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Strategy to Prevent Violent Conflicts and Fragility in the Cross-Border Areas of Ethiopia and Kenya

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Abstract

Violent conflict and fragility are the major challenges in the cross-border areas of most African countries, especially on the cross-border areas of Ethiopia and Kenya. This vast and fragile cross-border area has been a herd of instability: remote from the respective centres (Nairobi and Addis Ababa). It is characterized by a poorly-developed physical infrastructure, human and armed trafficking, low literacy, and high poverty levels. All the development indices in this area are significantly lower than the national averages of Ethiopia and Kenya. Access to essential services such as clean water, adequate health facilities and electricity remains a challenge. Pastoralism is the dominant economic activity, and the main source of livelihood for most of the population in this cross-border area, which has been marked by violent conflict, marginalization and poverty. The result of these challenges is forced migration, fragility and long-term instability, which compound humanitarian and development situation. There is, therefore, a need for a comprehensive, multi-dimensional and integrated approach to these challenges. The Ethiopia-Kenya Cross-Border area-based and integrated Programme does exactly that.

Keywords: Cross-Border Cooperation, Conflict, Fragility, Livelihood, Ethiopia, Kenya, Area-Based Programme

¹The views expressed here are the author's own and not necessarily of the United Nations

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1. Introduction

Multiple crises and pressing challenges impede economic and human development on the African continent, especially in the wider Horn of Africa (HOA) region, which covers Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan. The region has experienced robust economic growth, a situation that is projected to persist in the coming years. According to African Development Bank (AfDB), economic growth in the region is expected to remain buoyant, reaching an average of 5.9 per cent in 2018, and 6.1 per cent by 2019 (AfDB, 2018). Some of the factors behind this robust economic growth are increased private consumption and manufacturing, especially in Kenya, and investments in public infrastructure in Djibouti and Ethiopia. Some countries have also made remarkable progress in improving human development outcomes, as demonstrated in their success with the SDGs. Despite this progress and sustained impressive economic growth, there is a need to ensure that this growth is inclusive and that it translates into jobs to enhance standards of living.

Considerable social-development challenges persist, especially poverty and inequality (ECA, 2015). These challenges, if not properly addressed, are a recipe for disasters such as violent conflict and radicalization. Therefore, the best way to prevent these societies from descending into crisis, including, but not limited to, violent conflict, is to ensure they are resilient by investing in inclusive and sustainable development (World Bank, 2018).

Natural resource discovery in the Horn of Africa holds great promise. However, there are potential risks for conflict and civil war if proper national and collaborative cross-border governance is not strengthened, and if institutional mechanisms are not put in place to guarantee transparency and accountability, and equitable distribution of the benefits of natural resource extraction. As infrastructural development and extractive industries begin to thrive, resources such as land, revenue from mining, and water, become increasingly contested.

Similarly, the region's human resource endowment is both an asset and a liability. While the growing and young population has an obvious potential demographic dividend, lack of opportunities and political exclusion is fuelling disaffection, youth radicalization, and, arguably, irregular migration. Factors that inhibit development include violent and protracted conflicts; climate risks and environmental degradation; poor governance; political and economic marginalization evidenced by persistent poverty, discrimination along gender and ethnic lines, protracted displacement, and, increasingly, insecurity associated with the operation of transnational organized crime and terrorist groups.

Countries in the region exhibit great internal disparities in terms of access to natural resources, infrastructure, and service provision. At the same time, the 'footprint' of the state is concentrated at the centre and dissipates at the periphery. Communities who live in border regions are, often, spatially and politically marginalized from the decision-making centres and the capital cities. They also lag in terms of social and economic development. These disparities contribute to heightened vulnerability in peripheral areas, which host large populations, leading to protracted displacement, environmental shocks, and food insecurity. Disputes over borders (e.g. the recent border tension between Kenya and Somalia) and internal ethnic conflicts, as well as socioeconomic disparities, also undermine regional stability (Institute for Security Studies, 2012).

Most conflicts often cross-national boundaries. They are fuelled by contested boundaries, water, energy and mineral resources. Growing competition for, and conflict over, the use and management of resources in border areas, such as pasture and water, lakes and rivers, among other resources, highlight the need for cross-border and area-based development strategies and cooperation. Weak governed border areas provide fertile grounds for radicalization and recruitment of disaffected youth and illicit activities, including the trafficking of drugs, people and weapons, which threaten peace and development in Africa, especially in the Horn of Africa.

In many ways, movement in the region is exacerbated by the 'geography of marginalization' and porous borders. People move from rural to urban areas due to the push-and-pull factors and weak rural-urban linkages. They end up in slums because the weak industries in the Horn of Africa cannot absorb and provide them with employment

opportunities (Yuen & Kumssa, 2010). Some of them migrate to Europe or other developed countries using any means available to them. As they flee conflicts and disasters, trekking across porous borders, they often find themselves in protracted displacement situations along the border areas. With limited prospects, a situation further exacerbated by hostile hosts, some of them continue in search of better prospects elsewhere, but their problems do not end here. Some seek illegal means to migrate to Europe, the Gulf or South Africa. While in transit, they are targeted by traffickers and smugglers who exploit their vulnerability and capitalize on the weak border management (IOM, 2015). Pastoralists also regularly cross borders in search of grazing lands and water, fuelling localized conflicts over scarce resources. Movements in the Horn of Africa (HoA) are dominated by forced displacement. With over 8.7 million displaced persons, which include over 6.5 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and about 2.2 million refugees (UNHCR/World Bank, 2015), the region is host to numerous refugees and IDPs. These figures exclude pastoralists on the move and those displaced across borders due to natural and human-made disasters, besides development projects. The majority of those displaced are women and children, resulting in many female-headed households. Refugees in the region are concentrated in underdeveloped and periphery areas of the host states. Most of the displacement situations in the HoA have lasted for over 20 years. Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan have been the major centres of human displacement (UNHCR/World Bank, 2015).

The Ethiopia-Kenya cross-border programme was initiated to address these challenges. It aims to reduce vulnerability and increase the resilience of communities affected by conflict and climate-induced migration in the border region by building their capacity and identifying and promoting sustainable livelihood projects and conflict management strategies. It also aims at enhancing economic growth through transformative programmes that include infrastructure development, industrial and agricultural/livestock development projects, and the development of health and educational facilities. The programme will also address the challenges of illegal migration, including human trafficking. This is important because the migration of thousands of African youth, who are often exposed to the danger of drowning in the Mediterranean, is fuelled by poverty or conflict at home, and lured by the prospects of a good life in Europe and beyond (UNCTAD, 2018).

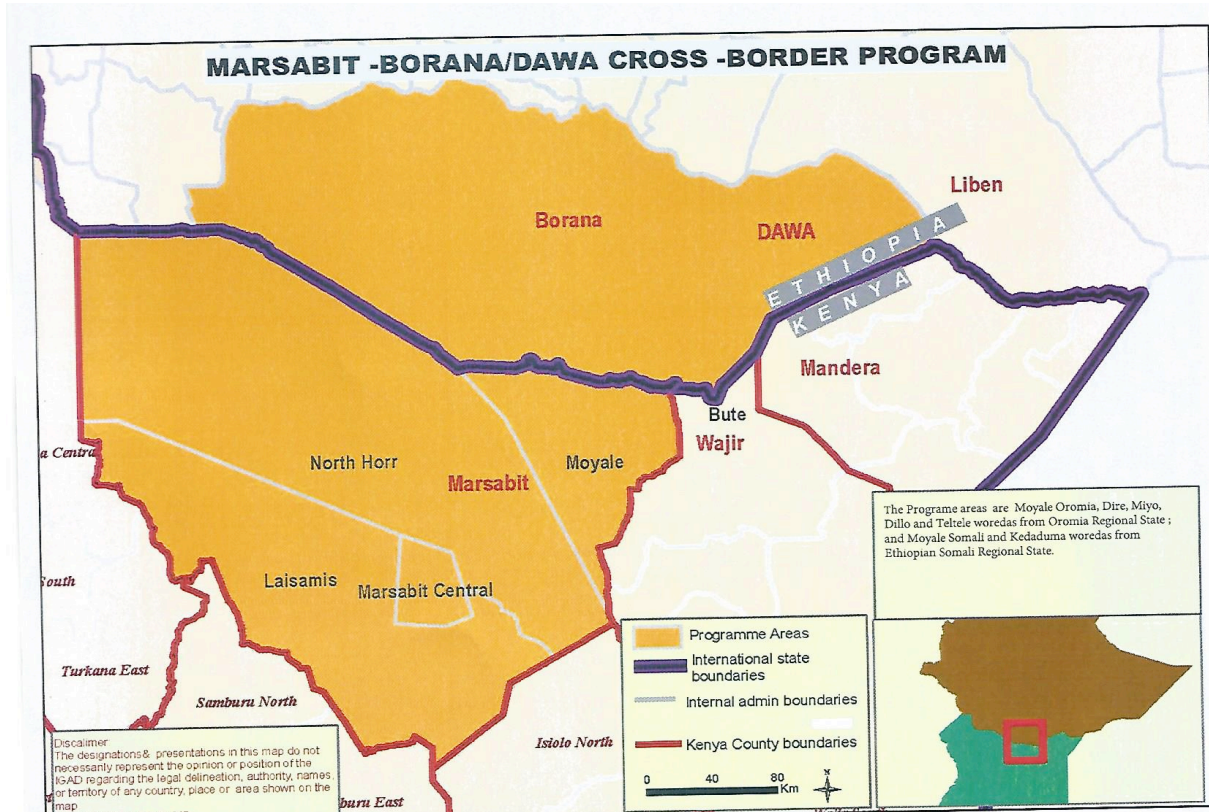
2. Background

Kenya and Ethiopia share a large porous border straddling a length of 861 kilometers that traverses Marsabit, Mandera, Turkana and Wajir Counties on the Kenyan side, and Borana, Dawa and Omo zones on the Ethiopian side. On the Kenyan side, Marsabit County shares a longer border with Ethiopia, with Borana zone also sharing a long border with Kenya compared to Dawa and Omo zones. Nomadic pastoralist communities, the Borana, Gabbra, and Garri, among others, live on both sides of the border. These communities are primarily pastoralists whose livelihood is mainly based on livestock keeping. During dry seasons, these communities move with their livestock within the region as well as across the Ethiopia-Kenya border as pastoralists often do not recognize official and international boundaries. These inter-regional and cross-border movements frequently lead to conflicts over scarce water and pasture. Consequently, in these border regions, many households have been displaced from their original settlements due to conflicts arising from clashes over scarce resources (pasture and water); cattle rustling and inter-communal and boundary disputes.

Like other border regions, both the Marsabit County and the Borana/Dawa Zones of Ethiopia are relatively underdeveloped compared to other regions in their respective countries. To address the problem of underdevelopment, poverty, conflict, regional and social inequalities, Ethiopia and Kenya embarked on a devolved system of governance that is expected to provide equal opportunities to all citizens by creating conditions to encourage their input in their respective countries' governance. The Governments of Ethiopia and Kenya, the UN Country Teams and IGAD have also come together to jointly lead a cross-border and area-based programme/initiative for Marsabit County and Borana/Dawa Zones of Ethiopia aimed at reducing conflict, strengthening social cohesion and bringing sustainable peace and development to the region.

The overall goal of the programme is to transform the region into a prosperous, peaceful and resilient community through prevention of conflict, capacity building programmes and the creation of alternative livelihoods. It also aims at boosting cross-border trade to reduce poverty, inequality, low education levels and health facilities. Unemployment, especially among the youth, and sustainable and effective utilization of the resources of the region, are other targets of the programme.

The programme area



The programme was launched by the President of Kenya, H.E. Uhuru Kenyatta; the former Prime Minister of Ethiopia, H.E. Hailemariam Desalegn; and the IGAD Executive Secretary, Ambassador Mahboub; on 7 December 2015 in the border town of Moyale.

The objective of this programme is in line with the initiative of the former United Nations (UN) Secretary-General, World Bank Group (WBG) President, and senior representatives of the African Union (AU), European Union (EU), African Development Bank (AfDB) and Islamic Development Bank (IsDB). The initiative was launched during their joint trip to the region in October 2014 (World Bank, et. al. 2016). The initiative aims at boosting economic growth, reduce poverty and promote business activities in the Horn of Africa through, among others, cross-border cooperation.

Strengthening cross-border cooperation between Marsabit and Borana/Dawa Zones of Ethiopia will have several advantages for both countries, including, but not limited to:

- Bringing together the communities on both sides of the border and transforming the border region into a viable development area;
- Creating opportunities for (a) trade, investment and tourism; (b) use and effective management of natural resources; (c) improved infrastructure; (d) cross-border movement of people; and (e) promoting peacebuilding and conflict management initiatives that are crucial for socio-economic development;

- Transforming the border regions from being “barriers” and converting them into a “bridge” to give communities on both sides of the border opportunities for better cooperation, and bridge isolation gaps to improve livelihoods and socioeconomic conditions;
- Curbing human trafficking and the illegal smuggling of arms;
- Effectively managing and conserving their resources, and strengthening their cultural understanding and trust that ultimately brings about sustainable peace and development;
- Initiating innovative strategies for the prevention and mitigation of conflicts, crime, smuggling of drugs, and economic transformation limitations faced by cross-border communities.

3. Challenges and Fragility of the Cross-Border area

3.1. Poverty

This cross-border area is characterized by a high level of poverty, poorly developed physical infrastructure, and low school enrolment rates combined with low literacy levels, and poor education indicators. All the development indices in this cross-border area are much lower than the national averages of the respective countries. The population is largely mobile, and their movement is not confined to one country but transcends international boundaries into Ethiopia and vice versa. These inter-regional and cross-border movements often lead to conflicts over water and pasture.

All the development indices in this cross-border area are much lower than the national averages of the respective countries. Statistics available, for example, indicate that Marsabit County’s poverty level is estimated at 83.2 Per cent compared with the national level at 39 Per cent as of 2012 (Marsabit County Government, Kenya, 1918). The literacy rate and gross primary school enrolment rates for Marsabit County, for example, are only 30 per cent and 43 per cent, (Marsabit County Government, Kenya, 1918) respectively, while the literacy rate for the Borana zone is slightly over 10 per cent, (Government of Ethiopia, 2012). The school infrastructure is inadequate and sparsely distributed, with distances covered to get to a school too long for most children. Latrines are also a huge problem as the latrine to pupil ratio stands at 1:41 for boys, and 1:31 for girls. Besides, the pupil-teacher ratio stands at 1:42 in primary schools (Marsabit County Government, Kenya, 1918).

An estimated 56 per cent of the Borana pastoral households in southern Ethiopia are dynamically poor (Wassie, 2005), which refers to a poverty trap condition that requires external interventions. The poverty level in Marsabit County is 83 per cent. Access to basic services such as clean water, adequate health facilities and electricity remains a challenge. Over 60 per cent of households in Marsabit use boreholes, springs and open wells as their main source of water. Only four per cent of these households has piped water. Sanitation is equally poor – only 34 per cent of households have a latrine. Majority of community members defecate in the open. Malaria/fever accounts for nearly 45 per cent of morbidity and mortality in the County, and under-one-year immunization coverage stands at 63.6 Per cent. In Marsabit, only 36 per cent of births is delivered in health facilities. Given the strong cultural and religious practices in the region, penetration of contraceptives is low at 8.3 Per cent among married women (Marsabit County Government, Kenya, 1918).

Human poverty in the regions co-exists with a rich store of natural wealth and biodiversity, which includes livestock, wildlife, forests, pasture, minerals, and medicinal plants that are critical to the lives of the people. In these borderland areas, prolonged underinvestment in basic public facilities such as education, health, security, roads, etc. has exposed the communities to vulnerability and external shocks such as the recurrent drought and inter-communal conflicts. The youthful population, poverty, inadequate water supply, recurrent droughts and the resulting land degradation create natural resource-based conflicts, among others.

3.2. *Violent Conflict*

It is a fact that conflict stands directly in the way of achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which stress the crucial role peace, justice and security plays in their achievement. SDG 16, "**Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions**," emphasizes the centrality of promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for achieving sustainable development goals. This is important given the fact that by 2030, about half of the world's poor are expected to live in fragile and conflict-affected settings (Esiri, 2017). Violent conflicts have adverse effects on the macroeconomic growth of a country and socioeconomic development of communities living in the peripheries through decreased investment, trade and productivity. It is estimated that conflict will reduce real GDP by 15 to 20 per cent over five years as opposed to a no-conflict scenario (IMF, 2019). These widespread conflicts impose an enormous cost not only on the countries where they occur but also on their neighbouring countries, which often end up bearing the cost of hosting refugees, who cross into their borders in search for a haven. This exerts considerable economic and environmental stress on the host countries. Violent conflicts over the distribution of resources and political power have hindered social integration and diverted attention and resources from economic development to conflict management (Kumssa, et. al. 2014).

The target region faces major challenges in terms of disputes and a series of inter-communal conflicts witnessed over the years. Most of these conflicts are either over resources (pasture and water), demarcated boundaries, or are politically instigated. This has led to massacres and huge losses of property among the affected individuals and communities. For instance, the clash between the Garri and Borana that erupted on 25th July 2012 in Moyale, Ethiopia, forced more than 20,000 people to flee to Kenya (Life & Peace Institute, 2017).

The burning of villages and properties disrupted business activities and caused the closure of the border between the two countries for about a week. Similarly, the political and ethnic conflict that erupted between the coalition of Rendille, Gabbra and Burji (REGABU) communities and the Borana in Kenya during the run-up to the December 2013 General Elections displaced about 30,000 people and led to a loss of lives and property (KRAZYINSIDEKENYA, 2013). The REGABU coalition won all the major political seats, leaving Borana with only one seat in Moyale. Out of an estimated 80,550 people living in Moyale constituency, 53,968 people (approx. 67 Per cent) were displaced (Reliefweb, 2013). The conflict between the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and Ethiopian security forces also occasionally spilled into Kenya, resulting in casualties on the Kenyan side occasioned by clan or communal affiliations between communities living in both Kenya and Ethiopia.

Moyale has experienced disproportionately higher incidences of both internal and external (cross-border) conflicts. On 13th December 2018, in Moyale, Ethiopian side, about 20 people were killed and over about 100 people injured in just three days. They were taken to the sub-county Hospital of Takaba, Mandera, Kenya where they were treated (MSF, 2018). According to Addis Standard, on 17th December 2018, a deadly shooting, which took place inside Bekele Molla Hotel in Moyale city, Ethiopia, claimed the lives of at least a dozen civilians. According to some sources, the incident happened during talks between regional security forces, representatives of the two warring factions of the Borana and Garri, and members of the federal army on handing over the city's security from regional forces to the federal army (EthioExplorer.com, 2018).

Moyale is a hotbed of perpetual ethnic clashes between the various pastoralist communities living in the border areas. These conflicts often spill over from one country to another. However, what makes the recent conflict between the Borana and Garri communities in Ethiopia extremely disturbing is its magnitude and the use of heavy artillery/weapons by both sides, unlike in the past, and the regionalization of the conflict.

It is important to note that the causes and patterns of the cross-border conflict are complex and intertwined with ethnicity and environmental degradation. This leads to competition over scarce resources, and an influx of illicit arms from neighbouring countries, inadequate institutional arrangements and approaches to conflicts and poor governance, and political incitement. Other causes include the inadequate capacity to deliver inclusive basic services, the collapse of traditional governance systems, and a high unemployment rate. In May 2019, eleven

people were killed in North Horr Constituency, Marsabit County, Kenya; two people were wounded, and another four reported missing under mysterious circumstances (Walter, 2019).

Despite these challenges, there are opportunities for attaining sustainable peace and development in the region. The détente between Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia, the emerging rapprochement between Djibouti and Eritrea, and the revitalized peace agreement in South Sudan, have increased confidence in regional solutions to regional problems. A new narrative of compromise, cooperation, and economic complementarity is emerging in the region (United Nations, 2019). This new regional cooperation initiative for peace and development in the Horn of Africa was launched by His Excellency Dr. Abiy Ahmed, the Prime Minister of Ethiopia. It addresses the escalating regional and local boundary disputes, resource-based conflicts, particularly in cross-border areas, and other historical injustices by involving community institutions and creating peace forums and strengthening local institutions that deal with peace and security in the region.

This approach is important since experience has shown that peace agreements founded on traditional systems and mediated by local and traditional institutions across regional borders with the support of the States, civil societies and international organizations have the most legitimacy and the highest chances of success. Some of these living successful experiences include the cross-border peace initiatives along the Kenya-Ethiopia Border popularly known as *Maikona* and *Madogashe Declarations* (University of Nairobi, 2013).

It is also important to recognize that conflicts in the region are complex and protracted, and often spill over into national borders. Therefore, responses to these conflicts must be comprehensive and multi-dimensional (United Nations, 2019).

3.3 Diminishing Role and Power of Traditional Institutions

Both the Borana and Gabbra communities across the national borders have very strong traditional institutions with powers over several issues in the community. Amongst the Borana, the *Gada* system regulates grazing patterns, watering points and inter-communal relations in the border region. The same can be said of the *Yaa* among the Gabbra, which bestows these cross-border communities with a powerful traditional governance system that has regulated inter-communal relations for a long time (Kumssa, et. al., 2011). This indigenous and traditional institutional systems govern the mobility of herders and their livestock, including across the international border, maintains and restores collaboration among clans and ethnic groups, and provides a framework for managing disputes and conflict (Pavanello & Levine, 2011).

However, over the years, the powers of these traditional institutions have been eroded by the advent of formal governance systems, state intervention, religion and other factors. The cumulative result has been the inability of these institutions to effectively address intra- and inter-communal conflicts in the border region, hence the frequent conflicts along the Kenya-Ethiopia border. There is, therefore, a need to revise and strengthen traditional governance and resource management systems; and improve the land tenure system, and equitably and fairly demarcate administrative boundaries, which are often contentious and conflict-prone.

3.4. Lack of Local Institutional Capacity

Border controls in this area are so weak that, oftentimes, in some areas, peace is maintained more by the traditional interaction between pastoralist groups than by the presence of state machinery. Nevertheless, to address these challenges, several efforts have been made in the past by state and non-state actors. The Ethiopian and Kenyan Governments signed a Special Status Agreement in 2012 to strengthen relations between the two countries to form a new partnership based on mutual benefit and cooperation. The Agreement aims at promoting and encouraging bilateral ties in all major priority areas such as trade, investment, infrastructure and sustainable development, and peace and security. This agreement aims to reduce poverty, address conflicts in the border areas, and transform the economies of both countries (Kenya London News, 2014).

In December 2015, the governments of Ethiopia and Kenya, in partnership with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and United Nations initiated the current integrated and area-based cross-border programme to foster peace and sustainable development in the Marsabit County of Kenya and Borana/Dawa Zones of Ethiopia. Following the launch of the programme, the project document was signed by the representatives of the two governments on 22 June 2017 in Nairobi, Kenya.

Besides, IGAD's Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) has supported several cross-border initiatives, including putting up cross-border livestock markets in Isiolo (Kenya) and Magado (Ethiopia). This programme will synergize with other ongoing programmes to add value to sustainable peace and improved livelihood and cross-border cooperation processes.

The European Union has also launched a multi-million project titled “*Collaboration in Cross-Border Areas of the Horn of Africa Region*”. The project aims to prevent and mitigate the impact of local conflict in the borderland areas, and to promote economic development and greater resilience through investments in conflict management and resolution capacities. It also seeks to enhance and diversify livelihoods, including livestock, agriculture and fisheries; strengthening basic service delivery; natural resource management; and promoting cross-border trade and private sector development (EU, 2016).

5.5 Youth Unemployment and Marginalization

With increasing insecurity and inter-ethnic conflicts, small arms have become essential household assets. Mostly, the youth are the ones who carry and use these deadly weapons to demonstrate their heroism by raiding and killing members of other communities. In the context of this region, youth participation in conflicts is mainly driven by a combination of cultural values and beliefs such as cattle rustling for economic gain or killing members of other groups considered to be “enemies.” Youth are used by various interest groups to secure their respective interests. These interest groups range from elders, politicians, women and other youth. Their interests range from economic, such as cattle rustling, to social, such as passage rights to qualify for marriage. In the past, the attacks were carried out by the youth to obtain bride-wealth for a wife, or as a rite of passage. However, today, the attacks or raids are carried out for profit and commercial purposes.

Although cattle raiding among the pastoralist community had been a common socio-cultural practice in the past, it was controlled by both the elders and traditional values. Elders have been vanguards of peace and custodians of norms and values. In this regard, they are highly respected and play a crucial role in conflict resolution and management. However, with the diminishing role of the traditional governance system, cattle raiding has spiralled out of control, becoming extremely destructive and commercialized (Kumssa, et. al. 2011) Moreover, the proliferation of small arms from conflict-ridden neighbouring countries has made cattle raiding a deadly and destructive practice. Also, youth unemployment and marginalization increase the risk of radicalization of this important group by enticing them to join terrorist groups.

2.6. Gender Issues

Due to socially and culturally constructed roles and responsibilities of women, their participation in decision-making in political, economic and social sphere has been significantly low. In this region, there are few women and youth involved in leadership and decision-making processes at the grassroots level. The preference of boys over girls is also high, which leads to limited opportunities for girls in terms of access to education, skills training and wealth acquisition. Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is also very common in Marsabit County. Besides, most women peace builders lack adequate knowledge and skills due to a dearth of training opportunities. Women suffer most from conflict and they rarely participate in formal peace negotiations; and they suffer disproportionately due to systematic rape and sexual violence; greater levels of displacement and presence in refugee camps where mortality rates tend to be higher; and social and economic vulnerability, due in large part to loss of access to sources of livelihood (in particular, agricultural systems) and to basic services (Njambi & Misiani, 2016).

3.7. Cross-border Migration

Migration through the Marsabit-Moyale border frequently takes irregular forms such as human trafficking, or entry into the region without proper authorization or documentation. Although many migrants travel legally, there has been marked human trafficking, with Moyale acting as a crossing point for Ethiopian refugees en-route to South Africa, which has been one of the destinations of Ethiopian migrants fleeing political and economic crisis at home. Immigrants from Ethiopia constitute one of the largest groups in South Africa. For example, according to Statistics South Africa (StatsSA), cited by Africa Check, 65,000 refugees and 230,000 asylum seekers were registered in South Africa in 2014, and their main countries of origin are indicated as Ethiopia, Somalia, the DRC and Angola (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Irregular migration has become a worrying phenomenon in regional insecurity. For example, in the recent past, many Ethiopian immigrants have been arrested along the Moyale - Marsabit road on their way to Nairobi en route to South Africa. To address this problem, special attention should be placed on strengthening state security institutions, border control, community policing; and encouraging governments to adopt proper national and regional migration policies and legislation. It is critical to foster community involvement in border management and ensure that security responses to cross-border conflict and transnational threats do not compromise human rights or unduly inhibit the free movement of people, which underpins pastoral livelihoods and the economy of the Marsabit-Borana-Dawa transboundary area. Improved interactions between local populations and law enforcement also serve the latter by allowing police to tap local the knowledge to understand the terrain, nature, and dimensions of security threats.

3.8. Climate Change, and Environmental Degradation

Climate change induced erratic rains, combined with the worst El Niño phenomenon of the past 50 years, have recently wreaked havoc on the pastoral and arid and semi-arid regions of Kenya and Ethiopia. Erratic rain patterns and prolonged drought have resulted in a decline in the availability of water and quantity and quality of forage. Thus, waterholes and rivers have dried up, leading to widespread crop failures and migration of people, thereby triggering the migration of pastoral communities and increasing the risk of family separation and conflict over scarce resources. According to a UNOCHA report of 2017, 12.8 million people in Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Uganda require humanitarian assistance. The same Report indicates that the crisis has disrupted the education of approximately 1.5 million and 1.2 million children in Ethiopia and Kenya, respectively (Reliefweb, 2017).

Vast numbers of people in the region move across-borders and beyond in search of safety, food, pasture, water and livelihood opportunities. Migration through perilous routes exposes the already vulnerable pastoral communities to numerous risks, hence the urgent need to consider policy and investment options in addressing these issues, considering the delicate balance of maintaining pastoralists' mobility and lifestyle vis-à-vis environmental conservation, population growth and state security. Pastoralism is the dominant economic activity and the main source of livelihood for most of the population in the arid and semi-arid regions of Kenya and Ethiopia. It is, however, highly vulnerable to climatic extremes such as drought; and poor natural resource management. As extreme weather conditions, such as drought, exert their toll on food security, conflict over resources such as water and pasture are likely to escalate, as evidenced by the recent conflict in Laikipia, Baringo, Kajiado, Samburu, and Taita Taveta Counties of Kenya.

4. Theory of Change

The theory of change is a social theory and methodology used to achieve transformative change through proper planning, coherent and causal relationships. It is about making choices among alternative and effective ways of achieving specified objectives or goals through what a programme or change initiative does (its activities or interventions) and how these lead to desired, realistic and achievable goals. In this regard, the theory of change for this programme can be framed as follows:

If communities in the cross-border area of Marsabit County and Borana Zone are supported and agree on peace-making, and trust building mechanisms are put in place through peace committee members, capacity building programmes, sensitization and cultural exchange programmes and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, thereby increasing trust between the various communities, **then** cross-border and inter-communal conflicts will be reduced, and they would, therefore, be less likely to engage in violent conflict. If further entrenched by dependency and sharing institutional infrastructure, social services, co-existence will be peaceful, durable and productive.

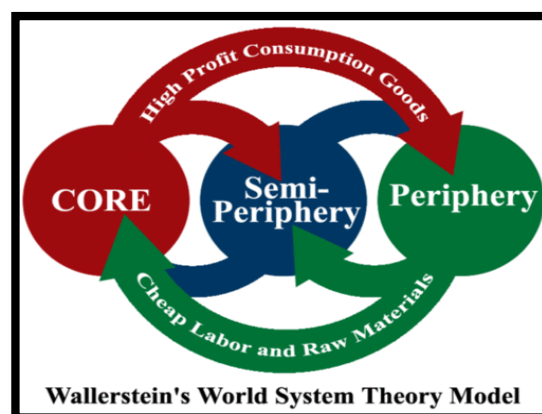
Shrinking economic opportunities for the people and competition over scarce resources is perhaps the most obvious cause of violent conflict in the region. Given the fact that animal rearing is the main source of income, competition over access to scarce natural resources such as pasture and water has contributed to violence among pastoralist communities. These scarce resources are being increasingly contested due to climate change and population growth. **If** the socioeconomic conditions of the communities living in the region are improved through alternative livelihoods, **then** communities will build ties around these livelihood projects, leverage efficient use and maintenance of community infrastructure, and cooperate to better access and utilize available natural resources rather than fight each other because of them.

5. Strategies of the Programme

The project has adopted an integrated approach to permanently transform the situation by managing conflicts, marginalization and poverty through comprehensive strategies that build on resilience and improved livelihoods. The strategies aim to replace fragmented approaches with coordinated interventions that foster effective stakeholder collaboration between the governments, the private sector, the civil society, and development partners. The integrated approach brings together regional, multilateral and bilateral partners to address the challenges of historically neglected and marginalized regions and groups.

By emphasizing on inclusive development and a conflict prevention approach, the framework also helps to galvanize the civil society, the youth and women groups to restore dignity, foster social cohesion and provide an alternative vision for the communities in the cross-border areas of the Horn of Africa (HoA).

The programme also emphasizes a positive state presence, supporting and building the capacity of security forces and local governments and communities on a cross-border basis, including developing early warning and response systems for human-made and natural disasters. It is based on the premise that improved cross-border cooperation creates opportunities for the safe movement of people, enhanced trade, investment and tourism, shared use and effective management of natural resources, conflict prevention and peacebuilding, and investments in improved infrastructure and services. Compared to the hinterland areas, the cross-border regions are socially and economically marginalized. The socioeconomic conditions of the cross-border regions could be best explained within the “Centre/Core-periphery” model where the core regions are relatively developed compared to the peripheries.



Source: Kendall Moyer. (2016). Periphery Role in the World Systems Theory

Decades of marginalization, climate-induced drought, poverty, youth unemployment, violent conflict, among others, contributed to the high level of poverty in the border regions of the two countries. There is a lack of income-generating opportunities, particularly for the youth who migrate to Middle Eastern countries and Europe. In this regard, this programme will focus on skills development for the youth and creation of economic opportunities through the facilitation of access to credit and technical vocational and education training.

The programme will adopt an area-based development approach, extending support services to the population of the target area rather than focusing on any particular sector or group, while at the same time strengthening inclusive local governance arrangements. In the context of transboundary areas, this means working with communities and authorities on both sides of the border; in the context of large-scale displacement by targeting host communities and the displaced alike.

The programme will work with local authorities, community groups and traditional leaders as this promises to have a more tangible impact in building resilience and consolidating peace in the short-term. Strengthening the capacity of national institutions to respond to dynamic challenges at the local level (and in remote border areas) is a medium to long-term endeavour. Given the severe challenges many communities face, interventions to improve people's ability to achieve their basic needs must be a priority. These interventions will be designed to seize and build on existing opportunities in the region to affect transformative, structural changes.

Based on the initial assessments undertaken during the inception period, the challenges remain valid, and the proposed actions are still as relevant as they were during the initial design of this programme.

5.1. Baseline Survey

The programme seeks to contribute to the mitigation and prevention of violent conflict and promotion of peaceful coexistence in the Ethiopia-Kenya Cross Border area through the advancement of an evidence-based approach to understanding conflict (Toktomushev, Kemel, 2017). In this regard, the programme employed participatory action research to understand the dynamics of conflict in the cross-border area and identify the root causes and impacts of conflict; and also identify possible factors or stakeholders that could contribute to sustainable peace in the region.

Both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies were used to address the specific objectives of the study. The rationale for the quantitative approach is to enable quantification of the degree of impact of conflict across key target groups. This will increase the possibility of making limited generalizations and increase the validity and reliability of the research findings. Face-to-face survey questionnaires were administered to capture the various responses from participants. Face-to-face interviews enable prompt collection of data. This method of data collection also allows clarification of complex or sensitive issues and enables the researcher to probe and verify complex concepts. Further, this method has high response rates.

The qualitative approach was used to complement the quantitative method. The strength of qualitative research lies in its ability to provide a complex textual description of people's experiences in a natural setting. By going directly to the social phenomenon under study and observing it, the researcher gains comprehensive insight and a deeper and fuller understanding of the phenomenon. Data gathering techniques typically used in qualitative research, namely; Observation, Key Informant Interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), were employed.

A baseline survey was planned through a Participatory Action Research (PAR) and GIS analysis in the Dawa Zone of Ethiopia since a similar exercise had already been carried out in Marsabit County and the Borana Zone of Ethiopia. Unfortunately, due to the violent conflict that erupted, and the huge security risks along the Ethiopian corridor extending from Hageremariam-Yabelo-Borana and in Dawa Zones, (Pastoralist Foundation for Poverty Reduction, 2018). The PAR and GIS exercise was not undertaken and, therefore, it was postponed to a later phase of the project. The purpose of the baseline survey is to produce an evidence-based comparative analysis. In this

regard, the PAR Will help stakeholders to understand the causes, drivers, dynamics, and impacts of conflict as well as tools for bringing sustainable peace. The PAR will identify the socioeconomic challenges and opportunities in the region to enable policymakers to make informed decisions when designing relevant intervention policies. On the other hand, a GIS exercise will map the spatial data in the region to enable the stakeholders to understand the spatial distribution of resources, as well as the available infrastructural facilities, migratory routes of the pastoralists, etc.

Marsabit is prone to intermittent conflicts, which have negatively impacted the resident communities, resulting in increased unemployment, widespread poverty, suspicion, hatred and animosity among the various ethnic communities in the area. Other negative impacts include radicalization of the youth, the proliferation of small arms and illegal immigration, balkanization and exclusiveness of certain communities in politics and economic opportunities, and the general underdevelopment of the region. Although there have been concerted conflict resolution efforts by various stakeholders, none has so far been effective.

This study recommends the following for Marsabit County:

- 1) County and national governments to allocate more resources to facilitate the various peace initiatives in the county.
- 2) Accelerate completion of infrastructure projects to attract and enhance various economic and development activities.
- 3) Support equitable resource and opportunities sharing in the county.
- 4) Enhance continuous consultative political meetings among political leaders from the different ethnic groups.
- 5) Enhance collaborative policy frameworks on cross-border activities along the Kenya-Ethiopia border, especially in security surveillance systems.
- 6) Develop more integrated educational institutions to allow communities to share learning facilities and learn to co-exist.
- 7) Facilitate an effective land adjudication process for clear boundaries between communities.
- 8) Develop value addition facilities in the livestock development sector to enable the export of animal products.
- 9) Sink more boreholes to avert conflict over water.
- 10) Enhance efforts to develop available natural resources, such as the readily available stones for the construction industry.
- 11) Allocate resources for youth development in areas such as sports, trade, micro enterprises and cultural activities.
- 12) Support and strengthen the capacity of peace committees.
- 13) Revive and strengthen traditional conflict resolution mechanisms (United Nations, 2016).

For the Borana Zone, the research established that livestock was the main source of livelihood in the region (courtesy of trade in animal products such as milk and milk products, hides and skins, etc.). This was followed by small businesses and some form of agribusiness and farming. Other sources of livelihood were formal employment, relief food, mining and transport activities. The main sources of conflict are land issues, politics and poor governance, tribalism, hatred or negative ethnicity, scarcity of resources such as water and pastures, cattle rustling, business rivalry, corruption, ignorance, and secret killings. The conflict has evolved from traditional cattle rustling and confrontation in rural areas to the use of heavy weapons in urban centres, and burning of houses, schools and government buildings; and the destruction of property, leading to male and female fatalities.

The study recommended the following:

- (a) Federal and regional governments should allocate more resources to introduce and facilitate various peace initiatives to benefit communities in the localities;
- (b) Curb illegal cross-border trade by reducing customs duty on goods from either side of the border and make it easy for locals to acquire proper documents to do small and medium businesses across the border;

- (c) Promote investments by providing capital (seed-money or revolving fund) to the youth and women for business start-ups and set up light industrial parks that use locally-produced raw materials to bring industries closer to the people; for example, the area needs a big slaughterhouse to not only produce leather products but also process meat. Investors can also establish a milk-processing factory to produce cheese, yogurt, dried milk, ice cream and other milk products;
- (d) Promote tourism by opening curio markets, build a museum, establish parks and promote cultural and sporting festivities such as the Camel Derby in Maralal, Samburu, Kenya;
- (e) Establish guidelines to ensure proper exploration and utilization of natural resources such as irrigation from rivers to improve farming; and to seek markets for minerals locally, regionally and internationally since they are available in the rangelands;
- (f) Ensure proper budgeting for the exploitation of natural resources in the region; set up a "Tree Planting Day" to help conserve the environment and protect natural resources such as wild animals and tourist attraction sites;
- (g) Create a peaceful and enabling environment by improving infrastructure to attract investors, tarmac all the major roads to facilitate movement and access to social amenities, make all the feeder roads motorable (all-weather), reduce electricity connection fees in the rural parts of the region, improve power generation and increase grid for banks, schools and businesses that rely on electricity, improve telecommunications infrastructure and engage the local NGOs and international development partners in the area in infrastructural development;
- (h) The Federal government should form an "Integrated Peace Commission" to investigate and address the causes of conflict in Kenya and Ethiopia to be more effective in resolving cross-border conflicts and enhance better collaboration. This should also promote a good working relationship between the Federal and Regional Governments.
- (i) Engage the locals in joint campaign initiatives against cross-border conflict, strengthen the existing cross-border committees to help them achieve their mission, speed up processing of permits and documentation for cross-border movement, enact cross-border laws and enforce stiff penalties on anyone from either country that contravenes the set laws, formulate appropriate policies related to cross-border movement, improve the relations between the two immigration departments, and conduct proper documentation of persons in both countries (United Nations, 2016).

GIS has been used to collect and map the spatial data on both sides of the border for the stakeholders to understand the spatial distribution of resources as well as available infrastructural facilities.

The GIS mapping identified the conflict hotspots, which include Dilo, Forolle, Dukana, Moyale, Sololo and others. The mapping also indicated the existence of more schools on the Ethiopian side compared to the Kenyan side. On the other hand, there are more medical facilities on the Kenyan side compared to the Ethiopian side. The GIS maps also highlighted the migration route of the pastoralists, which is important in tracking their movement (United Nations, 2016).

6. Impact of the Programme

One of the major achievements of the programme is the opening of the Marsabit/Moyale Cluster office on Moyale, Ethiopian side. Following protracted security and logistical challenges, the United Nations Department of Security and Safety (UNDSS) did a thorough assessment of the Office premises and approved staff deployment. The office will strengthen the project with the presence of the project management unit in the field and ensure effective implementation of appropriate conflict prevention policies and livelihood projects to address the needs of the local communities. Courtesy of the new Marsabit/Moyale Cluster office, the programme is now operational.

Following several consultative dialogues between the local communities, which reduced conflict and bolstered confidence, it is estimated that 98.8 Per cent of those displaced by violent conflict in Dawa Zone have returned to their original communities. In Moyale District, 94 per cent of the displaced communities had returned to their original villages (Government of Ethiopia, 2019).

The programme has brought to the attention of the policymakers the fact that sustainable peace can only be achieved through a comprehensive and multidimensional approach that links conflict to natural resource management and poverty, factors that are inextricably linked.

According to the Marsabit County Commissioner, since the various forum and dialogues were held, relative peace has prevailed in the Marsabit County and incidents of violent conflict have gone down by about 85 per cent (Marsabit County Government, Kenya, 2018), although, recently, inter-ethnic conflicts and killings have resurfaced in the border areas of Ethiopia and Kenya.

7. Summary and Conclusion

There is a growing recognition of the need to transform the border regions from "barriers" to a "bridge." This will give communities on both sides of the border opportunities for (a) better cooperation in breaking their isolation; (b) improve their livelihood, and socio-economic conditions; (c) effectively manage and conserve their resources; and (d) strengthen their cultural understanding and trust to bring about sustainable peace and development.

On the other hand, if not planned for and managed properly, cross-border relations could increase conflicts, violent extremism, the proliferation of small arms, human and drug trafficking and general instability, leading to loss of lives and property, and exacerbating a humanitarian crisis.

The Ethiopia-Kenya Cross-Border Programme was initiated to support the local governments of Borana/Dawa Zones, Ethiopia and Marsabit County, Kenya, to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts efficiently and effectively; and enhancing the capacity of international cross-border conflict management. In this regard, the programme has simultaneously addressed violent extremism, human trafficking, economic development, local governance and inter-communal peace, with mutually reinforcing objectives and means. It is now offered as a global model of best practice (MacClinchy, 2018).

The programme has three separate but interrelated and complementary phases, namely:

- Immediate emergency response;
- Building the foundation for resilience; and
- Initiation and implementation of sustainable development projects.

The programme has great potential for replication across other parts of Africa that seek to bring about sustainable peace and development in marginalized cross-border areas by addressing violent conflicts and improving livelihoods.

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