

**SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF USING THE MILITARY IN INTERNAL SECURITY
OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL EQUATORIA STATE, SOUTH SUDAN**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Master of Arts Degree in Criminology and Criminal Justice of
Egerton University**

EGERTON UNIVERSITY

MARCH, 2024

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and to the best of my knowledge has not been presented for examination of any Degree or Diploma in any institution or university.



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Lual Chol Kur

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Recommendation

This Thesis has been submitted for examination with our recommendation as university supervisors.

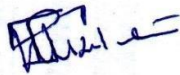


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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Director of Internal Security Bureau of the National Security Service of the Republic of South Sudan Gen Akol Koor Kuc, who was also my class mate at same time during the class of masters' program. Whose is dedication for the well-being of South Sudanese led to the success of this study. Your support and encouragement throughout during the study has enchanted the program of high learning and is highly appreciated. This thesis is also dedicated to my family members who have been very supportive in my education that made me to achieve this research despite all the difficulties. I would like to thank friends who have encouraged during the study. Without them it would have been difficult to accomplish my studies. Final gratitude goes to my Director General of General Intelligence of Bureau National Security Service of the Republic of South Sudan and Deputy Director General of General Intelligence of Bureau Lt Gen Charles Ciec Mayor who was my class mate during the masters' program I really appreciated their effort for being supportive.

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ABSTRACT

Nations across the world are facing internal and external security threats that require security operations to safeguard citizens. Although the responsibility of internal security operations rests with the police, in some situations, states have been compelled to deploy the military for internal security operations. Despite the use of the military for internal operations, information on the military for internal operations remains scanty. Therefore, this study sought to investigate the security implications of using the military in internal security operations in Central Equatoria State. The study adopted a descriptive study design and random sampling techniques due to the need to have a comprehensive coverage of the phenomenon under study. The study was guided by the Separation Theory by Huntington (1957). Questionnaire method was used to collect data from all the 195 respondents (Members of public) while key informants interview guide was used to collect data from 5 Key Informants (K.I). Random sampling was used to enlist main respondents into the study while purposive sampling was used to select K.I respondents. Quantitative data was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS Version 23) while Qualitative data was analyzed using content and thematic analysis. Major threats that compelled the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations included; unabated inter-ethnic conflicts fueled by warlords (13%), incapacity of the police (73%), presence of militias and violence meant to undermine government (9%), political conflicts (8%), and generals who were not well compensated and therefore commanded influence in their regions seeking to control their territory (6%). Civilians' experiences with the military while executing internal security operations included human rights abuses such as; deaths, rape cases, gunshot injuries, torched houses and corporal punishments. Major impact of using military combat orientations to suppress violence and quell armed groups on society in South Sudan Central Equatorial State Juba included; perceptions of illegitimate military (26%). Other civilians were hardened with a disposition to be armed and form ethnic militia to protect themselves from the military. Among other major recommendations, the government should urgently capacity build the police to effectively take over their constitutional mandate of internal security operations and lessen the civilians pain under the military hands. This will avert the nation from being one of the failed states.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CMR:	Civil-Military relations
GBV:	Gender-Based Violence
IGAD:	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
ISOPs:	Internal Security Operations
MACA:	Military Aid to Civil Authority
SPLM:	Sudan People Liberation Movement
SPLA:	Sudan People Liberation Army
SSPDF:	South Sudan People Defense Forces
TCOs:	Transnational Criminal Organizations
UNMISS:	United Nation Mission in South Sudan

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Sovereign states in the contemporary international system are expected to guarantee peace and security to all its citizens and territory (Kenney & Dumm, 2010; Mueller, 2008). Apparently, this has been a challenge to many states especially in the developing countries. Globally, the emerging new trend is the increasing requirement in the ability to safeguard states from both internal and external security threats faced by society today that are apparently more complex than in the past. In line with this global security demand, many states have mooted both regional and national security strategies such as in Sweden, Norway, Poland, the UK, Germany and the US aimed at mitigating these challenges (Derblom, 2015).

Some of the global security challenges that the security sector grapples with especial in the developed world include; organized crime, cyber space threats and democracy and governance deficit amongst other challenges (Derblom, 2015). Conversely, the security sector challenges cited in most developing countries include, low security sector capacities, proliferation of small arms, governance crises, challenges of social reconciliation, illegal renditions of regime opponents, militarization of the public, insurgency, targeted ethnic killings and unprofessional security agencies amongst other challenges (Aeby, 2018).

Across the world, the responsibility of protecting citizens against internal aggression rests with the police. The military only comes into action in an event of external aggression (Musa, 2018). The emerging trend in some parts of the world, and pertinently in Africa is the rising use of the military to quell internal conflicts and disorder. This is largely due to the inability of the police to contain violent conflicts, particularly in areas where armed groups are active. Arguably, this has been associated with increased insecurity and other atrocities that borders on human rights violations. However, some countries have used the military to undertake internal military operations based on the intensity of the internal threat to the citizens. The notable examples of countries that have used military for internal operations include Kenya, Uganda and Nigeria to quell violence within the countries (Odoemene, 2012).

Using the military for internal security operations (ISOPs), otherwise known as military aid to civil authority (MACA), comes with its own challenges. One relates to the training of military personnel, which is not suited for use in an internal role in society. The orientation of the military is focused on defense, war and the infliction of collective violence, unlike the police whose main function is law enforcement (Harris, 2003; Weiss, 2012). Where they work in collaborative units, or as a hybrid security forces with the police and other civilian agencies, the military tends to dominate. Typically, this occurs in states that have no constabulary forces or gendarmeries. Hybrid forces consisting of joint police and military units create several problems in terms of command and control, the nature of operations, and organizational culture. Several scholars have pointed out that numerous difficulties emerge when personnel of different combat orientation strategies, tactics, training and instructions have to work together as a team (Clausewitz, 1976; Crelinsten, 1998; O’Hanlon, 2000; Weiss, 2012). There are several other concerns pertaining to the internal use of the military in society. Key among these are the military’s excessive use of force, militarism and the militarisation of society, as well as the restriction of civil liberties (Nwolise, 2007; Odoemene, 2012). Often, the problems arise because military training and the combat orientation of soldiers are not suited for crowd control and law enforcement purposes (Weiss, 2012). In fact, Weiss (2012: 462) argues that while it is “capable of controlling crowds, the military still remains a force to fight wars, which is very distinct from the police.” Typically, this is because, “the most core competency of soldiers is skill in inflicting pain, killing people, and breaking things” (Gray, 2007: 37).

Given the incompatibility of this with internal security duties in society, it accounts for numerous challenges when the military is deployed in an internal role, especially when this entails the use of force. Nonetheless, as Dasuki (2013), Enloe (1977), and Okoli and Orinya (2013) argue, the state often has no choice but to use the military in this way to protect its citizens against external and internal ‘enemies’ where they threaten social and political stability. According to this study use of the military to for instance quell violence may end up exacerbating and not ameliorating insecurity. This has been the phenomenon in Northern, West, Central and Eastern African counties, including the country South Sudan.

The Security situation in South Sudan and across Central Equatoria State deteriorated just two years after independence when political tensions among key South Sudanese leaders erupted into violence in December 2013. The political dispute triggered the crisis in the leadership of Sudanese People Liberation Movement (SPLM) party and then turned to ethnic conflict that overlapped with preexisting ethnic and political grievances, sparking armed clashes and targeted ethnic killings in the capital city, Juba. Consequently, this led to a state of lawlessness in South Sudan after the Security Sector lost control over the monopoly of the use of force to maintain order (Knof, 2016).

Hundreds of civilians died in South Sudan ensuing attackers reportedly from security operatives just because the victim is either a Nuer or a Dinka. Mass movement of civilians to United Nations Internal Displacement Camps was seen across South Sudan, Central Equatoria State as several senior Nuer military commanders, subsequently declared a rebellion. The Security situation in South Sudan worsened as fighting continues unabated for more than 20 months while regional mediators made halting progress in peace negotiations under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The warring parties periodically recommitted themselves to a January 2014 cessation of hostilities deal, but repeatedly violated it. In May 2014, they agreed to form a transitional government, but failed to agree on its composition and responsibilities. After missing multiple deadlines set by regional leaders to sign a deal and under threat of international sanctions, including a proposed arms embargo, the warring parties reached an agreement in August 2015 (Magnus, 2017). President of Republic of South Sudan signed the deal, with reservation, more than a week after Machar, calling the agreement divisive and an attack on South Sudan's sovereignty. The first peace agreement didn't bring stability but increased instability and insecurity especially after Dr. Riek Machar arrived in Juba and a fight erupted again in State House (J1) in July 2016 (De Waal, 2017).

Collier (2015) argued that although the Challenges of Security sector in maintaining peace in South Sudan Central Equatoria State is mostly shaped by the pathetic first history of independent of South Sudan, the Challenges of the security sector became more critical after the defection of the Sudan People Liberation Army (SPLA) former deputy chief of General Staff for Logistics, Gen. Thomas Cirilo. The latter's defection caused a severer division within the security sector in Central Equatoria State. Many security operatives defected while others remain in the city to sabotage the

government using on road ambushes and violence armed robberies in Central Equatoria State and Eastern Equatoria State (Collier, 2015).

Previous other studies, that examined the internal use of the military to maintain peace such as those conducted by Dode (2012), Ogah (2011), Omede (2012), and Okoli and Orinya (2013) and Dambazau (2014), highlighted military abuse, but do not evaluate whether the military decreases or exacerbates insecurity. To fill this void, this study examines the internal use of the military in Central Equatoria State and Eastern Equatoria State, Juba. This study will try to investigate the experiences of civilians with the military in Central Equatoria State and Eastern Equatoria State, Juba to understand whether the South Sudan state exercises adequate civil control over the use of coercive force by the military, and how this affects the security of citizens. Lange and Balian (2008) argue that the use of coercive force by states perpetuates insecurity by inciting violence, especially where there is regular abuse of power and where the liberties of citizens are eroded. Clearly, it undermines civil-military relations (CMR) when the government fails to curb the military when they act unprofessionally or beyond their legal mandate. It is on this back ground that this study intends to assess the security implication of military deployment to undertake internal security operations in peace building, a case study of Central Equatoria State, Juba.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In the contemporary world, there is an emerging trend in the increasing requirement in the ability to safeguard states from both internal and external security threats faced by society today that are more complex than in the past. The desire for safeguarding nations has been influenced by organized crime, cyberspace threats and democracy and governance, proliferation of small arms, governance crises, challenges of social reconciliation, illegal renditions of regime opponents, militarization of the public, insurgency, targeted ethnic killings and unprofessional security agencies amongst other factors.

Although states are facing security challenges that require the use of police or military to tackle them, the responsibility of internal security operations rests on the police while external security threats to a nation are handled by the military. However, in some situations, states have been compelled to deploy the military for internal security operations. Among such states is South Sudan. The state has resorted to using the military to undertake internal security operations to suppress violence and enforce law and

order. Despite the use of the military for internal operations, little information is available on the effect of using the military for internal operations. Therefore, this study sought to investigate the security implications of using the military in internal security operations in Central Equatoria State to bridge the gap.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study was guided by both the broad and specific objectives as follows;

1.3.1 Broad Objective

The broad objective of this study was to investigate the security implications of using the military in internal security operations in Central Equatoria State.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

This study was guided by the following specific objectives;

- i. To assess the type of threats that compel the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations in South Sudan Central Equatoria State.
- ii. To explore civilians' experiences with the military in undertaking internal security operations in South Sudan Central Equatoria State.
- iii. To establish the impact of using military combat orientations to suppress violence and quell armed groups on society in South Sudan Central Equatoria State.

1.4 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions;

- i. What is the nature and type of threats armed groups and their impact on the ability of the state to protect its citizens in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba?
- ii. How do the civilians perceive their experiences with the military while executing internal security operations and their propensity to influence insecurity in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba?
- iii. What is the impact of using military combat orientations to suppress violence and quell armed groups on society in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba?

1.5 Justification of the Study

This study has been necessitated by rise of insecurity in Central Equatoria State that has not only

become a widespread social problem to the people of South Sudan but also detrimental to the economic prosperity of the country. A systematic inquiry and investigation of the problem to identifying the underlying causes of insecurity is critical. Hence, the findings from this study will be beneficial to policy makers in policy formulation and recommendation that will help cut the problem to the nib.

The study findings are hoped to be very beneficial to the state itself as it may review policing function in South Sudan to either further; reform, equip or empower the South Sudan police force so that it can effectively discharge its constitutionally given mandate to carry out internal security operations.

In addition, it is also anticipated that this study will generate new knowledge that will be used to fill the existing knowledge gaps with regard to the use of military in carrying out internal security operations in South Sudan. Finally, findings of this study may also be beneficial to researchers as it can be used as a basis for further scholarly and research work.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study was concerned with the security implications of using the military in internal security operations in Central Equatoria State-Juba. The study was conducted between May and September 2023. The specific focus of the study was to the assessment of the type of threats that compel the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations, civilians' experiences with the military while executing internal security operations and their propensity to influence insecurity, and on the impact of using military combat orientations to suppress violence and quell armed groups on society in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba. The study population was the public where a sample of 195 was drawn to respond to data collection tools and five key informants were utilized to cross check information given by respondents.

The study faced some challenges. First, due to illiteracy levels, some respondents had a challenge to fill questionnaires. This problem was overcome by hiring local questionnaire administrators, and they sat with each participant individually, asked the questions and recorded their answers. They were trained to do this in a standard way, not to engage in conversation with the participants, to make sure they did not influence their answers.

Second, due to the sensitivity of the study problem to security, some of the respondents with crucial information were not free to share it. This kind of challenge was overcome by seeking informed consent from all the respondents. The researcher also explained to them that the information was not to be shared with anybody and was only to be used for academic purposes and for the betterment of the country.

1.7 Definition of Terms

Security Sector: United Nations (2014a) define security Sector as a term applied to refer to structures, institutions and personnel who are responsible for managing, providing and overseeing security within a state in general. In this study, the term will be used to mean South Sudan People Defense Forces (SSPDF), Administration Unit of (SSPDF), Infantry Unit of (SSPDF) Air forces Unit of (SSPDF) Riverine Unit (SSPDF) Logistics of (SSPDF) and UNMISS as (key informants)

Peace: is a stress-free state of security and calmness that comes when there's no fighting or war, everything coexisting in perfect harmony and freedom. When you feel at peace with yourself, you are content to be the person you are, flaws and everything.

Security Implication: This term will be used to mean; Military abuse and Violation of citizens Human rights, Civilian retaliation and confrontation against abuse, Civilians revolt and hostility against the military and Militarization of members of citizenry to further more insecurity, Rise of Ethnic Militias, Warlords and Mercenaries.

Ethnicity: In this study this term will be used to mean ethnic group or groups that people identify with or feel they belong to. Ethnicity is a measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality, or citizenship. Ethnicity is self-perceived and people can belong to more than one ethnic group.

Intervention Mechanisms: In this study this term will be used to mean Target mechanisms that identify what must be aimed for and what must be avoided. The action of becoming intentionally involved in a difficult situation, in order to improve it or prevent it from getting worse: Half the people questioned said they were opposed to military intervention in the civil war.

Internal Security Operations: In this study this term will be used to mean, to quell ethnic conflicts and violence, and to suppress tribal armies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines available literature on security implication of using the military in maintaining peace through internal security operations. To achieve this objective, the chapter is organized into four parts. The first section provides a thematic description of the study variables. The second section addresses the theoretical framework set to ground or explain the study. In the next section, empirical evidence of the relationship between the variables of interest is presented and critically reviewed. Based on this review, the knowledge gaps in the current state of literature serving as avenues for future research are then discussed. Finally, the chapter concludes with a conceptual framework for analyzing security implication of using the military in maintaining peace through internal security operations.

2.2 Type of Threats that Compel the Deployment of the Military Internal Security Operations

According to Musa (2018), the end of the Cold War saw a surge in internal armed violence in several countries, especially in Asia, Eastern Europe and Africa. The author argued that numerous factors contributed to this, key among which was access to a stock-pile of arms and weapons by aggrieved groups who had become dissatisfied with their authoritarian regimes. Other factors included the withdrawal of ‘super-powers’ from their former colonies, the independence struggles and political turmoil in several African States, declining state economies, high unemployment, increasing criminality, widespread corruption, and the loss of political legitimacy of these states. Failure to address these by respective governments contributed to a rising security gap that threaten states internal security and affect the ability of states to protect the populace as discussed in the following subsections. However, findings apply to the obscurity implication of using military in internal affairs and specifically the type of threat that contribute to the situation in Central Equatoria State necessitated this study.

A study by Münkler (2005) observed that interstate conflicts were decreasing, while a new wave of intrastate violence was emerging. The study argued that several concepts have been used to describe the new wave of violence, and how this is affecting state authority and their monopoly over. The emergence of new wave of conflicts in countries has necessitated us of military in internal operations. However, it is not known whether military operation in internal matters in

Central Equatoria State has been necessitated by the emergence of new wave of armed gangs hence need for this study.

According to Hoffman (2007), collective violence, given the asymmetric nature of these conflicts. As per this study, some call it hybrid wars while others simply define it as new wars (Among the scholars, some political sociologists and social theorists approached the study of this emerging wave of violence from a macro-level sociological perspective. How the finding applied to the type of threats that compel the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations in South Sudan Central Equatoria State necessitated this study.

Malešević (2010) attribute the violence to the transformative power of economic globalization”, a situation which undermines the ability of a state to “provide welfare, to defend its borders, or to represent a people. However, the study did not focus on the threats that led to use of military in internal operations hence need for this study.

Vinci (2009) reported that violence in a country threatens the power, autonomy, and legitimacy of the state to govern its people. The consequence, which is also a typical cause of armed conflict, is the loss of monopoly of the legitimate use of force, a situation which gives rise to the spread and proliferation of armed groups who wreak violence in society. This study assumes that this is not the case in South Sudan, hence, the rationale for this study in Central Equatoria State.

Kaldor (2013) averred that one of the influential advocates of the new war thesis, argues that the new wars bear elements that are distinct from conventional warfare in terms of the actors, goals, methods, and sources of finance. Unlike conventional interstate warfare, which has clarity in terms of actors, motive, type of warfare, and sources of finances, the new wars blur these distinctions. Typically, the “new wars are a mixture of war, crime and human rights violations,” and these factors distinguish it from the conventional sense of wars between states. The present study will identify with Kaldor (2013) argument that the “new wars are a mixture of war, crime and human rights violations, as a result of military action while undertaking internal peace operations in in Central Equatoria State.

Shaw (2003) argues that a highly-technologically advanced Western-style warfare which minimizes both civilian and personnel casualties, and the second is a predatory warfare which is “concentrated in Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia”. This research is more relevant to this study given that it is widespread in several African states and it influences governance and political instability. However, it fails to identify the types of threats that led to the deployment of the military in internal operations hence need for this study.

Kaldor (2012) reported that marginalization from exclusionary politics, judicial weakness, growing economic greed of illegitimate profit seeking groups, and grievances influence the spread of the new wars. The present study will identify with this study that the “new wars are a mixture of war, crime and human rights violations, as a result of military action while undertaking internal peace operations in in Central Equatoria State.

Mundy (2011) reported that the new wars are not necessarily ‘new’, as many features of the new wars are found in conventional (old) warfare engaged in a critical review of the new war thesis, faulting several assumptions of the paradigm. He contends that, contrary to the central claim, economic globalization does not undermine the autonomy of nation states. He notes further that war has not changed, and neither has the privatization of violence and the involvement of non-state actors, both of which are not a new phenomenon. However, the study by Mundy (2011) did not focus on the types of threats that necessitate deployment of the military for internal operations, hence need for this study.

Vreÿ (2010) argued that armed groups present an existential security threat to both the citizenry and the state they operate in. According to this study, some are well organized with defined chains of command and authority, while others operate as bands of loose groups with no specific structure or command system. This study gave examples such groups mercenaries, rebel groups, self-help ethnic militias, criminal gangs, warlords and several other small-scale belligerents. How the finding applied to type of threats that compel the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations in South Sudan Central Equatoria State necessitated the study.

Furthermore Porto (2002) averred that organized violence of the state through their use of sustained violence through direct combat, guerrilla or irregular warfare against state forces. They can transform, evolve, or hybridize from one type to another, while adopting different operational structures as they wage protracted armed conflict. This hinders the ability of the state to define or categorize the groups to figure out their goals and develop the right strategy to suppress or counter the threats they pose. This has compelled several states such as in South Sudan to rely on the military to deal with the threats posed by these groups, albeit with a boomerang effect as perceived by this study.

Schneckener (2006) argued that a myriad of armed groups exists, ranging from small loose bands, to complex and highly structured groups. These include rebel movements, militias, marauders, mafias, criminal organizations, religious armed groups, ethnic warlords, pirates, insurgents, guerrillas, terrorists, mercenaries and fraternities. This study however is set out to examine the security implication of using the military in maintaining peace through internal security operations in South Sudan Central Equatoria State.

Petrasek (2005) revealed that several analysts and scholars have tried to classify these groups into archetypes or typologies to understand the operational drive, motivation, and the action plans of each group. However, because armed groups are flexible and easily change when faced with coercion from state forces, the archetypes present a fluid category. Some have also cautioned that making a typology could be misleading as armed groups easily transform. Despite this critique, it is possible to categorize armed groups based on their aim and organizational structure. Following the new wars theory, this study discusses the goals, method of warfare, and sources of finances of these non-state actors to understand the groups and the threats they pose to the state hence need for this study.

As argued by Schneckener (2006) armed groups exists in South Sudan, ranging from small loose bands, to complex and highly structured groups. The implication here is that this may culminated into a new wave of what scholars call hybrid wars (internal wars) that the state has called upon the military rather than the police to manage. This study however is set out to examine the security implication of using the military in maintaining peace through internal security operations in Central Equatoria State.

Thompson (2014) argued that insurgents are non-ruling groups who consciously seek to undermine, “destroy, reformulate, or sustain the basis of legitimacy of one or more aspects of politics” through violent insurgency. Typically, insurgent armed groups are politically motivated groups who aim to influence policy, to disintegrate, weaken, or overthrow and replace a government. According to this study, the aim to exert political control or to seize control of territorial boundaries of a state, and to form an alternative government in its place. One possible reason is the desire to redress existing political inequalities and structural imbalances that the state seems unwilling or unable to address. Another reason is the desire to compel the government not to retract or change certain policies that are beneficial to a section of the population. This study was set to establish the type of threats that compel the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations in Central Equatoria State.

Fletcher (2006) argued that terrorism thrives on media publicity disseminate knowledge and information about their activities. Through this, they reinforce fear and insecurity, and highlight the excesses and atrocities of state forces confronting the. This publicity plays a vital role in placing the government under intense pressure to avert terrorists’ attacks, or to comply with the demands of the terrorists. However, as terrorists attack civilian targets, they often lack the popular support from the citizenry, even when the concerns of the terrorist groups are legitimate. The deliberate and indiscriminate attacks on civilians makes them lose the support of both the local population, and the state. When terrorists continue to attack civilian populations, it affects their existential security. This study was set to establish type of threats that compel the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations in Central Equatoria State.

2.2.1 Rise of Militia

Militias are the most common type of armed groups. They are both a product and a cause of failed and failing states. Given this, various forms of militias exist, and a multiplicity of definitions attempt to describe them. One such definition presents militias as small units of *de facto* non-state armed groups who use violence to achieve their goals, but this does not account for state-backed militias (Zahar, 2000). Others define militias “as a recognizable irregular armed force operating within the territory of a weak and/or failing state” (Shultz et al., 2004). Militias often occur where the state security forces are unable to protect citizens and where leaders lack political legitimacy and the support of the populace.

Vinci (2009) revealed that when a state is unable to provide basic public goods, including security, individuals, groups, and communities often unite along identity or interest lines to seek alternatives. Often, given the absence of the rule of law, this evokes hostilities as the pursuit of the interests of one group threaten the interests of other groups. Militias fill this vacuum as the armed extension of the group to protect, fight, and defend their interests. Typically, they rely on small arms and light weapons to carry out their operations, but as their threat levels increase, they could acquire more advanced weaponry and improvised explosive devices that could cause maximum damage to their opposition. Their pattern of violence is mostly unconventional surprise attacks on unsuspecting opponents. Unlike insurgents, they rarely challenge state forces. This study investigated the type of threats that compel the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations in Central Equatoria State.

2.3 Civilians Experiences with the Military while Executing Internal Security Operations



Dambazau (2014) the inability of the police to deal with the threats armed groups pose has compelled several states to use their military to aid the police. Using the military in this capacity has evoked several concerns, as it blurs the distinction between internal and external security spheres. Typically, the police are responsible for internal security problems, such as crime control and law enforcement duties. The military is responsible for the external sphere, which involves defending the territorial sovereignty of the state against external threats and enemies. Therefore, using the military in policing functions for which they are not trained is problematic. Essentially, the police are trained for law-and-order duties which requires minimum use of force, while the military are trained for warfare, requiring maximum use of force. Along with this, the police are typically reactive, while the military is proactive in deterring threat. This study therefore sought to investigate civilians' experiences with the military in undertaking internal security operations in Central Equatoria State.

Peterside (2014) revealed that unlike the police, the military is a coercive force that is sanctioned to use legitimate violence to protect the state. Given that armed groups make use of high powered-weapons and ammunitions, the military is often the only way a government can deal with the threat they pose. Victory over armed groups is achievable through military means because they

can force a ceasefire, the de-escalation of violence, or an immediate victory over belligerents. For this reason, the internal use of the military becomes a necessity given that the police are generally not able to perform such combat duties. Therefore, this study sought to investigate civilians' experiences with the military in undertaking internal security operations in Central Equatoria State.

According to Kreutz (2010) the problem of excessive reliance on military presence to forcefully compel belligerents towards tolerance and peaceful coexistence, several reasons explain why internal violence protracts and is prevalent in Africa. These include but are not limited to stalled peace agreements, indecisive victory, failed ceasefire agreements, and the alteration of existing power structures through a change of policies, especially by a new government. Another significant factor is the role that peacekeeping or military forces play in managing the conflict and citizens' perceptions of their security situation. This study investigated civilians' experiences with the military in undertaking internal security operations in Central Equatoria State.

Regehr (2011) argued that when civilians feel their security is threatened by belligerents and the coercive force of the state, they are likely to resort to arms, or join armed groups whom they feel can guarantee their security. This plunges the state into a conflict trap of spiraling violence. Instances of these are seen in the many inter-communal or interethnic conflicts and civil wars occurring in Africa, where several states have become conflict-prone and likely to return to violence. This raises the need to carefully explore the challenges of the internal use of the military and the effect this has on civil-military relations. However, there is no evidence on civilians' experiences with the military in undertaking internal security operations in Central Equatoria State hence this study.

2.4 Security Implication of Using Military Combat Orientations to Suppress Violence and Quell Armed Groups

According to Rukavishnikov and Pugh (2006) military abuse and violation of their human rights, the citizenry can retaliate against the abuse, and certainly, when civilians revolt against the military, it affects CMR. In societies where chastity is esteemed, and 'immoral' behaviors are culturally proscribed, issues such as sexual involvement of soldiers with unmarried women could evoke condemnation, tension, and hostility towards the military. Where the citizenry perceives the

military as biased in military ISOPs, or predatory on civilians, discontent and hostility could result.

When such incidences occur outside the major intersecting level, they could be dismissed as merely society-military issues, and not necessarily CMR issues, but CMR is concerned with the “relationship between the military and the state, societal structures, and institutions,” so this cannot be overlooked (Rukavishnikov & Pugh, 2006). Discontent and hostility between the military and citizens could affect and undermine the interaction and relations at the major intersecting level. When there is distrust and hostility towards the military’s role in addressing internal conflict, it whittles away the legitimacy of the military and its professional stature. Thus, the relationship and interaction of the military with its civilian population is an important aspect of CMR that needs careful attention.

Odoemene (2012) argued that there is no doubt that basic aspects of military culture differ from those of civilian society, as the military is authoritarian and it enjoys some advantages over civilian organizations. However, it becomes problematic when they abuse this power and authority to intimidate or denigrate and ‘other’ civilians. Thus, it paves the way for further exploitation, coercion, and intimidation. Instead of protecting the citizenry, soldiers engage in abusive behaviours when they depersonalize civilians, and this could result in mass atrocities such as genocide, collaborating with armed groups to attack the other population, and gender-based violence (GBV). When this occurs, it erodes the legitimacy of the military, weakens professionalism and strains CMR, especially where civilians react or retaliate. Data that was collected w establish this type of reaction in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba.

Verweijen (2015) reported that citizenry exert agency is through contestation, especially non-compliance or non-obedience to demands, actions or practice(s) they are dissatisfied with. Contestation could also be in the form of active resistance by the citizenry against military authority, or the way it uses its power, given that power attracts resistance, especially when it is perceived to be abused or used indiscriminately. This position was re-emphasized by Scott (1985) when he stressed that resistance comprises of numerous actions and strategies employed by a subordinate group against the domination by a superordinate group or class. However, resistance in this sense does not involve the use of violence but a myriad of actions such as protests, strike and demonstrations, lobbying, and the use of legal remedy to contest certain demands, actions, or

practices. Thus, study sought to investigate civilians' experiences with the military in undertaking internal security operations in Central Equatoria State.

Verweijen (2018) reported the forms of resistance that negotiation and bargaining; trickery, hiding, and avoidance; irony; the use of rumours and spreading and propagating 'fake' or mostly unverified information/news that may not be true or that has been exaggerated. According to the study, resistance by the citizenry could be directed against demands or actions of the military, or against the decisions of the civilian political elite. Hence, unlike compliance, a prolonged or sustained contestation effort can alter the state of CMR. However, until the resistance gains popular support and momentum, the change it could force may be slow. Data that will be collected will establish these types of reaction in Central Equatoria State.

Scott and Smith (1969) argued that the citizenry uses to exert agency in CMR involves the use of confrontation against the military or political elites over demands, actions, or practices they are dissatisfied with. Normally, confrontation could be moderately used in the form of contestation or resistance. However, as Scott and Smith (1969) observed, confrontation is more frequently associated with a "radical and revolutionary" connotation which involves the use of threats, force, or/and violence. Thus, as a strategy of exerting agency in CMR, the citizenry could engage in violent hostility towards the military - be it towards a soldier, some soldiers, or a certain unit such as those at a military checkpoint. This study sought to investigate civilians' experiences with the military in undertaking internal security operations in Central Equatoria State.

Lynge (2009) argued that confrontation from the citizenry only occurs occasionally and is mostly triggered by a threat action on a civilian group, such as the killing of a civilian by a soldier, or when soldiers fail to respond to a call for distress in time. Similarly, where the citizenry feels dissatisfied by a government which it sees as lacking legitimacy and is been unable to provide basic public goods and services including public safety and security, it could result to confrontation against the civilian political elites. Thus, study sought to investigate civilians' experiences with the military in undertaking internal security operations in Central Equatoria State.

Godoy (2004) reported that hostility such as directing violence against the military, pulling down

a military checkpoint and chasing away the personnel indicates a collective action which reinforces the agency and power of the citizenry, when they act as a united force. Where civilian communities are marginalized or oppressed, they may employ this as a way of expressing local autonomy. Such conduct is more likely to occur in states where the military is frequently deployed in an internal role and where the military assumes a military approach that undermines the values and traditions of society. Given this, it is necessary to understand the various forms the military assumes based on their conduct and interaction with the political elite and citizenry. Besides, overall lack of confidence in the security sector motivates people to retain arms for self-defense or clan interests and in case of conflicts make the confrontation very lethal. Data that will be collected will establish these types of reaction in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba.

2.5 Summary of Literature and Study Gap

Military orientation dictates that a potential threat is an enemy and as such should be eradicated. Having this type of mindset during internal operations for maintaining peace and security could be dangerous as defense against external aggression should be differentiated from the defense employed against 'enemies' within. Related to the above is the perception of the Military when called upon to engage in internal security, that they have a more-noble role than this and even some think they have been called upon because of the incapacity and inefficiency of the police in maintaining law and order. As has been the case in other countries as alluded by literature, the military took over the operations from the police instead of lending support to them as provided for in 2011 Transitional constitution. According to this study, this may not only have an implication on the relationship between the police and the military but also have irreparable damage to the society in which both the police and military are called upon to serve. This has caused the South Sudanese Army to advocate for a centralized system to coordinate the activities of the Joint Force Operations in the country which this study assumes would prevent order and counter order by various Heads of Security Agencies.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by the Separation Theory by Huntington (1957). Huntington developed this classical theoretical approach to explain the importance of civil control of the military. To Huntington, the key focus of civil control is how to minimize the power of the military so that it does not become disobedient and a threat to the state (Huntington, 1957). This aligns with similar

problems earlier posed by Plato and Juvenile when they asked who ‘guards the guardians’ or who ‘watches the activities of the watchmen?’ (Lambert, 2009). The subjective civilian control mechanism focuses on minimizing the power of the military, while maximizing the political power of civilian leadership. By minimizing the power of the military and its professional capacity, it reduces the military to a political tool serving the interests of one or more civilian groups in a position of political or economic power. In turn, this enhances the interest of the government ruling the state.

Additionally, with the support and backing of the military, the ruling political elite can direct the military to clamp down on agitators and opposition to ensure the survival of the regime (Lutterbeck, 2013). In such situations, hostility is likely to erupt as certain groups feel disadvantaged by the power exercised by the ruling political elite, and this can affect the legitimacy of the military. As Lambert (2009) makes it clear, political interference with the military by the ruling political elite means that the military becomes a political tool. Typically, this occurs because subjective civilian control presupposes military involvement and engaging in divisive actions that favour the ruling class, or some groups at the expense of others. According to this study the military may plunge the state into conflict situations that aggravate the security of the state.

Huntington (1957) however maintained that the key to effective civilian control is to separate the military from the civilian sphere, and to professionalize the military as experts in the collective management of violence of the state. To achieve this professionalism, the theory proposes the use of incentives to motivate the military into adopting and behaving in certain professional standards. These incentives include an increase in military budget and keeping the military busy with external missions. Other mechanisms involve the use of laws and statutes, with clear lines about how the military receives command from civilian authority, where and how to channel its concerns, and maintaining adequate civilian oversight (Rukavishnikov & Pugh, 2006).

As the key to achieving objective civilian control is increasing military professionalism, Huntington (1957) outlined three indicators of military professionalism. One is the expertise of officer ship, which distinguishes the military from civilians due to their specialization in the management of violence. Accordingly, this involves the monopoly on the legitimate use of coercive violence, and developing and possessing the skills and knowledge required for this

(Huntington, 1957). Personnel acquire these skills by learning, training, and experience from serving in missions and combat operations. However, as armed groups have also developed the capacity to obtain and use arms, what distinguishes professional militaries from armed groups is the purpose for which the skills and knowledge are used. This points to a second indicator of military professionalism – responsibility of officer ship to the state.

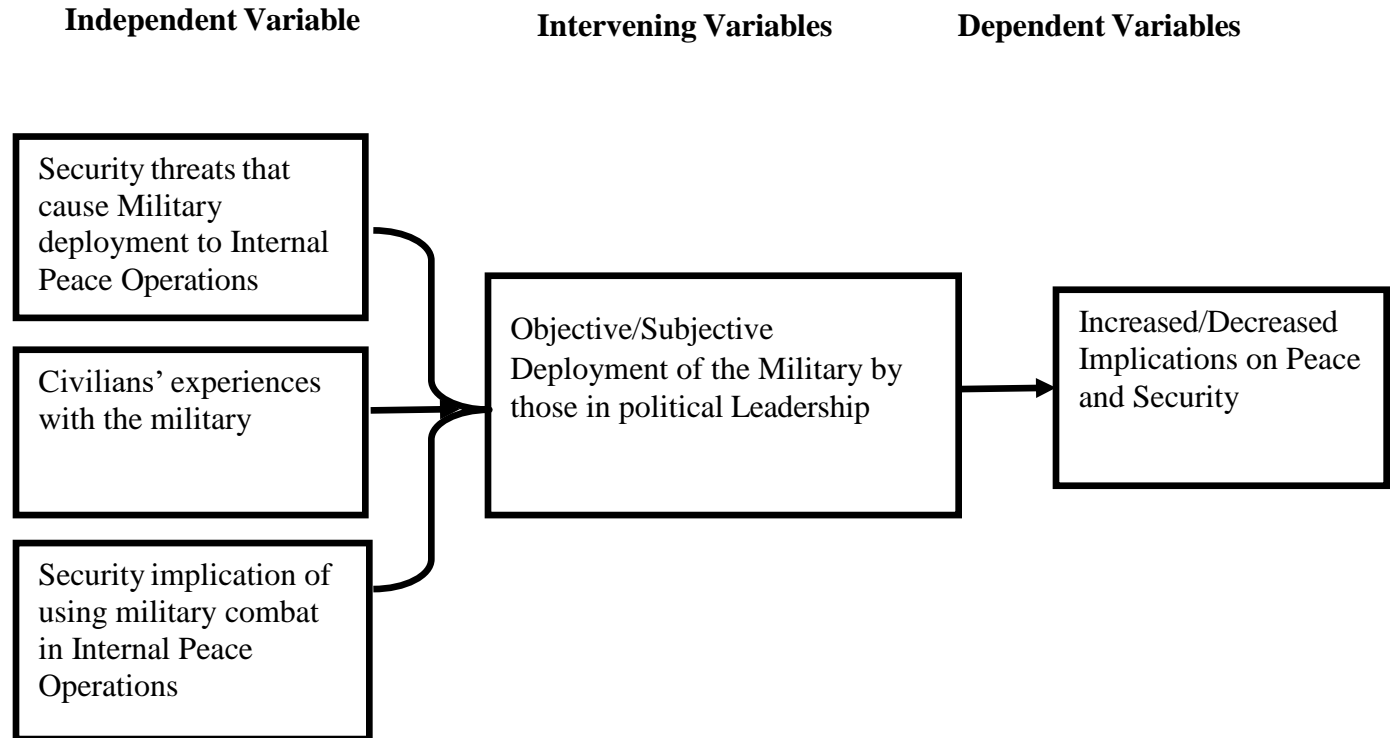
Beyond doubt, states create militaries to serve their interest, and to protect and defend the state against threats and aggression from predominantly external enemies (Feaver, 1996). Under this condition, a professional military must exhibit high levels of selflessness and a deep commitment to service by using its expert skills and knowledge for the good of society. The third indicator, “the corporate character of officer ship,” distinguishes the military from other professional and non-professional organizations (Huntington, 1957). For Huntington, corporateness entails a shared “sense of organic unity and consciousness... a common bond of work, and the sharing of a unique social responsibility” which makes members distinct from laymen (Huntington, 1957). Because of this, Huntington argues that a professional military “lives and works apart from the rest of society; physically and socially... has fewer unprofessional contacts than most other professional men” (Huntington, 1957).

This results in an autonomous military, with a division of labour between civilian representatives that formulate military policy, and the military that executes this for the greater good of providing security to the state and the citizenry. While the military provides professional and operational advice in this process, civilians can choose to adopt or reject this when they formulate policies. This includes when and how to deploy the military for any mission. Ideally, this would make the military focus on its core responsibilities: acquiring the essential skills for fighting wars, combat operations and the total destruction or elimination of the ‘enemies’, but removed from the political and social realm (Gray, 2007). This ensures that the military focuses on preparation for military operations only. However, with the decrease in contemporary warfare and an increase of new wars (Kaldor, 2005), the military has become more involved in internal constabulary roles, which undermines the separation theory (José & Rasmussen, 1999).

2.7 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual Framework below presents the relationship between the study variables. The relationship is presented in Figure 2.1 below.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework



As shown in Figure 2.1 above, the dependent variable is maintained peace and security while the independent variables are the challenges of sector agencies in maintaining peace in Central Equatoria State, Juba: Security threats that cause military deployment to internal peace operations; civilians' experiences with the military; and security implication of using military combat in internal peace operations. Nature of military deployment by those in political leadership is the intervening variable. If there is objective deployment of Military by those in political leadership, implication on security will be lessened. Conversely if there is subjective deployment of military as in the case of deployment to Internal Peace Operations, implication on security will increase.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the research design, study area, target population, sampling procedure, data collection tools, data analysis and ethical consideration. The chapter systematically and clearly explains the procedures and methods use in carrying out this research.

3.2 Research Design

Research is acceptable if deduction is correct or factual and the research design is the theoretical blueprint in which a study is accomplished. A Research design is a detailed plan that shows all steps on how the scientific inquiry into the research problem was conducted (Silverman, 2001). Research design depends on nature of the study and its objectives (Kothari, 2004). This study used descriptive survey design.

It is used when collecting information about peoples' attitudes, opinions, habits or any of the variety of education or social issues (Orodho, 2003). This design is also selected because it is strong in interpreting conditions, practices beliefs, views, perceptions and effects existing in the real world as insisted by Silverman (2001). Therefore, it is important to know that when planning research, it is essential to identify the type of verification needed to respond to the research interrogations in a rational manner (Inaam, 2016). In his analysis of research designs, Lopez (2004) argues that a research design is associated with a scientific direction of the research and researcher since philosophical statements initiate procedural determinations.

The study used the descriptive cross-sectional survey design because it helps with the identification of the variables since the design looks at different categories of people at the same time.

3.3 Study Area

Orodho and Kombo (2002), argue that the selection of research site is essential as it influences the usefulness of the information produced. This study was carried out in Central Equatoria State, which is one among the 10 States and two administrative areas of South Sudan. Purposively Central Equatoria State had been selected because it is hosts all security sector institutions that are tasked to provide the security of Nation and its diversity. Therefore, researching in Central Equatoria State is expected to provide better picture of the situation in all parts of the country.

Figure 3.1: Map of the Study Area



3.4 Population and Sampling Procedure

A population as defined by Bryman (2004) is an entire cohort of subjects that a researcher chooses a sample to represent the whole population. According to the South Sudan National Bureau of statistics, 2020, the entire population of Juba town is 1000,000 people.

The appropriate sample size for a population-based survey was determined largely by three factors (Kate, 2006): (i) the estimated percentage prevalence of the population of interest – 10% in this instance based on the above prevalence by Stanley and Gregory (2001), (ii) the desired level of confidence and (iii) the acceptable margin of error.

For a survey design based on a simple random sample, the sample size required was calculated according to the following formula (Kate, 2006).

$$n = \frac{z^2 \times p}{(1-p) \times m^2}$$

Where:

n = required sample size

z = confidence level at 95% (standard value of 1.96)

p = estimated percentage prevalence of the population of interest –

15% m = margin of error at 5% (standard value of 0.05)

Therefore, the sample size (n) for this study can be computed as

$$\text{follows: } n = \frac{1.96^2 \times 0.15(1-0.15)}{0.05^2}$$

Thus,

$$\begin{aligned} n &= \frac{1.96^2 \times 0.15(0.85)}{0.05^2} \\ &= 196 \end{aligned}$$

For representativeness, Juba town was divided into 5 sections; Juba East, Juba West, Juba North, Juba South and Juba Central. Therefore, divided by 5 each sections contributed 39 respondents for the study ($196/5=39$).

In addition, 05 K.I Senior officers from each of the following Security sector agencies were purposely selected for the study; South Sudan People Defense Forces (SSPDF), South Sudan National Police service, National Security Service, National Security Service and Civil Protection Entities. The summary of all respondents was presented in Table 3.1.

Random Sampling technique was used to select main respondents for the study while purposive sampling was used to select the K.I for the study. The number of respondents selected randomly since this technique suited this big number of citizens to choose a sample, which is representative enough. This technique was used to give an equal chance to the citizens in South Sudan that were chosen for the study.

On the other hand, purposive sampling was used to select the key informants, who had the relevant information for the study. These techniques enabled the researcher to obtain a representative sample that helped to acquire a pool of data and in-depth understanding of the problem.

Table 3.1: Sample Distribution of all respondents

S/	Strata	Respondents
	Juba East	39
	Juba West	39
	Juba North	39
	Juba South	39
	Juba Central	39
	K.I (Senior officers from security Sector Agencies)	05
	Total	200

3.5 Unit of Analyses

The unit of analysis was members of public (both men and women)

3.6 Methods and Tools of Data Collection

The study employed the following quantitative and qualitative methods to gather data. The study used qualitative methods in the collection of data. This involved the use of interviews that were conducted with key informants from the selected categories of respondents.

3.6.1 Questionnaire

Survey method was used to collect primary data from the main respondents. Researcher administered questionnaire was used to collect data from the main respondents (the public). Both structured and unstructured questions were used to collect data. These were critical to collect sufficient information in detail that were able to answer the objectives of this study. This was because questionnaires work well with big numbers from which data is to be obtained and it helped in collecting big volumes of data. The questionnaires was useful in helping to get big volumes of data from many respondents in a short period.

3.6.2 Key Informants Interview

Interviews were conducted with K.I. Interview guides were used to collect data. Interviews were used because the key informants are thought to have in-depth information about the variables of

the study. Interviews were used to collect the needed data from people that have accumulated knowledge because of their experience and their work. The interviews were carried out with the use of an interview guide. This was used to gather information using face-to-face dialogue between the researcher and key informants on issues.

Mack et al. (2011) has recommended that investigators should use an interview guide because they assist in probing, since probing permits the investigator to obtain more in-depth data and experiences from the respondents specifically on what the respondent experienced and understand in relation to the study being carried out.

The researcher used the interview guide as an instrument for the collection of in-depth information in interviews. The creation of an interview guide permits an investigator in several ways. It is also important to argue that an interview guide is merely a catalogue of topics that an investigator plans to cover in an interview, which elevated level inquiries that an interviewer wants the respondent to answer beneath every topic (Bird, 2016). The interviews were carried out with the use of an interview guide. This was used to gather information using face-to-face dialogue between the researcher and key informants on issues about deployment of the military and the implications.

3.7 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a systematic procedure for identifying essential features and relationship. According to Coffey and Atkinson (1996) it is a way of transforming raw data through interpretation and analysis to make them more meaningful. Quantitative data gathered through questionnaires was presented through; tables, frequencies, percentages, graphs and pie charts.

The data gathered through interview was subjected to content analysis. This was done by organizing specific themes tabulated based on research objectives and research questions. Therefore, similar gathered information or responses was presented in verbatim responses.

Patton and Cochran (2002) have discussed the normal techniques for descriptive qualitative inquiries under which the traditional topics that emerge during gathering of data are recognized. The use of thematic analysis has been recognized as one of the methods in recognizing, examination and describing patterns or themes in the data that has been collected (Braun & Clarke,

2006).

For the qualitative data, the collected data was edited to ensure accuracy and consistency; responses from interviews and discussions were recorded in the interview transcripts and thereafter the researcher examined the views of the respondents. The qualitative data was exposed to content analysis techniques, interpreted and then was described. During analysis, qualitative responses were grouped; ideas were collected from that grouped source; the responses were also put into broad themes that constructed a category of themes. The topics, themes and categories were marked with a word in the margin.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

This study adopted the necessary ethical research considerations by ensuring all research approvals are obtained before the research is conducted; respondents were informed fully about the purpose, methods and intended use of the research; what their participation in the research was to entail; the confidentiality of information to be supplied; and, respondents assured that their identity remained anonymous. Approval to carry out research was obtained from Egerton University Board of Postgraduate Studies, and the Ministry of Higher Education. This ensured that the research is done within the parameters of the law defining how the research should be done.

The standards of research ask the investigators to keep away from damaging the respondents that are involved in the course of gathering data and considering the needs and the welfare and concerns of those involved in the **studies**. (Flick, 2009).

The researcher took responsibility to ensure that, the respondents are informed about the value of the study being investigated. This enabled the respondents to appreciate positively their contribution as participants in the study. The researcher ensured that, the informed consent of the respondents was sought first, in order to carry out any other study activities such as: the use of photographic equipment where there was need and use of audio recorders where there was need.

The researcher observed the research norms including honesty, confidentiality, accurate handling of information and employed objectivity in the application of the data collection methods to arrive at the desired results.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the study results and the discussion guided by the objectives. Additionally, the chapter also presents the findings thematically based on the set objectives. First, the chapter starts with a brief introduction, then; the response rate, the demographics, and the findings in that continuum.

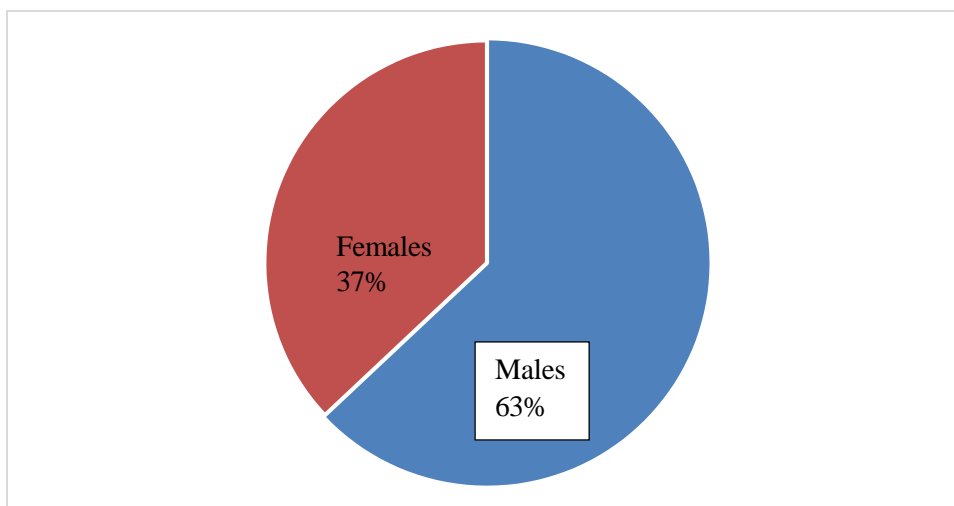
4.2 Demographic Information of the Respondents

This study sought to establish the demographic characteristics of the respondents with regard to sex, education and age of the respondents. The results are presented as follows:

4.2.1 Gender

According to the results in Figure 4.1 majority of the respondent were males (63%) compared to females at 37 %. This observation may be explained by the fact that most security matters in most African societies (Patriarchal) are handled by men.

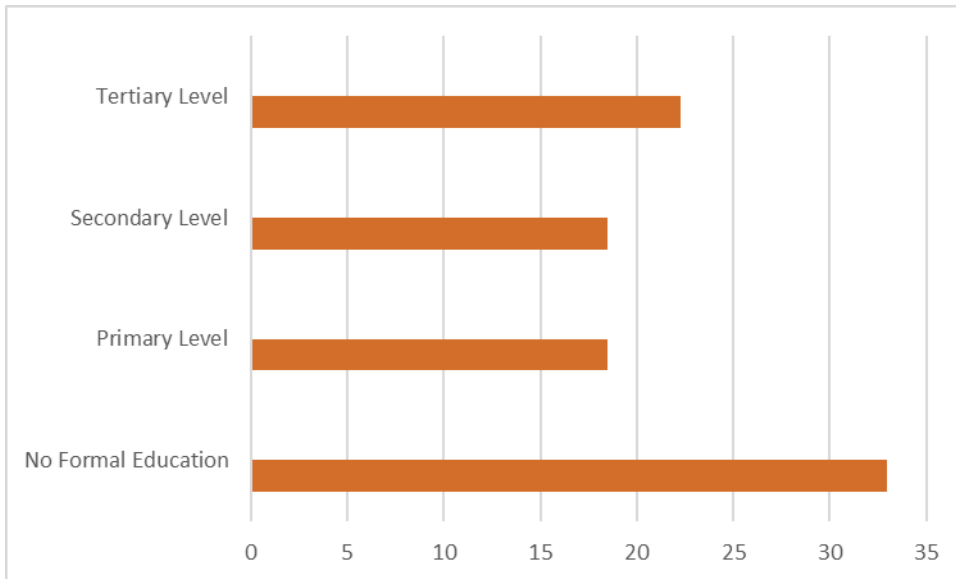
Figure 4.1 Gender of the Respondents



4.2.2 Education Level of the Respondents

The results on the level of education of the respondents show that the majority (33.3%) did not attain any formal education, while a minority (3.7 %) were at tertiary level. Graduates were 7.4 percent, primary and secondary levels were 18.5% respectively. The results reveal that the majority of respondents could read and comprehend the questions that were put to them. The results are presented in Figure 4.2.

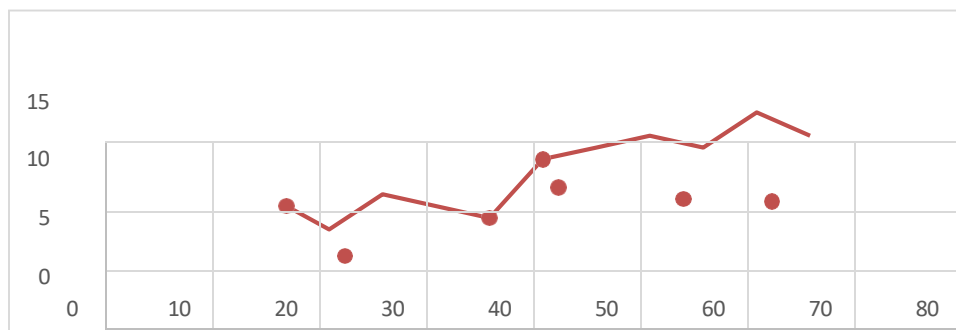
Figure 4.2: Education Level of Respondents



4.2.3 Age of the Respondents

With respect to the age of the participating respondents in the study, the records on this found that most respondents were 40 years and above and the findings gave the following results as Figure indicates.

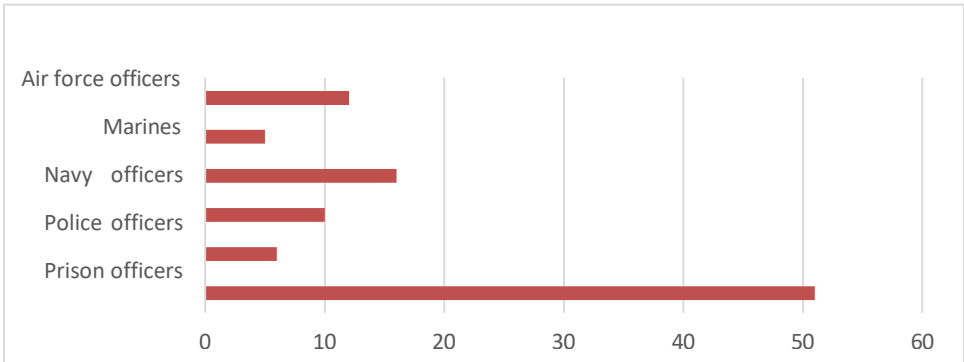
Figure 4.3: Education Level of Respondents



4.3 Type of Threats that Compel the Deployment of the Military to Undertake Internal Security Operations

The first objective sought to establish the types of threats that compel the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations. First the awareness of which security forces make up the military was assessed. The results indicated that the majority of respondents (51%) identified the army officers as being part of the military, 6 percent mentioned the prisons, 10% mentioned the police, 16% identified the navy, and 5 percent mentioned the marines. Finally, 12% mentioned the air force. The results reveal that the minority of respondents were not aware which categories of the security forces make up the military (See figure 1).

Figure 4.4: Awareness of Military Composition



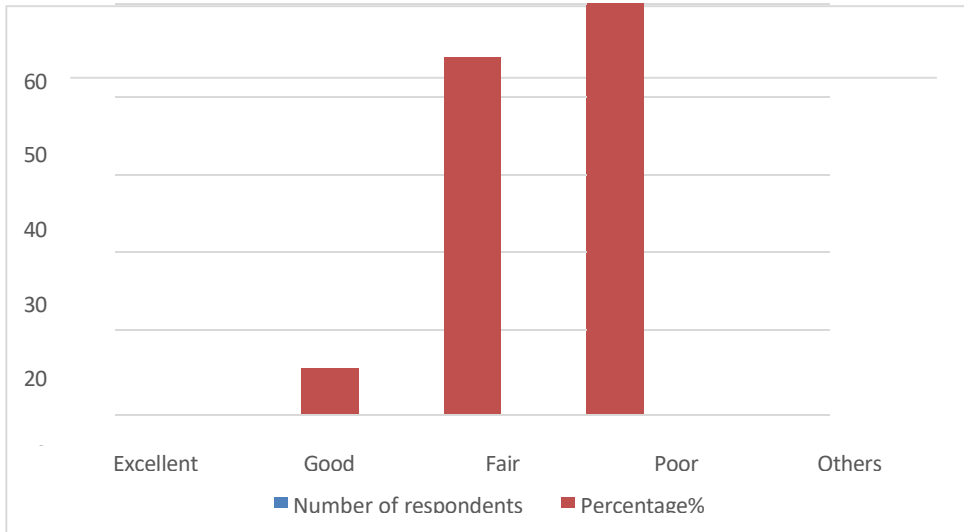
With regard to the composition of the military in South Sudan, an interviewee stated,

“The military in transition from Sudan, in May 2017, was a restructuring process that saw the SPLA renamed to South Sudan Defense Forces (SSDF), with another change in 2018 September to South Sudan Peoples Defense forces. As of 2018, the army was estimated to have 185,000 soldiers as well as an unknown number of personnel in the small South Sudan Airforce. As of 2019, the SSPDF was made up of the Ground force, Air force, Air defense forces and the and the presidential guard” (Source: Primary Data, interview’ in Juba)

4.3.1 Perceptions about Security Situation in South Sudan

The results showed that the majority 51% were of the opinion that South Sudan’s security was poor, 43% thought that the situation was fair and the minority opined that the security was good. The results reveal that the security in South Sudan is spread and that there is wide concurrence that South Sudan is insecure. (See Figure 4.5 below)

Figure 4.5: Showing Security Situation in South Sudan



The results on the level of security in South Sudan, equatorial province showed that there is heightened insecurity in equatorial and the larger part of South Sudan. One official who was interviewed asserted that;

“Insecurity has risen to a level where fear has started to hold people hostage in their own country, the people perpetrating violence, whether they are cattle rustlers in the villages, security agents who are unclear about their responsibilities, criminal elements in urban centers, or men who abuse women because of their perception of male privilege, have all been emboldened by the poorly responsive justice system, from the police, to the judges, to the prison wardens”.

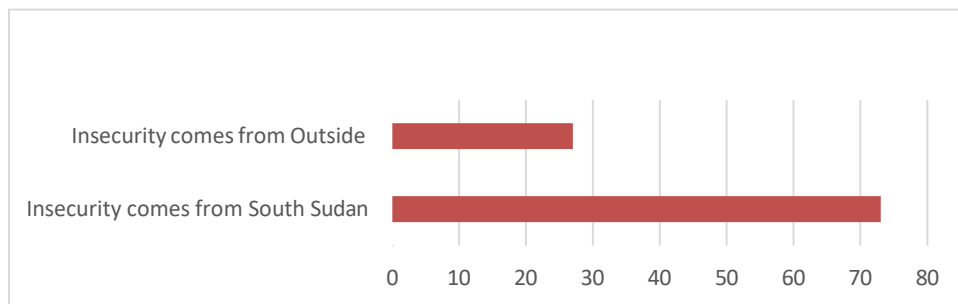
(Interviewee in Juba)

4.3.2 Source of Insecurity

The results on source of insecurity in South Sudan, showed that the majority (73%) were of the opinion that the source of insecurity in South Sudan is from within South Sudan, whereas the

minority (27%) thought that the insecurity comes from outside. The results reveal that the insecurity in South Sudan is from the state of South Sudan which means that the factors are within the boundaries of South Sudan (See Figure 4.6 below)

Figure 4.6: Showing the Source of Insecurity in South Sudan



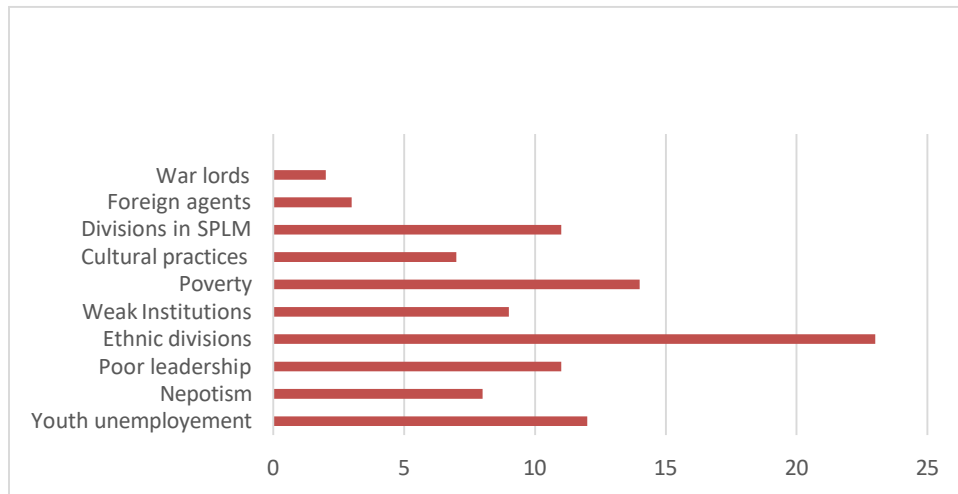
The results from the interviews revealed the threats of security to be related to human security threats, particularly, societal, political and economic security threats. As one official who was a retired military officer, stated that;

“..... South Sudan has tensions between its ethnic groups. Starting from inter-ethnic tensions, in December 2013, violence between the governments have characterized the region. The biggest threat on which others are built is poverty then hunger. These are the biggest. We are rarely attacked by our mother, Sudan. The problems are mainly in our borders, political mistrust, corruption, weak institutions and the biggest number of generals that the state cannot pay (Face to Face interview in Juba, 24th February, 2022).

4.3.3 Key Informants’ Perspectives on Sources of Insecurity in South Sudan

According to the Key informants, the sources of insecurity in South Sudan include; ethnic divisions (23%), poor leadership (11%), Divisions in the SPLM (11%), nepotism (8%), weak institutions (9%), Unemployment (12%), poverty (14%), cultural practices (7%), foreign agents at (3%) and warlords (2%). The results reveal that many of these factors are connected to the history of the interrupted state formation in Sudan where South Sudan was a part. (See Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7: Key Informants’ Perspectives on Sources of Insecurity in South Sudan



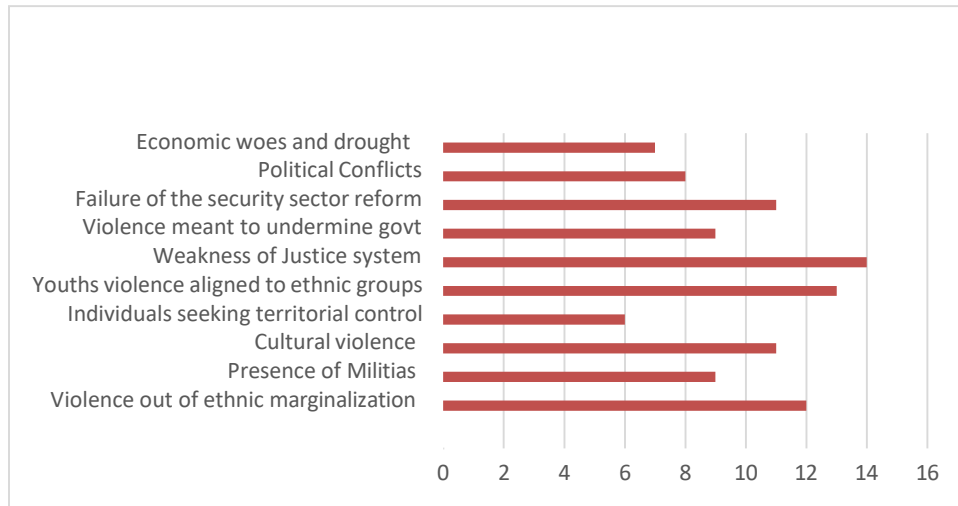
The results from the interviews that were carried out it was shown that there were different threats that have continued to be the basis of the deployment of the military in the internal security operations. One official who is a retired military officer, stated that;

“Every part of the country has been affected by communal violence plunging it into chaos, threatening political stability and the provision of essential public goods and services, including security. South Sudan has been divided political zones but there are warlords, cultural violence of animal rustling” (Interview carried out in Juba, 23rd February, 2022)

4.3.4 Security Threats Inducing the Use of the Military in Internal Security Operations

As indicated in Figure 4.8, majority mentioned weak justice system at 14 %, Youth violence aligned to ethnic groups, 13%, Violence out of ethnic marginalization, failure of the security sector reform and cultural practices at 11%, presence of militias and violence meant to undermine government, at 9%, political conflicts at 8%, economic woes and drought at 7% and individuals seeking control of territory at 6%. The results reveal that many of these factors are connected to the history of the interrupted state formation in Sudan where South Sudan was a part. (See Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8: Showing the Inducing the Use of the Military in Internal Security Operations



From the interviews that were conducted on the factors inducing the use of the military in Internal security operations, the results showed that there were several factors that were considered as those that induced the use of the military in the internal security operation in South Sudan. This was reflected in the interview which was conducted with one military official who said that;

“South Sudan is experiencing a wide range of factors which have the hand of the state to deploy the army, South Sudan has a problem of hundreds of generals who cannot be paid well, they want influence in their regions, there is animal rustling, the police are corrupt and weak given the changing nature of security, ethnic violence and militia are one of the worst and when it comes to those two, the police become very overwhelmed” (Interview in Juba, on 30th March, 2022).

Another official who was also interviewed stated that;

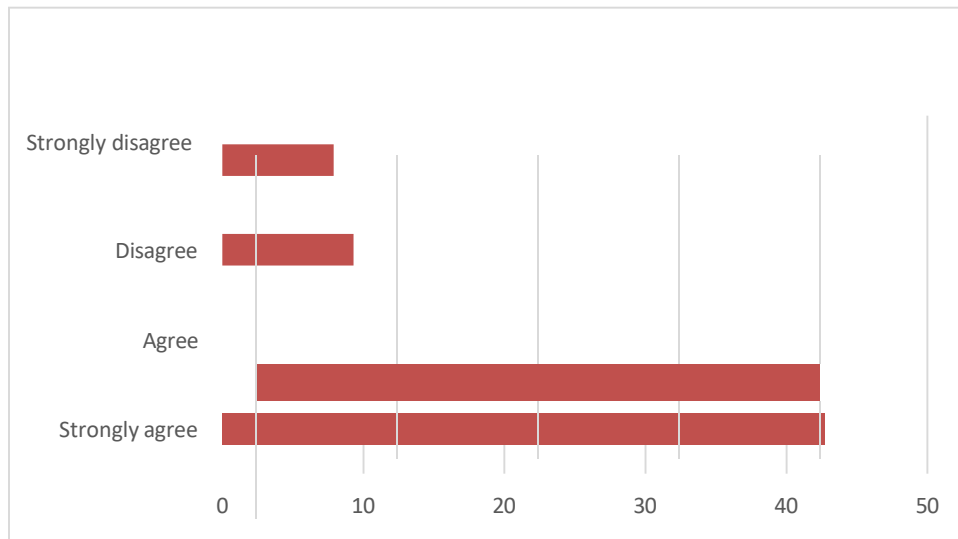
“The police as an institution are very weak and the training is not that good given that South Sudan is a young state, the same police have to handle a society which has ethnic violence with guns all over the place. Now how do you leave issues of ethnic violence and militias in a state which has a failed security sector reform. The problem is that even the army is not professional” (Interview held in Juba, 15th

March 2022).

4.3.5 Perceptions on Provision of Internal Security and Law Enforcement

According to the study, provision of internal security and law enforcement are core duties of police, showed that the majority 42.7% were of the opinion that the police is predictably supposed to provide internal security and law enforcement as their core duties. Whereas the minority 7.9 % thought that the police are not solely supposed to provide internal security and law enforcement, 40.1 % agreed and 9.3 % disagreed. The results reveal that the police have the mandate to provide internal security and law enforcement in South Sudan. (See Figure 4.9 below)

Figure 4.9: Showing Results on Provision of Internal Security and Law Enforcement are Core Duties of Police



According to the interviews that were conducted, the police were the true force that was supposed to provide internal security and law enforcement. They are specifically trained to do exactly that, including in the internal security operations. One official who is a retired police officer, stated that;

“Traditionally, the delivery of internal security and law enforcement are the fundamental duties of the police in any state. They are supposed to be the authorities, or call them the experts in domestic disturbances. They are trained in what kind of force they are supposed to use when handling the civilians. But these days you will see the military being called in when civilians protest” (Interview held in Juba, 16th March 2022).

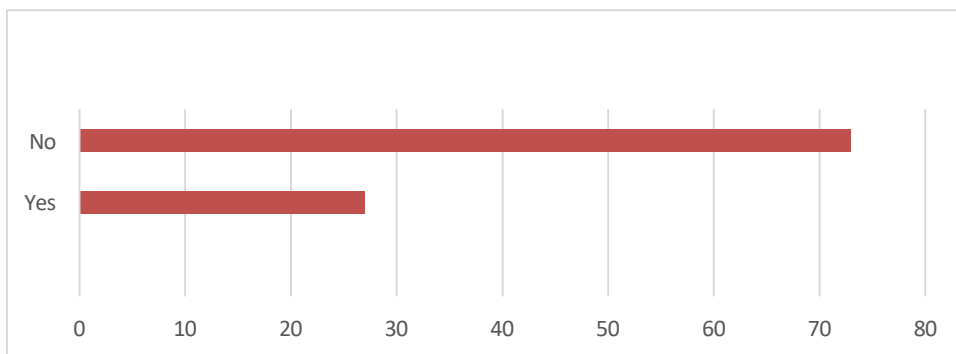
Another interviewee asserted that;

“For any person who has been in police and trained in states like Sudan before we seceded to have our own state of South Sudan, the central force in the internal security operation and law enforcement is the police. However, serving under a military leader has its own problems and preferences, a military leader will often think about the military most especially when he thinks that his power has been challenged. But the police have its own problems because of working with civilians in civil matters, one of them is corruption and secondly sometimes it is overwhelmed by the scope of violence” (Interview held in Juba, 16th March 2022).

4.3.6 Capacity of the Police in the Fight against Internal Violence

The results on the capacity of police to deal with internal violence, showed that the majority 73% were of the opinion that the police force cannot deal with internal violence in South Sudan and in central equatorial in particular, whereas the minority 27% thought that the police could handle the internal violence in South Sudan. The results reveal that the police do not have the capacity or the training to deal with the internal violence in South Sudan. (See Figure 4.10 below).

Figure 4.10: Capacity of the Police to Deal with Internal Violence



The results from the interviews that were held with officials of the police, it was shown that the police do not have the capacity to handle some forms of violence which has been experienced in South Sudan. This sometimes take the form of cattle or animal rustling where those engaged carry weapons and can take on the police seriously. The police which is trained to take on civilian

disturbances cannot handle hardcore animal rustlers sometimes thought to be with unique training or former soldiers. The official who was interviewed said that;

“..... the police in its current status does not have the capacity to handle the situations that have occurred in South Sudan. This is either because of training or the lack of police equipment training and education. This is known but little is done, even when new staff is recruited. Training new recruits and in-service training of police personnel is lacking or inadequate, particularly the training of constables and low-ranking officers. These show little knowledge of content of the law, though this may also be the case with the military, the little money given to police, understaffing and lack of primary policing equipment makes the police to be low on capacity and therefore cannot function effectively and efficiently” (Interview held in Juba, 16th March 2022).

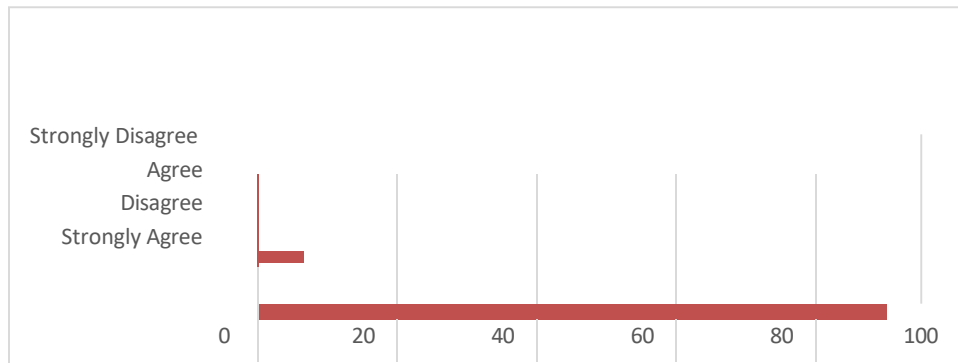
Another official who was in the police force administration but retired also stated that;

“The police force has suffered from capacity problem for a long time, some of the problems arise from the fact that South Sudan is a young state struggling to build institutions. There are also other problems from the training and knowledge perspective. On the other hand, there is the concern over equipment, and the fact that the threats today cannot be the threats of 20 years ago when we were still under Sudan. People were not sophisticated but people can organize through internet, so if the police is not given skills to handle a civilian population in violence using that, then that is bad” (Interview held in Juba, 16th March 2022).

4.3.7 Perceptions about the Military Quelling Civilian Protests and Violence

The results on the use of the military in quelling protests and violence, showed that the majority 90.1% strongly agreed that the army is often used to quell protests and violence in South Sudan. Whereas the minority 1.3 % strongly disagreed, 2 % agreed and 6.6 % disagreed. The results reveal that the army is often used in the stopping of protests and violence in South Sudan. (See Figure 4.11 below).

Figure 4.11: Perceptions on the Use of the Military to Quell Civilian Protests and Violence



The results from the interviews that were conducted, it was shown that the military is often used to quell civilian violence under internal security operations. Though they are not specifically trained to do that. One official who is a retired police officer, stated that;

“..... in many cases the military has been used after intelligence and analysis of the threats. Once the intelligence points to a bigger threat, the person responsible will authorize the use of the military. Like in other work, even in the military one can find the bad side of using the military in internal security operations. One of the bad sides is involving the military in politics and then use it for such purposes.” (Interview held in Juba, 16th March 2022).

Another official stated that;

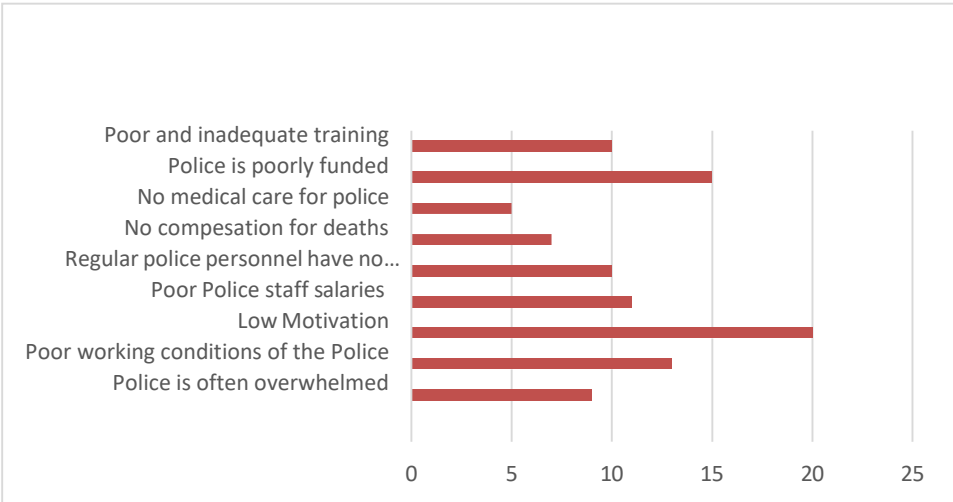
“The military has been used depending on the type and form of threat but this is done by analyzing the capacity of the police which has the core duty of law enforcement and internal security. Once thing to notice is that the police is often not well equipped in almost everything. This is sometimes why the military is deployed in internal security operations” (Interview held in Juba, 16th March 2022).

4.3.8 Perceptions Why Police is not Left to Deal with Civilian Protests and Violence

The results on why the police is not left to deal with civilian protests and violence factors (in the internal security operations) in South Sudan-Central Equatorial showed that the majority mentioned that the police has low motivation at 20 %, the minority mentioned low medical care at

5%, police is often overwhelmed at 9%, poor working conditions of the police at 13%, poor police staff salaries at 11%, regular police personnel do not have 10%, poor and inadequate training, and no compensation for deaths at 7%. The results reveal that many of these can also become a threat and are some of the reasons for the corruption as explained by the respondents. (See Figure 4.12).

Figure 4.12: Perceptions on Why the Police is not Left to Deal with Civilian Protests and Violence



From the interviews that were conducted on the reasons why the police is not left to deal with civilian protests and violence, the results from these interviews showed that there were several issues that were opined by the officials. This was revealed in the interview which was conducted with one military official who said that;

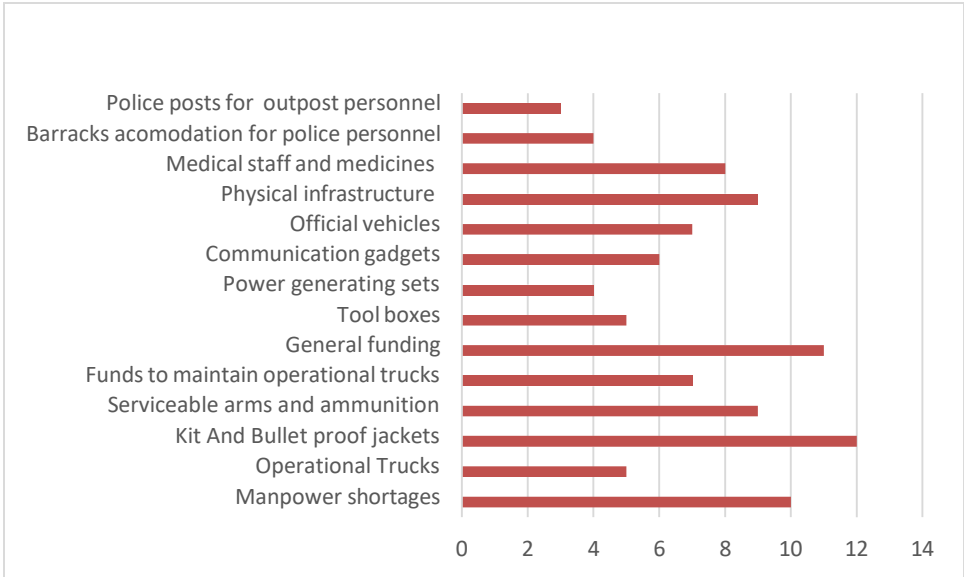
“..... the police in South Sudan does not have what it takes to handle some situations like when you start talking about animal rustlers who use guns, the police do not have that resilience towards such threats, but also remember the poor working conditions of the police, poor police staff salaries, regular police personnel do not have equipment, poor and inadequate training. The police are most importantly with low motivation” (Interview held in Juba, 14th April, 2022).

4.3.9 Perceptions about Police Capacity Gaps

The results on the police force manpower and equipment issues that do not make it have the capacity to deal with civilian protests and violence showed that the majority mentioned that the

police does not have Kit And Bullet proof jackets at 20 %, the minority mentioned Police posts for outpost personnel at 3 %, Manpower shortages at 10 %, Serviceable arms and ammunition at 9%, Barracks accommodation for police personnel at 4 %, Medical staff and medicines at 8%, Physical infrastructure at 11%, Official vehicles at 7%, Communication gadgets at 10%, Power generating sets at 4%, Tool boxes at 5%, General funding at 11%, Funds to maintain operational trucks at 7% and operational trucks at 5%. The results reveal that the police suffer from a wide range of problems which make it lie far below the capacity of handling civilian protests and violence. (See Figure 4.13).

Figure 4.13: Showing Responses on the Police Force Manpower and Equipment Problems



The results from the interviews that were conducted on the police man power and equipment issues showed that there were several indicators of such problems, while discussing these two problems one retired official stated that;

“..... there are serious problems like shortages in financing of the police generally, there are also protection gears which may be given to the military but rarely for the police, vehicles which do not have fuel, and trucks that can be used for operations. For some people in government funding the military is more important since the biggest threats are expected to be external though the security

threats are now changing” (Interview held in Juba, 14th April, 2022).

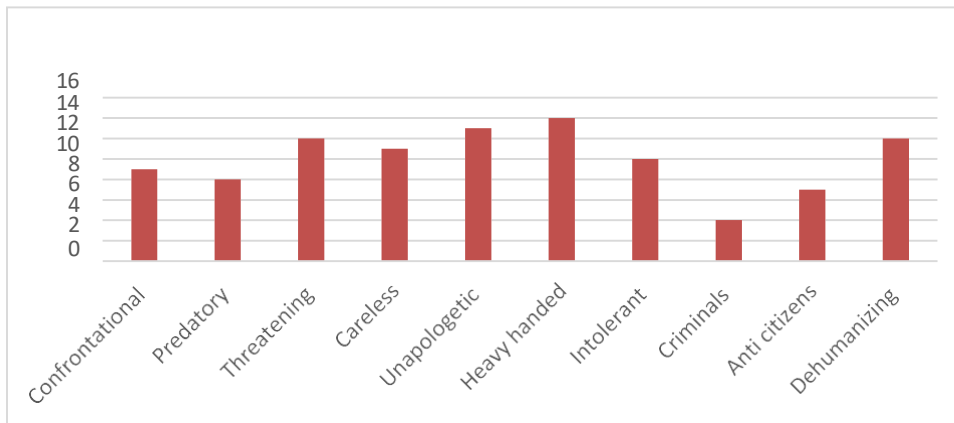
Another official also stated that;

“.....Using regular police forces to respond to riots and violent situations has created an unpopular image for the civil police, because it is incompatible with their role or duties. Some leaders do not want to create a paramilitary unit. It serves as an intermediary between the police and the military and is trained and equipped to manage riots and low intensity conflicts”. (Interview held in Juba, 14th April, 2022).

4.4 Civilians’ Experiences with the Military while Executing Internal Security Operations and Propensity to Influence Insecurity

The second objective sought to assess Civilians’ experiences with the military while executing internal security operations and its propensity to influence insecurity. First, the study sought to describe the military. The results indicated the majority describing the military as being heavy handed (14%) while the minority described the military as criminals (4%), Unapologetic (13%), threatening (12%), anti-citizens (7%) dehumanizing (12%), careless (11%), confrontational (9%), intolerant (10%) and predatory (8%). The results reveal that the military is depicted in the negative as seen from the description by the respondents. (See Figure 4.14).

Figure 4.14: Showing the Description of the Military



The results from the interviews that were conducted on the description of the military by the local population showed that there were several descriptions which indicate that the military is often seen in the negative way, In the interview that was carried out with one of the retired officers, this

was confirmed when the officer stated that;

“.....Immediately after independence, the Military in South Sudan was an institution which enjoyed legitimacy among the citizens, but after 2013, so much has happened and the situation in central equatorial and other places like Malakal where people were attacked while in the United Nations Protection of Civilians (PoC) have tarnished the name of the military. The military was not fully professionalized and it was dragged into politics. The citizens of South Sudan are angry. The military has really behaved like criminals, they have threatened people. The image cannot be good”. (Interview held in a village in central equatorial, 14th April, 2022).

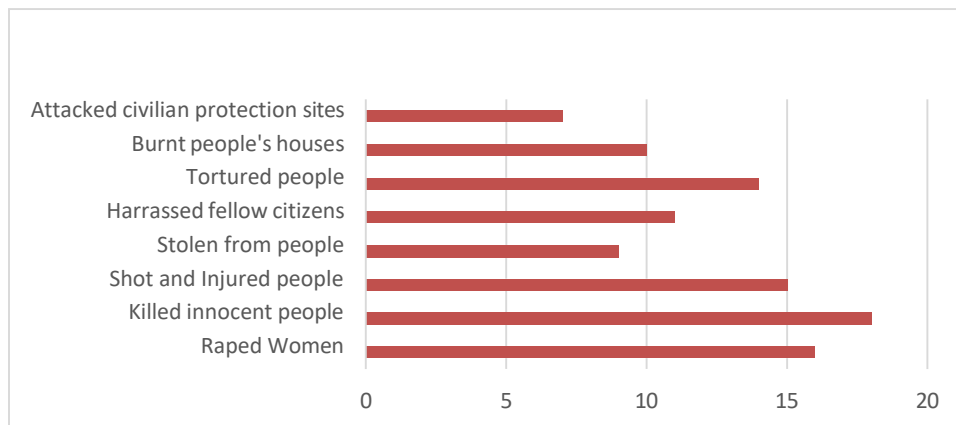
From the results in another interview with an official from the police, it was indicated that some of the situations made the military to act depending on the situation plus the orders given by the top commanders and from that they can be described in the negative. While discussing this issue he said that;

“Once the military involved itself in politics and it took sides in the different political and ethnic issues, at the same time the military subjected civilians to violence of different levels and type, the military has become a negative force, it has abused human rights and brought about several international sanctions against the country. This same military brought smiles to citizens at independence but greed and weaknesses in building institutions has led to the negative perceptions and descriptions” (Interview held in a village in central equatorial, 14th April, 2022).

4.4.1 Descriptions the Military Atrocities to Civilians

The results on the reasons for the description of the military atrocities to civilians showed that the majority killed innocent civilians (18%) while the minority described the military the way they did because the military attacked civilians in civilian protection sites (PoCs) (7%), raped women (16%), shot and injured people (15%), harassed people (12%), burnt people’s houses (10%), tortured people (14%), and they have stolen from people (8%). The results reveal that the military is depicted in the negative because of what they have done to people and the citizens do not see them in the positive since they have not protected them. (Figure 4.15).

Figure 4.15: Military Atrocities to Civilians



From the results in another interview with an official who is retired from the military, it was indicated that the way orders are given and the prevailing political environment, non-payment of salaries and the fact that the military is not professionalized are all issues which have made the military to behave in unprofessional way. In this way the military has carried out bad actions. in the interview one official on this issue, the official said that;

“.....The military has not only been pushed into abusing its powers it has also been pushed into engaging in predatory actions, when the military is not paid well and not paid in time, they engaged in looting, when the military is not professionalized it behaves in any way, the military has been involved in ill-gotten wealth and those that have become war lords and have taken areas of control in some areas have harassed some areas mainly those outside central equatorial”

Another official who was interviewed over the same issue said that;

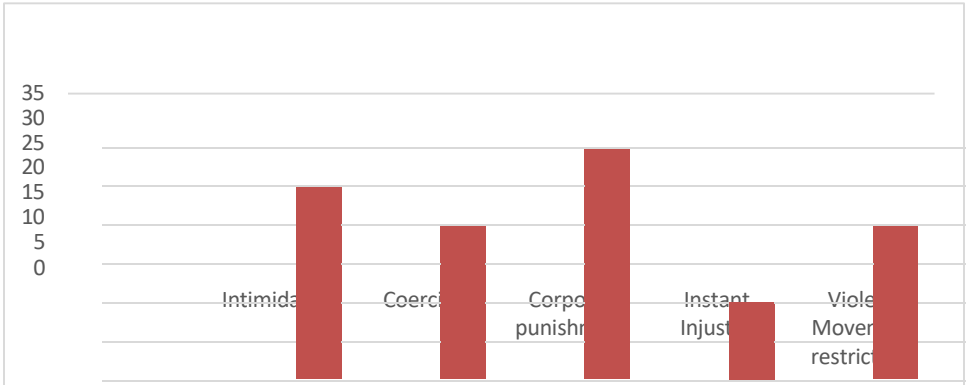
“Once the military does not observe the following rules, it will eventually torture, rape, steal and harass citizens, the rules include; maintaining the principle of minimum force and proportionality at all times, using of force should be a last resort after every reasonable effort to contain a situation had been made, using of force should only be resorted to if other means had failed or if non-use of force would result in the death or grievous injury to security personnel. For example,

where there is evidence of a hostile act or hostile intent, using of force must be limited in intensity and duration and must be employed as a protective measure, the decision to open fire must only be upon the order of the on-scene commander unless there is no sufficient time to obtain such an order, military fire must be controlled and aimed at non-vital body parts in order not to kill, undertaking activities that would aid in diffusing tension. The military is interested in high value targets which is not the case with police”. (Interview held in Juba, 14th April, 2022).

4.4.2 Common Incidence of Military Abuse

The results on the common incidence of military abuse in central equatorial showed that the majority mentioned corporal punishment as the most common incidence at 29% while the minority mentioned instant injustice at 11%, some mentioned intimidation at 22%, violent movement restrictions at 18% and coercion at 20%. The results reveal that the military has in many cases engaged itself in abuses which break the law and violate the rights of citizens in South Sudan. (See Figure 4.16).

Figure 4.16: Showing the Common Incidences of Military Abuse



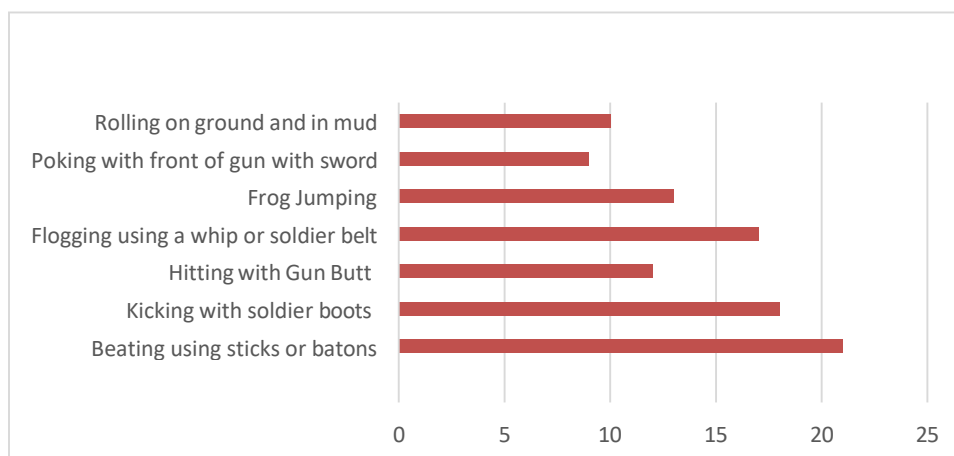
From the results in one interview with an official from the military, it was indicated that some of the common incidences of military abuse were mainly those that occur when the military tries to limit its contact with the civilians. Sometimes these incidences were about trying to stop people from going to some places, corporal punishment and making people develop fear such that they limit their contact with the military. In the interview held with one of the officials, the official argued that;

“.....no one wants the military to do what they do. Many people that have experienced one or more forms of alleged intimidation and coercion by the military and this is not good, many have suffered from military abuse like corporal punishments to those who offend soldiers, or are alleged to be involved in a criminal or violent act, or for simply sounding rude or impolite to a soldier. Such punishment varies in gravity, depending on the soldier administering it, but can involve bodily pain, injury, harm, or discomfort. Common forms of corporal punishment included beating, kicking, and hitting civilians with the soldier’s boot, or flogging using a whip or a military belt. Reports often come but addressing them is problematic” (Interview held in Juba, 16th April, 2022).

4.4.3 Typical Cases of Corporal Punishment Experiences

The results on the typical cases of corporal punishment experiences of the army in quelling civilian protests and violence, showed that the majority mentioned beating by use of sticks or batons at 21% whereas the minority mentioned poking with front of gun with sword at 9%, some mentioned kicking with soldier boots at 18%, others mentioned rolling on ground and in mud at 10%, hitting with gun butt at 12%, and frog jumping at 13%. The results reveal that the army often uses different methods of abusing the power given to them to quell civilian protests which may not follow the law. (See Figure 4.17 below)

Figure 4.17: Showing the Typical Cases of Corporal Punishment Experiences by Citizens



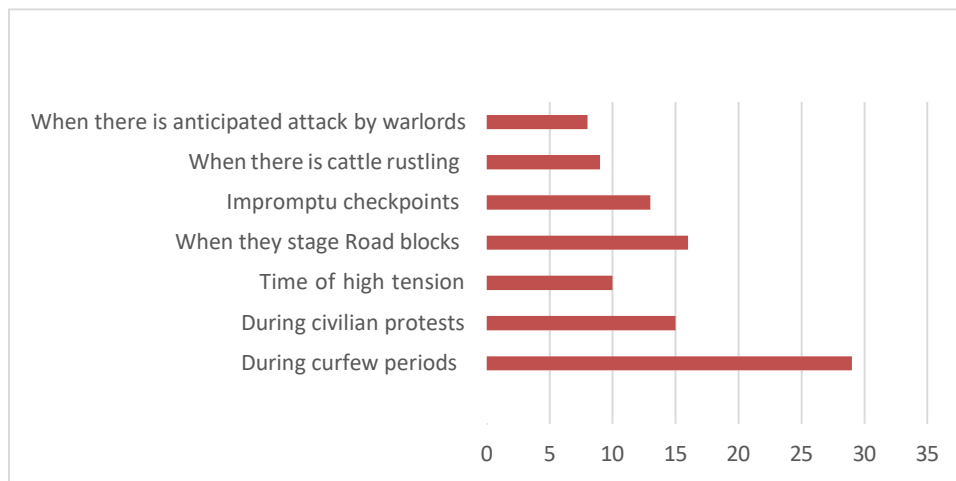
From the results in another interview with an official, it was indicated that the typical cases of corporal punishment experiences by citizens can be avoided if the military is given the rules under which to operate when deployed in internal security operations. It was also observed that some of these typical corporal punishments are mostly committed in areas where no supervision is or in areas where people divided along ethnic lines. While discussing this, the official argued that;

“.....It is important that the military is given knowledge about human rights, what happens in South Sudan is that South Sudan is a very young state which has not even managed to build its institutions, for example if a citizen has done some crime, it is not the military that should punish, the citizen who has committed a crime should be handled to the police to investigate. The military should be given a fact that when they are deployed in Internal security operations they are dealing with fellow citizens”(Interview held in Juba, 16th April, 2022).

4.4.4 Time When the Military Commits Abuses

The results about the time when the military commits such abuse showed that the majority mentioned that many of these abuses actually happened during curfew periods (29%) whereas the minority mentioned that these abuses happen when there is anticipated attack by warlords (8%), the other times that were mentioned include; when there is cattle rustling (9%), when they stage Road blocks (16%), when they stage impromptu checkpoints (13%), during civilian protests (15%) and during time of high tension at (10%). The results reveal that the military commits these abuses during different periods and in different scenarios. The respondents often wondered whether the soldiers were drunk or intoxicated with marijuana (See Figure 4.18 below).

Figure 4.18: Showing the Time When the Abuses are Committed



From the results in another interview with an official from the police, it was indicated that many of the abuses were committed during the period when there were high levels of ethnic tensions and in some other times during animal rustling where guns were used. In his words one of the officials who was interviewed argued that:

“.....most of the outstanding abuses committed by the military in Suth Sudan have been there during the 2013 conflict which had so many dimensions and there was almost total collapse of the command and control. There has also been a period of cattle rustling where guns have been used. In certain periods certain violations are committed, for example during the peak of the conflict in the post 2013 fall out where the military was divided, rape, executions and breakaway military officers tried to control certain areas where check points were used. The 2013 period was one of ethnic tension and this provoked abuses”

(Interview held in Juba, 16th April,

2022).

4.5 The Security Implication of Using Military Combat Orientations to Suppress Violence and Quell Armed Groups

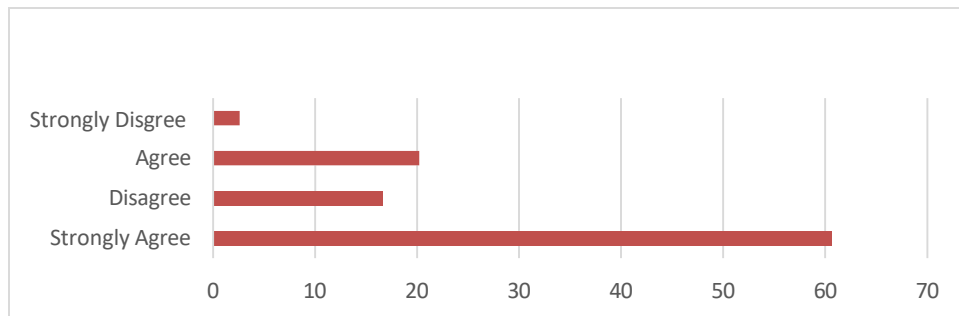
The last objective sought to assess the security implication of using military combat orientations to suppress violence and quell armed groups. The results are presented below:

4.5.1 Strained Civil-Military Relations

The results on the civil -military relations as a result of deployment of the military in internal

security operations, showed that the majority 60.6% strongly agreed that the civil-military relations were strained, whereas the minority 2.6 % strongly disagreed, 20.2 % agreed and 16.6 % disagreed. The results reveal that the relationship between the civilians and the military is strained and this could be because of the bad treatment of the civilians by the military in the stopping of protests and violence in South Sudan. (See Figure 4. 19 below)

Figure 4.19: Perceptions of Strained Civil-Military Relations



From the results in one interview with an official, it was indicated that civil-military relations in South Sudan have been strained mainly after the 2013 fall out between the politicians and the divisions in the military where some of the rank and file have looked up to their ethnic groups in their activities. There are strained relations when citizens do not trust their national force and legitimacy is lost. While discussing this issue one official disclosed that;

“.....some residents of South Sudan's in many areas have openly referred to relations between the army and civilians deteriorated significantly in the past years mainly after 2013 but in the recent months there has been a change thanks to steady confidence-building efforts. Many civilians say they no longer fear men in uniform, but residents are also urging the government to pay soldiers their salaries on time so they don't resort to looting in order to feed their families”.

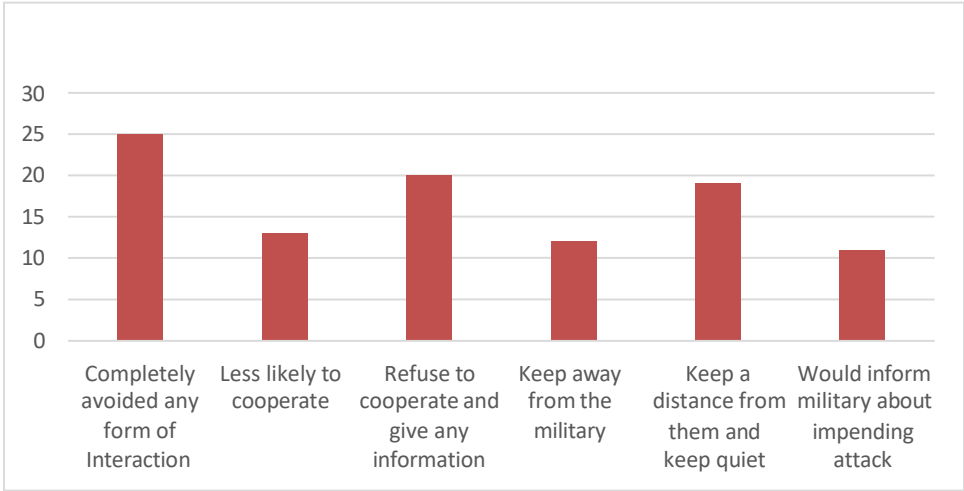
(Interview held in Juba, 16th April, 2022).

4.5.2 Cooperation and Information Sharing with the Military

The results on how the civilians would handle cooperation and information sharing with the military showed that the majority mentioned that they would completely avoid any form of interaction at 25% while the minority mentioned they would inform military about impending attack but also added that they would do it very cautiously at 11%, some mentioned that they were less likely to cooperate with the military at 13%, refuse to cooperate and give any information at

20 % and keep a distance from them and keep quiet at 19%. The results reveal that the cooperation and information sharing with the military would be lost from the side of the civilians. This implies that the implication on cooperation and information sharing would be affected negatively. (See Figure 4.20).

Figure 4.20: Showing Civilian Cooperation and Information Sharing with the Military



From the results in another interview with an official, it was indicated that civilian cooperation and information sharing with the military was put in jeopardy as many people often distance themselves from the military. The results also indicated that when legitimacy is lost and people no longer see the military as hostile. The military will lose a source of information. In his words one of the officials who was interviewed argued that:

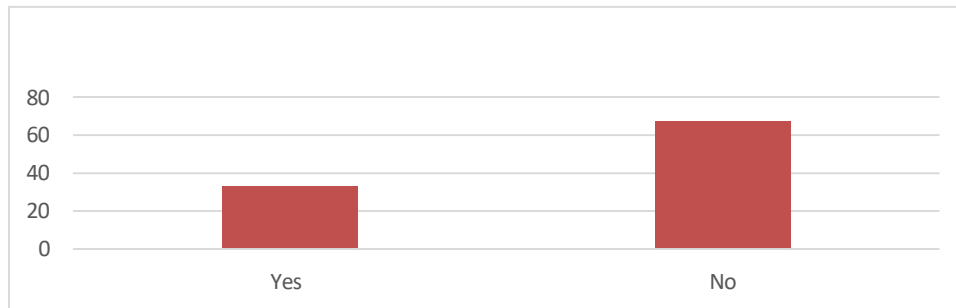
“.....when you hear citizens say that they do not want to share information with the security personnel when you are not careful, you know that there is a problem with the security personnel, sometimes it indicates that they are fearful of the security personnel or the security personnel is not acceptable and many times there is often the thinking that the security personnel are very corrupt. Security personnel will hold person to get money out of them or relatives will be asked to give money to secure their person. Sometimes it is ethnic problems. Once people keep away from security, intelligence is lost” (Interview held in Juba, 14th April, 2022).

4.5.3 Police Force Working with the Military

The results on the whether the police force can work with the military showed that the majority

67% of the respondents opined that the police could not work with the military, only a few at 33% were of the view that the police force can work with the military. The results reveal that the two can be complimentary in some circumstances (See Figure 4.21).

Figure 4.21: Showing Whether the Police Force can Work with the Military



The results from the interviews that were carried out it was shown that the police can work with the military but it was shown also that this had to be well planned as the two would be guided by different codes of conduct and the police is specifically mandated and professional in handling internal security and law enforcement. An official who is a retired military officer, stated that;

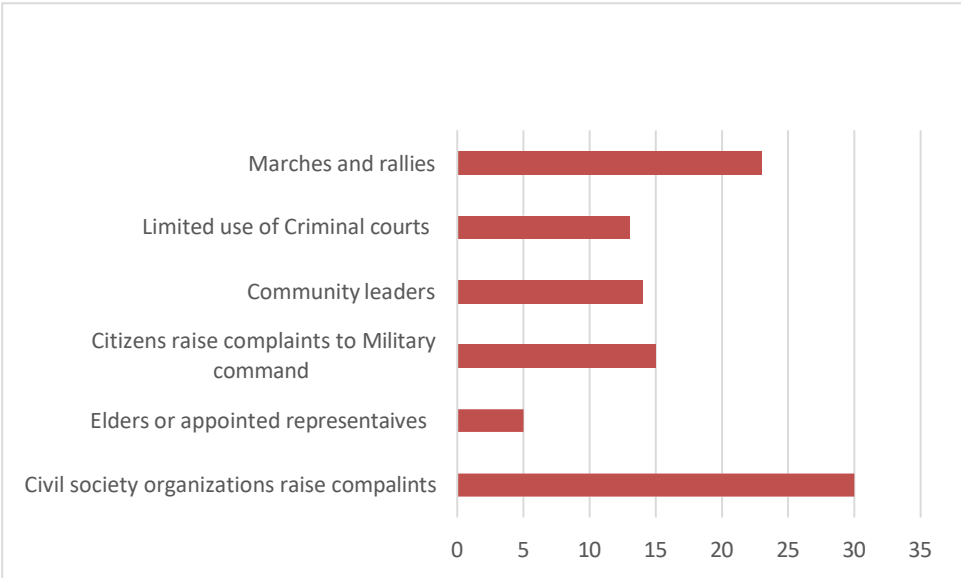
“.....the pursuit of security must be not only for the State but also for the citizens, and the two can cooperate to achieve this security and pursue positive peace. To deliver help without hurting the recipients of that help, first, the pursuit of positive peace must prioritize the prevention of human rights abuses. Further, the military must establish an interface with the community to maximize the potential of civil-military cooperation, especially in the area of intelligence gathering. Promoting such a cooperative relationship must account for the complexity of the terrain” (Interview held in Juba, 14th April, 2022).

4.5.4 Accountability on Military Activities in Internal Security Operations

The results on the accountability on military activities in Internal security Operations showed that the majority mentioned that the civil society organizations raise complaints at 30 % while the minority mentioned the elders or appointed representatives would demand for accountability at 5%, some mentioned that citizens raise complaints to military command at 15%, other mentioned that others would stage marches and rallies to show dissatisfaction and demand accountability at 24 %, some reported that there was limited use of criminal courts at 12% and others talked about

the use of community leaders to demand for accountability at 14%. The results reveal that the people have used fewer legal means to demand for accountability which may in itself mean that the people may not believe in judicial system to demand accountability (See Figure 4.22).

Figure 4.22: Demand for Accountability on Military Activities in Internal Security Operations



From the results in another interview with an official who retired from the military, it was shown that demanding for accountability on the military activities was not easy and the judicial means were not easily or often used by the civilians when the military was involved in crimes and abuses of rights. In his words, the officials who was interviewed argued that:

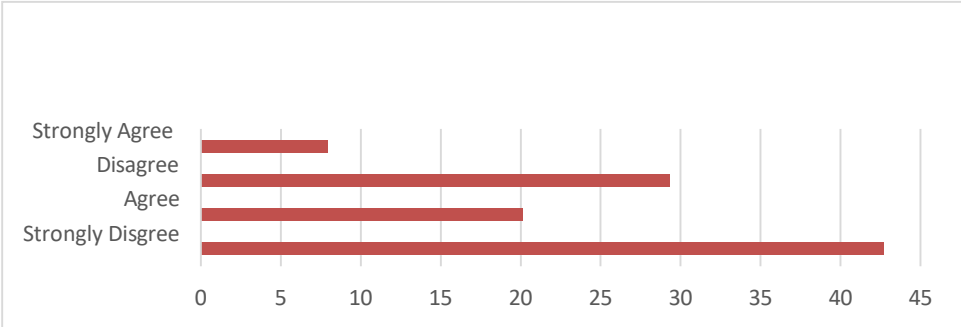
“.....little effort has been made by governments to protect the civilians. Numerous reports of atrocities and human rights violations, including murder, rape, torture and violent persecution based on ethnic and revenge grounds, all this fuels intercommunal violence and continues to force people to flee their homes and the temporary displacement camps. We have seen how international partners have regularly issued statements to denounce abuses, but they remain reluctant to denounce abuses by the military or to publicly press the national authorities to investigate the allegations of abuse” (Interview held in Juba, 17th April, 2022).

4.5.5 Perceptions on Justification of Military Deployment

The results on the level of security threats within South Sudan has risen and needs Military deployment in internal security operations, showed that the majority 42.7% strongly disagreed that

the level of security threats within South Sudan has risen and needs Military deployment, whereas the minority 7.9 % strongly agreed, 20.1 % agreed and 29.3 % disagreed. The results reveal that the level of security threats within South Sudan has risen and needs Military deployment and therefore there is need to change the way the deployment is done to blend police force with military deployment. (See Figure 4.23 below)

Figure 4.23: Showing the Level of Security Threats within South Sudan has Risen and Needs Military Deployment



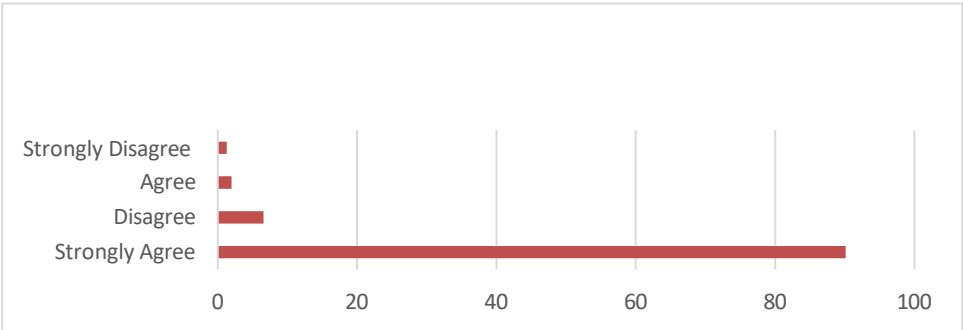
From the results in one interview with an official from the military, it was indicated that the threats have changed and today are more complex and complicated. The traditionally known security threats have changed tremendously and the equipment used are more sophisticated than it was many years before. In the interview held with one of the officials, the official argued that;

“.....the security situation across South Sudan remains volatile. Weapons are plentiful and easily obtained in South Sudan and criminals are often armed. Many armed actors who are without jobs or have not been paid are resorting to criminality. Drive-by thefts by individuals or groups on motorbikes have been reported. Incidents of violence, intimidation, arbitrary detentions and kidnappings are reported, although these have mostly affected South Sudanese or regional nationals. There are regular reports of intercommoned violence in some parts of the country, and there are sporadic reports of fighting between armed groups in certain areas. Criminal attacks have taken place on the main Juba-Nimule Road, which is one of the main supply routes, the police cannot handle such alone” (Interview held in Juba, 17th April, 2022).

4.5.6 The Principle of Minimum Force by Police will be replaced by Maximum Force of Military

The results on the principle of minimum force by Police will be replaced by Maximum force of Military, showed that the majority 90.1% strongly agreed that the principle of minimum force by Police will be replaced by Maximum force of Military, whereas the minority 1.3 % strongly disagreed, 2 % agreed and 6.6 % disagreed. The results reveal that the principle of minimum force by Police will be replaced by Maximum force of Military and aspect of high value targets on the side of the civilians may lead to loss of lives among those who are thought to lead protests. (See Figure 4.24 below)

Figure 4.24: Showing Responses on the Principle of Minimum Force by Police will be Replaced by Maximum Force of Military



The results from the interviews that were conducted, it was shown that the principle of minimum force by Police is often replaced by Maximum force of Military in circumstances that are considered before the military is called in. The situation where the threat is characterized by use of the gun in areas where animal rustling is done and high way armed robbery is rampant.

One official who is a retired police officer, stated that;

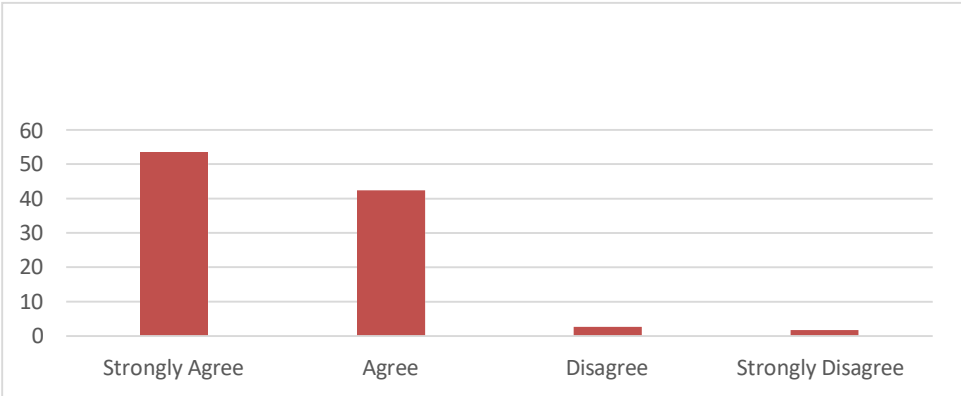
“Consider the fact southern Sudan was characterized by a multitude of armed political firms distributed across the political arena, each with strong connection to its affiliated territory through kinship or other affinities. The political market position of each individual armed group was based upon a particular geographical locale from which militia members were drawn or which contained economic assets

essential for the militia’s operations, such as oil fields, and which they would defend fiercely, or the group identity/ethnicity of militia members, or a combination of the above. In such circumstances” (Interview held in Juba, 14th April, 2022).

4.5.7 Abuse of Human Rights

The results on the abuse of human rights, showed that the majority 53.3% strongly agreed that the deployment of the military will increase the abuse of human rights, whereas the minority 1.7 % strongly disagreed, 42.4 % agreed and 2.6 % disagreed. The results reveal that the deployment of the military will expose the civilians to a lot of activities by the military that would lead to the abuse of their human rights. (See Figure 4.25 below).

Figure 4.25: Showing the Responses on the Abuse of Human Rights after Deployment of Military in Internal Security Operations



From the results in another interview with an official, it was indicated that the abuse of human rights after deployment of Military in Internal security operations have been reported so often but the demand for the military involvement in internal security operations in a state like South Sudan which is struggling to build institutions makes it prone to military abuses. The army is not professionalized and now fractured along ethnic lines. While discussing this, the official argued that;

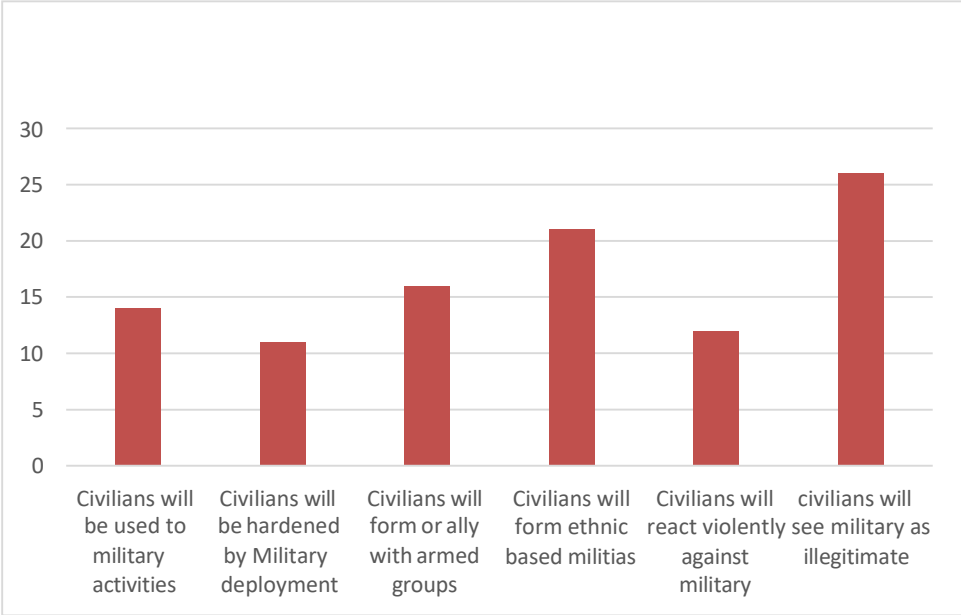
“Due to poorly equipped police forces, the authorities have tended to turn to the army when intervening in inter-communal conflicts and or disarming the civilian population. However, the deployment of unprofessional and poorly trained ex-guerrilla soldiers to villages has invariably resulted in harassment and abuses of

the local population, in some cases culminating in violent confrontations between the SPLA and armed civilians. In several places, this has contributed to a deteriorating relationship between the SPLA and the civilian population, undermining the perceived credibility of the government and its ability to protect the citizenry” (Interview held in Juba, 14th April, 2022).

4.5.8 Civilians’ Reaction and Response to Military Deployment

The results on how the civilians would react and respond to the military deployment showed that the majority 26% mentioned that they would see the military as illegitimate while the minority 11% mentioned they would be hardened by the military deployment in order to protect themselves, 12%, mentioned that they will act violently against the military, 14% mentioned that they will get used to the military deployment and get to know how to deal with the situation, 16 %, mentioned that they will form or ally with armed groups to protect themselves, and 21% mentioned that they will form ethnic based militias once the military targeted them as an ethnic group. The results reveal that the response and reaction to the deployment of the military in internal security operations will invoke a negative and sometimes violent reaction to the military. (See Figure 4.26).

Figure 4.26: Showing Response on How Civilians Will React and Respond to Military Deployment



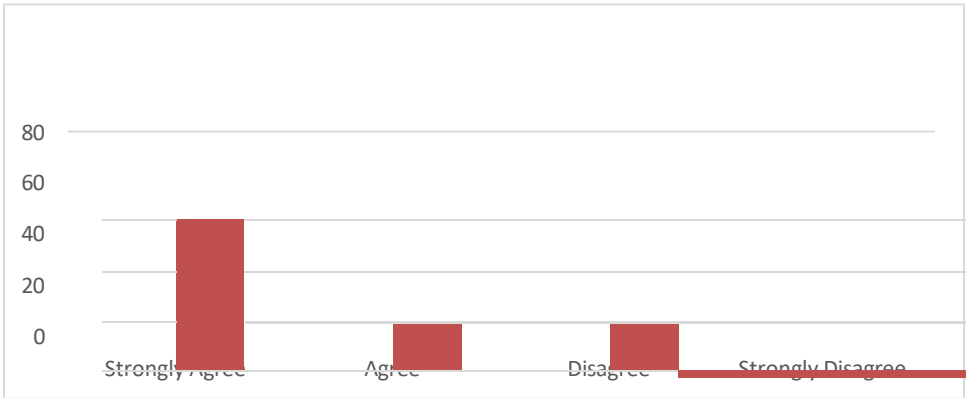
From the results in one of the interviews with an official from the police department, it was shown that civilians react differently to the military deployment. But the response has not been positive and sometimes the response and reaction can be described as making the civilians hardened after getting used to the violence of the military. In the interview the officials, the official described the reaction and response when he said that;

“The reaction and response of civilians in cases where the deployment of the military has been done varies but in many cases it is negative. At a certain level the civilians will refuse to give information to the military, in other cases they will use legal and illegal means to respond. They can form organizations to fight abuses others but on the extreme they can decide to fight disruptively or they can form gangs or militias, they can dismantle checkpoints, in areas where ethnic sentiments are held ethnic gangs are formed against the military which is seen to be abusing civilians of a certain ethnicity” (Interview held in Juba, 1st May, 2022).

4.5.9 Military and Police Interoperability will be Problematic

The results on whether the military and police interoperability will be problematic with military deployment in internal security operations, showed that the majority 60.6 % strongly agreed that there will be problems when the military is deployed to work with police, whereas the minority 2.6 % strongly disagreed, 16.6 % agreed and 20.2 % disagreed. The results reveal that the military and police interoperability will not be good if the military was deployed in the internal security operations within South. (See Figure 4.27 below.

Figure 4.27: Showing Responses on Military and Police Interoperability



The results from the interviews that were conducted, showed can work closely in some operations but this interoperability depends on a wide range of circumstances and conditions. The results showed that where there has been a history of rivalry, the interoperability will be very hard and the scope and level of threat will also determine the efficiency and effectiveness of working together. One official who is a retired police officer, expressed mixed reactions on the interoperability when he expressed optimism and pessimism that;

“The police and the military can work together given some conditions like training for a certain type of threat and knowing that at the time of the operations there are coordination, between the command and control of the two forces without which there will be confusion. It is also important to put in mind the type of force that may be used against civilians. Communication must also be well defined since the two forces work and communicate differently. In circumstances where the police wanted to arrest the military or otherwise because of misbehavior. That environment is not good and interoperability will not be good” (Interview held in Juba, 1st May, 2022).

From the results of the interview that was held with another official, who was asked about the same, it was shown that the military can work with the police force if the planning for such scenarios of internal security operations is anticipated. Without planning and professionalizing the military the impact will often be negative. In the interview the official commented that;

“There often cases of emergencies and these emergencies must be planned for, an emergency so severe that it warrants the deployment of military forces once anticipated must be planned for with a police force which is more visible in society. One that is done and the military is aware, prepared, trained and given rules then there will often be interoperability. A military that is knowledgeable about human rights and application of minimum use of force can easily work with the police force. Butsometimes the context, scope can tip the balance” (Interview held in Juba, 1st May, 2022).

4.6 Discussion of the Findings

The study established the Security implication of using the military in maintaining peace through

internal security operations, a case study of Central Equatoria State-Juba. The study assessed the type of threats that compelled the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba; explored civilians' experiences with the military while executing internal security operations and their propensity to influence insecurity, and finally established the impact of using military combat orientations to suppress violence and quell armed groups on society in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba. The section is organized as per the objectives and includes a comparison with other studies.

4.6.1 The Study Assessed the Type of Threats that Compelled the Deployment of the Military to Undertake Internal Security Operations in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba

The first objective sought to establish the types of threats that compel the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations. First the study assessed the security status of Central Equatoria State in South Sudan Juba. The established high levels of insecurity.

The study established high levels of insecurity exacerbated by poorly responsive justice system (14%), from the police, to the judges, to the prison wardens. Major threats that compelled the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations included; unabated inter-ethnic conflicts fueled by warlords (13%), Incapacity of the police (73%), failure of the security sector reform and cultural practices (11%), presence of militias and violence meant to undermine government (9%), political conflicts (8%), and generals who were not well compensated and therefore demanding influence in their regions seeking to control of territory (6%). The implication here is rise of new wave of hybrid wars that may lead to state collapse. This finding lends support to what was described by other scholars as new wars with capacity to plunge this country into unending warfare (Shaw, 2003; Mueller, 2004; Hoffman, 2007).

4.6.2 Civilians Experiences with the Military while Executing Internal Security Operations in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba

The second objective sought to assess Civilians' experiences with the military while executing internal security operations and its propensity to influence insecurity. According to the study, the majority described the military as being heavy handed (14%), criminals (4%), Unapologetic (13%), threatening (12%), anti-citizens (7%) dehumanizing (12%), careless (11%), confrontational (9%), intolerant (10%) and predatory (8%).According to the study, some of the

atrocities perpetrated by the military include; killing innocent civilians (18%), Rapes (16%), Gunshot injuries (15%), harassment (12%), burnt people's houses (10%), tortured innocent civilians (14%) and also violated other human rights of citizens in South Sudan. Common forms of corporal punishment meted on innocent civilians included beating, kicking, and hitting civilians with the soldier's boot, or floggings using a whip or a military belt. The above finding lends support to findings by Regehr (2011) and Elbadawi and Sambanis (2000) that when civilians feel their security is threatened by belligerents and the coercive force of the state, they are likely to resort to arms, or join armed groups whom they feel can guarantee their security. The implication here is that this situation may plunge the state into a conflict trap of spiraling violence.

4.6.3 Impact of using Military Combat Orientations to Suppress Violence and Quell Armed Groups on Society in in South Sudan Central Equatoria State

The last objective established the impact of using military combat orientations to suppress violence and quell armed groups in South Sudan Central Equatorial State Juba. The majority (26%) indicated that they would see the military as illegitimate while the minority 11% of the respondents indicated that they would be hardened by the military deployment in order to protect themselves, 12%, will act violently against the military, while 14% would get used to the military deployment and seek ways to deal with the situation, 16 %, will form or ally with armed groups to protect themselves, and 21% mentioned that they will form ethnic based militias once the military targeted them as an ethnic group. The implication of the above finding is that strained Civil-Military relations that would lead to civilian contestation, confrontation and militarization leading to a failed state. This lends support to findings by Foucault, (1978) that confrontation could be moderately used in the form of contestation or resistance and sometimes revolutionary connotation which involves the use of threats, force, or/and violence. Thus, as a strategy of exerting agency in CMR, the citizenry could engage in violent hostility towards the military - be it towards a soldier, some soldiers, or a certain unit such as those at a military checkpoint (Scott & Smith, 1969).

While in South Sudan there has not been outright violent protests against the military, one such example is collective violent protest actions against the military or a military unit considered to be acting illegitimately. This falls under what Verweijen (2015) calls collective popular protest against the military, and is one of the two ways the citizens enact their agency in many areas where they see the military as illegitimate. The often disruptive and violent nature of collective civilian

protest actions and demonstrations undermines their legitimacy this is what happened in Wau, where hundreds of women protested against violence against women (Relief web international 2017). Nevertheless, it calls attention to the concerns of civilian groups that can prove successful in forcing desired changes. The women protest against violence in 2020 of a young girl in Gudele Juba after she and her mother were put under gun point (Eye Radio, 2020) were successful in compelling the government to acknowledge the problem and agreed to withdraw and replace the entire military personnel (Crisis Group, 2012), while similar civilian protests and demonstrations against the deteriorating security situation compelled the replacement of some military Commanders. This indicates the strength and efficacy of the collective power of the citizenry when they protest to force a change of their social, political or security conditions. The civil contestation in what is called the Arab renaissance/spring/uprising is an indication of how the exercise of agency can bring about socio-political changes (Lutterbeck, 2013; Nepstad, 2013; Puddington, 2012).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations thematically, guided by the objectives of the study.

5.2 Summary

The study's broad objective was to assess the security implication of using the military in maintaining peace through internal security operations, a case study of Central Equatoria State-Juba. The study's first objective was to assess the type of threats that compel the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba. Major threats that compelled the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations included; unabated inter-ethnic conflicts fueled by warlords (13%), Incapacity of the police (73%), failure of the security sector reform and cultural practices (11%), presence of militias and violence meant to undermine government (9%), political conflicts (8%), and generals who were not well compensated and therefore demanding influence in their regions seeking to control of territory (6%). The implication here is rise of new wave of hybrid wars that may lead to state collapse.

The second objective was to explore civilians' experiences with the military while executing internal security operations and their propensity to influence insecurity in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba. The study found several experiences that included; the military as being heavy handed, the military behaving as criminals, unapologetic, threatening, anti-citizens, dehumanizing, careless, confrontational, intolerant and predatory. The reasons why the civilians described their experiences in such a way was that the military killed innocent civilians the military attacked civilians in civilian protection sites, raped women, shot and injured people, harassed people, burnt people's houses, tortured people, and they have stolen from people. The most common abuses against the civilians included corporal punishment as the most common incidence, instant injustice, intimidation, violent movement restrictions and coercion.

The last objective established the impact of using military combat orientations to suppress violence and quell armed groups in South Sudan Central Equatorial State Juba. The majority (26%) indicated that they would see the military as illegitimate while the minority 11% of the respondents indicated that they would be hardened by the military deployment in order to protect themselves, 12%, will act violently against the military, while 14% would get used to the military deployment and seek ways to deal with the situation, 16 %, will form or ally with armed groups to protect themselves, and 21% mentioned that they will form ethnic based militias once the military targeted them as an ethnic group. The implication of the above finding is that strained Civil-Military relations that would lead to civilian contestation, confrontation and militarization leading to a failed state. The deployment of the military would also imply the distortion of accountability mechanisms and in the end this would lead to escalation of the violence.

5.3 Conclusions

This section covers conclusions of this study based on research findings. The conclusions are divided into two categories namely: theoretical conclusions; and, empirical conclusions.

5.3.1 Theoretical Conclusions

The issues that were assessed were the threats that lead to the deployment of the military, experiences of the civilians with the military when executing internal security operations and the implications of the deployment on the security. The aim was to understand whether the military is deployed with all the needs to fight the threats but also work within a framework such that the security situation is not escalated. To understand the issues the study argues that there is a relationship between authorization and the violence, hence a conflict theory explanation was used to explain why threats and violence happen in societies (Dahrendorf, 1958, 1959). It observes that frustration from disregarding people or the denial of protection of particular section of society tends to compel the desire for social change including the use of violence where non-violent options fail. Typically, where the problems are not addressed promptly, it results in insecurity that threatens both the political and social stability of the state.

The study established that the modern-day violence and security threats demonstrate as internal security threats or human security threats in many forms which are often determined by actors and their intentions for resorting to the use of violence. This connotes that the state and non-state actors

execute modern day violence and these non-state actors could undertake the form of a militia like those that have been seen in South Sudan like the white army and others, insurgents, war lords, organized criminal groups and cattle rustlers. Several of these forms have been found to be operating in Central equatorial state. There are those that focus of animal rustling for the economic intentions profit. The second are numerous militia groups that are motivated by ethnic security concerns or ideologies. These groups normally operate in the guise of community protection groups, or the armed faction of ethnic organizations. The activities of these groups has turned central equatorial state to a scene of recurrent violence since 2013 when South Sudan experienced a major armed violence after independence in 2011. Other groups are those of generals who have fell out with government and want to control areas of power for power brokerage. The command followings of fighters.

The challenge with the actions of the different violent groups as evidenced in central equatorial state is that they are hard to deal with and the police do not have the capacity to contain the evolution of the violent groups. Violence which is sustained and irregular in nature against civilians and the state overpowers the state police which in many cases are under-funded and have no capacity because of the lack of equipment to counter the threat against them. In the face of this many African governments like the one in South Sudan have resorted to the deployment of the military to deal with that kind of violence and threats. This is the situation in central equatorial and South Sudan in general, there is recurrent violence and armed violence and cattle rustling since 2013. On the other hand, while the military has found itself accepted as the most forceful organ of the state with greater coercive force to contain the threats and violence in central equatorial, this is coming with a cost particularly where the military is largely violent itself and involved in several destructive actions that infringe on the rights of citizens and makes worse the insecurity.

5.3.2 Empirical Conclusion

According to the first objective, major threats that compelled the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations included; unabated inter-ethnic conflicts fueled by warlords, incapacity of the police, failure of the security sector reform and cultural practices, presence of militias and violence meant to undermine government, and the generals who were not well compensated and therefore demanding influence in their regions seeking to control of territory.

The second objective established serious human rights abuses perpetrated by the Military which included; killing of innocent civilians, rapes, gunshot injuries, burnt civilian houses, tortured innocent civilians, other human right abuses included; corporal punishment meted on innocent civilians included beating, kicking, and hitting civilians with the soldier's boot, or floggings using a whip or a military belt.

The third and last objective established the impact of using military combat orientations to suppress violence and quell armed groups on society in South Sudan Central Equatoria State. Under this objective the respondents. Major finding included; strained civil-military relations that would lead to civilian contestation, confrontation and militarization leading to a failed state.

5.4 Recommendations

The government should form a national commission to assess all the threats that compelled the deployment of the military to undertake internal security operations and come up with appropriate solution. Based on the findings and conclusions, this study recommends that the government of South Sudan through the Ministry of Ministry of Defense and Veterans Affairs together with the Ministry of Interior should promote and lay strategies to analyze data concerning the threats which may necessitate the deployment of the military and plan for the training or the trained soldiers of the SSPDF to be included in the internal security operation.

Secondly, the government should urgently capacity build the police to effectively take over their constitutional mandate of internal security operations to lessen the civilians pain under the military hands. This will avert the nation from being one of the failed states.

5.5 Further Areas of Research

This study has established the security implication of using the military in maintaining peace through internal security operations. Given this serious study findings the study recommends that a similar study be conducted in another state in Juba under similar circumstances and contexts.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

LUAL CHOL KUR
EGERTON UNIVERSITY
SOUTHERN SUDAN, JUBA

Dear Respondent,

RE: DATA COLLECTION

I am a student of Egerton University pursuing Master of Arts Degree in Security Management. I am currently conducting a research entitled “investigating the security implication of using the military in maintaining peace through internal security operations, a case study of Central Equatoria State-Juba.

I will highly appreciate if you participate in this study and assist me by responding to the questions that will follow. Your response will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank You.

Yours Faithfully,



LUAL CHOL KUR

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MAIN THE RESPONDENTS INTRODUCTION

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for this research on investigating the Challenges of security sector in maintaining peace in South Sudan, Central Equatoria States Juba. Information from this interview will be kept confidential and anonymous. The interview will take about 15 minutes.

SECTION A: BACK GROUND INFORMATION

Rank _____ **Years of service in Kenya Police** _____
Gender: Male _____ Female _____ **Age** _____

SECTION B: TYPE OF THREATS THAT COMPEL THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE MILITARY TO UNDERTAKE INTERNAL SECURITY OPERATIONS

1. **The following statements describe the types of threats that compel the deployment of military to undertake internal security operations in Juba southern Sudan. For each statement indicate your assessment by ticking in appropriate box either; 2=Yes or 1=No**

	al conflicts		
	Interstate and intra state conflicts		
	el movements,		
	ias		
	as		
	ic warlords		
	rillas		
	orists		
	rgents		

66, Anything other type that you think was forgotten?

.....

2. **INSURGENCY: The following statements describe the aspects of insurgency that compel the deployment of military to undertake internal security operations in Juba southern Sudan. For each statement indicate your assessment by ticking in appropriate box either; 2=Yes or 1=No**

	urgent armed groups are politically motivated groups who aim to influence policy.		
	urgent armed groups are politically motivated groups who aim to weaken overthrow or replace the government.		
	urgent armed groups are politically motivated groups who aim to overthrow or replace the government		
	urgent redress existing political inequalities and structural imbalances that the state seems unwilling or unable to address		
	we are unable to deal with insurgents		

66, Anything other type that you think was forgotten?

.....

3. **TERRORISM: The following statements describe the aspects of terrorism that compel the deployment of military to undertake internal security operations in Juba southern Sudan. For each statement indicate your assessment by ticking in appropriate box either; 2=Yes or 1=No**

	terrorists are armed groups are politically motivated groups who aim to overthrow or replace the government		
	terrorists redress existing political inequalities and structural imbalances that the state seems unwilling or unable to address		
	we are unable to deal with Terrorism		

66, Anything other type that you think was forgotten?

.....

4. OTHER ARMED GROUPS: The following statements describe the aspects of other armed groups that compel the deployment of military to undertake internal security operations in Juba southern Sudan. For each statement indicate your assessment by ticking in appropriate box either; 2=Yes or 1=No

	ed Militias groups are on the rise in Juba		
	tias fill this vacuum as the armed extension of the group to protect, fight, and defend their interests		
	tias pattern of violence is mostly unconventional surprise attacks on unsuspecting opponents		
	rganized criminal gangs such as Kidnappers, Robbers, Pirates, Human Traffickers are on the rise in Juba		
	ce in Juba are unable to deal with Militias and organized criminal gangs in Juba		

66, Anything other type that you think was forgotten?

.....

SECTION C: CIVILIANS' EXPERIENCES WITH THE MILITARY WHILE EXECUTING INTERNAL SECURITY OPERATIONS

5. The following statements describe the aspects of civilian relationship with the military while undertaking internal security operations in Juba southern Sudan. For each statement indicate your assessment by ticking in appropriate box either; 2=Yes or 1=No

	eral relationship with military personnel: cordial		
	ressive use of force such as use of high powered-weapons and munitions to crash opponents		
	ased Rape		
	eful tolerance and peaceful co-existence		
	ilians feel threatened by use of military that resulted into lence of civilian protest against the military		
	tary use of abusive and derogatory words		

	se of human Rights		
	py with the service of the military		

66, Anything other type that you think was forgotten?

.....

SECTION D: SECURITY IMPLICATION OF USING MILITARY COMBAT ORIENTATIONS TO SUPPRESS VIOLENCE AND QUELL ARMED GROUPS

6. The following statements describe the aspects of security implication of using military combat orientations in internal security operations in Juba southern Sudan. For each statement indicate your assessment by ticking in appropriate box either; 2=Yes or 1=No

	d with military abuse and violation of their human rights, citizenry can retaliate against the abuse		
	al Abuse could evoke condemnation, tension, and hostility towards the military		
	n there is distrust and hostility towards the military's role in addressing internal conflict, it whittles away the legitimacy of the military and its professional stature		
	lians feel threatened by use of military that resulted into violence of civilian protest against the military		
	tary excessive use of force and abuse of human rights like these may Militarize the citizens and lead to confrontations		
	cessive use of force such as use of high powered-weapons and ammunitions to crash opponents may result to war with		

66, Anything other type that you think was forgotten?

.....

Thank you

APPENDIX III: KEY INFORMANTS INTERVIEW GUIDE

- 1. What is the nature and type of threats armed groups and their impact on the ability of the state to protect its citizens in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba?**

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- 2. What are the perceptions and experiences of civilians with the military in improving or undermining their security in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba?**

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- 3. What are the security implication of using military combat orientations to suppress violence and quell armed groups in South Sudan Central Equatoria State Juba?**



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APPENDIX V: MINISTRY OF INTERIOR SOUTH SUDAN NATIONAL POLICE LETTER

	<p>The Republic of South Sudan Ministry of Interior South Sudan National Police Service Office of A/IGP & Commissioner of Police Central Equatoria State</p>	
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Confidential.

Date: -19.12.2022.

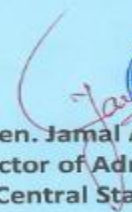

To:- Whom it May Concern.

Subject:- Letter of no objection.

Reference to attached letter No. RSS/MoHEST/USO/J/IM dated 13/12/2022 from Undersecretary, Ministry of Higher Education, Science & Technology the Republic of South Sudan requesting approval letter to student Lual Chol Kur to gather data collection for his research using the military in Internal Security Operation a case study of Central Equatoria State, South Sudan in Juba for Period of three (3) Months.

Therefore, the admistartion of Police CES requesting all the security organs cooperate with him.

And thanks.



M/Gen. Jamal Abbas Musa
Director of Administration
Central State/Juba.

Cc: - file.

**APPENDIX VI: MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND
TECHNOLOGY LETTER**

THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN

Ministry of Higher Education, Science & Technology

Office of the Undersecretary



RSS/MoHEST/USO/J/IM

13th December 2022

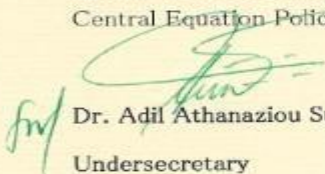
To Whom It May Concern

Subject: Lual Chol Kur

I am pleased to introduce to your esteemed office the above named scholar, who is undertaking M.A program at the Department of Peace, Security and Social Studies of Egerton University in Kenya.

Mr. Kur intends to collect data for his research project titled "Implications of Using the Military in Internal Security Operations A case study of Central Equatoria State, South Sudan" in Juba for period of three (3) months.

Therefore, I will appreciate if your esteemed office could allow the above-scholar to access data/ information which relevant to his studies in Juba/ Central Equatoria Police Unit for academic purpose only


Dr. Adil Athanaziou Surur
Undersecretary



Ministry of Higher Education, Science & Technology

Cc: Director General for Training & External Relations

Cc: File

APPENDIX VII: ABSTRACT OF THE PUBLISHED PAPER



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Security Implications of Using the Military in Maintaining Peace through Internal Security Operations, a Case of Central Equatoria State—Juba

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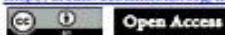
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Abstract

The research studies security implications for military personnel maintaining peace through internal security operations in Central Equatoria State (CES), Juba, South Sudan. The overarching objective of the study is to examine the continued rising insecurity despite the deployment of Military personnel and other Law enforcement agencies to suppress internal security operations in CES. The research assesses the type of threats that compelled the deployment of the military to control internal security operations in CES; explores civilians' experiences and interactions with the military personnel, executing internal security operations and their propensity to influence insecurity; and establishes the impact of using military combat orientations to suppress violence and quell armed groups in CES. The research utilizes mixed research methodology, such as qualitative and quantitative data. The study also reviewed the literature and included the Separation Theory by Huntington. The study reveals significant threats, as explained by empirical statistics outcomes from the key indicators such as unabated inter-ethnic conflicts fueled by warlords (13%), incapacity of the police (73%), presence of militias and violence meant to undermine government (9%), political conflicts (8%), and generals who were not well compensated (6%), and illegitimate military (26%). These empirical data signify that civilian experience life threats with the military personnel executing internal security operations. The life threat includes human rights abuses such as; deaths, rape cases, gunshot injuries, burning down houses and corporal punishments. Finally, the research provides recommendations.

Keywords

Illegitimate Use of the Military, Civilian Experiences, Human Right Abuses