



Ethnic identity: A reflection of economic and political character of a country: The case of South Sudan

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Abstract

The paper endeavors to painstakingly and strenuously enunciate the issues pertaining the causation of ethnic identity. There many different strands of convictions and opinions on what actually wrought ethnic identities which revolve around, resources and political issues. However, ethnic identities are reflections of political rivalry, abuse of power, monopolize resources. Additionally, ethnic identities are often remolded, constructed by elites in their vying for power and by politicians who could imagine and instrumentalize differences and identification for the sake of rallying and lobbying for support and organization which conspicuously makes ethnic identity as politically made. Furthermore, also the paper briefly unpack and explain the two main approaches to ethnic identity, Primordilists who consider ethnicity as innate and immutable and the Constructivists who deem it as fluid, malleable and negotiable aspect of identity. Meanwhile, in the case of South Sudan ethnic identities(tribalism) are politically sparked by elites struggle over power, exhorted, stimulated by them and to imagine and construct ethnic identity by exploiting and exaggerating traditional communal conflict which they used as instruments and tools for mobilizations and recruitments, exclusion policy which is focused and based on monopolization of resources and power amides handful people who consolidate political and military power, inequality allocation of power and resources, elite put their interest at expense of the national interests and deplorably flanks in building a nation of ethnic diversity and inclusion, rapid growing crime, corruption and illegal practices which are committed against innocent people by groups enmesh in the ongoing conflict, the competition over land trigged by political unrest, frail and unstable institutions, identity politics which has it historical legacies and events. Finally loss of power, which means the loss of resources and access to other resources will lead a potential of a conflict between those who lost power and struggling to return to it in order to have access to resources and the group who is in power and struggle to use whatever available to indemnify their seats and t remain in power.

Keywords: ethnicity, ethnic identity, politics, resources, power, conflict, and mobilization

1. Introduction

The notion of people identifies whether for a group or individual identity could be formed or made through the amalgamation of several social elements such as the community and the social environment in which a person is brought up attest utmost and essential factor in the formation of someone's identity and the development of individual identity. However, person's identity can develop through impact and fluence of family, neighborhood, society, school, social interaction with others which enable an interaction and identification with the members of the society (VANLALTLAN, 2007) ^[30]. As such individual's identity is related to the cultural effect through the impact of the society on the individual's identity formation.

However there is close relation between the individual and his / her society when it comes to the formation of human sense of self-image and individuals accept the society and the individuals are acknowledged by the society, and the interaction between the two is argued by Mathias: provided by (VANLALTLAN, 2007) ^[30]: *Identity formation, therefore, is not only a developmental issue but also social issue.it is an individual and a communal issue. Much of an individual's identity, therefore, depends on the identity of the group of the community to which one belongs.* A concept such as continuity or similarity would be applied when indicating

identity due to the identity formation as a transient and spasmodic issue between someone's life and experience from his/her past and the future. Also, one's anticipated of the future is molded by the past experience and memory sparked one's present consciousness of one's self and the present identity and the anticipatory factor is the leading factor in the formation of ethnic group's existence and development (VANLALTLAN, 2007) ^[30].

Moreover, Ethnicity incorporates people who have a common origin and ancestry, distinctive social characteristics and common interests (MALITH, 2017). According to (Lewis, 2014) ^[10], ethnicity inclusively subsumes values, the system of belief and social characteristics that differentiate one group from another. Furthermore, Richard Jenkins, (Jenkins, 1998) ^[9] provided an anthropological concept for ethnicity generated from ancient Greek "*ethnos refers to arrange of situations in which a collection of humans lived and acted together and which is translated today as people or nation*".

The substantially ethnic group could form its own identity due to the pressure or domination of the powerful and majority groups. As such an ethnic group is an inclusion of those who share common values and traditions which recognize them from others with whom they are in touch. Additionally, an ethnic group is deemed as a minor group dominated by a powerful group (MALITH, 2017). However, ethnic group is a

dominated group with common interest and culture and the differences between the two groups have to be defined in terms of power relations as such a group who is holding the power is a majority group and while powerless group is minority group and it does not need to be in numerical terms (Lewis, 2014)^[10].

Moreover, Schlee (Schlee, 2008)^[28] deemed ethnicity as any form of social identity, which is in form of definition of self and other. However, nobody could boast an ethnic identity affiliation or relation which is unknown to themselves or to others. As such ethnicity could not exist unless people are aware of it. This could usher that ethnicity is something transpired in the course of a conflict or takes new functions which evinced the situation of the conflict should proceed a construction of ethnic identity. Prof. Markakis (Markakis, 1994)^[23] asserted that tribal identities are political products of a particular situation, socially, defined and historically determined, as such, ethnicity betided as the result rather than the cause. Also, Hanlon argued that ethnic groups are defined in descriptive differences, such as color appearance, language, and religion. As such ethnicity is inclusively subsumed all racial, tribal, religious, linguistic groupings, nation and communal minorities and the ethnic criteria used by these groups to defined themselves usually, incorporating common descent (Hanlon, 2006)^[7].

2. The two approaches of Ethnic Identity: Instrumentalists and Primordialists

Ethnic conflict betided across the world in the post-Cold War era. Substantially to unpack the issues of the ethnic conflict analysisists and researchers focused on the local groups to fathom and plumb ethnic conflicts (Malith W., 2016)^[12]. These groups broadly enmesh local actors and local institutions which are to be examined to strenuously apprehend catalysts for claiming for self-determination which finally paves the way for autonomy, secession, participation in government. However ethnic conflict issues revolve around: ideology, dynastic legitimacy, religion, language, self-determination, resources, markets, dominance, equality, territory, and tit-for-tat (Porto, 2002)^[26]. However, to briefly enunciate ethnic conflict researchers split into two groups:

2.1 Instrumentalists` Researchers

Instrumentalists` researchers deem ethnicity as a tool or an instrument, a contextual, malleable, fluid and negotiable form of identity (Porto, 2002)^[26] "a tool used by individuals, groups or elites to achieve, material ends." According to Timothy Sisk, instrumentalists see that ethnic identity as: "*Wax and wane, contingent on a wide variety of variables including the capacity and skills of political entrepreneurs who can effectively, mobilize groups for collective aims and articulate beliefs about common ancestry and destiny -Some instrumentalists are known as structuralists suggest that ethnic identity is socially constructed, often created or de-emphasized by power-seeking political elites in historically determined economic and social arrangement*". However, constructive approach weighed ethnic internecine conflict to be exaggerated and manipulated by self-obsessed leaders or power-hungry elites who could do everything to achieve power or usurp power (Hanlon, 2006)^[7]. They could ignite

ethnic animosity into a sort of gruesome violence for political ends, therefore ethnic conflict triggered by power struggles between the elites in power and the power elites are increasingly commonplace.

2.2 Primordialists` Researchers

Primordialists argue that ethnic identity is innate and largely fixed and they view ethnicity as an exceptional, strong affiliation which is often linked to ancient conflict, age-old hatred, and past atrocities. However, these identities change little over time which leads to a view that it is an irreconcilable difference between ethnic groups, as such violent clashes are inevitable and incontrovertible. However Primordialists would demand guarantees of minority rights, which could transpire through democratization systems, subsuming the granting of regional, cultural autonomy and improving distribution of development funds, preferential civil service hiring policies and job creation for disadvantaged group, active engagement of the majors, subsuming coercive intervention and pre-emptive action by major powers in responses to violations of human rights and ethnic wars (Hanlon, 2006)^[7].

Meanwhile, instrumentalists argue for the social construction of identity, molded by social systems, leaders, and the circumstances. As such ethnic identity is fluidly malleable, change rapidly over time, is often, formed and not inherently, conflictual. Due to this, constructivists focus on elites and the way they manipulate and exaggerate ethnic, religious and class identity and *the strongest view was given Alexander that "ethnicity is understood to be unnatural, to be historically invented, constructed or imagined and used instrumentally, by elites*. Consequently, ethnic identity could be construed by examining political and economic grievances which are believed to be the catalysts behind an ethnic violence as such the state was a lynchpin in "ethnic" conflict, herein the accentuation should be focused on restructuring the government itself so it could be more diversionary, inclusive and representative.

However, researchers provide academic analyses as scholars see ethnicity as immutable and fixed versus socially constructed beliefs about the types of political system that could take conflict along the ethnic line (Porto, 2002)^[26]. As noted above the intervention and implications of constructivists and Primordialists interpretation are contradictory. Constructs try to keep the groups together and resolve underlying problems, while Primordialists want to keep the groups apart. However, Ethnicity and Identity are contested and controversial issues behind internecine conflicts or civil wars. As researchers in ethnic conflicts are divided into groups: *Primordialists* who believe that ethnic identity is innate, fixed and immutable and therefore they are long-standing disputes between the ethnic group which leads to civil war. While constructivists argue that identity argues that identity is malleable and changing and, is manipulated by leaders. Furthermore, primordialists could see the root causes of the war as being historic and a function of people under pressure, while the constructivists would see this as recent and caused by big bad men (Hanlon, 2006)^[7]. However, both groups see this as an internal root cause of war.

However in the same perspective, some international relations

theories introduce the ethnic security dilemma which deems that one group could not trust another group and could make an attack before another group attack it, which will instantly culminate into a conflict, but the reality is that ethnic diversity and diversion do not accidentally lead to a war (Hanlon, 2006)^[7]. A situation where one group lead a rebellion for being dominated by another, is it a fight between ethnic groups or between an oppressor and the oppressed group. However, people could turn to groups of which they are members of the family, clan, and village for sake of rallying for help in times of crisis, and this the same group may be recruiting a fool for fighters and finance for the war, but this, in the end, does not make a group membership a cause of the war (Hanlon, 2006)^[7]. However, It could be a case of prolonging the war as members exterminated from the group by the other group, this could streamline group harmony, cohesion, solidarity and a willingness for tit-for-tat against the other group.

3. Controversial Issues of Ethnic Identities (Tribalism) in South Sudan

3.1 Elites struggle over power

Elites struggle over power and exclusion is not a new in South Sudanese history period, struggle vehemently emerged as a staunch phenomenon in the leeway of 1974- 1978 in the first South Sudanese semi-autonomous government which was established as a precursor or sine qua non of the Addis Ababa Accord in 1972 (MALITH, 2017). However, elites` fiery ambitions for power led to the incipient of furious political rivalry amidst southern elites in a political contestation tribal identities or (tribalism) were steadfastly and abominably used by elites as means for mobilizations which they perceived to be a prerequisite for lobbying for support in local elections that blind ambition for power deplorably culminated in the advent of tribal identities of identity politics in South Sudan.

The differences were constricted or imagined by these elites and to make their personal hurdles which mainly revolved around power to be differences amid people which led into ginormous fissure and turbulence amid southern Sudanese. Elites` ambition was the prima facia catalyst and the Pandora's box which deplorably brought to an end the immense interests of the people of South Sudan (MALITH, 2017). However, traditional democratic societies used their democratic credentials in Parliament, unfortunately, flunked Addis Ababa Agreement (Malok, 2009)^[22]. However, all coordination and bewilderment which led to the demise of the Regional Government were nurtured within the Regional Assembly and within the cabinets of the High Executive Council (Malok, 2009)^[22].

However, For elites, meltdown and their failure in addressing national interest and unity amidst the people of South Sudan, Adweek Nyaba argued that: *“Despite many years of common historical development including fighting together for common nationhood, many intellectuals now, more than ever, before, still identify themselves first as Dinka, Nuer, Moro, Shilluk, Zande, etc and then South Sudanese, even when they are interacting with each other. This alienation was accentuated by the experience South Sudan went through in the Southern Regional Government in Juba following the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972. The political elites who took over the power structure in the South emphasized their*

attributes and unity with the north at the expense of and against the South Sudanese nationalism which started developing on the eve of the independence of Sudan.” Also, Nyaba added that *“Although the elite in the South presented a façade of unity along their perceived political parties, this did not stand the test of times ethnic and sectional tendencies overwhelmed many of them to the point of neglecting the southern national concerns and aspiration.”* (Nyaba, 2000)^[25]. However, the blind lust for power amidst South Sudanese’s elites and their intransigent and recalcitrant to condoned reconciliation led to the collapse of the Addis Ababa Agreement and resumption of the civil war in the country.

However, the elites struggle over the leadership emerged in the-the SPLM/SPLA in 1983 gruesomely turned into the catastrophic conflict between Nuer and Dinka which was solely elites struggle over the leadership of the movement between, Dr. John Garang and the former ministers in the Regional Government under General Joseph Lagu, Samuel Gai Tut and Akuot Atem de Mayen. The power struggle was over the principles and objectives of the movement which culminated in deadly and furious violence between, Dr. John’s group and Gai and Akuot’s group. However, the conflict between the two came to an end in 1988 when the Anya -Nya II was integrated into SPLA\M. The repercussions of that conflict despicably culminated in the loss of thousands of lives amid the Dinka and the Nuer in the internecine conflict which was not indirectly related to communal disputes only ethnicity was brought in as a mean for mobilization for the two groups. It conspicuous that differences amidst elites were the cause of that horrendous ethnic violence, which was solely elites` struggle power within the movement and nothing to do with innocent people who lost there between the two communities of those leaders in the conflict.

However, the struggle over power continued until it reached it's in climax in1991 when Dr. Riek Machar and Dr. Lam Akol declared their coup against SPLM/SPLA the leader Dr. John Garang. Dr. Riek and those who defected formed a rival movement called, SPLA/M United and later became SLM/A, after the dismissal of Dr. Lam. Consequently, the ethnic identities were used in 1991 attempted coup led by Dr. Macher and Dr. Lam Akol. And the nitty-gritty was the conflict in the movement had been looming amid the high ranks military officers and politicians in other hand and Dr. John. However, Dr. Maccher himself from in the beginning was not part of the plot against the Dr. John in an attempt to be superseded by someone else. The struggle over leadership and contractions amid the elites in the movement had been going for the longtime as Adowk Nyaba explained it as: *“The Nasir Declaration was a reflection of the internal contraction within the SPLM/A, but inadvertently implemented for opportunistic ends by elements that did not really believe in those ideals. However, like any other tragedies, it has some redeeming sides which should be exploited for the purpose of reversing its negative impacts. For instance, the Nasir coup caused serious military setbacks for the SPLM? And the oppressed people of Sudan but these have created a basis the eventual SPLM?A political victory. The Nasir leaders have already surrendered to the of government, paving the way for the unity of the people of South Sudan.Dr. Lam Akol and Dr.*

Riek staged a coup for which they had not prepared enough, leave alone having the material basis for it. And Dr. Garang's contempt for that adventure as a theatrical coup which was doomed to fail has been vindicated. Lam's assertion that: The struggle for democracy within our movement has intensified and we have decided to jettison Garang out of the leadership of our movement. The necessary steps on the ground have been undertaken and it will not be long before the whole thing gets into the open" (Nyaba, 2000) [25]. However, the issue was as Dr. Adowk opined that blind ambition and greed for power and what was described as intensification of democracy was only imagination was not conspicuously reflected on the ground and this was the fact that made clear the movement was for self-defence or achieving personal ends and as such many SPLM officers remained loyal to the mainstream led by Dr. Garang (Nyaba, 2000) [25].

Furthermore, the group of politicians who had at loggerhead with Dr. John, where politicians from all Southern societies, subsuming Dinka's elites as well as some Nuer's elites and spearheaded by Dr. Lam Akol a brainchild of the Nasir Movement. However, the issue of Dr. Macher becoming the leader of the movement was originally based on tribal calculation and strenuously plotted by for power seeking-elites. The deplorable notion of enticing Dr. Macher was that Macher hails from the Nuer, the second largest ethnic group in South Sudan and based on their well-known about the Nuer culture. It was conspicuous that the new movement could be led by Nuer person and the right person on the ground was Dr. Macher who was very successful and he constantly spent five years at the front line in Western Upper Nile his home area and he did not personally enmesh in the way things were being done in the center. However, it was obvious that Dr. Macher instantly could make a tribal appeal and as the Nuer would not hesitate in backing Dr. Macher.

Moreover based on such assumption and scenarios Dr. Macher was coaxed and made a leader of a Nasir Declaration in 1991, in the end, the movement as alluded before could not rigorously withstand the challenges due to the dearth of vision, and ideology which could not help in pursuing the goals of the movements. As it was pervasive from very beginning the manifesto and the main objectives the new movement was drafted solely by Dr. Lam Akol. And no single point was contested by Macher but instead, it was unanimously endorsed as an utmost document for the new movement and this arrangement explicitly unpacked achingly ushered meltdown and drubbing of the movement simply the notion was no originated by Macher the chairman of the new movement instead he was wooed and inveigled into the idea of the coup and the prima facie catalyst was to secure fighters from the Nuer for the potential conflict.

However, the Nasir Declaration has vehemently epitomised the identity politics which thoroughly evinced and demoed the use of culture as raw material by unscrupulous politicians. As the Nasir incident led into irreversible and catastrophic subversion of thousands of lives for both Nuer and Dinka who were gruesomely lost in a tragic incident which had nothing to do with Nuer people or Dinka people, but only to serve interests of pittance elites used abominably tribal animosities as an instrumental of achieving their blind ambitions. Furthermore, the Nasir incident had shown the pervasive

construction of ethnic identities by power-seeking elites. Moreover, Dr. Riek finally reached the Agreement with Khartoum in 1997 which was called Khartoum Agreement for Peace. The Agreement did not last long due to the regime intransigence and defiance to implement key demands of the agreement. However, Riek defected and joined the SPLM/SPLA before signing of Comprehensive Peace Agreement CPA in 2005. Dr. Riek became the Vice-President of the Republic till his dismissal in 2013 after the Independence as alluded above. Furthermore, it is conspicuous from all sorts of ethnic animosities in South Sudan before and after independence was politically constructed or imagined in order to serve material ends of the parties in the conflict.

However, the current political conundrum and the more perilous and catastrophic incident in 2013, as a repercussion of the president, Kiir, reshuffle the government sacking all his ministers, subsuming Vice President, Dr. Machar. However, Machar deemed it as a dictatorship and asserted that he would rival Kiir for the presidency from July after the reshuffle. On 15 December 2013, an attempted coup was put down and led to ethnic violence (Malith, 2016) [12]. The power struggle which occurred on 15th December 2013, was purely and generated by elite's greed for power politically revolve around two issues the leadership of the SPLM party and the 2015 presidential elections. However, Dr. Riek overtly announced himself a presidential candidate for 2015 elections and the incumbent president of the party and the Republic Salva Kiir was still contemplating his contestation for 2015 elections despite he did not overtly divulge his candidature.

However, the repercussion of different convictions in the leeway of the plenary discussions of SPLM-National liberation Council gruesomely culminated into violent conflict with an Army Division, the Presidential Guards. Immediately the conflict culminated into heinous violence and smeared into Bor, Malakal, and Bentiu where horrendous atrocities indiscriminately committed against thousands of innocent civilians who were mown down based on ethnic line at the large scale. However, in Bor, Malakal, and Bentiu atrocities were committed by Nuer elements who were ignited and defected from the SPLA. The militiamen known as called white who strongly ignited by the conflicting elites went rampage and indiscriminately targeting and murdering people along the ethnic line in Bor and Malakal. The government retaliation and the massive killing everywhere in the country forced civilian population to seek protection in the UNMISS camps. However, the internecine conflict gruesomely exterminated thousands of people and displaced millions as refugees to neighboring countries (Sudan, Kenya Uganda, and Ethiopia). And around 1.9 million are internally displaced in the country, with thousands living at the U.N protection sites in the country.

However, the Peace Accord which was signed on the 17 of August 2015 under the aegis of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) which curtailed the hostilities. The Peace Accord ensured the power-sharing in Executive of the Transitional Government of National Unity which was supposed to be functioning 30 months of the interim period and to follow the general election. The Government with 53%, the opposition with 33% and the former detainees with 7% due to that arrangement and the

coalition government was finally formed in April 2016 with the appointment the opposition leader Machar as First Vice President. Unfortunately in the leeway of the three months the violence erupted in 7th of July 2016 between bodyguards of vice president the president which abominably wrought enormous number of fatalities in Juba and forced the Vice President to leave the capital and conditioned his return to Juba with a present regional under auspices of the to provide protection to civilians and officials. However, in absent of absence of Machar, he was sacked by Kiir and superseded him with his former chief negotiator Taban Deng as a ramification of that Machar overtly announced his rebellion to unseat the government and ensure justices and declared the demise of the Peace Accord. (Malith W. C., 2017)

First: Lack of resources and fund available for the government which became critical issue independence as Sudan skyrocketed the transit fees for oil export which contributed to the plummet in the government as more than 90% of the revenues come from oil exports and high drop of oil prices in the international market contributed natively in demising the government revenues which the government to introduce the austerity measures to cut all the government expenditures including allowances and privileges in addition to attenuation of the government by amalgamating some ministries as part of the austerity measures policy such move to the reshuffle the movement to fire good number ministers which led to disquiet and anxiety amid those who have sacked and led them to turn against the government internally. However, it was conspicuous that the violence transpired shortly when this elite lost power, because of loss of power, means loss of access to resources as power is an utmost resource could lead to other resources also lost. The elites lost power were planning how to return to power in order to in order to have access resources. However the ethnic identity is imagined and constructed by these unscrupulous elites, who are insatiable quest and greed for power is their priority ethnic identity is constructed elite's interests that prima facie issue behind the great suffering of South Sudanese people and brought ginormous rift amid the people through imagined differences, nepotism and patronage and corrupt practices with sectarian exclusion politics.

Second: the internecine conflict vehemently sparked furious competition amidst the elites as for power and more resources. However since the formation of the government South Sudan in 2005 solely 10 to 20% of the budget is allocated to the state's governments across the country and around 80% goes to the central government and this makes clear that arm groups are very active in order to strike a deal which brings them. However, corruption became imperative means of acquiring wealth and the lifeblood of politics, catering the means that emboldens armed actor and maintain the political power balance, and proving resources to patronage groups and the corrupt economic activities and kickback and bribery networks exist in the country.

However there some rumours about millions of dollars which had been syphoned off and remitted in the foreign bank by the most senior government officials due to that in 2012 Kiir overtly arraigned the 75 ministers and officials of government of absconding 4 billion US dollars from the state and instructed the money should be reimbursed to the state's

account it was later reported that from the amount only 1.5% actually reimbursed. The merger of the recovered amount was reinvested into the country and revenues from the oil sector are rarely reinvested in the economy and that ushered the dearth of implementation of the Petroleum Revenue Management Bill, which was meant to allocate oil revenue to finance other sectors of the economy. However, the lack of development outside the oil sector has made South Sudan among the poorest nations in the world. The elites have resources fund the armed conflict that broached in December 2013 which killed tens of thousands of people, displaced over 2 million, and has made around 40% percent of the population floundering lack of food.

However, the control of resources by one political party or group of people access which lead exclusion of others accelerated enormous fissure amidst the elites and mean catalyst for those who lost power manipulate ethnic identities for the sake of mobilizing tribal men to grapple and embroiled in the rebellion against the government. However corruption undermines public trust in the government, domestic and foreign investment exaggerate inequality in wealth and augmented socioeconomic grievances, and the inability of the government to inclusively render the basic services, subsuming health, education security and social justice to all its citizens diminishes the trust in public institutions and led to potential ethnic identities as some government official practice nepotism and tribalism, which create more division and loyalties tribal associations which are formed in the country due to lack of trust and protection in the political parties and the government.

3.2 Competition over land triggered by political unrest

Th3 Land policy in South Sudan was based on communal on the land mean the land belongs to the community and was initially a political slogan in the leeway of the war for the liberation in Sudan. However, in South Sudan the land issue according to South Sudanese constitution in article 170 concerning Land ownership, Tenure, and Natural resources it stipulates that: 1.All land in South Sudan is owned by the people of South Sudan and its use shall be regulated by the government in accordance with the provision of this Constitution and the law. 2. The Notwithstanding the sub-Article (1) above and the provisions of Article 28 of this constitution, the government at all levels, may expropriate land in the public interest as shall be prescribed by law (Malith W. 2017).

The competition over land resources immediately broached after the independence of South Sudan due to conflict related to it urban and in rural areas and often land issues are triggered by political competition over power amid the elites. The political differences are reflected in the conflict over land between the government and local communities who have a right to that territory or communal right over the land in their places. However, the private sector could be in a position to have access to land which may subsume large area of communal land for economic purposes such a practice would lead to gradually hike of private acquisition of the land in urban and rural areas. Furthermore, land issues in most of the cases are were discussed between the investors, leaders of the community or influential individuals from the community

where land available and the government officials without the involvement of the public in that community. In such deals, only brokers from the community benefited and this sparked different sorts of violence which often enmesh the government officials (Malith W., 2017).

Furthermore, In Juba, the capital community clamors and bellyaches to the national government pertaining many conflict and disputes over land in Juba due to that President Kiir requested a review of land sales in 2011. However, for the expanding of cities such as Juba, the communal land ownership arduously limits the central government's institutions to make urban extension became a matter of potential conflict between the government and the community. It circumscribes also access to land for members of ethnic groups who are from communities in the country. The increased of land disputes around Juba were augmented abruptly due to the rapid growth of urban population which a ramification of resettling returnees in Juba. The majority of returnees do not claim communal land rights and the state institutions were unable to provide them with land (Malith W., 2017). People contested to have access to land through an informal network or, under auspices of SPLA comrades. Moreover, the government declared expansion of the national capital which could bring larger parts of the rural land around Juba under the government. However, the Bari community contested against the unlawful acquisition of land by members of other communities, the government's plans to expand the state capital. However, for achieving their goals, community representatives and the traditional authorities staunchly resorted to the slogan that "the land belongs to the community," in order to stymie and circumscribed to the land by the state and private individuals (Malith W., 2017)

Moreover, in September 2011, resistance and disputes over with the local community, however, the national cabinet unanimously clinched the relocation of the national capital from Juba to Ramciel in Lakes State. The communal right over land effectively circumscribed the government's authority over the rural land. Furthermore, there were large concerns about the government's ability to curb economic development, and to consolidate peace in the country. National and international experts particularly deemed the private investments as an important source for the economic development. This would be more important in the delivery of services local services. However, the link between peace and economic development had stipulated in the SPLM's strategy already before the CPA, which emphasized objectives were important to the consolidation of rule across Southern Sudan. The customary land tenure, however, contradicts with the government's plans to accrue the state and private actors' access to land.

However, the competition for land and resources overtly transpired in the politics in South Sudan after the eruption of the current. However the land issue has loomed in politics and the oil revenue is Pandora's Box in many challenges as the oil field which is function are all situated in greater Upper Nile warrants feeling of disquiet amid the elites from this region that they should be allowed to have upper hands in the oil sectors and this issue helped rebels group to recruit more people in order to engage in fighting against the government and the oil revenue staunchly exhorted rebel leaders to work

in quest to overthrow the government. However, as the fact, oil produced areas are concentrated in one region of the county which is greater Upper Nile. Consequently, the rebel leader Dr. Machar emphatically demanded two states in the region, the former Upper Nile, and the former Unity States to be placed at his disposal as a matrix of power-sharing with the government in the leeway of the negotiation for a peace deal in 2015. The government steadfastly rejected the position of the oil-rich areas under the rebel, but due to plethora pressure, the looming sanction and proposed arms embargo, the government was inveigled by the international and African mediators to punctiliously acquiesce the peace deal.

However despite the government's acquiescence and subservience to the peace arrangement finally, but due to clandestine clamor, bellyaching and disparagement remarks to the government's submission to what was seen to the rebel taking the lion share of the peace deal. Consequently to counterbalance the imbalance in the peace deal President surprisingly announced the increased the states in the country from 10 states to 28 states despite the signing of the Peace Agreement. Furthermore, the president move brought new political conundrum and a mammoth challenge to the peace mediators. However, after long and arduous meditation and consultation, the African and IGAD mediators successfully reached to the final settlement by luring and beguiling the warring party to meticulously condone the Peace Agreement as *modus vivendi* to painstakingly put end to the conflict.

Moreover, the creation of the twenty-eight states sturdy brought two different scenarios those who welcome it as a dimension of potently strengthening and streamline the federal system in the country. While others eloquently decried and chastised the establishment of the twenty-eight. For instant in Raga the rebellion started against being forcefully put together in the state called Lul with one county from the former Northern Bahr El Ghazal, while was snatched the former Western Bahr El Ghazal, however, the rebellion in the state led to loss of enormous of lives and properties in the read up to date still burning issue in the new state. In Malakal where the new state was formed the conflict is still abeyance and dormant between Dinka and Shilluk and also in former Unity area there is potent grumble from some group who clamored of their land be taken from them and given to the different group. Furthermore, the land issue as alluded is politically exacerbated and aggravated by political rivalry and one most contested and controversial issue which is politically manipulated by the conflicting elites which culminated in creating more division and would to the construction of ethnic by elites their quest for power. Furthermore, the land remains looming as a potential conflict amid the new states and within one state as the case of Raga which unfortunately lead to the further and humongous rift among the local communities would bring in more ethnic identities sceneries the country is facing now.

3.3 Frail and unstable institutions

The weakness of the state institution will lead to potential conflict as it is very clear the political and the government's institutions flunk or unable to work for national interests but often seems to be created to serve interest of particular group and unfortunately they do not adequately guarantee insulation,

or to accommodate growing demands for political participation, Furthermore lack of participatory democracy and weak democratic institutions are unable to manage tensions, autocracies or stymie violence and mitigated conflict through force. This situation makes people lost hope and confidence in public in institution political. Also, it brings about uncertainty, disquiet and ethnic dilemma as every group fear another due to the weakness of the state's institutions such as law informant agencies rampage atrocities which widely smeared the whole country, culminated in the emergence of an armed group and many rebels group led by grieved groups led to more, ethnic identities.

The Management of a public institution is one the most difficult challenge floundering the government since the time the formulation of the Government of South Sudan in 2005 up to the time of independence. The first incident of institutions' failure was the collapse of Nile Commercial Bank, the private bank which was functioning in the leeway of the war, the catalysts for the bank meltdown was the move taken seniors officials to take zillion amount from the bank without proper regulations and nepotism which was unfortunately introduced by these officials through employment unqualified and irrelevant to the work of the bank. However the failure of the country institutions to address the current issues such as a dearth of development and unemployment and corrupt practice. However unfair employment and services delivery is prima facie catalysts staunchly spurred citizens to resort tribal identities, as guarantor from embarrassment and frustration they are arduously floundering from these pusillanimous institutions. The behavior of some of the government's official is conspicuous and pervasive in the way they are serving their own interest through employing relatives or tribal men and turning down qualified candidates which lead to inadequate delivery of services and performance in general. However illiteracy, inequality poverty, underdevelopment, rampage corruption, dearth of accountability, transparency lead to more ethnic identities (tribalism) and the power struggle which is vehemently reflected in many South Sudanese institutions and was one of the overarching catalysts for this internecine conflict which led to the collapse of economy and made the public institution unable to vigorously render services to people.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, South Sudan ethnic identities (tribalism) are politically made and imagined identities ignited by the struggle which the utmost catalyst responsible for the internecine ongoing conflict in the country. Tribal identities are malleably negotiable and constructed by unscrupulous and power seeking elites in South Sudan beginning with the first autonomous regional government in 1974 as ramification blind ambitions for power and continued up the upheaval and cataclysm of December in 2013. However communal and traditional conflict are unscrupulously manipulated by the elites. They deplorably used ethnicity as tools and instruments for mobilizations of tribal men in the conflict which they believe the solely way to take them back to power for instant December 15th 2013.

Moreover, elites also used exclusion policy which is focused on monopolization of resources and among the powerful

political and military elites, unequal distribution of power and resources or politics of exclusion in the country. South Sudanese elites priorities their personal interest to transcend the interest of people and the entire nation, however, the suffering of the people of South Sudan is the hand of their selfish and unscrupulous elites. Furthermore illegal practice and corruption dearth of accountability, transparency, and good governance make ethnic identities as a tinderbox ready in anytime to ignite. Furthermore, the contestant over land and natural resources potentially exaggerated by fragile political conflict over power and institutions, and gullible and tenuous institutions as a repercussion of negligence and poor management of institutions and resources.

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