, Sudan by then ranked top among countries with significant internally displaced persons.

More importantly, however, with an estimated total of 475,000 refugees by early 2003, Sudan became Africans principal refugee-generating country, mostly in the South and remained one of the principal refugee-generating countries in Africa from latter half of the 1980s to the end of the 1990s. it is also important to recognize that the refugee numbers show discernible patterns of change vis-á-vis the political and security situations in Sudan in particular, and the region in general. For example, in the latter half of the 1980s, most of the 350,000 Southern Sudan refugees sought asylum in Ethiopia not only because of the ideological compatibility between the SPLM/A and the Ethiopian government but also because southern Sudan, where the rebellion against central authority started, was close to the Ethiopian border. As the conflict escalated in the 1990s, the number of refugees from the South rose to almost 450,000, of which only 60,000 were in Ethiopia. Indeed, after the EPRDF seized power in Ethiopia in 1991, Ethio-Sudanese relations warmed up and Ethiopia ordered the SPLM/A to cease all activities from its territory. Many of the refugees felt unwelcome in Ethiopia and left for Sudan that is South Sudan now, some of which found their way into Kenya. As a result, Kenya, which never hosted significant refugees from Sudan became a refuge for about 40,000 of them (USCR 1996).

It is also instructive to note the total number of Sudanese refugees decreased from almost 450,000 in 1996 to about 352,000 by 1999 (USCR 1997; USCR 2000). This may be attributed to the instability in the then Zaire, where about 110,000 Southern

Sudanese refugees had sought shelter. Feeling insecure because of the fighting in northeast Zaire, especially Ituri Province, most of the refugees returned to Sudan, that is South Sudan currently, leaving behind only 30,000. In the early 2000s, the conflict in Sudan escalated in scale and intensity once more and this resulted in the resurgence of the refugee number to about 475,000 by December 2002 (USCR 2003). This number included more than 200,000 refugees from Darfur, who fled into Chad because of the atrocities and destruction of genocidal proportions. Therefore, the number of reported refugees from the South actually went down. There are three plausible explanations for the reduction and/or stabilization in the refugees numbers.

First, with increasing military might of the SPLM/A, the war had reached a point of stalemate. It became evident the government had either the power nor the will to defeat the SPLM/A, which can now defend its liberated areas effectively. Therefore, the people of South Sudan had finally found the security they had always wanted and remained in their homeland. Second, after almost 20 years of renewed fighting in which between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 people has died, about 4,000,000 had been displaced internally, and between 300,000 and 400,000 had been exiled as refugees, the sources of possible new refugees had been deplete. Third, although peace negotiations between the government and the SPLM/A had begun in the late 1990s, they only continued in earnest after June 2002. At long last, peace was on the horizon and this, as in Eritrea, probably had a discouraging effect on the decision to leave.

Therefore, refugees from South Sudan fled to neighboring countries because of fear for personal security brought about by a combination of factors, including military engagements between the Government of Sudan, the SPLM/A, and the various

militias. The use of food as a weapon by the government in the conduct of the war had also a positive impact on the decision to depart (Bariangaber, Burr and Collins 1995, 77). Thus, southerners fled *en masse*, and the 'kinetics' of their flight may be termed as an 'acute' refugee movement. The war was challenge to the subordinated citizens because Khartoum Government were working hard to use all kinds of tactic against the people of South Sudan to surrender to the regime in the North.

2.17 Repatriation with relief and settlement

Two commissions were set up after ratification of the Addis Ababa agreement. The Repatriation and Relief Commission of whose functions included transporting returnees. These two commissions were supported by another independent but related institutions, the Special Fund, created to receive from donors and administer financial and technical assistance. According to Alier (2003), the commission handled two main groups of people. First, there were those who had left the country to the region. More than 300,000 refugees did not benefit from services rendered by the host government and UNHCR. They lived with their neighbouring ethnic groups across the border, eking out a precarious living there, near the borders of their homeland. The second, category were those who had been driven from their villages deep into the remote countryside; and others who had settled in 'safe' towns in the South in what came to inappropriately known as 'peace villages' as well as substantial numbers who had moved to the Northern Sudan.

This second category of citizens was labeled as 'displaced persons.' They were expected to be the first to move to their old home, and hence they were accorded priority. But it did not work out as had been plane. Both categories began to arrive at

the same time, rushing during the rainy season but found little or nothing of their homes. Some of the villages were no more than historic relics; destroyed by fire, or overgrown with bushes. But there was always something left behind to identify the village-the graves of relatives, shrines of the village divinity, or an old drinking pool, half buried by time and disuse. But most village could, in spite of all this, be traced some old people had stuck it out there.

The bigger challenge was that the High Commissioner for refugees office were not responsible for the repatriation of the refugees, nor for their internal care. But in the case of the Sudan, Prince Sadreldin (High Commissioner for Refugees) set aside the normal practice and embarked on exceptional procedures. His office undertook to transport some of the returnees from neighboring countries and to assist in their rehabilitation and settlement. It proved to be one of the biggest voluntary repatriation in the history of UNHCR, and one of the most massive voluntary homecomings in the aftermath of conflict. A total of over a million came into the then Sudan from abroad, mostly South Sudanese who were affected by war; and other 550,700 came from inside the country. More than one million people came back to their ancestral homes as a result of a political settlement to the violence of seventeen year[Alier 2003,151]. Therefore, the challenges of conflict within South Sudan has affected social, cultural, political and religious relations because of continues war in the country.

2.18 Conclusion

Ideally, Ethnicity and war of identity in South Sudan has destroyed social relations since the Anyanya 1 and 2. The lack of harmonizing politics, and religious ideology in order to accommodate respect of one has polarized enmity. The superiority of

Islamic against Christianity and ATR has caused instability in both Sudans. When SPLM took arms to correct the past, the leaders failed to reflect on the ethnicity and the massacres of the past since the formation of the movement. The party failed to acknowledge the war between the Gajak and SPLA in Gajakland, also they could not learn for 1991 ethnic cleansing of White Army against Dinka Bor. This war was the trigger of 2013 within the SPLM that put Nuer against Dinka and later in 2014 the widespread of defection to join new movement. In 2015 and 2016 all the tribes joined against the Dinka using the word ATM as an identity to eliminate them along the road wherever they go. The wars has had affected the lives of south Sudanese five decades across the region that caused social break down among the communities and also to political stability in the country. The ethnic enmity and political greed has engulf the country because

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design, target population, data collection instrument and procedures, and data analysis procedures. The research methodology laid out in this chapter facilitated the researcher to collect research data that aided in realization of the research objectives. The objective of the research was to examine the impact of war and ethnicity on Christian-Muslim relations in South Sudan. In particular, the research attempted to establish how the war in South Sudan has impacted the Christian/Muslim relations among the different ethnic groups and particularly the Nuer, Acholi, Zandi Murle and Dinka, the four big tribes that have been heavily involved in the South Sudan conflict.

3.1 Research Design

The research adopted the descriptive research design, which involved collecting information through administering questionnaires. Descriptive research design was preferred because it places more emphasis on a full contextual analysis of few elements and conditions and their interrelations which relies on qualitative data (Ritchie et al, 2013).

3.2 Study Area

The research was undertaken in Nairobi, Kenya because there is a large population of South Sudanese refugees. The South Sudanese refugee population in Nairobi is composed of refugees from different ethnic backgrounds and religious faith.

3.3 Target Population

Target populations for this study comprise the South Sudanese refugees residing in Nairobi. This refugee population includes five ethnic groups, which are the Nuer, Dinka, Zandi, Shilluk and Acholi. The Dinka are the majority in South Sudan and they live in Greater Upper Nile and Bahr-El Ghazal regions. The Nuer live in Upper Nile and like to describe themselves as the warriors in South Sudan. The Zandi live in Western Equatoria that borders Democratic Republic of Congo and Central Africa Republic. The Shilluk live in Upper Nile and is the fourth largest tribe in South Sudan. The Acholi are Nilotes like the Nuer, Dinka and Shilluk and live in Eastern Equatoria bordering Kenya and Uganda. The five ethnic groups practice Christianity, Islamic and African Tradition religions. The four ethnic groups have also been engaged in ethnic conflict among each other.

3.4 Sampling Procedures

The sample size used in this study is 60, which includes 50 church leaders, 10 from each of the five south Sudanese churches in Nairobi and 10 Muslim members of Jamia mosques in Nairobi. Purposive sampling was used to arrive at the sample size. In dealing with relationships between Christians and Muslims, the churches and mosques are significant places to offer the information that the researcher needed. Each of the five churches and the mosque has a leadership that is gender-inclusive. The leadership in the churches included women leaders, pastors and lay leaders. The leadership in the mosque included imams and sheikhs. The five churches were chosen because they are predominantly congregated by South Sudanese refugees in Nairobi. While there are many Muslim mosques in Nairobi, Jamia Mosque is selected because

it is centrally located at the Nairobi CBD and many South Sudanese Muslims attend this mosque for prayers every day in the week.

Table 3.1 Target Population

Church Denominations/Mosque	No. of Leaders
1. Pentecostal Church of South Sudan	10
2. Catholic Church of South Sudan	10
3. Episcopal Church of South Sudan	10
4. Presbyterian Church of South Sudan	10
5. Reformed Anglican Church of south Sudan	10
6. Jamia Mosque	10
Total	60

3.4 Data Collection Instruments/Procedures

3.4.1 Research Instrument

The main instrument for data collection in this research was the questionnaire. The questions in the questionnaire were formulated from the research objectives. Open-ended questions were used in the questionnaires. The open-ended questions were preferred over close-ended questions because they give the respondents room to give their opinions and explain their answers. The researcher personally delivered the questionnaires to the respondents and collected them after a period of two weeks. The period was to allow the respondents enough time to fill the questionnaires. In addition to the primary data, the researcher used the university library to review related information in textbooks and research journals. This was done during the literature review and the relevant literature has been captured in chapter two.

3.4.2 Validity and Reliability

Prior to the actual data collection being undertaken, the researcher conducted a pilot study for the purpose of pre-testing the research instrument. This was in order to determine if the instrument can actually test what it is intended for (validity) and reliability, which measure the relevance of the instrument. The piloting of data collection instrument was done by carrying out mock data collection with church leaders who were not part of the study population. Based on the responses received from the pilot study, the questionnaire was corrected and adjusted appropriately. In the pilot study, 6 church leaders who were not part of the study sample took part in the pilot study.

The researcher asked the research supervisor go through the questions in the questionnaire to determine if the questions are valid. The questionnaire was adjusted according to the suggestions given by the research supervisor. The reliability of the research instrument was also determined through using the test-retest method. The researcher conduct three trial tests for the questionnaire and the three trial runs produce consistent responses and thus the questionnaire was considered to be deemed reliable.

3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis procedure included the process of packaging the collected information, putting in order and structuring its main components in a way that the findings can be easily and effectively communicated. After the fieldwork, before analysis, all questionnaires were adequately checked for completeness. The research data was then analyzed using qualitative techniques which involved the use of content analysis and

evaluation of responses to the open-ended questions. The results of the data analysis are presented in form of explanatory notes. The data from the general information questions was analysed quantitatively using Microsoft Excel Data analysis feature to generate frequencies and percentages and the results have been presented in form of frequency/percentages tables.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

The researcher adhered to ethical considerations such as confidentiality, anonymity and avoidance of deception which are very important issues in social research. The researcher assured the respondents of confidentiality and affirmed that the study is made for purpose of accomplishing academic goals. Permission was sought from relevant authorities and letters granted to allow the carrying out the research. The researcher acknowledged sources of information collected from textbooks and research materials. For the purpose of this study and in keeping with ethical standards in the conduct of research respect for copyright of the published data, consent, acknowledgement and confidentiality were observed. So far, the researcher has acknowledged all sources of information from other scholars used in the previous chapters.

3.8 Chapter Summary

The chapter has demonstrated the research methodology that the researcher used in conducting the study. The key areas covered in this chapter include the research design, target population, data collection instruments and procedure followed. The next chapter four is about data analysis and interpretation.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

Throughout chapter three, the researcher was basically dealt with research methodology that gave a way to carry out reporting the results on chapter four. The following chapter presets the results of the data analysis as well as the discussion of the findings. The first part of this chapter relates to the analysis of the quantitative data. The second part is about the results of the qualitative data derived from the open-ended questions.

4.2 Response Rate

The response rate attained by the research is shown in table 4.1. out of the 60 questionnaires that were issued to the respondents, 43 were returned and 17 were not returned. This indicates an impressive response rate of 71.67%. A high response rate is recommended as it helps in making the results of the research to be valid. On the other hand, a small response rate is undesirable as it invalidates the findings of the research. A response rate of 60% and above is acceptable.in this study 71.67% responded.

	Frequency	Percentage
Responded	43	71.67
Did not Respond	17	28.33
Total	60	100

Table 4.1: Response Rate

4.3 Respondents' Age

Table 4.2 shows the ages of the respondents. Majority of the respondents (47.05%) were youth aged between 18 and 25 years. Respondents aged between 34 and 41 years represented 29.41% of the respondents. This was followed by those aged between 26 and 33 years at 17.65%. Only 5.89% of the respondents are aged between 42 and 49 years. This is an indication that most of the South Sudanese refugees in Kenya are still in their youthful age of between 18 and 33 years.

Age Bracket	Frequency	Percentage
18-25 years	20	47.05
26-33 years	8	17.65
34-41 years	13	29.41
42-49 years	2	5.89
50 years and over	0	0
Total	43	100

Table 4.2: Respondents' Age

4.4 Religion of Respondents

The analysis of the respondents' religion is as shown in table 4.3. Eighty four percent of respondents are Christians while 14% are Muslims. This reflects the situation in South Sudan where majority of people are Christians and only a few of the citizens are Muslims.

Religion	Frequency	Percentage
Muslim	7	16.28
Christian	36	83.72
Total	43	100

Table 4.3: Respondents' Religion

4.5 Highest Education Level of Respondents

The highest education level of the respondents is shown in table 4.4. It is evident that majority of the respondents have acquired university education at 58%. Respondents with college education and secondary school education represented 30% and 12% of the respondents respectively. Most of the South Sudanese refugees have had the opportunity to attend educational institutions in Kenya and some have proceeded up to university and completed university education.

Education Level	Frequency	Percentage
Secondary School Level	5	11.63
College	13	30.23
University Level	25	58.14
Total	43	100

Table 4.4: Highest Education Level

4.6 Number of years spent in Kenya as a refugee.

All the respondents had spent a number of years in Kenya As refugees displaced from South Sudan. Majority of the respondents had been in Kenya as refugees for over 15

years. Twenty one percent had lived in Kenya for between 11 and 15 years, while the other 28 percent of respondents have been refugees in Kenya for up to 10 years.

Religion	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 5 years	6	13.95
5 and 10 years	6	13.95
11-15 years	9	20.93
Over 15 years	22	51.16
Total	43	100

Table 4.5: Number of years spent as refugee in Kenya

4.7 The causes of negative ethnicity and war in South Sudan.

The respondents had varied responses on what they thought were the causes of war and ethnicity in South Sudan. Power struggle among the political leaders was cited as a major cause of the divisions in the country along ethnic lines. The leaders have succeeded in drumming support from their ethnic kin in order to consolidate the grasp on power. Other causes blamed for war and ethnicity in county are the low literacy levels among the populations. This illiteracy is common among all communities and regions in South Sudan and has ensured that the elite and educated political leaders can easily manipulate the masses to follow and support them without encountering any challenge of resistance from the illiterate people. Other factors that have contributed to the war in South Sudan include corruption, patronage, impunity, militarization and arm proliferation. Power struggle, weak institutional capacity and fight for the control of natural resources like oil and misunderstanding among the top political leaders have also played a role in promoting the negative ethnicity and war in the country. The fight for the control of oil reserves has been fueled by external forces

from countries wishing to secure the contracts to drill oil. Internally, the government and the rebels have been fighting to control areas where oil fields are located so that they can secure the oil revenues.

4.8 Effect of war and ethnicity on Christian-Muslim relations among refugees.

While the majority of respondents acknowledged as a fact that South Sudan population is dominated by people who confess the Christian faith, it also has a number of Muslims that profess the Islam faith. There is open mistrust among the followers of the two religions, with Christian being suspicious of the Muslims and vice versa. This mistrust originated from the civil war that pitted the Muslim Northerners and the Christian southerners and was reinforced by the introduction of Sharia Law by government that was then controlled by the Muslims from North Sudan. This mistrust is not only confined to South Sudan but has spilled over to the neighbouring countries where many south Sudanese are living as refugee camps. The Christian/Muslim mistrust has been witnessed at the Kakuma Refugee Camp (KRC) where there have been frequent conflicts along religious and ethnic lines. Majority of respondents indicated that the war in South Sudan has affected the Christian-Muslim relations negatively by instilling hatred among the two religions. Members of the two religions now blame each other for the suffering they have been subjected on people in the country.

4.9 Psychological effect of the ethnic war among the South Sudanese refugees in Kenya.

Most of the respondents noted that the ethnic war in South Sudan has planted the seeds of hatred among the south Sudanese whereby even when there are in foreign

countries as refugees that still do not trust each other even though they originated from the same country. The war has caused trauma among the refugees in Kenya which has resulted in conflicts among south Sudanese refugees from different ethnic backgrounds. These conflicts have been common at the Kakuma Refugee Camp and which have necessitated the holding of peace and reconciliation meetings within the camp organized by various humanitarian organizations. Majority of the refugees have been psychologically affected and to date some are still traumatized. They cannot forget the atrocities caused to them and their loved ones. Some refugees feel that it is their tribesmen that are being targeted and this makes them feel unsafe wherever they are. New refugees arriving at the Kakuma Refugee Camp often recount stories of the atrocities they have undergone and this has always resulted in inter-ethnic fighting between different ethnic groups at the refugee camp.

4.10 Impact of the ethnic war on Christian-Muslim relations among refugees in worship.

Majority of the respondents agreed that the ethnic war in South Sudan has divided the religious community between tribes that are fighting. Among South Sudanese citizens, conflict has affected to the point where people do not worship together. Even Christians from different ethnic backgrounds do not worship together because of the mistrust caused by the war. It is now common to find churches whose congregation a purely from one South Sudanese ethnic group. This practice of one ethnic group and one church is evident in urban centres in Kenya as well as within the Kakuma Refugee camp. The war has impacted negatively the Christian-Muslim relations and the brotherhood relationship and the love that existed before is no more and hatred has thrived between the Christian and Muslims. The war has brought about identity

concealment and people living in denial of the situation and loss of trust for other tribes.

4.11 Possible ways of reconciling the communities using religion to build relations

The majority of the respondents agreed that there is possibility of reconciling communities using religion as a platform for reconciliation. The churches should play a leading role in the reconciliation by offering counseling and prayers to the refugees. The reconciliation can be initiated by calling upon the clergy, imams and sheikhs to preach peace in their respective churches and mosques in order to reconcile the communities. Teaching the refugees the role of religion and preaching forgiveness can also bring about peace and reconciliation among the South Sudanese refugees.

4.12 How to foster peaceful co-existence among South Sudanese community in Nairobi.

The respondents agreed that there is need to nurture peaceful coexistence among the South Sudan refugees in Nairobi. According to then respondents, the avenues that can be used to promote unity among the refugees include forums, conferences and prayer meetings or fasting prayers. Civic education can also be used, where the refuges are taught about their civic duty of promoting peace and unity amongst themselves. Peaceful coexistence could be achieved by getting rid of the division amongst the South Sudanese refugees by persuading everyone to avoid ethnic division and embrace one another as brother and sister.

4.13 Ways in which the war in South Sudan has affected the relations of Muslims and Christian South Sudan refugees in Kenya.

The respondents were asked to say how the war has affected Christian/Muslims relations. According to majority of respondents, the war in South Sudan has affected the refugees living in Kenya by causing divisions along religious and political lines. For example, many people from different communities rarely worship together, due to fear and mistrust. The war has imposed a notion that people are being attacked based on their tribe and religions, it is now common to find each south Sudanese tribe with its own church which do not have worshippers from other tribes. The respondents further noted that the first step towards peace in South Sudan should be taken by the Christians and this can be done through believers from all ethnic groups worshipping and praying together and being members of the same church.

4.14 How Christian and Muslims South Sudan Refugees can contribute to the ending of the war in South Sudan.

According to most of the respondents, Christian and Muslims South Sudanese refugees living in Kenya can contribute towards ending the war in South Sudan by praying together and preaching peace and reconciliation. Muslim and Christian leaders should take the initiative of organizing joint prayers among Christians and Muslims. During the joint prayers the leaders should lead the way in apologizing on behalf of their members for any actions they may have taken in promoting the war in South Sudan. The refugees can also contribute to ending the war by embracing peace and prevailing upon those involved in peace negotiations to follow the right path in bringing peace in south Sudan. Uniting and reconciling the political leaders through preaching of the gospel can also contribute to the cessation of fighting in the country.

The respondents further indicated that lasting peace can be attained in South Sudan if all stakeholders including refugees from bot religious divide can play their role in preaching peace and embracing other south Sudanese who are not from their ethnic background of religious faith as brother and sister.

4.15 Possible ways that Muslims-Christian South Sudan refugees in Kenya can bring about peaceful co-existence among themselves.

According to majority of respondents, the South Sudanese refugees will need to start by differentiating the religion and politics and accept that they are brothers and sisters from south Sudan irrespective of their tribes or ethnic groups. Peace conferences amongst themselves should be initiated in order to chart the way forward for the promotion of peace and ending the war in South Sudan. By embracing brotherhood and accepting that the situation they find themselves in was political and not religious, they also need to understand that politics is not there to break peoples' relationship but to build a country. The Christian and Muslim leaders among the refugees must make the first step of uniting the reconciling the refugees by arranging meetings and prayers that bring together Muslim and Christian refugees.

4.16 How Christian believers [Nuer, Dinka, Shilluk, Zandi, and Murle] see each in a current situation where social relations have broken down in South Sudan.

According to most of the respondents, many Christians from the Nuer, Dinka, Shilluk, Zandi and Murle ethnic groups do not trust one another. They have strayed from the Word of God and now see Christians from other ethnic groups as their enemies, instead of taking them as brothers and sisters. According the majority of the

respondents, the Christians believers from all ethnic groups have definitely lost the strong bond they used to have amongst themselves. The Christian believers have viewed and divided themselves along tribal and religious differences. The Christian believers now see themselves in the eyes of political allegiance and interest. This is evident in urban centres in Kenya and in the refugee camp where you find a south Sudanese church with is membership from one ethnic community.

4.17 Ways of preventing politics from gaining influence over the religion among the communities?

Majority of respondents feared that there is the danger that the negative political influence has spilled over into the religious groups within the South Sudan refugee community in Kenya. The respondents noted that while it is very difficult to prevent politics among refugees because it is the main reason that displaced them and made them refugees, the South Sudanese refugees should ignore what the politicians are telling them and try to live together harmoniously and work towards the attainment of peace in South Sudan. The refugees should be discouraged from engaging in political matters because their presence in refugee camp is a result of bad politics. The respondents noted that each south Sudanese refugee should understand that everyone has political views and they should not be imposed on others.

4.18 The importance of youth, mothers and elders in curbing negative ethnicity and working for coexistence among the refugee community.

According to the many of the respondents, the youth, mothers and the elderly are the most affected people by the war in South Sudan. They should therefore lead in the quest for looking for the end to the war and promotion of peace in the country. The

respondents indicated that curbing negative ethnicity is possible with competent and able leadership. Just as in the African context the elders have always been used to bring people together when there is conflict. The youth should come up with forums to discuss matters to curb negative ethnicity amongst themselves. They should invite the elders to these forums to make their contributions. The first thing is to accept the situation as it is and then find new ways to bring about peace.

4.19 Suggestions to help youth, mothers and elders in ensuring participation of teachings religious norms to build peace.

The majority of the respondents suggested that mothers, youth, elders can preach peace and reconciliation and this could be done through youth groups and women groups. It was the opinion of many respondents that the youth, mothers and elders should go to the grassroots and talk about reconciliation and the need for peaceful coexistence among the different ethnic communities in South Sudan.

4.20 How youth, mothers and elders can deal with the challenges of ethnicity.

It was the opinion of most respondents that the problem of negative ethnicity should be tackled by the youth, women and elders. If peace is to be restored in South Sudan. They can do this by telling their communities about the importance of the nationalism and brotherhood. Even while living as refugees in Kenya, they should urge other refugees to live together as citizens of one country. By keeping their opinions to themselves, not being quick to judge others and being tolerant with each other.

4.21 Further suggestions on how youth, mothers and elders can resolve conflict between refugees in Kenya?

Many of the respondents suggested that the elders can form a council of elders that bring together elders from different ethnic groups. The main purpose of the council of elders is to promote peace and reconciliation and also prevention of inter-ethnic conflict. The council of elders should conduct frequent meetings in all parts of South Sudan and in refugee camps outside the country for the purpose of preaching the peace and reconciliation message. The respondents further noted that on their part, the youth should support the elders by accepting to be peaceful and reconcile with other youth from other ethnic groups. The youth should be careful of what the politicians preach and should ignore politicians' attempts to divide them. Women on their part can form women groups that comprise women from different south Sudanese ethnic groups. The women groups should also preach peace and at the same time can get involved in small scale businesses in order to improve their economic well-being. Sports tournaments regular meetings and counseling sessions should be organized for the youth that will help the youths from different ethnic groups to bond together. Youth may help in peace building by engaging in activities that promote positive atmospheres like sports and cultural activities that can be organized within the refugee camp and in urban centres where many South Sudanese refugees live.

4.3 Discussion of the Findings

Power struggle among political leaders, high illiteracy levels, corruption, patronage, impunity, militarization and proliferation of arms are the main factors that have been blamed of for the war and ethnicity in South Sudan. Political leaders have flourished by drumming support from their ethnic kin in order to consolidate the grasp on power.

This illiteracy is common among all communities and regions in South Sudan and has ensured that the elite and educated political leaders can easily manipulate the masses to follow and support them without encountering any challenge of resistance from the illiterate people. There is open mistrust among the followers of the two main religions (Christianity and Islam). The Christians are suspicious of the Muslims and vice versa. This mistrust originated from the civil war that pitted the Muslim Northerners and the Christian southerners and was reinforced by the introduction of Sharia Law by government that was then controlled by the Muslims from North Sudan. This mistrust is not only confined to South Sudan but has spilled over to the neighbouring countries where many south Sudanese are living as refugee camps. The Christian/Muslim mistrust has been witnessed at the Kakuma Refugee Camp (KRC) where there have been frequent conflicts along religious and ethnic lines.

The war and ethnicity in South Sudan has affected the Christian-Muslim relations negatively by instilling hatred among the two religions. The ethnic war in South Sudan has planted the seeds of hatred among the South Sudanese whereby even when there are in foreign countries as refugees they do not see themselves as brothers and sisters from the same country and the mistrust is still present. The war has caused trauma among the refugees in Kenya which has resulted in conflicts among south Sudanese refugees from different ethnic backgrounds. These conflicts have been common at the Kakuma Refugee Camp and which have necessitated the holding of peace and reconciliation meetings within the camp organized by various humanitarian organizations. Majority of the refugees have been psychologically affected and to date some are still traumatized. They cannot forget the atrocities caused to them and their loved ones. Some refugees feel that it is their tribesmen that are being targeted and

this makes them feel unsafe wherever they are. The ethnic war in South Sudan has divided the religious community between tribes that are fighting. Among South Sudanese citizens, conflict has affected to the point where people do not worship together. Even Christians from different ethnic backgrounds do not worship together because of the mistrust caused by the war. It is now common to find churches whose congregation a purely from one South Sudanese ethnic group. This practice of one ethnic group and one church is evident in urban centres in Kenya as well as within the Kakuma Refugee camp. The war has impacted negatively the Christian-Muslim relations and the brotherhood relationship and the love that existed before is no more and hatred has thrived between the Christian and Muslims. The war has brought about identity concealment and people living in denial of the situation and loss of trust for other tribes.

The formation of a council of leaders within the South Sudanese refugee community that bring together elders from all ethnic groups is necessary and can be used to offer mediation there is inter-ethnic conflict. Youth groups can be used to promote bonding among youth of different ethnic groups and religious following through sports tournaments and cultural activities. Women can form women groups that include women from all religions and ethnic groups and use them as avenues to undertake joint businesses and organizing meetings to be used as forums for preaching peace and reconciliation. Interreligious dialogue should be initiated at all localities in Kenya where South Sudanese refugees are present. The State and the Church should be the one taking the role of civic education in the country that will enhance unity within the country and outside as well and they should champion for the dialogue base on love, tolerance, mutual respects of one ethnic and religion.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The war and negative ethnicity currently prevailing in South Sudan has had serious repercussions of the citizens of the young country which became independent about six years ago. The war has almost rendered the country to a dysfunctional state as the government operations in all areas of the country have almost ground to a halt. The causes of war can be narrowed down to poor leadership by the top political leaders, negative ethnicity, tribalism and nepotism in the government and to a lesser extent interference from external sources that are keen to control the natural resources that are plenty in the country and especially the oil fields.

The war and negative ethnicity have been the main causes of displacement of many South Sudanese from their homes and who are currently living as internally displaced persons (IDPs) within the country or as refugees in refugee camps in Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia. The largest refugee camp in the East African region is the Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kakuma in Northern Kenya. The camp is home to thousands of refugees from the insecure countries in East Africa. The population of South Sudanese refugees is now estimated to be slightly over one hundred thousand. There are many more South Sudanese refugees living outside the refugee camp in urban centres like Nairobi, Nakuru, Eldoret, Kitale and Kapenguria. The war has also severely dented the relationships among different ethnic groups and between the Muslim and Christian religions which are the two main religions in South Sudan. It is now common for one ethnic group to blame other ethnic groups for the war in South

Sudan. Mistrust between Christians and Muslims South Sudanese refugees has also taken root within the refugee community in Kenya. While the Christians blame the Muslims for the first civil war in the country and the massive destruction and deaths it caused, Muslims on their part blame the Christians for not allowing their religion to thrive in the country.

5.2 Conclusion

Peace and cordial Christian-Muslim relations are necessary for a post-war South Sudan. There is urgent need to end the war so that the thousands of South Sudanese refugees can begin journey back to their homes. The ongoing peace negations if handled well will result in the cessation of the conflict and the beginning of a new chapter for South Sudan. The other major effect of the war is that it has negatively affected the relations between Christian and Muslims. The cordial relations that used to exist between the two religions are no longer there and it has now been replaced with hatred and mistrust. This mistrust is manifested in the divisions witnessed among believers, where the refugees from different ethnic groups/tribes cannot worship together in the same church. While it can be acknowledged that ethnicity is not a problem at all, negative ethnicity is a real problem that needs urgent attention. It is a fact that South Sudanese people and refugees belong to one ethnic group or another and it is not wrong to identify with the ethnic group one belongs to. However when ethnicity is used to exclude other ethnic groups it becomes a problem and this is what negative ethnicity is. Therefore the war and negative ethnicity are the root causes of the problems currently prevailing in South Sudan.

While it is evident that there are internal processes already underway to bring about the end of the war and for the formation of an all-inclusive government, it is necessary for the South Sudanese community in Kenya to play a role in contributing to the cessation of war and the end to negative ethnicity. The youth, mothers and elders within the South Sudanese refugee community can convene meetings of all religions and ethnic groups for the purpose of preaching peace and reconciliation. On their part the religions leaders, sheikhs, imams and pastors can organize joint prayers between Christians and Muslims and preach peace and reconciliation in their churches and mosques. The religious leaders can also reach out to the top political leaders of South Sudan with the aim of reconciling them.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the research findings, the researcher puts forward the following recommendations that will contribute to the ending of the war and improve the relations between Christians and Muslims.

- The religious leaders from both the Christian and Islam should play a key reconciliatory role in reconciling Christians and Muslims within the refugee community.
- A council of leaders within the refugee community needs to be formed and which brings together elders from all ethnic groups. The council of elders will lay a mediating role wherever there is inter-ethnic conflict.
- The youth should form youth groups in their respective ethnic groups and organize sports tournaments and cultural activities which will help youth from different ethnic groups to bond together and create friendship.

- On their part women can form women groups that include women from all religions and ethnic groups. These women groups can be used as avenues to undertake joint businesses and organizing meetings to be used as forums for preaching peace and reconciliation.
- Interreligious dialogue should be initiated at the all localities in the country.. . National government politicians and the states leaders should united and encourage the youth and women to adopt tolerance peaceful co-existence across the country.
- The states and the church should be the one taking the role of civic education in the country that will enhance unity within the country and outside as well.. . They should champion for the dialogue base on love, tolerance, mutual respects of one ethnic and religion.
- The religion and ethnicity should not be made as scape-goat for power within and outside the country.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

iv. What is your age? _____ years

v. What is your religion? Christian ( ) Muslim ( )

vi. What is Highest Education Level?

Secondary School Level ( ) College Level ( ) University Level ( )

vii. For how long have you been a refugee in Kenya? _____ years.

viii. What are the causes of ethnicity and war in South Sudan?

_____

_____

_____

ix. How does war of ethnicity affect the Christian-Muslim relations between the worshippers in refugees?

_____

_____

_____

x. Is the ethnic war having a psychological effect between the South Sudanese refugees in Kenya?

_____

_____

_____

xi. How has the war impacted on Christian-Muslim relations among refugees in worship?

_____

_____

_____

xii. In your views, is there a possible ways of reconciling the communities using religion to build relation?

_____

_____

_____

xiii. What can foster peaceful co-existence among south Sudanese community in Nairobi?

_____

_____

_____

xiv. In what ways has the war in South Sudan affected the relations of Muslims and Christian South Sudan refugees in Kenya?

_____

_____

_____

xv. How can the Christian and Muslims South Sudan Refugees contribute to the ending of the war in South Sudan?

_____

_____

_____

xvi. What are the possible ways that Muslims-Christian South Sudan refugees in Kenya bring back peaceful co-existence among themselves?

_____

_____

_____

xvii. How did Christian believers [Nuer, Dinka, Shilluk, Zandi, and Murle] see each in a current situation where social relation has breakdown in south Sudan?

_____

_____

_____

xviii. In your views, is there a way to prevent politics not to gain influence over the religious among the communities?

xix. In you view, what are the main roles of mothers in bringing last the end to ethnicity among?

xx. Do you think mothers are an important factor in curbing negative ethnicity?

xxi. What ways can you suggest that help mothers in ensuring the youth are not evolving in ethnic war?

xxii. As a mother, what do think are the challenges the mothers are facing as refuges in Kenya?

xxiii. How can the mothers deal with these challenges?

xxiv. Can women groups' make peace among Christians-Muslim refugees in Kenya?

xxv. In what ways do you think mothers can come together and fight the ideology of negative ethnicity in the church and the Mosque?

_____

_____

_____

xxvi. Is there further thought you have for how mothers can resolve conflict between Christian and Muslim refugees in Kenya?

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for answering the questions