

**HUMAN SECURITY AND PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS IN  
AFRICA: A STUDY OF SOUTH SUDAN**

**BY**

**NDULUE JENNIFER CHIOMA  
(20PAH02114)**

**B.Sc. International Relations and Diplomacy, Afe Babalola University,  
Ado Ekiti,**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF  
POSTGRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS OF SCIENCE  
(M.Sc.) DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, COLLEGE OF LEADERSHIP  
AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, COVENANT UNIVERSITY,  
OTA, OGUN STATE NIGERIA.**

**JULY, 2022**

## **ACCEPTANCE**

This is to attest that this dissertation is accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Masters of Science (M.Sc.) in International Relations in the Department of Political Science and International Relations, College of Leadership and Development Studies, Covenant University, Ota, Nigeria.

**Mr. Taiwo Erewumi**  
(Secretary, School of Postgraduate Studies)

**Signature and Date**

**Prof. Akan B. Williams**  
(Dean, School of Postgraduate  
Studies)

**Signature and Date**

## **DECLARATION**

**I, NDULUE, JENNIFER CHIOMA (20PAH02114)** declare that this research was carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Kester C. Onor of the Department of Political Science and International Relations, College of Leadership and Development Studies, Covenant University, Ota, Ogun state, Nigeria. I attest that this dissertation has not been presented either wholly or partially for the award of any degree elsewhere. All sources of data, scholarly information used in this dissertation are duly acknowledged.

**NDULUE JENNIFER CHIOMA**

**Signature and Date**

## **CERTIFICATION**

We certify that this dissertation titled “**HUMAN SECURITY AND PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS IN AFRICA: A STUDY OF SOUTH SUDAN**” is an original research carried out by **NDULUE, JENNIFER CHIOMA (20PAH02114)** in the Department of Political Science and International Relations, College of Leadership and Development Studies, Covenant University, Ota, Ogun state, Nigeria under the supervision of Dr. Kester C. Onor. We have examined and found it acceptable for the award of Masters of Science (M.Sc.) in International Relations.

**Dr. Kester C. Onor**  
(Supervisor)

**Signature and Date**

**Prof. Daniel E. Gberevbie**  
(Head of Department)

**Signature and Date**

**Dr. Bonnie Ayodele**  
(External Examiner)

**Signature and Date**

**Prof. Akan B. Williams**  
(Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies)

**Signature and Date**

## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to the Almighty God for his protection, provision, guidance, love, mercies, and great favour throughout my academic programme.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My profound gratitude goes to God Almighty, the author and finisher of this work for his overwhelming love, favour and mercies upon on me, and for the grace and ability to start and finish this dissertation successfully.

I acknowledge the Chancellor, Dr. David O. Oyedepo for creating a conducive atmosphere for learning and exploit. I wish to appreciate the Pro-Chancellor, Bishop David Abioye, the Board of Regents, the Secretary of the University, Mr. Adedeji Owojaiye, the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Abiodun H. Adebayo, the Acting Registrar, Mr. Emmanuel Igbani, and all the management team. My thanks also go to the Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies, Professor Akan B. Williams; Sub-Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies, Dr. Emmanuel O. Amoo; and the Dean, College of Leadership and Development Studies, Professor Charles Ogbulogo. I deeply appreciate the Head of Department, Political Science and International Relations, Professor Daniel E. Gberevbie for his fatherly care and advice, who through his plethora of academic experience, has contributed to the quality and texture of this work.

More importantly, I thank my relentless, persistent and impeccable Supervisor, Dr. Kester Onor. for his patience, unwavering enthusiasm, guidance and expertise and push towards the completion of this study. I deeply appreciate his efforts to painstakingly ensure that this research emerges successful. May God's favour, mercy, grace and wisdom continue to abide with you. Also worthy of appreciation are Professor Sheriff F. Folarin, Professor Anthony Oladoyin, Dr Duruji Moses, Dr. Samuel Oni, Dr. Felix Chidozie, Dr. Fadeke Owolabi, Dr. Lady Ajayi, Dr. Faith Olanrewaju, Dr. Ugochukwu Abasilim, Dr. Ilemobola Olanrewaju, Dr. Oluwakemi Udoh, Dr. Olumuyiwa Ajayi, Dr. Nchekwube Excellence-Oluye, Dr. Oluwatosin Ifaloye, Mr Olaniyi Ayodele, Mr. Adekunle Olanrewaju, Mr Gideon Folorunsho, Mr. Oluwatimilehin Dehinde-Adedeji, Miss Esther Adekunle, Mr. Abolaji Atobatele, Mr. Nick Essien and Mrs Modupe Ochim.

My humble appreciation goes to my wonderful and lovely parents, Col. Victor C. Ndulue Rtd and Mrs. Ifeoma Ndulue for all their struggles and prayers over me that has seen me

to this height in life, I say a very big thank you. I appreciate my sisters, Ndulue Stephanie and Ndulue Ifunanya for their words of encouragement and prayers during the writing of this dissertation.

To my wonderful comrades in the Postgraduate Student Council, I appreciate them for their support and encouragement. Finally, I want to appreciate my friends and colleagues, Samuel Ibok, Moyo Dada, Tumininu Adebajo, Goodness Rotimi, Seyi Egunleti, Tosin Adeyemi, Dorcas Johnson, Ikike Ibanga, Faith Bella, Joy Iyamah and Folorunsho Oladimeji, to my wonderful mates, those whose names are not mentioned here, and all my well-wishers, thank you.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>CONTENTS</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
<b>COVER PAGE</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>TITLE PAGE</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ACCEPTANCE</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>DECLARATION</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>CERTIFICATION</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b>	<b>xiv</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>xv</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	4
1.3 Research Questions	6
1.4 Research Objectives	6
1.5 Research Propositions	6
1.6 Significance of the Study	7
1.7 Scope of the Study	8
1.8 Organisation of the Study	8
1.9 Definition of Terms	9
<b>References</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</b>	<b>12</b>
2.1 Preamble	12
2.1.1 The Concept of Security	12
2.1.2 The Concept of Human Security	14
2.1.3 The Concept of Peacekeeping Missions	24
2.1.4 Peacekeeping Mission in Africa and Political Security: A Nexus	27
2.1.5 Nature and Causal Factors necessitating Peacekeeping Missions	28
2.1.6 Peacekeeping Missions and Political Security: Beaming the searchlight on some African States	29
2.1.7 Political Security Issues in South-Sudan	36

2.1.8 Peacekeeping Missions in South Sudan	37
2.2 Theoretical Framework	38
2.2.1 Application of Theory	41
2.1.2 Gaps in Literature	42
<b>References</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS</b>	<b>53</b>
3.1 Preamble	53
3.1.1 Research Design	53
3.1.2 Population of the Study	54
3.1.3 Methods of Data Collection	54
3.1.4 Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments	57
3.1.5 Method of Data Analysis	58
3.2 Description of Study Area	58
3.2.1 Historical Background of South Sudan	62
3.2.2 Human Security issues in South Sudan from the Perspective of Freedom from Want	63
3.2.3 Human Security Issues in South Sudan from the Perspective of Freedom from Fear	64
<b>References</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS</b>	<b>73</b>
4.1 Preamble	73
4.1.1 Theme One: Human Security Implications of Peacekeeping Missions in South Sudan	73
4.1.2 Lack of Secure Centres	73
4.1.3 Inadequate Humanitarian Facilities	74
4.1.4 Weak Political will and Commitment	75
4.1.5 Absence of Peace	76
4.1.6 Targeting of UN Infrastructure	77
4.1.7 Contested Consent	78
4.2 Theme Two: Effort of Peacekeeping Missions in Protecting the Rights of Citizens in South Sudan	79
4.2.1 Civilian Protection	79
4.2.2 Protection of Civilian Centres	81
4.2.3 Coordination of Humanitarian Supplies	82

4.2.4 Monitoring and Investigating Human Rights	83
4.3 Theme Three: Peacekeeping Missions Impact on the Political Stability in South Sudan	85
4.4 Theme Four: Peacekeeping Missions Promotes Democratic Governance in South Sudan	87
<b>References</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS</b>	<b>94</b>
5.1 Preamble	94
5.2 Discussion of Findings	94
5.2.1 Findings for Research Question One	95
5.2.2 Findings for Research Question Two	97
5.2.3 Findings for Research Question Three	99
5.2.4 Finding for Research Question Four	100
<b>References</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION</b>	<b>103</b>
6.1 Preamble	103
6.1.1 Summary	103
6.1.3 Contributions to Knowledge	105
6.1.3 Recommendations	106
6.1.4 Conclusion	107
6.1.5 Limitations of the Study	108
6.1.6 Suggestions for Further Studies	108
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>109</b>
Books	109
Government Documents	114
Journals	115
Internet	125
Published Thesis	127

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>FIGURES</b>	<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	<b>PAGES</b>
Figure 2.1	Human security diagram	15
Figure 2.2	A clear understanding of food security	19
Figure 2.3	A clear understanding of community security	23
Figure 3.6	A map of South Sudan, showing towns and cities	60

## **LIST OF TABLES**

<b>TABLES</b>	<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>	<b>PAGES</b>
Table 3.1	Codes used to derive themes for the study by the researcher	54
Table 3.2	Flowchart of searches with the identification of relevant	56

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>ARCSS</b>	Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>AUMISS</b>	African Union Mission to South Sudan
<b>CPA</b>	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
<b>PKM</b>	Peacekeeping missions
<b>ICRC</b>	International Committee of the Red Cross
<b>ICRS</b>	International Committee of the Red Cross
<b>IDP</b>	Internally Displaced Person
<b>IGAD</b>	International Authority on Development
<b>INGO</b>	International Non-Governmental Organization
<b>MSF</b>	Médecins Sans Frontiers
<b>POC</b>	Protection of Civilians
<b>R2P</b>	Responsibility to Protect
<b>SPLM/A</b>	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
<b>TGNU</b>	Transitional Government of National Unity
<b>UN</b>	United Nation
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNMISS</b>	United Nations Mission to South Sudan

## ABSTRACT

The relevance of peacekeeping missions (PKM) in solving human security issues is highly debatable. Peacekeeping missions has been known to leave immediate and long-term devastating problem on the host country. South Sudan since 2013 has played host to several peacekeeping missions due to ethnic and political rivalry which led to a full-scale war targeted against innocent civilians. Hence, the study examines the human security implications of peacekeeping missions in South Sudan from 2013 to 2021. The study challenged the imperativeness of peacekeeping missions as a viable tool for the sustenance of political stability in South Sudan. The researcher argues that PKMs are more focused on what they can gain from South Sudan than fulfilling their mandate of averting humanitarian catastrophes and ensuring peaceful transition to democratic rule. The study employs the Fiduciary Theory of Humanitarian Intervention which proposed that states must defend the lives of their own soldiers on an equal footing with the lives of foreign people they are entrusted with. Qualitative research method was adopted with the use of the descriptive and exploratory research design. Data were elicited from secondary source which includes already-published works such as academic journals, books, newspapers, institutional reports, and online materials. The study employed thematic analysis as the method of data analysis. Findings from the study state that PKM has not been able to put an end to violence in South Sudan. PKM has also created more human security problems than what they met on ground. The Protection of Civilians (POC) camps which was establish to help the internally displaced persons are been neglected while sexual harassment, food insecurity, health insecurity and gun violence have also resulted from a lack of leadership in the camps. The study further revealed that PKM has concentrated more on the political issues more than the ethnic issues which is perceived as major factor causing humanitarian crisis. Therefore, in the light of the findings, this research recommended that since PKM is currently engaged in military missions in South Sudan, it should focus on activities that can help the country build their societies through peace building rather than the current emphasis on ending the current impasse. Due to the fact that the South Sudanese government cannot look beyond ethnic loyalties, PKM should learn to include all the ethnic and political party in the peace accord. Involving all parties should not be based on power sharing but in strengthening state institutions. The research concluded that PKM has not been able to stop the violence in South Sudan.

***Keywords: Civil war, Human security, Peacekeeping missions, Political security, South Sudan***