

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**THE CROSS-BORDER SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA  
REGION. A CASE STUDY OF KENYA, ETHIOPIA MOYALE BORDER**

**JAMILA MOHAMED SHIDANE**

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**SUPERVISOR: DR. MARTIN OUMA**

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master's degree in International Studies at the Institute of Diplomacy and International  
Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi**

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## DECLARATION

This proposal is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree or any other academic accreditation at any other university.

Signed..... Date.....

**Jamila Mohamed Shidane**  
**REG. No R50/12320/2018**

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS)  
University of Nairobi

This proposal has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Signed..... Date.....

**Dr. Martin Ouma**  
**Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS)**  
**University of Nairobi**

## **DEDICATION**

This project work is dedicated with a lot of love and gratitude to my family and friends who have always supported me and stood by my side.

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I am immensely grateful to Allah for enabling me to reach the end of my master's academic journey, Alhamdulillah. I am also very grateful and appreciative of my supervisor, Dr. Martin Ouma who has guided me every step of the way of this project by going out of his way to continuously assist me in improving my thesis. Without this great support I would not have been able to complete this thesis. Lastly, I would like to record my appreciation to all the people who assisted me in one way or another in writing this thesis by rendering their knowledge and opinions on the subject under investigation. I have truly enjoyed this programme under IDIS that has instilled in me valuable insights enabling me to view the global development from a different angle. It has been an enriching experience academically, professionally and socially.

## ABSTRACT

This study assessed the cross-border conflicts experienced in the Kenya, Ethiopia Moyale border. The study was led by the following objectives: to examine the key cross border insecurity trends along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border, to investigate some of the strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border and to assess some of the key challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. Some of the key cross border insecurity trends witnessed there include inter-ethnic clashes that stem from ethnic intolerance and negative ethnicity, conflicts over lack of equal distribution of the available scarce resources that lead to cattle raiding and banditry. To some extent, political factors have also been observed to have been a cause of conflict especially in influencing voting patterns in the area through the incitement of different ethnic groups and encouraging the use of hate speech. The overall effect of this was to stir up a conflict and eventually displace a certain ethnic group as the other was able to attain more numbers in order to vote in their preferred candidate of their preferred ethnic background during the election season. This research was guided by human needs theory, conflict theory of international relations and bureaucratic theory. The study applied pragmatic research design which was the most preferred approach due to the fact that it required triangulation of different designs. The study population comprised of residents of the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. The essential instruments utilized to acquire the data were two questionnaires one for the survey sample and the other one for key informants. The questionnaire was pre-coded to ease data entry. Quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS to obtain frequency distributions and cross-tabulations to enable the analysis and interpretation of the collected data. Qualitative data was analyzed thematically and descriptively. According to the findings of this study, insecurity is rampant due to the availability of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the region, laxity and corruption on the management of the border points by the officials, corrupt security architecture, lack of good governance, the lack of security personnel on the ground deployed by the national government lack of coordination among regional security agencies. The study concludes that the key factors fueling this conflict and especially the violent confrontations include the environmental factors such as drought seasons, socio-economic factors that narrow the survival choices that both communities have to make on day to day basis and to some extent political factors that is accompanied with hate speech and the struggle for power over shared resources. The study recommends that Government intervention is required in this conflict that is both the Kenyan and Ethiopian states. There is a more urgent need of expanding opportunities for all the communities along the border.

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ASAL	-Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
C.I.D.P	-County Integrated Development Planning
CSG	-County Steering Group
CSOs	-Civil Society Organizations
DPC	-District Peace Committees
DPCs	-District Peace Committees
GoK	-Government of Kenya
HoA	- Horn of Africa Region
IGAD	-Intergovernmental Authority for Development
KPR	- Kenyan Police Reservists
KRA	-Kenya Revenue Authority
NACOSTI	-National Commission of Science, Technology and Innovation
NCIC	- National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGOs	- Non-Governmental Organizations
NSC	-National Steering Committee
OLF	- Oromo Liberation Front
REGABU	-Rendile, Gabra and Burji
SALW	- Small Arms and Light Weapons
SPSS	- Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UN	- United Nations
UNAIDS	- United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNHCR	-United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees
USA	-United States of America
USAID	-United States Agency for International Development

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

Border dispute in Horn of Africa formed a big concern when most countries received their independence from colonialists in 1960s. The borders were poorly mapped out and would have easily resulted to conflicts and political instability. This study examines the cross-border security challenges in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. The study explores the key cross border insecurity trends along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. Moreover, it aims to find out some of the strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. The third objective provides empirical literature on some of the key challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. This chapter therefore provides the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, the literature review, justification of the study, research hypothesis, theoretical framework, study methodology and finally outline of the chapter.

#### **1.2 Background to the Study**

The term “security” can be described as feeling free from or resilience against harm or threat, or effects of unwanted instances from external forces. Security in many instances refers to protection from hostile forces. Beneficiaries of security may include but not restricted to individuals and social groupings, assets, organizations, states and nations, ecosystems and any

other entity which is vulnerable to potential harm or threat<sup>1</sup>. “Conflict” on the other hand may be defined as an antagonism that occurs between two or more adversative peoples, groups, ideas and interest as a result of an incompatibility of goals<sup>2</sup>. Conflict and insecurity are popular in the society. The two phenomena usually arise from incompatibility of goals, ideas or interests among individuals or groups of people, or between groups. Conflict is inherent when an essential incompatibility of interest and objectives of two or more characters take place. When conflicts turn violent, threat to security is experienced.

The UN75 states that globally, the nature of conflict has taken a different shape since the United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945. In this current era, conflicts have been observed to be less deadly and most times waged between domestic groups rather than states. Crimes such as homicide, gender-based attacks, violence against children are becoming more rampant. Although the number of death tolls caused by war are declining in the world, yet the level of conflicts and violence are constantly on the rise. These conflicts have been seen to be carried out by non-state actors such as international terrorist groups, political military groups and criminals who carry out organized crimes and gang violence. As terrorism spreads across the world, it has been noted that it is facilitated by conflict. Most of the deaths related to terrorism attacks were experienced in countries that were already involved in violence. This forms a breeding ground for terror groups to emerge. Most of these deadly terror attacks take place in the Middle East, North Africa, and

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<sup>1</sup> Buzan, B., Wæver, O., Wæver, O., & De Wilde, J. (2016). *Security: A new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

<sup>2</sup> Young, J., & Griffin, M. (2014). *Emerging North-South Tensions and Prospects for a return to war*. Geneva: Small Arms Survey.

Sub-Saharan Africa, with Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, Somalia, and Syria, bearing the heaviest burden<sup>3</sup>.

In the African continent, the border areas of several Horn of Africa countries have been a major field of various low-intensity conflicts for several decades. There been a history of social and economic marginalization of people living across the borders. Due to these marginalization and scarcity of resources, there is always increased competition for natural resources like land, water, timber, solid minerals and pastures, among other resources, because of unregulated population increase from refugee influx and degradation of the environment, and declining attachment to the markets, credits and extension services like agriculture, leading to poverty. This disconnection will then create tensions, hence leading to conflicts and insecurity along the border areas.

This study investigates the effects of cross-border security challenges among the residents of the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border of the Horn of Africa Region. The study analyses the effects of instability in the Horn of Africa Region which has led to displacement and consequent destitute of the communities in this region. As the conflicts transcends borders of these countries, its effects involve complex political and economic dynamics on a regional scale. This instability has hindered beneficial cross-border social and economic activities. The conflicts have been brought about by various issues such as scarcity of natural resources (water and pasture) as these communities are nomadic pastoralists, politics inclined to ethnic groupings and how boundary disputes are managed. <sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> A new Era of Conflict and Violence, UN75 <https://www.un.org/en/un75/new-era-conflict-and-violence>

<sup>4</sup> A. Kumssa et al. (eds.), Conflict and Human Security in Africa, P 143

United Nations Secretary-General's Report on Africa (UN 1999, 3-5) also identified the main causes of African conflicts as historical legacies that are attributed to the colonially inherited territorial boundaries. The national boundaries of almost all African nations were put in place during the colonial time without considering the financial and cultural implications of the communities who live within those territories. During the colonial era, the colonialist randomly demarcated the regional boundaries of countries and separated people who come from the same ethnic background between different countries.<sup>5</sup>

In the Horn of Africa Region (HoA), cases of communities that have been isolated include, the Somalis who are found in Kenya, Somalia, Djibouti and Ethiopia; and the Gabra and Borana who are found in Kenya and Ethiopia, among others. After attaining their independence, most African nations chose to maintain the border boundaries that already existed in order to avoid triggering any form of political pressures between the neighboring countries that could lead to cross border conflicts.<sup>6</sup> This study focuses on the trans-border interaction between Kenya and Ethiopia. With a special reference to the residence of the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border who are made up of the Somali, Borana, Oromo as well as the Turkana and Dassanch communities. It is worth noting that in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border there is 14 different tribes who must live with each other and share scarce resources.

Moyale town is approximately 2,550 square miles and lies between Meridians 39 degrees and 40 degrees East being bounded in the North by the Kenyan-Ethiopian border.<sup>7</sup> It is a Sub-county in

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<sup>5</sup> Asiwaju and Bach, Trans frontier Regionalism. The Revival of Regional Integration in Africa

<sup>6</sup> UNDP-RBA (2015), cross-border-Kenya-Ethiopia

<sup>7</sup> J. WALSH (1972), Geology of the Moyale Area, Ministry of Natural Resources Geological Survey of Kenya.



Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. There is the Moyale of Somali Region which is in Kenya while the Moyale of Oromia Region is in Ethiopia. Over the years Moyale town has burst with economic activities and members from the different communities in both Kenya and Ethiopia have been interacting freely despite the boundaries due to their shared language, culture, trade or other social reasons. According to the International Journal of Political Science (IJPS), 2017, globalization has teared down the traditional borders as crimes are being committed without the need to cross borders due to advancement in technology and the transformation of international relations.<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, some of these trans-border crimes include the use of social media platforms such as WhatsApp to share speeches of certain political views that are aimed to draw a certain reaction from another clan in the Moyale area. In April 2018, video of a massacre being carried out by the Borana community against the Garre clan was spreading online and had evoked anger in the Garre community that eventually lead to retaliation. Other conflicts that occur through physically crossing of the borders include, ethnic conflicts, political competition, militia insurgents from the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and Al-shabaab, and, contention for natural resources. These conflicts have been fueled by the ease of flow of light weapons into this region.<sup>9</sup> Residence of this area have taken the law into their own hands as they have been affected by the issue of marginalization in that they lack adequate security forces in the North and they believe that the

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1Osimen, Goddy U, 2Anegbode, E. John (Ph. D), 1Akande, Clement. A, 1Oyewole, Oyindamola O, International

<sup>8</sup> International Journal of Political Science (IJPS) published in 2017,

<sup>9</sup> Njambi and Misiani (2016), Cross-Border Conflict and Gendered Implications for Local Communities: The Case of the Kenya-Ethiopia Border, Occasional series 7, pp.3.

national government does not consider the security issues urgent hence is not as responsive compared to other parts of Kenya.

Due to the above challenges, the issue of border management comes into question which involves the government's ability to control immigration, excise and customs, and regulating the influx of goods and people across a country's border.<sup>10</sup> The goods we are particularly interested in being the small arms that infiltrate the borders of Kenya and Ethiopia. In North Eastern Kenya, the communities see possession of guns as being essential hence they encourage gun culture. In most cases, this has been seen to fuel the inter-ethnic arms race in the process of competing for scares resources.<sup>11</sup> The presence of weak and most of the time corrupt security structures have caused the infiltration and demand of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) among the pastoralist communities.<sup>12</sup> SALW include mostly include portable weapons such as hand grenades, ammunitions and explosives among others that can be used by only an individual. For these reasons both the governments of Kenya and Ethiopia should increase efforts in implementing strategies that would aim to bring about long-term regional peace. This study, therefore, provides an opportunity to obtain and expand new knowledge about the issue of border security in Kenya-Ethiopia, Moyale border for all stakeholders involved.

### **1.3 Statement of the research problem**

The Horn of Africa Region and its borders have experienced various types of cross-border conflicts and insecurity since the independence era to the present day. Often people live with fear

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<sup>10</sup> *ibid*

<sup>11</sup> Kamenju, Singo, and Wairagu, 2003, pp. 49–50.

<sup>12</sup> Wepundi, Nthiga, Kabuu, Murray, and Frate, Special Report, Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of security in Kenya, pp. 24

and uncertainty. Conflicts and insecurity brings with it negative impacts such as loss of lives, physical injuries and mental trauma, disruption of trade, emergence of internally displaced persons or refugees, disruption of education, shutting down of local businesses, jeopardizes Agro-pastoral farming hence leads to slow growth of the economy destroying the key sectors of livelihood. The recent conflicts between the Borana and Garre was extremely worrying due to the use of heavy artillery. In December 2018, in Moyale on the Ethiopian side, around 20 lives were lost and over 60 people injured due to the clan clashes. In the same month, a shooting was witnessed in Bekele Molla Hotel and claimed the lives of dozens of civilians.

Although various measures have been put in place to mitigate this violence, e.g. traditional mechanism of conflict resolution has not been successful as it has slowly eroded over the years due to lack of support by the state and other stakeholder. The peace agreement signed between Ethiopia and Kenya (The cross-border Peace Initiative) was followed by the Turbi Massacre. This problem is attributed to the absence of adequate police presence in the North Eastern part of Kenya and corrupt security officials managing the border that allow proliferation of small arms. This study therefore aims to find out why the problem of cross-border conflicts in the Kenya-Ethiopia border are recurrent despite all the efforts invested in mitigating them, to re-think the strategies and mechanisms put in place to bring about long-term peace and coexistence in this region and give recommendations on how the Kenyan Government should strengthen their security in terms of police present and control measures at the border.

## **1.4 Study objective**

### **1.4.1 Research questions**

- I. What are some of the cross-border insecurity trends along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border?
- II. What are some of the strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border?
- III. What are some of the key challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border?

### **1.4.2 General objectives of the study**

The objective is to analyze the implication of cross-border security challenges in the Horn of Africa Region with focus on the inhabitants of Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.

### **1.4.3 Specific Objectives**

- 1 To examine the key cross border insecurity trends along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.
- 2 To investigate some of the strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.
- 3 To assess some of the key challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.

## **1.5 Literature Review**

This section reviews literature on the key cross border insecurity trends, the strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity and lastly the challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.

### **1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review**

This study was guided by human needs theory, conflict theory of international relations and bureaucratic theory to explain the implication of cross-border security challenge in the Horn of Africa Region with focus on the inhabitants of Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.

#### **1.5.1.1 Human needs theory**

As an important conceptual tool, human needs theory is a crucial theory that connects and addresses human needs at all levels and, recognizes matters which are negotiable and those that are non-negotiable. Scholars like Burton argue that needs, unlike interests, cannot be traded, suppressed, or bargained for.<sup>13</sup> To reach a consensus-based solution, human needs should rather be negotiated. This research work concentrated on the implication of cross-border security challenges/conflict in the Horn of Africa Region with focus on the inhabitants of Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. What are the unmet human needs that bring about intractable or protracted conflicts and insecurity in these border regions? These needs include the basic needs for survival such as access to food and shelter, security and recognition which are instrumental for human survival. In Burton's view, human needs theory has a great promise that provides to some extent impartial basis and can be applied on a wide range. Human needs theory has a great attachment to restorative justice structures, and it can be well applied at all levels of conflicts in the society, ranging from conflicts between persons, groups to interstates.

In the context of the world, human needs theory attempts to describe different groups and cultures to create a unified understanding and a shared feeling of the society<sup>14</sup>. Sandra<sup>15</sup> notes that as per this theory, human needs are the minimum possible rights that cannot be negotiated.

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<sup>13</sup> Burton, (2014). "*Conflict: Resolution and Prevention*". New York: St. Martin's Press, pp.39.

<sup>14</sup> Rubenstein, Richard E. and Crocker, Jarle. (2014). "Challenging Huntington". Foreign Policy, Spring

<sup>15</sup> Sandra Marker (2013). "What Human Needs Are? In Beyond Intractability". August 2013.

Therefore, the concept of human needs approach creates an alternative from the traditional techniques of negotiation that do not consider non-negotiable items. According to Burton<sup>16</sup> conflict resolution means terminating conflict by methods that are analytical and that gets to the root of the problem. As contrasted with sheer conflict settlement or management, conflict resolution brings about a result that, considers the parties involved with a permanent solution to the problem.

### **1.5.1.2 Conflict Theory**

The theory emphasizes the role of coercion and power in achieving social order. This perspective is derived from the works of Karl Marx, who saw society as fragmented into groups that compete for social and economic resources. Social order is maintained by domination, with power in the hands of those with the greatest political, economic, and social resources. When consensus exists, it is attributable to people being united around common interests, often in opposition to other groups. Marx theorized that the work of producing consensus was done in the „superstructure" of society-which is composed of social institutions, political structures, and culture and what it produced consensus for was the "base," the economic relations of production<sup>17</sup>.

According to conflict theory, inequality exists because those in control of a disproportionate share of society's resources actively defend their advantages. The masses are not bound to society by their shared values, but by coercion at the hands of those in power. This perspective emphasizes social control, not consensus and conformity. Groups and individuals advance their

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<sup>16</sup> ibid

<sup>17</sup> Baron, R. S. (2016). Distraction-conflict theory: Progress and problems. In *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 19, pp. 1-40). Academic Press.

own interests, struggling over control of societal resources. Those with the most resources exercise power over others with inequality and power struggles result<sup>18</sup>.

Governments, organizations and the elite' make decisions that affect the lives of a large mass of others. A significant amount of research shows these decisions are often made to serve the decision makers economic interests and values of which includes the means of production and property ownership. The central areas of focus from this perspective are; the classes that exist in society, inequalities of society and how society functions to serve the powerful class and disadvantage the others, thereby causing conflict. Examples of these conflicts include wars, revolutions, strikes and communism<sup>19</sup>.

This theory is relevant to the study as it emphasizes on the need to share the meagre resources between the communities in Moyale. It also gives an indication of the competition and the manipulation brought about by the cross-borders between Kenya and Ethiopia.

### **1.5.1.2 Bureaucratic Theory**

Bureaucratic theory of management by Max Weber was used in this study especially on the inter-agency cooperation. Max Weber management theory contains two essential elements which are structuring an organization or a group into hierarchy and positions with clearly defined roles and rules to govern. This is important because it prevent duplication of roles and calls for maximization of output. Different agencies carry out their own patrols and surveillance missions which can turn out to be uneconomical. The members of different patrol groups must be

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<sup>18</sup> Bartos, O. J., & Wehr, P. (2012). *Using conflict theory*. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>19</sup> Gurr, T. R. (Ed.). (2013). *Handbook of political conflict: Theory and research* (p. 453). New York: Free Press.

competent and well trained because Max Weber calls for specialization and professionalism. Patrols groups must have one leader who the other members are answerable to which is called scalar of command<sup>20</sup>.

Inter agency cooperation at the border may call for operational re-organization on the way tasks are shared at the border. This may mean that those agencies at the Moyale border post come under one authority for ease of operations. Max Weber advocated for a comprehensive and detailed standard operating procedures (SOPs) for all routine tasks established to be undertaken<sup>21</sup>.

Max Weber was a German theorist, who believed that an organization or a group based on rational authority would be more efficient, flexible and adaptable to change than a fragmented one, this calls for the border authority to operate as a single unit but not fragmented. He envisioned organizations that would be managed on an impersonal, rational basis which meant that there were two entities in an organization the person and the organization His biggest contribution was in the field of bureaucracy and how it made systems more efficient and effective. Unlike many other people before him, Max Weber believed that the ideal type form of management especially in a government institution was bureaucracy. He believed that if carefully managed, a bureaucratic administration can lead to effective decision-making, optimum use of resources and successful accomplishment of organizational goals<sup>22</sup>

## **1.6 Empirical literature review**

This segment of the research describes the literature about the three objectives under examination.

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<sup>20</sup> Boyne, G. A. (1998). Bureaucratic theory meets reality: Public choice and service contracting in US local government. *Public administration review*, 4-484.

<sup>21</sup> Wyckoff, P. G. (2014). A bureaucratic theory of flypaper effects. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 23(1), 115-129.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid*



### **1.6.1 Cross-border insecurity trends**

Africa faces many chronic problems such as: ethnic, religious, social, geographic or imperialist, to name just a few. Although not necessarily of importance, nearly any suggested cause may be contributory due to Africa's complex and diverse problems. For example, Africa's problems have been attributed to ideologies that solutions only focus on the symptoms. However, cultural diversity in Africa may have positive as well as negative connotations. Certainly, some things like Africa's proneness for diseases is adverse and dangerous—but most of Africa's challenges have already been successfully solved by more advanced countries.<sup>23</sup>

Ahead of his visit to Ghana in July 2009, Barack Obama, the then president of the United States of America highlighted the reasons why Africa was lagging behind in development by declaring, "...for many years the people of Africa have made excuses about economic crimes or poor governance". He pointed out that he did not believe in the notion of oppression from colonial powers or the west. His speech outlines serious problems Africa is still facing.

Africa's problems can be summarized into two critical challenges. These are: building good foundations for political stability and socio-economic development. Both aspects are well within Africa's ability to control, implement and form the basis for building stable and secure states. When there are internal and regional security and stability, proper governance and economic progress can be achieved. Security and instability formed a foundation for solving other problems in a country.<sup>24</sup> Traditionally, state security is viewed from the perspective of military control of national borders and important accesses and absence of unbecoming foreign incursions

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<sup>23</sup> Percy S. Mistry (2005). "Commentary: Reasons for Sub-Saharan Africa's Development Deficit that the Commission for Africa did not consider". African affairs October.

<sup>24</sup> Muller (2000) 3-07, pp.1-11-1-12

in the affairs of sovereign states. For a country to succeed in security and stability there is need for rule of law, order and justice.<sup>25</sup>

Historically, it has been proven that nations have been built on strong militaries that ensure state security and internal security. Conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa have clearly demonstrated that violence, conflicts and war are the major prohibitions of economic development<sup>26</sup>. Successful viable states must be politically stable in order to achieve good governance and economic development.<sup>27</sup>

Significant portions of Horn of Africa Region (HoA) remain unable to break free of the lethal cocktail of armed conflict, violent crime, extremism, communal violence, political instability, and state failure that has plagued the region for decades. Most armed conflict zones are concentrated near border areas posing a major risk of spill-over. However, few states have the capacity to effectively administer their remote, expansive border areas. As a result, most trans-border conflict management and prevention fall on the shoulders of local communities and authorities in partnership with central governments and interstate-organizations. The resilience and adaptability of this collection of local and regional actors are critical factors in determining whether and to what extent cross-border conflict and instability issues are successfully managed<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> Dietz, D. (2009) 307, pp.2-6-2-10

<sup>26</sup> Juliet, Elu (2000). "Human Development in Sub-Sahara Africa: Analysis and Prospects for the Future". *Journal of Third World Studies*, Fall 2000, available from [findarticles.com/p/articles](http://findarticles.com/p/articles)

<sup>27</sup> Carrett, M. (1998). "The Twenty Years Crisis: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations". Palgrave, New York, NY.

<sup>28</sup> Little, P. D., Tiki, W., & Debsu, D. N. (2015). Formal or informal, legal or illegal: the ambiguous nature of cross-border livestock trade in the Horn of Africa. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 30(3), 405-421.

Inter-connected civil wars and insecurity complexes can involve whole regions and armed groups can seek sanctuary or anonymity across sympathetic borders or in ungoverned borderlands. Weak, corrupt or militarized borders can interrupt essential cross-border traffic and trade, and cause resentment or be a direct source of violence, exploitation, and displacement of populations across borders. Criminal networks can exist across porous and badly managed borders. Illicit trade in blood minerals and small arms can sustain regional conflict systems such as in West Africa. Psycho-social and economic cross-border conflict dynamics can cut across ethnic or cultural sources of societal cohesion. Similarly, inequalities of political capital between communities across borders can cause tension and grievance<sup>29</sup>.

The diversity of EA makes it difficult to generalize about patterns of conflict and instability in the region's borderlands but several factors are of importance across most of the region's conflicts. In Eastern Africa, conflict and instability zones are sites of long running civil wars and insurgencies of many decades<sup>30</sup>. According to Ngeiywa<sup>31</sup> many armed conflicts especially insurgencies, civil wars, and violent extremism are fueled in part by frustration over limited economic opportunities, poverty, unemployment and politics of exclusion along ethnic, religious or class lines. The region's high population growth rates have produced a bulging youthful population which exacerbates problems of unemployment while steady urban drift is feeding the

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<sup>29</sup> Orogun, P. (2014). " Blood Diamonds" and Africa's Armed Conflicts in the Post—Cold War Era. *World Affairs*, 166(3), 151-161.

<sup>30</sup> Yoon, M. Y. (2015). Internal conflicts and cross-border military interventions in sub-Saharan Africa in the post-cold war era. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 33(2), 277.

<sup>31</sup> Ngeiywa, B. K. (2018). *Deterring Cross-Border Conflict in the Horn of Africa: A Case Study of Kenya-Uganda Border*. NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MONTEREY CA.

growth of large slums where these grievances are concentrated. In rural areas, grievances are most pronounced over land alienation and problems of access.

The proximity of Moyale to the porous border with Ethiopia and Somalia has significantly contributed to steady inflow of firearms and infiltration of various armed groups resulting in international dimensions of conflict. The seasonal movements of pastoralists across the border is a main source of conflicts. Parties involved in the conflict includes Borana vs Gaari, Borana vs Gabra, Borana vs Burjji, IGAD

A crucial feature of borderlands in Africa is the difference in how they are perceived by local people and the central government. For locals, the border or borders they live on or near are frequently hypothetical, without physical markers or regulatory presence. Pastoralist groups cross back and forth seeking – and sometimes fighting over – water and grazing lands for their herds; individuals cross to see family members, buy goods or access services; for business people, borders present economic opportunities in trade routes, goods and markets. For central governments, on the other hand, borderlands are often viewed as places where their control over citizens is weak, illegal trade occurs and security threats from insurgent groups can enter their territory. Accordingly, national border management policy tends to have a default aim of “hardening” borders: the building of “symbolic, legal, and material walls, fences, and frontiers”.<sup>32</sup>

In many cases, however, especially between fragile or conflict-affected states, a lack of resources, capacity and/or will causes border management by the government to be weak and intermittent.

What limited systems exist tend to concentrate on border posts rather than along whole border

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<sup>32</sup> Goodhand, J. (2018). The Centrality of Margins: The Political Economy of Conflict and Development in Borderlands. *Working Paper*.

lines. State border security personnel are frequently under trained and under-equipped for the level of challenges they encounter and, due to the remote nature of many of the locations in which they operate, face low levels of accountability for their actions. In combination, these factors can lead to the relationship between security providers and the communities they work within being one of resentment and suspicion, adding to, rather than mitigating, insecurity. In sum, borderlands in Africa are typically characterized by low state presence, mistrust between local communities and the state, and high levels of crime, insecurity and poverty<sup>33</sup>.

### **1.6.2 Strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity**

Various reports<sup>34</sup> indicate that conflict resolution techniques among the pastoralists in Moyale cross-border exist in the form of structured or formal and unstructured or informal dimension. The informal forms comprise of the more unstructured conflict resolution systems that comprise of the elders' meetings and directives, opinion leader's judgments, use of communal methods as beliefs myths, habits, characteristics, cultural orientations and rites, community informal meetings 'barazas' (consensus approaches) and citation of unpublished rites and obligation by a respected leaders during the conflicts. The punishments are in the form of communal exclusion, payments of fines, being blacklisted in the community and being denied some rights and privileges in case of noncompliance to judgments made by the elders. Elders, heads of families and age set play a big role in the society in preventing and resolving conflicts. They discuss many issues that affect the community internally and those that affect their relations with the

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<sup>33</sup> Raeymaekers, T. (2013). *Violence on the margins: States, conflict, and borderlands*. Springer.

<sup>34</sup> 5 UNDP, Analysis of Conflict as it Relates to the Production and Marketing of Dry lands Products: The Case of Turkana (Kenya) and Karamoja (Uganda) Cross-Border Sites, <http://www.ke.undp.org/content/dam/kenya/docs/Poverty%20Reduction/MAPEndofProjectEvaluation.pdf>;

neighboring communities. In the traditional African setting, the council of elders brought parties to a conflict on a round table sitting in order to deal with their disputes.

### **1.6.2.1 Surveillance**

Surveillance being a covert observation of a place or a person for the purpose of obtaining information of interest to the observer needs to be continuous for a period<sup>35</sup>. According to Baker surveillance is beneficial in security related operations because it helps in obtaining information as evidence in criminal proceedings. It helps to locate and monitor subject, movement of people or contraband. Patrols works hand in hand with surveillance. What is detected by the devices is confirmed physically by people.

Baker<sup>36</sup> goes on to say that surveillance is a proactive measure against intended crime, and it helps to neutralize criminal activities thereby deterring crime and improving on security. The Kenya police use surveillance method to gather intelligence about intruders that cross the common border of Moyale. How surveillance overlap with patrols at the Moyale border post needs to be established. When surveillance is done and does not yield results it indicates that there is no movement, or the systems are wrong. These systems require constant servicing and inspection otherwise it will give wrong information.<sup>37</sup> Contemporary surveillance systems utilize advanced techniques, such as object-identification and object tracking especially those tracking vehicles. This allows tracking of many vehicles crossing over a wide area of space. This is possible by having interconnected multiple devices distributed throughout a larger area, for

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<sup>35</sup> Dempsey, J (2012) Introduction to investigations Belmont CA: Thomson Wadsworth

<sup>36</sup> Baker, D and Gunter, D (2015) Surveillance: Concepts and Practices for Fraud, Security and Crime Investigation (7th ed.) Butterworth: Heinemann

<sup>37</sup> Harrison, D (2014) Privacy Impact Assessment U.S. Customs and Border Protection

instance an entire border. Moncrieff and West<sup>38</sup> observe that compared to contemporary surveillance solutions, traditional systems are simple recording gadgets that have to be constantly monitored by human observers without automated technological assistance. Criminals and terrorists are increasingly using new technology to mount attacks on public safety and cause incidents like 9/11 and the Madrid and London bombings, the public and law enforcement agencies must continuously increase their technological capabilities to protect innocent individuals.

The term covert infers that the operative conducting the surveillance is discreet and secretive. Surveillance that maintains a concealed, hidden, undetected nature clearly has the greatest chance of success because the subject of the surveillance will act or perform naturally without knowing that they are being monitored. While this is true how it is applicable in an expansive porous border of Moyale needs to be investigated. Remaining undetected during covert surveillance duty often involves physical fatigue, mental stress, and very challenging situations. Physical discomfort is an unfortunate reality for investigators, which varies from stinging perspiration in summer to hard shivers during the winter<sup>39</sup>. The investigator needs to be properly clothed and housed. His clothe should give him warmth during cold weather and the house should provide protection during bad weather and enemies. Moyale is very hot and dry and may call for more use of surveillance devices than patrols.

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<sup>38</sup> Moncrieff, S., Venkatesh, S., & West, G. A. (2019). Dynamic privacy in public surveillance. *Computer*, 42(9), 22-28.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid*

Lesser<sup>40</sup> observes that the abstract idea of the term, “surveillance” can be viewed from a whole new different perspective. Surveillance can be regard as the police activity of gathering information on individuals and areas to detect, deter and interdict criminals. This includes human observation and technological gazing whereby officials watch physical movements and activities of persons. Surveillance can also be viewed as the acquisition of personal data, their recording and tracking. This is done through the collection of biographical and biometric data on individuals from their personal communications, electronic transactions, identifiers, records, or other documents this is only possible where the equipment is modern, and the staff is well trained to obtain the necessary data. Observation as a factor of surveillance can be used in identification of objects or can aid to advance an investigative opinion or a piece of a larger body of evidence. According to Romero<sup>41</sup> Surveillance involves voice or documentary information that can be used in criminal investigations or prosecutions. As the police gather information through surveillance, search, and seizure they become more proactive to crime and insecurity is reduced.

In pastoral communities, coercive elements such as noticing discussion of raids, contemplation crime, examining incidents and accusations and follow up on judgments including payments of fines and compensations are used to maintain social order. As part of the tradition, the elders send a group of young men on expedition for surveillance mission in order to survey the environment for any element of threats to peace, as well as the availability of water and pasture for their livestock in case community is planning to move to a new area. Such mission is also

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<sup>40</sup> Lesser (2015). Countering new terrorism and border security rand

<sup>41</sup> Romero, F. C. (2013). Northwest Tribal Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) Project, aggregate final project report. *Northwest Portland Area Indian Health Board, Portland.*



carried out whenever there is substantive information of eventual attack by a neighboring community or not and this greatly helps in curbing elements of insecurity.

The culture dictates that members of the society are all expected to give accurate information and follow up transgressions. The elders who command enough respect among the people are tasked with playing a central role in the execution of law, presiding over investigations, meetings and discussions that relate to matters of conflict. To the communities, besides constantly checking, asserting, repairing and re-asserting peace, peace needs not to be taken for granted. While everyone can use their actions, words, law compliance, principles based on religion such as forgiveness to maintain peace, elders play a critical role in terms of peace surveillance<sup>42</sup>

### **1.6.2.2 Patrols**

According to Slobogin<sup>43</sup> the fundamental objective of patrolling is to create an apparent security presence and bring about the realization that security agents are active and vigilant. This serves as a deterrent to criminals so that they do not attempt to illegally cross the border. Patrol involves patrolling the common border on foot or on cars from one area to another. Patrol serves the purpose of deterrence, detection and curb of criminal activities along the common border. Security agents conduct patrols in order to avoid being circumvented by criminals. Patrols give different levels of outcome depending on various factors for example the time of the patrol, day or night the weather, concealment and the composition of the patrol.

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<sup>42</sup> Bujra, A. (2002). African Conflict: Their Causes and Their Political and Social Environment, Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF), Occasional Paper, No. 4 <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/8d19/5e109ebdd31e418f0b60b335db9674593971.pdf>

<sup>43</sup> Slobogin, C. (2016). Technologically Assisted Physical Surveillance: The American Bar Association's Tentative Draft Standards. *Harv. JL & Tech.*, 10, 383.

The success of a patrol may depend on the local community involvement. No study has been done to investigate if the inclusion of the local inhabitants affects the outcome of the patrol. This study has tried to find out how local community can be in cooperated in patrol duties by different security agencies. Patrol equipment and training of the personnel of different security agencies may not be uniform due to lack of resources and training facilities. This study tried to see the differences in level of training and equipment so that the performance of patrols can be uniform. Patrol strategy is one of the essential and most visible of all security undertakings which help to guard against border insecurity. One of the edges of a patrol force is that it builds up in the pursuit of crime prevention, in the apprehension of criminals committing offenses, tracking of those who enter through illegal entry points at the border and, in general, the preservation of peace<sup>44</sup>. Border patrols demands for development of infrastructures like roads for use by the security patrol vehicles and the necessary resources. Patrols need to be coordinated by all security agents at the border to avoid conflict and duplication of efforts.

Efficient patrols are the cornerstone for achieving insecurity free border and any state must endeavor to have functional and effective border security strategies. The state must strengthen the cooperation and networking of the border management agents, which will result into sharing of security information. Border surveillance should be systematically carried out in phases such as reception centers. Those people intercepted entering the country should be properly handled so that they do not bring security issues. Border patrolling needs to have no obvious pattern as it should be continuous and impromptu so that there are no gaps created by the absence of the security personnel at any one time.

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<sup>44</sup> ibid

### 1.6.2.3 Moral Consensus

Traditional conflict management methods of pastoral communities recommend a personal responsibility that leads to a generous and harmonious universe<sup>45</sup>. Contact between individuals on different platforms such as social/political gathering, day-to-day activities such as greetings, ritual or prayer, all must call upon this peace. Therefore, greetings are vital in various communities as they portray peace as well as peace affirmations strengthened by concepts of reconciliation, equality, and redistribution. The political and spiritual needs of various ethics institutions is served when there is peace which is considered as the initial communal idea that informs the structure of that community. The communities believe that the rights to certain resources with which they need them is a natural concept that can only be achieved when there is peace among them. Therefore, it is better to term the concept, which individuals are swapping in their prayers, inquiries and greetings a moral accord about political process and authority as considered by the 18th century English philosopher John Locke. According to Locke<sup>46</sup>, the institutions responsible for underpinning institutions that regulate justice and fairness can only be underpinned by God's authority. This study perused to explain whether a similar idea is shared by communities living in Moyale border.

In arriving at an agreement, there is no argument or competition witnessed, but consensus is arrived at in a well-organized gathering and smooth exchanges. However, today the emergence of new social and geographical divisions has complicated the structures of assemblies and to achieve the continuity of the notion of moral consensus, support to boost the process of moral

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<sup>45</sup> Bercovitch, J., Kremenyuk, V., & Zartman, I. W. (Eds.). (2008). *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution*

<sup>46</sup> John Locke, as quoted by, Scott-Villiers, P., Ungiti, H. B., Kiyana, D., Kullu, M., Orto, T., Reidy, E., & Sora, A. (2011). *The long conversation: customary approaches to peace management in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya*. <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/123456789/2324>

agreement within the society is of utmost good. The moral consensus forms the basis for negotiation between ordinary people and authorities, as well over what is legitimate or not.

#### **1.6.2.4 Information Sharing Platforms**

Conflict management is a moral concept that starts in the mind of individuals and thus communication spread it amongst the various individuals. Through this, the peace message will spread and reach wide population. Receiving the message and communicating the same message is the basic principle of information. In majority of communities, any conversation between individuals who had not meet one another for a long time always start with exchanging of the information. Normally, individuals get down to other serious businesses after they are through with exchanging the various information about happenings, people, places and things. Giving exact information is also a concept which is taught to young people from an early age. There is always a link of understanding and information which flows across between people despite the distance.

#### **1.6.2.5 National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC)**

The NCIC is mandated to promote and facilitate harmony, peaceful coexistence, equal opportunity, and good relations among individuals of various racial and ethnic upbringings in Kenya and to provide advice to the government thereof. The Road to Cohesion, Uwiano platform and Kenya Kwanza Campaign are some of the major achievements credited to NCIC in its 2013-2016 Strategic Plan. Other achievements by NCIC are education policies on cohesion and integration, making hate speech a crime, reduction of all forms of discrimination on the basis of origin (ethnic, religious, social and racial), social media monitoring and establishment of partnerships and networks.

The communities such as Rendile, Borana, Gabra and Garre who are from Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border have been recently involved in inter clan conflicts. A peace agreement was arrived at in November 2013 after the peace process initiative that was taken by the commission. That led to the signing of ‘the Marsabit Ceasefire Agreement, the Boma Declaration and the Boma Peace Agreement’ which are three major agreements by the mediation efforts. All the communities were involved in signing where their clan elders and political leaders represented each community. Before the three agreements were signed, the Commission held four peace meetings that established the implementation of the status between 13th November to 24th November 2015. Marsabit since then became one of the counties where conflict was managed by the National cohesion and integration commission and have continued to lay the role until today. There are various stakeholders who have been assigned in a permanent office in the County where the initiatives involving the process of retaining peace are guided.<sup>47</sup>

Peace initiatives are also coordinated by the National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management who also joined in the fight against conflicts in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. Their efforts have been witnessed in all areas in the County including the locational levels. All conflicts in the pastoral communities were harmonized by the committee where peace declarations were held among all the communities living in the Northern part of Kenya. Therefore, if there were any peace declarations that were made between the Borana and Rendile communities, is the main purpose that the study intends to determine and how effective they are.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> ibid

<sup>48</sup> ibid

### **1.6.3 Challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border**

#### **1.6.3.1 Inadequate state security machineries**

As part of a political campaign that favors sedentary communities over non-sedentary groups, respective governments have over time neglected to invest a great deal in infrastructure and public services in pastoralist border areas, thus exacerbating lack of state security in the region. Without sufficient roads, accessible lines of communication, and a large qualified security presence, pastoralists have had no choice but to take up arms in order to protect their families and livestock. Moreover, cross-border raiders are considered immune from prosecution, because governments lack capacity or infrastructure required to prosecute those involved in acts taking place in other jurisdictions. Small Arms Survey reports that nearly 60 percent of residents living along Kenya- Ethiopia border are dissatisfied with security provisions in their communities.

In Kenya, where military's role is restricted to responding to large-scale incidents and carrying out community disarmament programs, governments has armed local defense units to provide security at local level. These comprise civilians who are given a registered firearm and ammunition without any training or remuneration. In Kenya, for instance, Kenyan Police Reservists (KPR), armed with Kalashnikov-pattern and G3 assault rifles, function as a community task force mandated to respond to local crime and disputes. While KPR are sometimes effective in defending communities against cattle raids, they are equally known to lend out their weapons to warriors for raiding purposes, undermining the very security they are supposed to protect.

### **1.6.3.2 Proliferation of Small Arms**

There is a large market of weapons provided by the pastoralists living along the Kenya and Ethiopia border regions. With the availability of cheap and easy to use assault rifles, pastoralists have abandoned the practice of cattle rustling using bows and arrows. Small Arms Survey conducted in Kenya suggests that small arms are used in 96.9 per cent of cattle rustling events in the Kenya- Ethiopia border region. While it is difficult to estimate exact number of small arms in circulation in the region, experts estimate that it is well over 300,000. Pastoralist communities arm themselves for several reasons. First, they need to protect their family and livestock from warriors of other tribes and bandits. Second, guns are used to raid livestock from other communities. Lastly, guns are an investment that can be traded for livestock and other commercial goods. Moreover, a 2008 ammunition study in Kenya found that majority of illicit civilian-held ammunition was Kenyan-manufactured; revealing that it had either been stolen from weakly guarded stockpiles or sold by corrupt officials.

### **1.6.3.3 Political factors**

Governance in the Horn of Africa is dominated, by manipulation of ethnicity, patronage and a political culture of exclusion. This has continued, in large part, from the period prior to independence. Although the governments of the Horn of Africa have made some efforts to include pastoralists in the civil service, cabinet ministries, and the army, they are still not adequately represented in political life. Pastoralists are not represented according to their numbers in parliament or in high-level civil service posts, nor do they have education rates in line with the majority of the population. In many of the semi-arid and arid areas of the Horn of Africa, pastoralists have very little formal education. Politicians exploits the situation to advance their interests at the expense of peace building.

#### **1.6.4 Gap**

From the literature above, it is imperative that minimal research has been done to re-evaluate and re-enforced the strategies that have been applied to curb cross-border insecurity trends along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. Through this research one is able to solve the loopholes that are apparent in the already existing security strategies that are not putting an end to the continuous violence. The issue of lack of good governance, provision of equal development opportunities to all counties especially the pastoralist communities, clear border management structures coupled with deep rooted corruption practices by the border officials which continue to promote under development, commercialization of cattle rustling, infiltration of small arms, unfriendly relations between the Kenya and Ethiopia border was thoroughly examined in this study and how the above mentioned factors undermine peace strategies in the HOA. In spite of recognition that colonial boundaries are not viable in their current state as the communities living Moyale border, the continent's governing elites have elected and stuck to a policy of territorial status quo, partly because of a legitimate concern that any attempt to review boundaries will lead to anarchy. As a matter of fact, boundary-related inter-state conflict has been prevalent reason for conflict between Ethiopia and Kenya border respectively. Therefore, the literature review has identified the lack of political will to stem out these violence incidents which paints a negative image on the practices of good governance in Kenya.

#### **1.7 Hypothesis**

This study sought to test the following hypotheses:

H1: Strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border are not very effective.



H2: There exists a challenge faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya -Ethiopia Moyale border.

### **1.8 Justification of the Study**

The research findings may be beneficial in informing policy makers about the cross-border security challenges at the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border and recommend ways that assist in the development of suitable policies that can effectively deal with cross border security challenges.

#### **1.8.1 Academic Justification**

This study is important as it may generate new literature for the academicians in the field of border security in Kenya and other countries that experience cross-border security challenges. This study is significant in that it tried to see whether the strategy of patrols and surveillance is effective where the neighbor is not in total control of his territory. The study is useful because it recommends likely modification which can be applied to both the mechanism of patrols and surveillance along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.

#### **1.8.2 Policy Makers**

The study is crucial to policy makers as it may advance policy adjustment on efforts to manage cross-border security challenges. The policy makers may be able to identify weak points of policies practiced earlier either on a national or regional level and embark on relevant changes that may bring about effective results in solving the problem of border security challenges in Kenya.

### **1.8.3 Government**

The findings of the study may also be instrumental to the government agencies of Kenya and Ethiopia to adopt best practices in combating cross-border security issues in Kenya and Ethiopia. Such practices can be applied through drafting of various policies to enhance security. The recommendations of this research work might be instrumental in ending or changing the dynamics of cross-border conflicts and insecurity.

## **1.9. Theoretical Framework**

This study was guided by human needs theory, conflict theory of international relations and bureaucratic theory to explain the implication of cross-border security challenge in the Horn of Africa Region with focus on the inhabitants of Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.

## **Research Methodology**

This section focuses on the study design, the location and study population. Others include sources of data and data collection techniques, sampling procedures adopted and data analysis and presentation.

### **1.9.1 Research design**

According to Kothari, research design is a plan, a roadmap and blueprint strategy of investigation conceived to obtain answers to research questions<sup>49</sup>. Due to the nature of this study, the researcher adopted pragmatic research design. This type of design is associated with cross-sectional survey that triangulates different research designs for purposes of complementarity. The

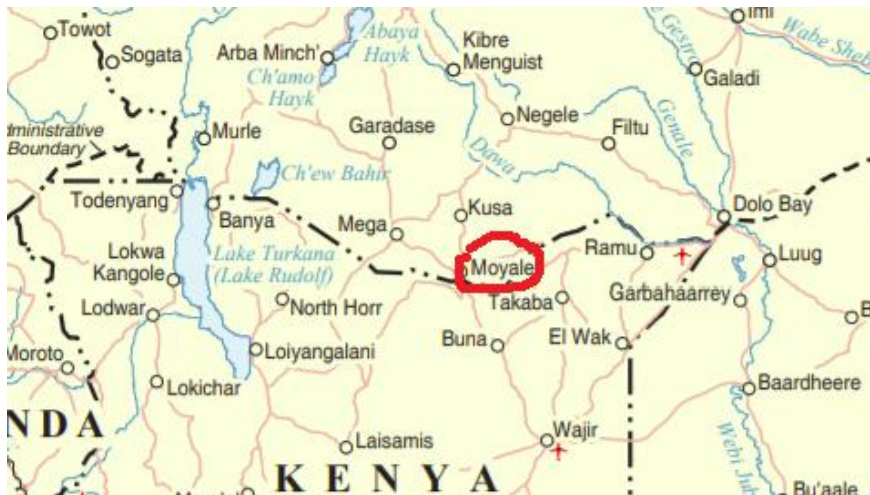
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<sup>49</sup> Kothari, C. R. (2004). Research methodology: Methods and techniques. New Age International.

choice of this design was more favorable as it aided in understanding relationships among variables that have to do with the conflicts experienced by the inhabitants of the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.

### 1.9.2 Scope of the Study

The study area was along the Moyale border (see figure 1.1 below). The area has two sides, the smaller section is located on the Kenyan side and the larger one on the Ethiopian side as the border runs between them. Moyale on the Kenyan side is comprised of seven (7) County Assembly Wards as follows: Butiye, Sololo, Heillu, Golbo, Moyale Township, Urain, Obbu. While the Moyale on the Ethiopian side is comprised of three Afan Oromo-speaking clans which namely the Borana, Garre and Gabra<sup>50</sup>. For this study, the data was only collected from Moyale area on the Kenyan side. The importance of a case study is that it provides an opportunity to obtaining relevant examples and develop ways that solve issues, in this case the conflicts that has been witnessed on the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.



**Figure 1.1: Map of Moyale area**

<sup>50</sup> Njambi and Misiani (2016), Cross-Border Conflict and Gendered Implications for Local Communities: The Case of the Kenya-Ethiopia Border, Occasional series 7, pp. 2.

**Source:** *Map No. 4188 Rev. 5 United Nations, March 2012, Department of Field Support Cartographic Section*

### **1.9.3 Research target population**

The study population comprised of residents of Moyale town along the Kenya-Ethiopia border. It also targeted NGOs that have assisted in mitigating conflicts in this area, academicians that are conversant with the issue at hand, the border security officials as well as government officials.

### **1.9.4 Research population and Sampling technique**

The cluster sampling method was adopted on the villages of the main ethnic groups along the Moyale Kenya-Ethiopia border. The villages include: Bunye, Goromuda, Heilu, Manyatta, Odda, Sessi and Township. The total population of Moyale Sub-county is 108,949 (56,440 male and 52,508 female)<sup>51</sup>. To arrive at the sample size, Yamane's formula was used. The formula is

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where

n= sample size

N= population size

e= precision level usually 0.052

When fitted into the formula:

$$n = \frac{108,949}{1 + 108,949 (0.05)^2}$$

$$= \frac{108,949}{1 + 272.4}$$

$$= 398.5 \text{ Approximately } 399 \text{ respondents}$$

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<sup>51</sup> 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census, Vol. I, Population by County and Sub-county, Nov. 2019, pp. 13

The primary data in this study was collected by issuing a questionnaire to the NGOs, security officials, government officials and academicians. While on the other hand, focus discussion groups of 32 people categorized into 10 groups was used for the residents of Moyale town.

**Table 1.1: Sample Size and Population**

<b>Target Population</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Sampling technique</b>
Residence of Moyale town	316	Simple random
NGOs	25	Convenient
Security officials	28	Convenient
Government officials	16	Convenient
Academicians	14	Purposive
<b>Total</b>	<b>399</b>	

**Source: Researcher, 2020**

The procedure for selecting the subjects for inclusion includes the probability sampling that involved the simple random while non-probability one includes the convenient and purposive technique. Simple random sampling best applied to a larger population whereby each member of the population was equally likely to be chosen as part of the sample hence no biasness.

Purposive sampling for the academicians was appropriate because the researcher looked at the characteristics of the academicians that are of interest and have the knowledge about what is being researched on. Convenient sampling involved collecting the sample from somewhere near or convenient hence the NGOs, Security officials and Government officials were conveniently sampled.

### **1.9.5 Data Collection Method**

This research utilized both primary and secondary data collection methods. For the primary data collection, the main instruments used to obtain the data was a questionnaire. For the secondary data, it was obtained from academic journals, internet, reports, newspapers and any other source that was applicable to the study. Data was collected through face to face interviews by observing social distancing and other Corona Virus protocols, by phone interviews where applicable and by email and WhatsApp that was used to disseminate the questionnaires where applicable with the selected respondents by the researcher and two research assistants. Both assistants were fluent in the mother tongue spoken in the area of study as well as Swahili and English languages. The data of this study took around one month to collect.

### **1.9.6 Data Analysis and Presentation**

For this research, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in the data analysis process. Pre-coded questionnaires were used to ease data entry. Quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS to obtain frequency distributions and cross-tabulations to enable the analysis and interpretation of the collected data. Qualitative data was analyzed thematically and descriptively; no software was used for qualitative analysis. Qualitative responses from interviews and observations was grouped by use of content analysis which categorized phrases, described the logical structure of expressions and ascertained associations, connotations, denotations, forces and other interpretations. This method was useful because of its strength in compressing lengthy interviews and conversations. Data was classified into various themes for ease of analysis.

### **1.9.7 Piloting**

Before data collection, the instruments were pilot tested at the research site. The researcher distributed a pilot questionnaire to the respondents in order to mitigate any irrelevant information that was collected from the inhabitants of the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border who are the target population.

### **1.9.8 Scope and limitations of the research**

Some challenges were faced in collecting the data for this study. These challenges include; most of the respondents not welcoming the idea of filling in the questionnaire, they associated it with benefit that might be gained by one of their rival ethnic groups, therefore, they were very suspicious. The research assistants had to explain and make them understand that the research was for an academic purpose and nothing more. Some of the targeted respondents were not available on the day they were to be interviewed despite the researcher having communicated to them prior to the day of the scheduled interviews. However, the researcher had to make some arrangements to collect the questionnaires after one day. Secondly, high level of illiteracy was observed, hence they could not read or write, therefore, the research assistants translated the questions for the respondents and filled in the questionnaires on their behalf in English while maintaining the original message.

### **1.9.9 Ethical considerations**

Since ethical consideration is a very crucial concept throughout the entire research process, this study sought to maintain the highest form of ethics during engagements with respondents.

The motive of the study was informed to the participants under the short message for the respondent section in the questionnaire and was explained to them that it was only for academic purposes. Respondents were given the option to either participate or not to in the completing of

the questionnaire and could ask any questions related to their participation in this study at any one point during interview and data collection. The investigator assured the respondents that confidentiality would be upheld in regard to the information they provided and therefore no identification information was included on the questionnaire.

*Potential harm and benefits:* the researcher assured the participant that no kind of harm would come to them in any way due to the information they provided. Additionally, they were informed that there were no direct benefits for participation for example monetary benefits, scholarships among others. Before embarking on the process of data collection, the researcher obtained approval from the National Commission of Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI).

## **1.10 Chapter Outline**

**Chapter one:** Introduces the topic and gives an extensive background of the topic. It also provides the research study, the statement of the problem, justification, theoretical framework, literature review, hypothesis and methodology of study.

**Chapter two:** Sheds light upon the key cross-border insecurity trends along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.

**Chapter three:** Examines some of the strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.

**Chapter four:** Discusses some of the key challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.

**Chapter five:** Gives findings, conclusion and recommendations.



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE CROSS BORDER INSECURITY TRENDS ALONG THE KENYA-ETHIOPIA MOYALE BORDER

#### 2.1 Introduction

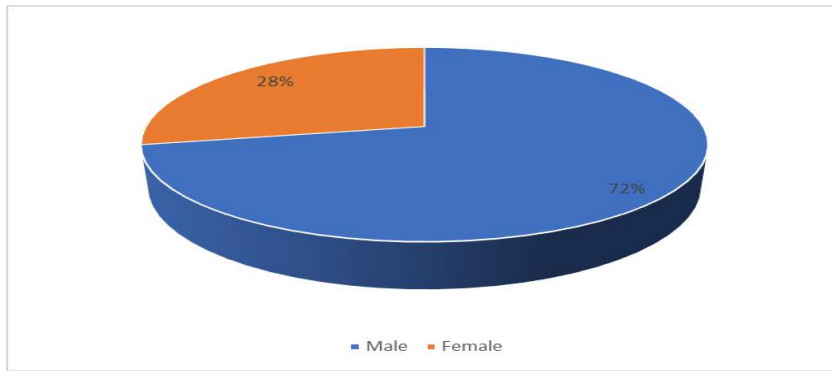
This chapter discusses the key cross border insecurity trends along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. It focuses mainly on the violent conflict along the border. The chapter also examines factors that contribute to spillover of conflicts across the borders. The chapter starts by examining the demographic characteristics of the study.

##### 2.1.1 The study Demographic Characteristics

According to Hauser and Duncan, demography refers to the size, territorial distribution, and composition of population, changes therein and the components of such changes<sup>52</sup>. The researcher needed this information as it is crucial in describing the composition of the targeted population in terms of gender, age, ethnicity, and the activities they engage in to secure a livelihood. This information is gathered so that one can assess how conflict affects these different genders and age groups.

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<sup>52</sup> Hauser and Duncan (1959), Journal of the American Statistical Association, June 2000, pp. 670.



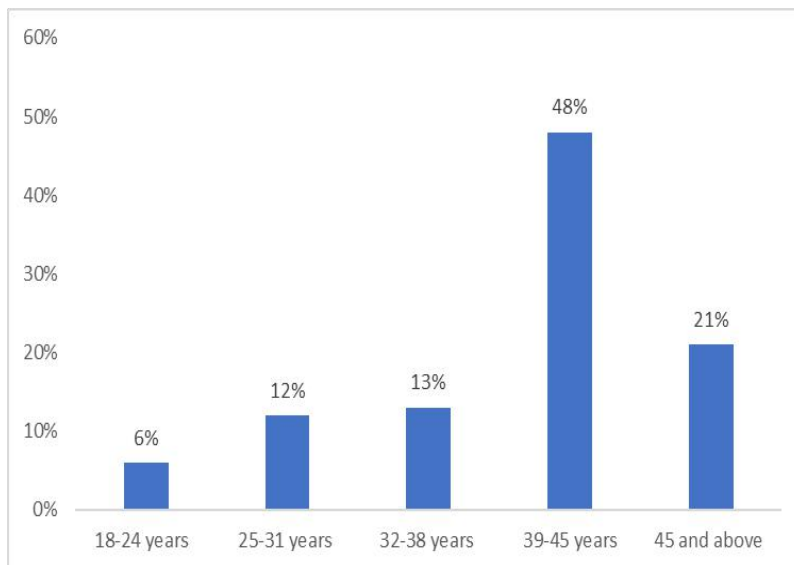
**Figure 2.2: Gender**

**Source: Field data 2020**

During the data collection process, both male and female participated in filling in the questionnaire and this enabled the researcher to understand how both genders are affected by the cross-border security issue under scrutiny. It was observed that most of the willing respondents who had knowledge related to the subject at hand were male as indicated on figure 2.1 above. It was also noted that many female respondents were not willing to discuss the matter and explained that they had no knowledge of the cross-border security issues due to their low level of education and declined to fill in the questionnaires. It was also observed that majority of the female respondents that declined to respond were housewives.

From figure 2.1 above 70% of respondents were male while female occupied 28%. This pointed out that women are not very much involved with security matters at the border as they are preoccupied by taking care of their families as caregivers. Due to the low level of education by majority of the female respondents, they felt that issues related to border security are dealt with by men in their society and it does not concern them much. It is also a pointer that being a patriarchal society, the security sector is male dominated. According to Matandela in *Challenging Patriarchy*, patriarchy is defined as a system of power and inequality that gives

unequal social, economic and political opportunity and access in favour of men and operates at the detriment of women and other marginalized groups. This system of inequality monitors and instills behaviour that counteracts women from attaining civil, political and socio-economic rights<sup>53</sup>.



**Figure 2.3: Age Bracket**

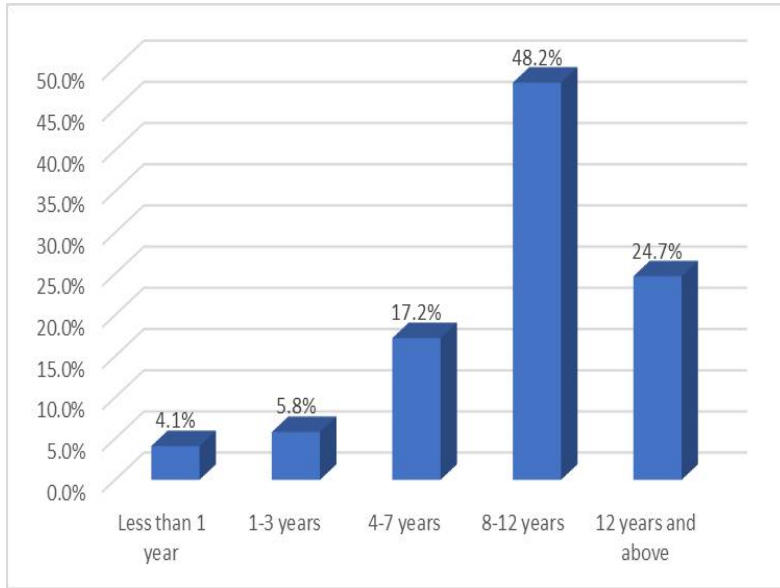
**Source: Field data 2020**

After analysis of the data, the researcher was able to understand how different age brackets are affected by conflicts in the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. From the analysis, it was observed that majority of the respondents were between ages 39 years to 45 years hence 48% of the respondents. 21% of the respondents were 45 years and above while 13% were between the ages of 32-38 years; 12 % were aged 25 -31 years, and finally 6% were between 18-24 years, as indicated on figure 2.2 above. This shows that the respondents' ages are diverse but most of them between the ages of 39 and 45. Age is a useful distinction between youth and elders in drivers of

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<sup>53</sup> Matandela (2020). Challenging Patriarchy, The Role of Patriarchy in the Roll-back of Democracy, April 2020, pp.13.

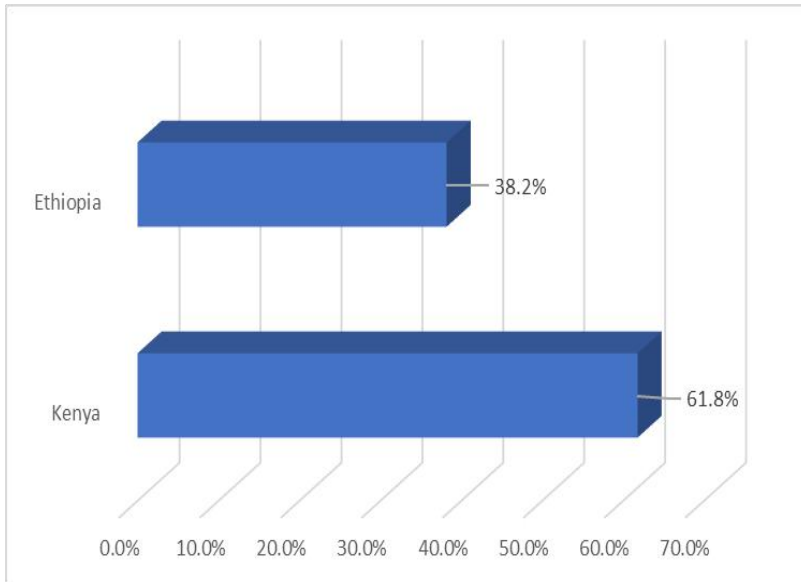
conflict and management strategies. Although young men are usually the fighters, the nature of conflict and chance of peace building may change greatly from one to the other.



**Figure 2.4: Length of Service at Moyale border post**

**Source: Field data 2020**

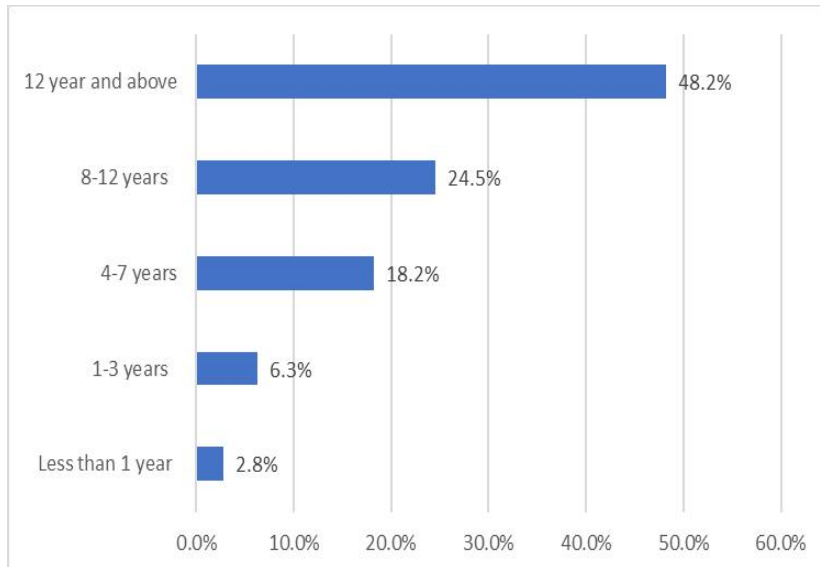
Security personnel were asked to indicate how long they have served in Moyale border post. Based on the findings, majority of the security personnel (48.2%) have served in Moyale border post for 8-12 years, 24.7% indicated 12 years and above, 17.2% indicated 4-7 years, 5.8% indicated 1-3 years while 4.1% had less than 1 year as indicated on figure 2.3 above. This is an indication that security personnel have served in Moyale border post for relatively long time, they are experienced and thus higher chances of giving reliable information with regards to cross-border security challenges in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.



**Figure 2.5: Country of Origin**

**Source: Field data, 2020**

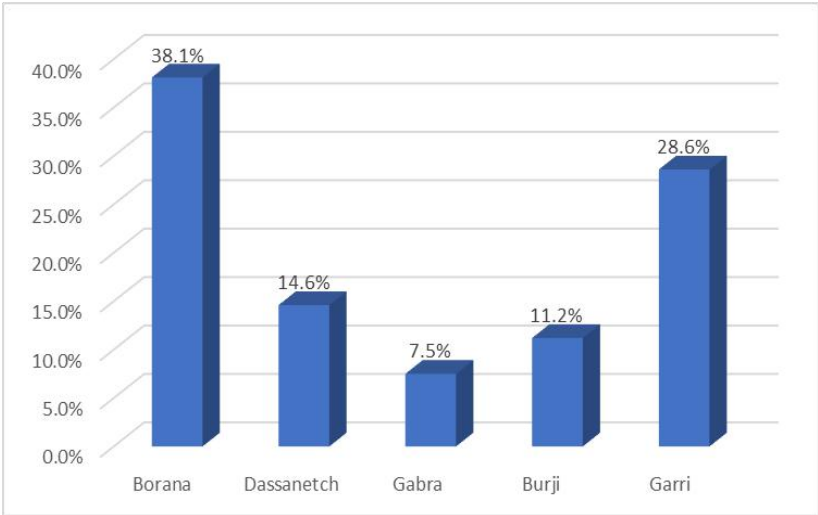
Figure 2.4 indicates that on the country of origin of many of the respondents (61.8%) were Kenyans while 38.2% indicated their country of origin to be Ethiopia. This indicates that the border is cosmopolitan.



**Figure 2.6: Period of being a resident of Moyale town**

**Source: Field data 2020**

Respondents were asked to indicate how long they have been residents of Moyale town. Based on the findings in figure 2.5, it is imperative to note that majority of the respondents have been in Moyale town for over 12 years as indicated by 48.2%. 24.5% indicated 8-12 years, 18.2% indicated 4-7 years, 6.3% indicated 1-3 years while only 2.8% indicated less than 1 year. This is an indication that the respondents are much aware of the cross-border conflicts within the area as majority of them might have experienced some of those conflicts in the past.

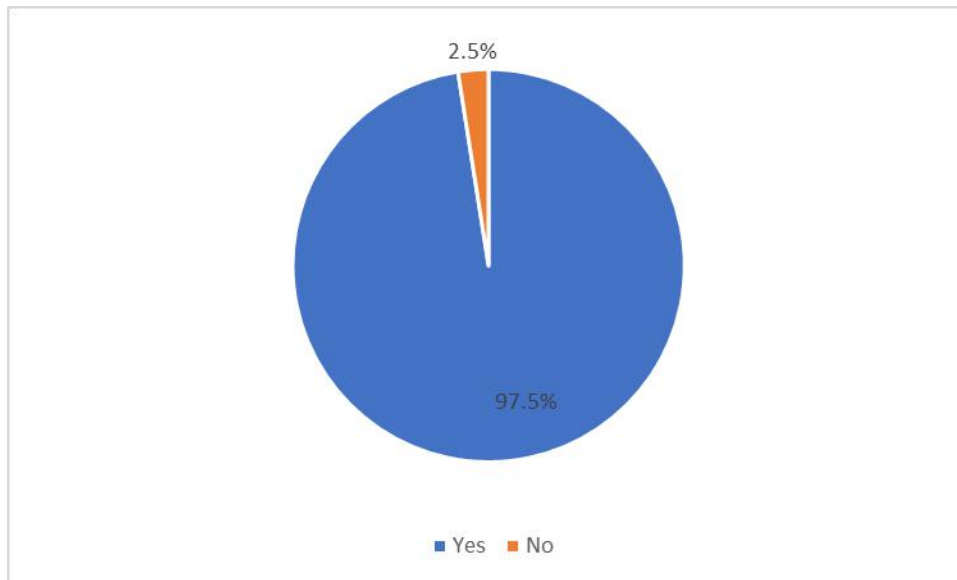


**Figure 2.7: Ethnic Group**

**Source: Field data 2020**

The study revealed that majority of the respondents at Kenya-Ethiopia border are Borana as indicated by 38.1%, 28.6% are Gaari, 14.6% are Dassanetch, 11.2% are Burji while 7.5% are Gabra and Sakuye as indicated on figure 2.7 above. This is an indication that the inhabitants are from diverse ethnic groups and hence conflicts might arise on the bases of ethnicity and lack of equitable distribution of resources among the different ethnic groups.

## 2.2 Insecurity Trends Along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale Border



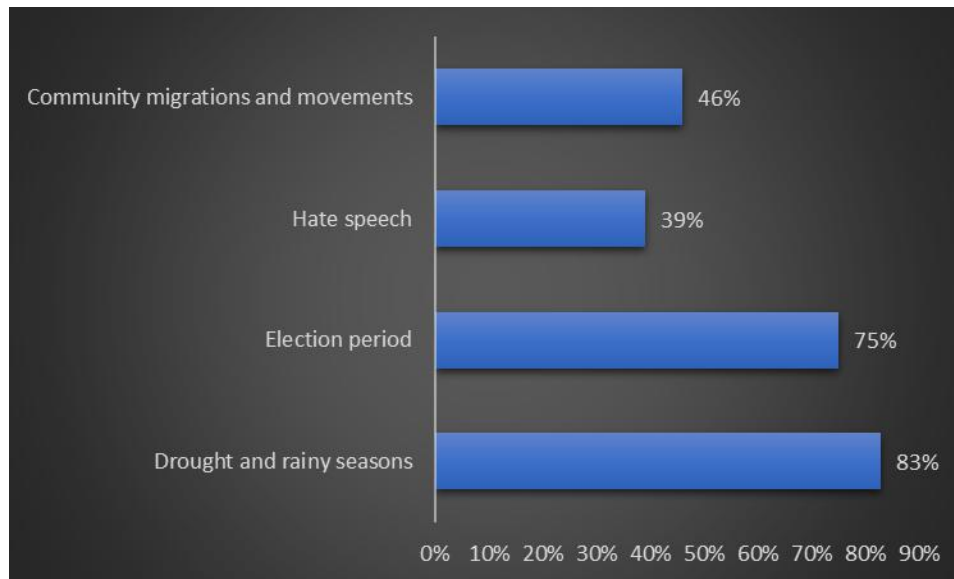
**Figure 2.8: Witness of conflict in Moyale**

**Source: Field data 2020**

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they have witnessed conflict in Moyale in the period they have been living there. As indicated on figure 2.8, majority of the respondents (97.5%) stated that they have experienced conflict in the region (the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border). The respondents indicated that the key inquiry areas are causes of violent confrontations, their impact on the communities and past interventions by the States. Majority of the communities rely on the pastoralism and subsistence agriculture as their main economic activities.

Grazing land which is the most precious natural resource has been the main source of confrontations as most of the communities try to expand the grazing land for their cattle. Furthermore, such violent confrontations between communities occur during dry season when

pasture is scarce. In Kenya, the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) areas cover up to 84% of the total land and support up to 34% of the population<sup>54</sup>.



**Figure 2.9: Insecurity Trends Along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale Border**

**Source: Field data 2020**

Based on Figure 2.9 above, 83% of the respondents indicated that conflicts Along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale Border escalates during drought and rainy season. The respondents indicated that they depend fully on their livestock for food, transport and for their main source of income as well. They further affirmed that livestock is also a source of prestige as the culture in most pastoralist communities' livestock is associated with wealth. Discussions with some village elders revealed that traditional chiefs are mostly appointed based on their net worth which is mostly measured against the number of livestock one owned. Raiding is thus a common activity as people try to increase their stock. Most of the raids are often associated with violence, however, they are spontaneous confrontation and last only for a few hours. Such raids often

<sup>54</sup> Barrow and Mogaka (2007), World Conservation Union, Desertification and Livelihoods Economic Study, pp7.



occur during the prolonged droughts when the cattle and people as well are hungry and weak. As such this nature of conflict is largely associated more with scarcity and survival rather than economic gain.

In a research carried among the Turkana pastoralists more than 80% of the respondents attribute the conflict and subsequent insecurity being experienced in the region to competition for the minimal resources<sup>55</sup>. Harsh climatic conditions, extreme poverty levels and neglect by their governments make the pastoralist communities very vulnerable and aggressive and hence readily respond to the slightest provocation as they perceive it as a possible threat to their very survival. When accessing such resources becomes impossible the communities are most likely to turn to other desperate means of survival such as raids. If not timely curbed such invasions can grow into become deep-rooted enmity between the communities hence continuity and further complication of the conflicts. Therefore, whereas it is true that there are many causes of violent conflicts among pastoralist communities most of such conflicts such as the Turkana-Dassanech conflicts are resource based<sup>56</sup>

Over exploitation of natural resources, drastic climate change coupled with increased population growth has been escalating the poverty levels among Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border communities. Political interference, border issues, and other factors have only worsened the condition that is deeply rooted in such environmental matters. With over exploitation comes degradation than results to the increased pressure of the available resources hence fierce

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<sup>55</sup> Opiyo, F., Wasonga, O., Schilling, J., & Mureithi, S. (2012). Resource-based conflicts in drought-prone Northwestern Kenya: The drivers and mitigation mechanisms.

<sup>56</sup> Nicholas, A. S. (2018). *Turkana-Dassanech Relations: Economic Diversification and Inter-Communal Conflicts, 1984-2015* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

competition among the communities. An increase in population without equal replacement of the natural resources is likely to continue worsening such competition by the marginalized communities whose survival solely depends on such resources. The government retains the sole responsibility of establishing a natural resource tenure system that reinforces equality among the diverse pastoralist communities.

75% of the respondents as shown in Figure 2.9 indicated that conflict tends to occur more during the election period in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. Clan supremacy and chauvinism plays a big role in any political relations. People who want political positions rally their clans against others. The politicians fuel the conflicts for their own benefit by making members of their clans to alienate themselves from others. This is because of the belief that political, social and economic benefits are best dispensed by own clansmen/women.

The clan affiliation therefore became very instrumental in fermenting clan violence along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border during election years. The political clan affiliations explain the characteristics of violence in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border region. However, in the face of clan chauvinism, harmonious relationships are destroyed. Chauvinists ally themselves with politicians who are seeking votes, and in an atmosphere of divide and rule and complete impunity, violence produces strange relationships. The respondents further explained that such conflicts would lead to influencing voting patterns in the area in the general election by displacing one ethnic group so that the other is able to attain more numbers to vote in the preferred candidate of their ethnic background. Some of the respondents also confirmed that many residents of the Moyale area both from Kenya and Ethiopia have both National Identification cards and would cross the border to vote in their preferred candidates at their own convenience.

### **2.3 Violent Conflict Along the Border**

All the respondents observed that resource scarcity along Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border contributes to conflict. This is a fact that has often come up in peace and reconciliation meetings confirming that competition over limited resources like water points and grazing land has been the source of conflict in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. As a way of achieving sustainable conflict resolution, modalities should be worked out on how the various communities in the county can use the resources for the benefit of all communities. Although modalities such as construction of water dams in locations where there are not natural water sources, rotational grazing programs and timetable for using water points, are in place, it is not followed during drought seasons hence conflict erupts. In these rotational grazing programs different communities can graze their livestock on different days of the week.

Most of the conflicts are either over resources (pasture and water), demarcated boundaries, or are politically instigated. This has led to massacre and huge losses of property among the affected individuals and communities. For instance, the clash between the Gaari and Borana that erupted on 25th July 2012 in Moyale, Ethiopia, forced more than 20,000 people to flee to Kenya<sup>57</sup>. 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 Rendile, Gabra and Burji (REGABU) communities and the Borana in Kenya during the run-up to the December 2013 General Elections displaced about

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<sup>57</sup> Life & Peace Institute (2017). The Dynamics of Inter-Communal Conflict in the Moyale Borderland Region. Available at: <http://life-peace.org/hab/moyale-borderland/>

30,000 people and led to a loss of lives and property<sup>58</sup>. The REGABU coalition won all the major political seats, leaving Borana with only one seat in Moyale despite Borana being majority of the population. Out of an estimated 80,550 people living in Moyale constituency, 53,968 people (approx. 67 Per cent) were displaced<sup>59</sup>. 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 higher frequency of both internal and external cross-border clashes. On 13th December 2018, in Moyale, Ethiopian side, about 20 individuals were killed and almost 100 individuals injured in fair three days. The casualties received treatment at the sub-county Hospital of Takaba, Mandera, Kenya. 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. Concurring to other different sources, the occurrence happened amid talks between regional security forces, agents of the two warring factions of the Borana and Gaari, and members of the federal army on handing over the city's security from regional forces to the federal army<sup>60</sup>.

Moyale could be a hotbed for ethnic clashes between the different pastoralist communities living within the border ranges. These clashes frequently spill over from one nation to another.

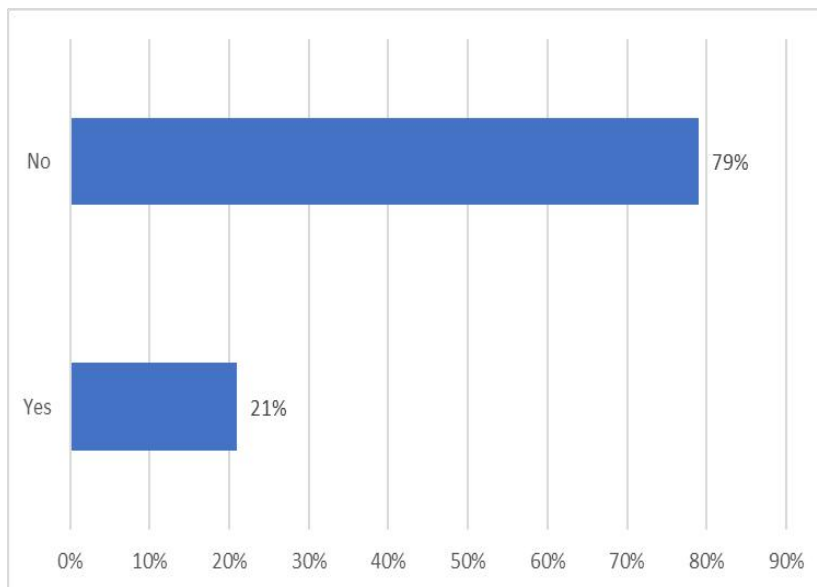
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<sup>58</sup> KRAZYINSIDEKENYA. (2013). More than 30,000 people displaced and more than 30 dead in Moyale clashes as Kenyan government fails to take action. Available at: <https://krazyinsidekenya.wordpress.com/2013/12/09/more-than-30000-people-displaced-and-more-than-30-dead-in-moyale-clashes-as-kenyan-government-fails-to-take-action/>

<sup>59</sup>Reliefweb. (2017). Horn of Africa: A call for action. Available at: [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/HOA\\_CALL\\_FOR\\_ACTION\\_Leaflet\\_Feb2017\\_1.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/HOA_CALL_FOR_ACTION_Leaflet_Feb2017_1.pdf)

<sup>60</sup><https://addisstandard.com/news-alert-at-least-a-dozen-civilians-killed-by-army-inside-bekele-molla-hotel-in-moyale-sources/>

Nonetheless, what makes the latter struggle between the Borana and Gaari communities in Ethiopia was the use of heavy artillery by both sides, unlike in the past, and the regionalization of the conflict.



**Figure 2.10: Safety at the border**

**Source: Field data 2020**

As indicated on figure 2.10, 79% of the respondents observed that they do not feel safe at the border. They mentioned that they did not trust the Kenyan Government to be concerned with maintaining law and order that was related to ethnic conflict. The residents along the border have the impression that the Kenyan government is only concerned with border security when it only comes to tackling the issue of Al-Shabab or tracking the infiltration of Small Arms and Light Weapons. Majority of the respondents felt like the National government of Kenya has failed them.

In May 2019, eleven people were killed in North Horr Constituency, Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border whereby two people were wounded, and other four reported missing under mysterious circumstances<sup>61</sup>.

Despite these challenges, there are opportunities for attaining sustainable peace and development in the region. The improvement of previously strained relations 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 complementation is emerging in the region<sup>62</sup>. 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. It is also important to recognize that conflicts in the region are complex and protracted, and often spill over into

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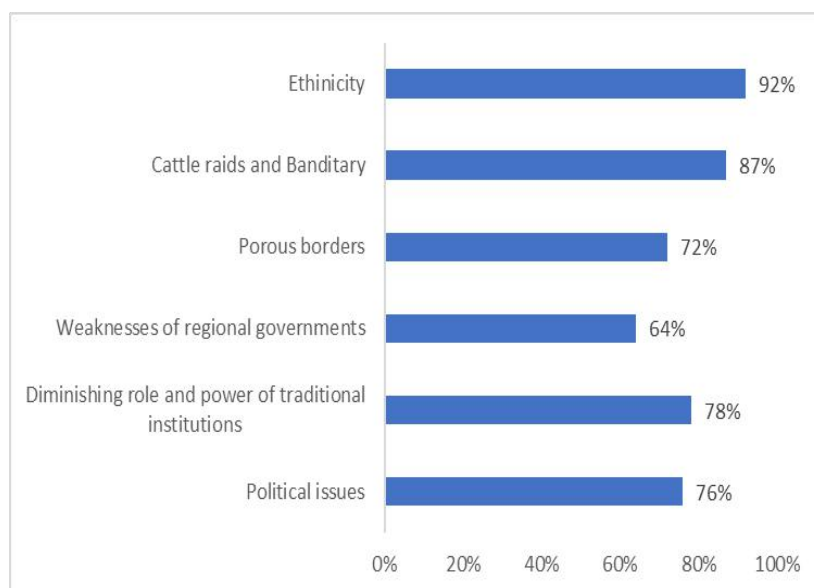
<sup>61</sup> Walter, J. (2019). Tension as 11 killed on Kenya-Ethiopia border in water row. Daily Nation. Available at: <https://www.nation.co.ke/counties/marsabit/11-killed-in-Marsabit-attack/3444778-5103632-69594d/index.html>

<sup>62</sup> United Nations (2019). Comprehensive Prevention Strategy for the Horn of Africa. Final Report

national borders. Therefore, responses to these conflicts must be comprehensive and multi-dimensional<sup>63</sup>.

## 2.4 Factors Contributing to Spillover of Conflicts across the Borders

The study sought to establish the factors that contribute to spillover of conflicts across the Kenya-Ethiopia border. The results are as presented on figure 2.10 below



Source: Field data 2020

Figure 2.10.: Causes of Conflict at the border

Based on the study findings, majority of the respondents (92%) felt that negative ethnicity is a major cause of conflict along the Moyale border. This is in line with Michael E. Brow, when, he states that in the recent decade conflicts have been taking place within states unlike in the past centuries when conflicts used to take place between states. He also argues that, most of these conflicts have components of ethnicity. In his opinion, conflicts do not take place because of the

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<sup>63</sup> ibid

differences in ethnic backgrounds but instead under laying factors such as territorial matters, political, social, economic and cultural factors<sup>64</sup>.

In the findings of this study, respondents indicated that the relationship among the different ethnic groups (Borana, Gabra, Burji and Gaari) in Moyale have changed from the traditional setting. In the past, some communities lived amicably, others with some discriminatory tendencies and others still out rightly hostile. The Borana and Gabra have lived together for generations and developed strong kinship linkages in both Kenya and Ethiopia. Over the past couple of decades, the previously minority Burji and Gaari communities have gradually developed economically to emerge as undisputed economic powers in northern Kenya, with extended business networks in major towns in Kenya and Ethiopia. The Borana appear unbalanced from their traditionally socio-cultural and spiritual anchorage. They abandoned their original customs and kinship linkages after embracing Islam through their contact with the Gaari and other Muslim groups that came to Moyale at various points in time. Other Muslim communities do not seem to accord them due recognition and acceptance as fellow believers<sup>65</sup>.

The introduction of colonial borders brought together communities that were historically adversaries and imposed on them a co-existence that has never been possible. The Ilemi triangle is one of the most border disputed regions from 1907. The ambiguity in wordings in colonial era treaties has caused tension over the region between the bordering countries that is Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Sudan. The war over the region has been mostly "cold" between the governments but it has been intensely severe and deadly among the communities on the grass

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<sup>64</sup> Brow, Coté, Lynn Jones, Miller (2001), Nationalism and Ethnic conflict, revised ed. pp 126.

<sup>65</sup> Njambi and Misiani (2016), Cross-Border Conflict and Gendered Implications for Local Communities: The Case of the Kenya-Ethiopia Border, Occasional series 7, pp. 43.



root level. Other such communities in the region include Karamajong of Uganda, Inyagatom, Didinga and Toposa of Sudan, Dassanech of Ethiopia and Turkana of Kenya and have all confronted one another over the resources in this region. All the communities are indigenous pastoralists and thus the key resource has been grazing land for their animals.

In the study, 87% of the respondents singled out cattle raids and banditry as another major cause of the conflict across Kenya-Ethiopia border. The respondents indicated that since time immemorial, raiding of livestock between different tribes in Africa was a cultural practice, with a stretched history. Such practices used to be sanctioned and supervised by elders in every community. In the case of Eastern and Western Africa countries, most of the marginalized tribes practice these outdated acts of cattle raids, while others caused anarchy and violence. We have the Pokot, Turkana, Keiyo, Turgen, Maasai, Marakwet, Samburu, Rendile, Borana, Gabra, Karamojong, and many other tribes in the Eastern and Western Africa who see cattle rustling as their way of life<sup>66</sup>.

Cattle raids and banditry has with time taken different forms. As the nature of politics has taken shape, such cultural practices are now being controlled politically.<sup>67</sup> Proliferation of illicit arms, inadequate security measures employed by the state, disregard to the traditional governance structures have been noted as some of the major ingredients to expansion of small local conflicts

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<sup>66</sup> Greiner, C. (2017). Guns, land, and votes: Cattle rustling and the politics of boundary (re) making in Northern Kenya. *African Affairs*, 112(447), 216-237.

<sup>67</sup> UNHCR (2004)

into major regional conflicts that cause massive destruction of property, poverty and failed states.

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78% of the respondents felt that diminishing role and power of traditional institutions is one of the factors contributing to spillover of conflicts across the Kenya-Ethiopia border. They indicated that changes in traditional authority systems and onset of modern governing systems have been influencing conflict differently with varying implications for each gender. Traditional elders played an important role in regulating the affairs of their communities. Their decisions ensured social harmony and continuity of their communities for generations. Social change has taken place in both Kenya and Ethiopia affecting the traditional pastoral communities. With the current government systems and diminished authority of traditional elders, shifts in values and social priorities became entrenched in the societal fabrics. Attitudinal changes in the traditional and current systems appear to have greatly influenced the gender implications of conflict and peace building along the Moyale border. Respondents were on the opinion that both the Borana and Gabra 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 Gabra, which bestows these cross-border communities with a powerful traditional governance system that has regulated inter-communal relations for a long time. These indigenous and traditional institutional systems govern the mobility of herders and

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<sup>68</sup> Sanders, E, (2009). "Changing Climate, Changing Lives-Fleeing Drought in the Horn of Africa". The Los Angeles Times (25, October)

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<sup>69</sup>.

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.

72% of the respondents felt that porous borders are the main causes of conflicts at Kenya Ethiopia border. Reports indicate that the cause of conflicts in the region has been dissatisfaction with boundaries that were created by the colonialists since they limited some groups' contact to water and pasture. The other reason are political factors, misunderstanding between political leaders of the various communities; and external influence from neighboring countries, particularly Ethiopia. The borderland setting exacerbates friction that might arise between two local groups sharing and competing for grazing, since the international border gives rise to the social equivalent of entropy by creating a market for stolen livestock or, due to distinct nationalities and a weak international order, a haven for thieves from one group and a deterrence to security forces from another. If different economic systems are in force (such as in free-market Kenya and socialist Ethiopia until 1991–92), price differentials may provide incentives for theft and smuggling. Also, throughout the twentieth century many Ethiopians possessed firearms

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<sup>69</sup> Pavanello, S., & Levine, S. (2011). Rules of the range: natural resources management in Kenya–Ethiopia border areas.

when most Kenyans did not. The Dassanetch were usually better armed than the Gabra, but, due to their transboundary linkages to Ethiopia, the Kenyan Gabra and Boran tended to have more guns than their Kenyan neighbors, especially after 1991 when the flow of arms through the frontier market and into the hands of the Gabra occurred, resulting in illusory courage on the part of the Gabra when facing the Dassanetch.

Most of the border regions in Eastern and Western Africa countries are unsafe. The existence of the borders between most of these countries adversely contributes to conflict and insecurity, since these borders are unpatrolled. Armed militias can easily cross the border, cause damages and safely cross back to their home country without being traced. Whenever a criminal gang or armed militias cross over a border after causing violence, the security apparatus from both sides do not make a follow up due to the fear of attack. A good example is the case of the Kenya and Somalia cross-border violence. In the case of Kenya-Ethiopia border, most of the times, armed militias and paramilitary forces from Ethiopia crosses over the border into Kenya, especially on the sides of Sololo and Moyale, and commit devastating crimes like killings, maiming and kidnappings, and raiding of livestock without fear of the Kenyan security apparatus.<sup>70</sup>

64% pinpointed weaknesses of regional government as the main cause of spillover of conflicts around the Kenya-Ethiopia border. In Africa, borderlands are potential sources of conflict and insecurity due to lack of proper security arrangements by the local governments and the regional organizations, including the Eastern and Western Africa regions. Regional administrative units and state authorities lack effective security policies along the borderlands. Border security is central to the security of a state since insecurity incidences can easily destabilize a country

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<sup>70</sup> Pkalya, R.; and Adan, M.; and Masinde, I. (2013). Conflicts in Northern Kenya. A Focus on the Internally Displaced Conflict Victims. Edited by M. Karimi. Nairobi: ITDG.

through spillover effects. Border insecurity also easily jeopardizes a state's socioeconomic, as well as political structures of a country. Various socioeconomic activities take place along the borders, which increases a state's economic growth through cross-border trade. Moreover, most of the countries in Africa are landlocked, which means that such countries depend on neighbouring countries to import bulky goods which are normally transported by ship. When the borderlands are insecure, such countries are at a great economic loss, which also brings humanitarian crises that comes with lack of essential commodities<sup>71</sup>.

Border security and management has always been an essential debate on policies of immigration in the developed world. This is based on the important role that a state's border has played a role in safeguarding its interest on various developmental aspects. Africa should also focus on this critical debate on how to secure its borderlands. Africa needs to adopt stringent measures to control its border security challenges. Apart from bearing devastating effects on the economic aspects, border insecurity has claimed many lives of the civilians, as well of that of a state's security agents.

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<sup>71</sup> Koff, H. (2015). Informal economies in European and American cross-border regions. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 30(4), 469-487.

## **2.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter presents an in-depth assessment of the Gabra and Dassanetch conflict over time. From the discussion, conflict between Gabra and Dassanetch have a long history. At the turn of the 21st century, more armed conflicts are on the increase. It is worthy to note that armed conflicts directly have a negative effect on human development. The aftermath of violence on the economy are poverty and other degrading situations such as hunger and malnutrition, unsafe water, lack of basic medical care, inadequate clothing and housing.

The chapter established that the state did not provide meaningful security and while there were early warnings of looming violence, the government machinery including the security forces failed to respond in good time.

The chapter concludes that ethnic conflicts in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border could have been minimized or even prevented if early actions had been taken by relevant authorities. It was therefore necessary to evaluate the conflict mitigation measures that needed to be put in place.

Competition for pastures and grazing land, limited natural water points and cattle raiding have been cited as being the leading causes of conflict among pastoralist communities in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. Political incitement was also mentioned as a factor contributing to conflict in the county, though it was ranked lower than the other three factors.

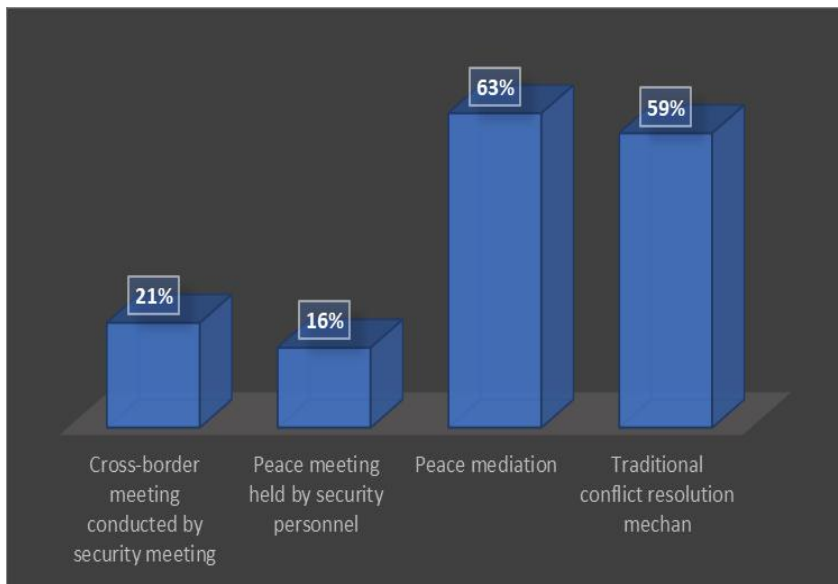
## CHAPTER THREE

### THE STRATEGIES BEING APPLIED TO ADDRESS THE CROSS- BORDER INSECURITY ALONG THE KENYA-ETHIOPIA MOYALE BORDER

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses some of the strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. It focuses mainly on assessing the effectiveness of the strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. The chapter also examines the security agencies that are actively concerned with border security within the Region.

#### 3.2 Strategies Being Applied to Address the Cross- Border Insecurity Along the Kenya Ethiopia Moyale border



**Figure 3.1: Strategies Being Applied to Address the Cross- Border Insecurity Along the Kenya Ethiopia Moyale border**

**Source: Field data 2020**

Based on Figure 3.1 above, 63% of the respondents indicated that peace mediation is the most used strategy to address the Cross- Border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. The respondents indicated that the Governments of Kenya and Ethiopia have been involved in developing, leading and implementing the cross-border programmes, hence communities remain at the heart of the success of the interventions through customized and fit-for-purpose solutions to the development challenges identified. Historically the use of mediation as a mechanism of conflict resolution also can be traced back to the first Macedonian war. In 209 B.C, the Greek city states offered themselves as mediators between Aetolian League and Macedonia in order to get a resolution to the conflict.<sup>72</sup>

After the end of the cold war, mediation was used to resolve a lot of armed conflicts as well as crises of the global nature. The European Commission Justice directorate defines mediation as any process where an agreement is reached between two or more conflicting parties to appoint a third party to help resolve a dispute; this can be achieved by reaching an agreement without adjudication and regardless of how that process may be called or commonly referred to in each member State<sup>73</sup>.” The International Mediator’s Institute define mediation as; “a process where two or more parties appoint a third-party neutral (“Mediator”) to help them in a non-binding dialogue to resolve a dispute and/or to conclude the terms of an agreement.” A mediator possessing credibility helps the disputing parties find a solution to their dispute that cannot find by themselves. A mediator brings solution to a conflict by facilitating talks among the disputants. The mediator has power to change the behavior of the parties by facilitating the mediation

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<sup>72</sup> Hörner, J., Morelli, M., & Squintani, F. (2015). Mediation and peace. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 82(4), 1483-1501.

<sup>73</sup> Mutisi, M. (2016). Local conflict resolution in Rwanda: the case of abunzi mediators. *Integrating Traditional and Modern Conflict Resolution Experiences from selected cases in Eastern and the Horn of Africa*. Durban, South Africa: Accord, 41-74.



process. You will find that parties will start listening to each other and talk to each other hence making progress towards resolution of the conflict. The mediator can act as an eye opener by offering suggestions that both parties have not seen.

A mediator should enable the parties see the need to get a solution to the conflict and to be committed to the mediation process. Secondly, the mediator must be able to identify when the conflict is ripe for mediation. The ripe moment can be the existence of a hurting stalemates for example military withdrawing, changes over power relations, or being unable to enforce a unilateral outcome. The third important factor becomes an appropriate mediator has to be available. Bercovitch<sup>74</sup> posits that an appropriate mediator must be intelligent, tactful, know how to write proper proposals that are formal in nature and able to ease tension through humor and in addition must have enough knowledge about the conflict.

The mediation process comprises three phases. The first one is the pre-mediation phase, the second is the phase of mediation and the third is post mediation phase. In premeditation, parties in the conflict are made to sit at the mediating table and they are expected to show willingness to negotiate. The mediator helps the conflict parties become familiar with the mediation process. In this phase the rules are set, and parties are encouraged to have an open mind and work towards resolving the conflict.<sup>75</sup> In mediation stage the actual negotiations take place. The mediator outlines his role in the opening remarks. At this stage, the focus of the conflict parties becomes

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<sup>74</sup> Bercovitch, Jacob, „Resolving International conflicts“, The Theory and Practice of Mediation, Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1996 pg 146-147

<sup>75</sup> Moore Cristopher, The Mediation Process, Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflicts Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco 1996 pg. 15

benefits, positions and desires. To be able to facilitate the process effectively, the mediator must cultivate; good listening skills, inquest, summarizing, and restatement. The contentious issues are identified and then the disputants decide on the order they should follow in the quest to resolve. The conflict parties should at this stage help the mediator come up with the best solution for the conflict. The aim of this stage is arriving at mutual agreement.

The final stage of the mediation process is implementation stage; this stage is always referred as post mediation stage. At this stage it is extremely crucial to monitor the implementation. This is where the mediator has to do the following; evaluate performance, specific and general steps of implementation and methods for measuring and enforcing compliance.<sup>76</sup> Zartman identifies time as an important component in conflict resolution, also referred as the ripe moment factor. Time becomes essential because many argue that parties have control over when to resolve the conflict; at the right time they will resolve the conflict when they are ready to do so. When the parties are in a tight corner in the conflict and feel in an uncomfortable and costly predicament, this therefore becomes the ripe moment for them to take proposals at their disposal<sup>77</sup>. The ripe moment attainment lies on the ability of the disputants to recognize an equally uncomfortable situation they find themselves in, it is rather related with an impending, previous or just avoided calamity<sup>78</sup>. This concept then assumes that in the event disputants get locked in a conflict and victory isn't attainable, a way out becomes an option for them.

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid

<sup>77</sup> Zartman, I William and Berman, Maureen, „The Practical Negotiator“, Yale University Press, New Haven, pg. 66-78

<sup>78</sup> Ibid

Based on Figure 3.1 above, 59% of the respondents indicated that traditional conflict resolution mechanisms are used in curbing Kenya-Ethiopia conflict. The importance of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms in Kenya has been given recognition by Article 159 of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010. The Ethiopian Cross border joint peace committee has been established by drawing by the Borana, Gabra and Gaari groups to work closely with their Kenyan counterpart. Similarly, in Kenya the peace building structure at sub location level is composed of elders, women, youth, religious leaders and government officials, (UNAIDS 2009).

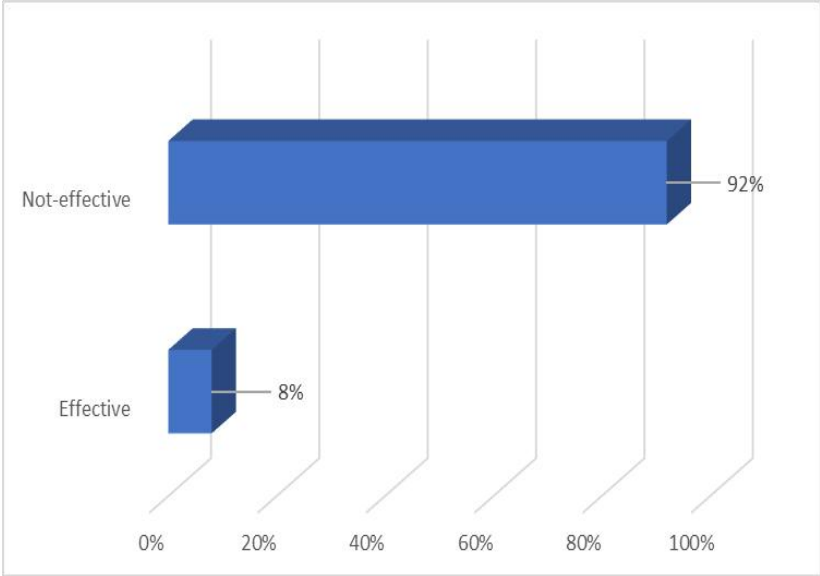
However, despite the challenges posted by the multiple drivers of conflict in the county, significant opportunities and capacities for peace remain. Institutions including District Peace Committees (DPCs), the County Steering Group (CSG), and traditional and faith-based mechanisms for peace exist, although local institutions, especially the DPCs, are weaker, particularly in the rural areas, (UNAIDS 2009). Some of the stakeholders in peace initiatives in the region include the Marsabit Peace Restoration Committee (commonly known as the Kapoor Council of Elders). This committee was appointed by President Kenyatta to identify means of bringing peace to the county following violence in late 2013 and early 2014. The Borana community, a sub-group of the wider Oromo group, could perhaps be among the best examples of pastoralists who widely use this customary institution to prevent and manage not only conflicts but also all aspects of their life.

The respondents indicated that initially, religious leaders were generally not considered as active in peace building in the county, except for the Catholic Diocese of Marsabit. The Diocese initiated Peace Dialogues and caravans among the conflicting clans. District Peace Committees

(DPCs) exist at the local level under the control of the National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management (NSC) which also serves as the Kenyan Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Units under the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD). The Ministry of Interior & Coordination of National Government through the County Commissioner’s offices in Moyale sub-county and Marsabit County, has supported peace efforts through participating in joint peace barazas in both Moyale and Marsabit. The Kenya Police have also increased their patrols along the Marsabit–Moyale highway following the burning and looting of vehicles. Civil society organizations (CSOs) have also been known to play an important role in peace building initiatives at the local level. They have increasingly been recognized by the government as potent forces for social and economic development.

### 3.3 Effectiveness of the Strategies Adopted

The study was interested in establishing how the strategies adopted in curbing insecurity between Kenya and Ethiopia border are effective. Figure 3.2 presents the findings of the study.



**Figure 3.2: Effectiveness of the strategies Adopted**  
**Source: Field data 2020**

According to figure 3.2 above, 92% of the respondents were of the opinion that the strategies adopted are not effective. Rapid globalization has led to increased flows of capital, services, ideas, information and people between countries. As such, problems and challenges that face one nation often have a rippling impact throughout the region and globally. The growing list of cross-border issues cannot be resolved by isolated policy action at the national or sub-national levels. It is essential to forge strategic alliances at the regional level which support the development of consolidated approaches through regional platforms for dialogue and action. According to Cheema<sup>79</sup>, regional governance mechanisms and institutional arrangements to respond to emerging cross-border issues and trends are critical; such as the movement of people including refugees and illegal migrants, regional trade integration for human development, effective and efficient water management, human trafficking, and health focusing on infectious disease surveillance and response. Majority of the literature on counter-terrorism tends to focus more on counter-terrorism strategies such as the use of force or intelligence gathering than on other measures such as migration.

According to Kaunert<sup>80</sup>, developing a framework for coordinated border management that focuses on the activities of border-control agencies during the pre-arrival, arrival and post-clearance phases of a border crossing is still a challenge for many states. In relation to transnational terrorism management, use of databases specifically, raises the issue of impact on privacy, especially where the data bases might be used to base decisions on: “one impact that’s potentially worrying is that the more unified the system is, the more vulnerable it is to privacy.

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<sup>79</sup> Cheema, S. G. (2011). *Cross-Border Governance in Asia: Regional Issues and Mechanisms*. UNU: United Nations University Press.

<sup>80</sup> Kaunert, C. (2010). „The External Dimension of EU Counter-Terrorism Relations: Competences, Interests, and Institutions. “*Terrorism and Political Violence*, 22: 41-61.

On a range of privacy, discrimination, data protection concerns come up in this respect with harmonization and centralization of data<sup>81</sup>. On the other hand, Argomaniz<sup>82</sup> argues that the impact of border surveillance should be seen in a broader perspective, especially by comparing the relative importance of the different aims of border surveillance i.e. protecting the border and protecting the lives of the concerned countries. However, Bigo and Tsoukala<sup>83</sup> point out that the discussion on the legitimacy of border surveillance revolved around three main issues: the procedure by which (the change in) the measure is instigated; the timing and arguments used in that procedure; and the relative importance of the aims of border surveillance. While these studies explore states' efforts to develop a coordinated approach in border management, border surveillance and management of transnational terrorism in Kenya and Ethiopia is sparse.

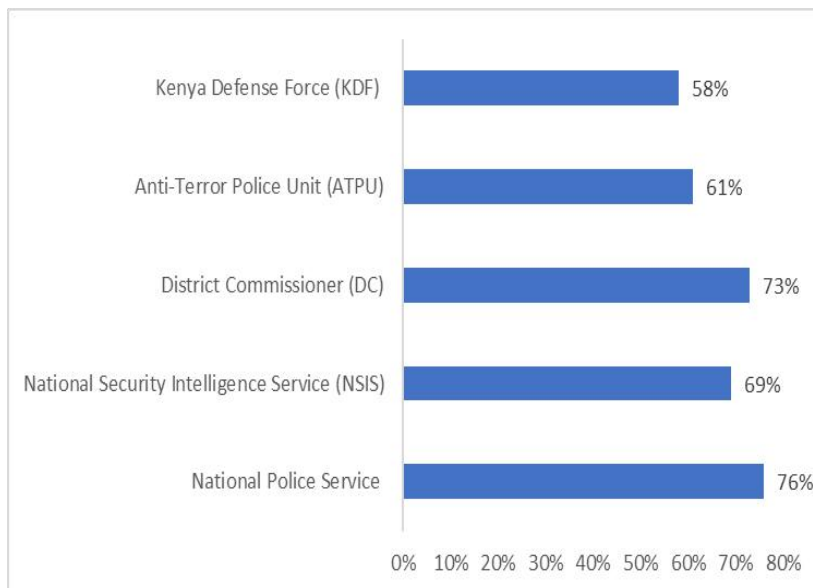
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<sup>81</sup> Rozemarijn, H. (2013). Civil Society Perspective on the Impact, Legitimacy and Effectiveness of European Counter Terrorism Measures. European Union Seventh Framework Programme: Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO).

<sup>82</sup> Argomaniz, J. (2009). Post-9/11 institutionalisation of European Union counter-terrorism: emergence, acceleration and inertia. *European security*, 18(2), 151-172.

<sup>83</sup> Bigo, D. and Guild, E. (2005). „Policing at Distance: Schengen Visa Policies’ in Bigo, D. and E. Guild, eds, *Controlling Frontiers: Free Movement into and Within Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

### 3.4 Security agencies actively concerned with border security within the Region



**Figure 3.3: Security agencies actively concerned with border security within the Region**

**Source: Field data 2020**

Based on figure 3.3, majority of the respondents (76%) indicated that national police service is the security organ actively concerned with border security within the Kenya- Ethiopia border. The respondents further indicated that they do so through patrolling. According to Slobogin<sup>84</sup> the primary objective of patrolling is to create a visible security presence as well as to create awareness to the fact that security agents are active and alert. This serves as a deterrent measure to criminals so that they do not attempt to intrude the border. Patrol involves patrolling the common border on foot or on cars from one area to another. Patrol serves the purpose of deterrence detection and denial of criminal activities along the common border. Security agents conduct patrols in order to avoid being circumvented by criminals. Patrols give different levels of outcome depending on various factors for example the time of the patrol, day or night the weather, concealment and the composition of the patrol.

<sup>84</sup> Slobogin, C. (1997). Harvard Journal of law and technology Volume 10, Number 3 p

Patrol strategy is one of the most key, complex, difficult, and most highly visible of all security activities which help to guard against border insecurity. One of the importance of a patrol force is that it goes a long way in the areas of crime prevention, in the apprehension of criminals committing offenses, tracking of those who enter through illegal entries and, in general, the preservation of peace. Border patrols demands for development of infrastructures like roads for use by the security patrol vehicles and the necessary resources. Patrols need to be coordinated by all security agents at the border to avoid conflict and duplication of efforts.

Gavelstade<sup>85</sup> notes that it is prudent for border management to consider what the future of the border security holds as well as the trends and what issues of policy and strategy each country is likely to be confronted with. This calls for reevaluation of the existing border strategies to see whether they are applicable today. Gilkes<sup>86</sup> holds a different view and observes that you cannot apply a border strategy without first understanding the risks. This means it is important to begin with identifying key threats posed by different security concerns at the Kenya-Ethiopia border. Kenya- Ethiopia border experiences the threat of armed people and contraband goods. This calls for proper application of patrols and surveillance of the border. In implementing these strategies each agency can perform individually or they can team up to carry out a joint border security operation. Migration controls of screening and finger printing are suited for the control of foreigners. In applying security checks the security agents conduct many tasks like intelligence gathering, border monitoring and screening of people. From this information they conduct threat assessment and risk analysis and develop appropriate response to counter insecurity incidents.

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<sup>85</sup> Gavelstade I (2009) *A Protection of borders or protection for refugees*, (4th ed.) Oslo University press

<sup>86</sup> Gilkes, P (1999) 'Briefing, Somalia', *African Affairs Journal*, Vol. 98 PP. 571-577



### **3.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has presented an in-depth assessment of the strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. The study noted that it is important to consider livelihoods diversification and support initiatives such as training of youth on small scale business skills for Income generating and facilitating trade in the border area, strengthening policy and legal frameworks for cross-border conflicts prevention and peace building by introducing early warning system. Other initiatives should include support for local community's alternative dispute resolution initiatives, incorporation of ceasefires and Leaders Resolution for Peace in Marsabit County into the County Integrated Development Planning (C.I.D.P). Emphasis was made on the need to work with all stakeholders together and creating that opportunity for the communities, equity distribution of resources, integrating livelihood support system and building the capacity of both government and key stakeholders officials on various strategies for early warning, preventing, managing conflicts among other initiatives. Most importantly sharing intelligence across the border by involving the youth, women and different institutions is key for conflict prevention and management.

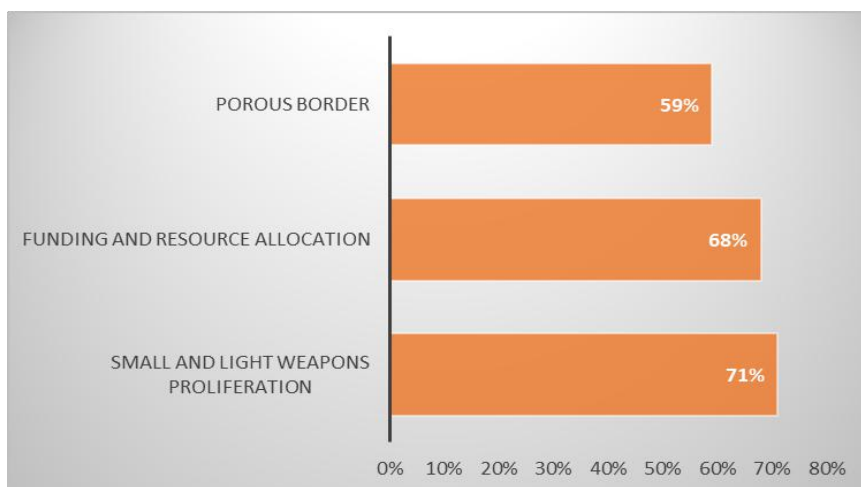
## CHAPTER FOUR

### KEY CHALLENGES FACED IN ADDRESSING THE CROSS-BORDER SECURITY CHALLENGES ALONG THE KENYA-ETHIOPIA MOYALE BORDER

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on key challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. The chapter essentially addresses the challenges experienced in rolling out the inter-agency coordination, the utility of technology in addressing the border security challenges and how the planning and the execution of the patrols are carried out especially the composition, timings and frequency of the patrols. Special attention was made on the solutions to effectively secure the border. The chapter also utilized primary data obtained from the study site as well corroborate the findings with the existing literature drawn from previous studies.

#### 4.2 Key Challenges Faced in Addressing the Cross-Border Security



**Figure 4.1: Key Challenges Faced in Addressing the Cross-Border Security**

**Source: Field data 2020**

#### 4.2.1 Small and Light Weapons Proliferation

As indicated in figure 4.1 above, 71% of the respondents agreed that guns are easily accessible in the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. In some of the interviews with security personnel, they confirmed that the ease of accessibility of weapons is the key challenge security teams experience in the process of maintaining law and order and peace and security along the border. Traditionally, communities used crude weapons such as arrows and machetes in violent confrontations such as raids. The extent of such confrontations was therefore minimal and used to last for a short period<sup>87</sup>. The ease of access to modern weapons has played a key role in the intensification of violent conflicts in the horn of Africa region which is brought about by corrupt security architecture.

According to the East African Bribery Index of 2017, Kenya Police were in the second position as the most corrupt in the East Africa region.<sup>88</sup> Through sponsored violence which includes the provision of modern weapons the developed countries are advancing their interests in Africa<sup>89</sup>. Availability of these weapons coupled with poor policing in a community that perceives the possession of a firearm to be a must hence practice gun culture, it becomes almost inevitable for conflict to erupt at the slightest disagreement.

Figure 4.1 above observes that 68% of the respondents indicated lack of enough funding and poor resource allocation by the national government as another challenge that security teams

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<sup>87</sup> Kassaw, A. (2018). Trans-border Security Threats in the Horn of Africa and Their Security Implications in Ethiopia. *Abyssinia Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, 3(2), 27-35.

<sup>88</sup> East-African-Bribery-Index-EABI-2017-1-1.pdf, pp 4.

<sup>89</sup> Kumssa, A. (2019). Strategy to Prevent Violent Conflicts and Fragility in the Cross-Border Areas of Ethiopia and Kenya. *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, 2(2).

experience in the process of maintaining law and order at the border. The security agencies experience some challenges in the areas of funding and resource allocation by the Kenyan national government where each agency wants to save as much as possible thereby compromising on security along the border. A formalized inter-agency collaborative process requiring agencies to work together on a project or program for example patrol might overcome the challenge of cost. According to a study carried out by the state department of America, countries may be reluctant in maintaining security along the border due to resource constraints.<sup>90</sup>

#### **4.2.2 Porous border**

The findings in figure 4.1 above indicate that 59% of the respondents observed that porous border is another challenge that security teams experience in the process of maintain law and order along the border. The porous border offers too many entry points allowing foreigners without legal documentation to cross over and engage in transnational organized crimes such as, slavery, human trafficking, international terrorism, smuggling of illegal and counterfeit goods. The Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) loses a lot of money yearly on counterfeit foods and illegal trade that engage in tax evasion.<sup>91</sup>

It must be borne in mind that it is very easy to police a demarcated and marked border through patrol than to police an unmarked and very expansive border as is the case at the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. The border post at is known for its laxity and the ability of foreigners to cross into Kenya without being vetted or questioned by the security and immigration officers.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Timothy, D. J. (2016). Cross-border partnership in tourism resource management: International parks along the US-Canada border. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, 7(3-4), 182-205.

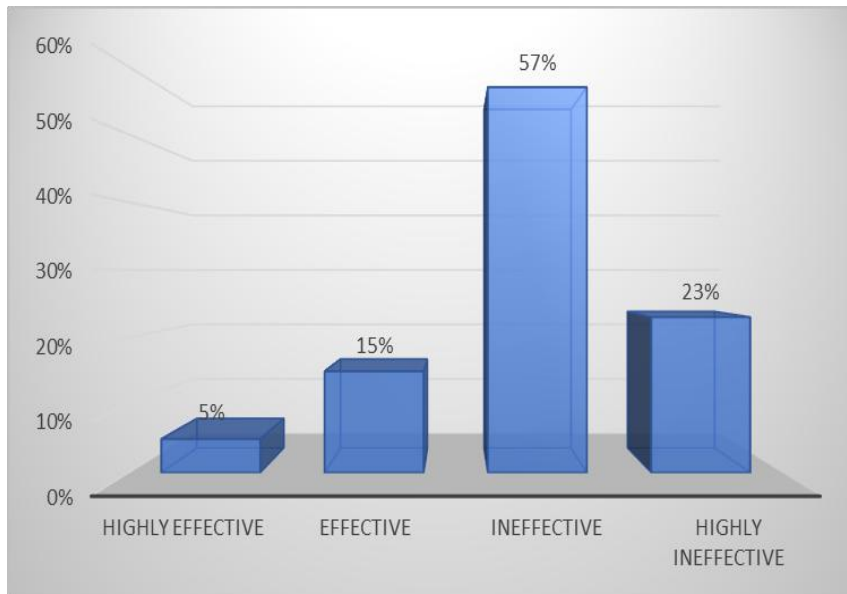
<sup>91</sup> <https://www.kenyanews.go.ke/government-tightens-measures-to-eradicate-illicit-trade-at-border-points/>

<sup>92</sup> <https://allafrica.com/stories/201905100147.html>

Moyale is today experiencing an emergence of new networks comprised of both local and international dealers who engaged in the exchange of minerals and other natural resources for weapons. This is altogether a new dimension of this illegal trade that is likely to worsen the already strained security status of this region.

#### **4.2.3 Inter-agency coordination**

Inter-agency coordination is critical to effectively prepare for response to emergencies affecting people all over the world today. As emergencies become more complex, and as humanitarian agencies become more interdependent, the need for effective inter agency coordination increases. Coordination can serve many useful purposes that go beyond basic information sharing. At its best, coordination can eliminate gaps and duplication in services, determine an appropriate division of responsibility and establish a framework for joint planning and strategic decision-making on issues of common concern. Inter-agency coordination aims at promoting sustainable peace, improve local governance and strengthen the resilience of communities affected by conflict and other recurrent shocks. Respondents were asked to rate of effectiveness of inter-agency coordination mechanisms initiated by the Government of Kenya (GoK) to secure the border curb conflicts at the Kenya-Ethiopia border. All the respondents observed that there was inter-agency coordination, however, 57% of the respondents observed that the inter-agency coordination mechanisms present were ineffective, 23% said they were high ineffective, 15% indicated they were just effective while only 5% felt that they were highly effective as shown in Figure 4.2 below.



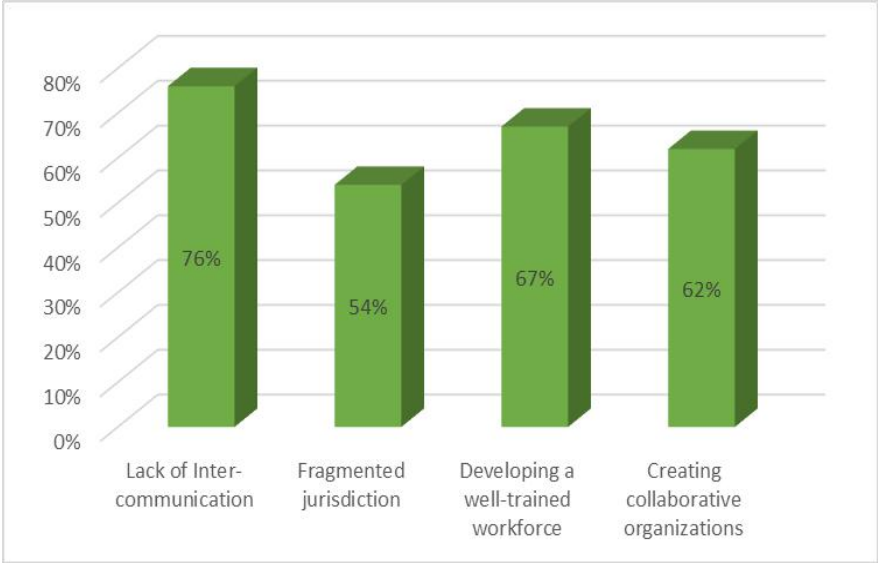
**Figure 4.2: Effectiveness of Inter-agency coordination**

**Source: Field data 2020**

One rationale for reorganizing government agencies and programs is to reduce conflict and increase coordination. The trend towards increased collaboration is happening against a backdrop of historically stove-piped programs and institutional conflict—between agencies as well as within them. Coordination is viewed as good and conflict as bad. Ultimately, inter-agency coordination seeks to facilitate efforts, harmonize actions and optimize the use of resources (time, money and personnel) in order to maximize the positive impact for the affected population. Successful inter-agency coordination leads to improved and more frequent communication and information exchange among participating agencies. This in turn can lead to increased efficiency and effectiveness by: identifying gaps and duplication in service and overlapping mandate, agreeing on comparative advantage and division of labor among agencies, establishing common and consistent policies, standards and codes of conduct and developing areas and sectors where agencies work together.

There is need to foster cooperation among security agencies in Kenya- Ethiopia Moyale border by having them develop patrol plans from the same roof. This study recommends that the major insecurity contributors of pasture and water be addressed by digging boreholes and dams in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. This could reduce clan feud. The study also recommends that officers at the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border need to be re-shuffled and new ones posted to take over security duties if it is observed that the security duties are not being performed well.

**4.3 Challenges experienced in rolling out the inter-agency coordination**



**Figure 4.3: Challenges experienced in rolling out the inter-agency coordination**

**Source: Field data 2020**

**4.3.1 Lack of Inter-communication**

As observed in figure 4.3 above, 76% of the respondents cited lack of Inter- communication as one of the challenges experienced in rolling out the inter-agency coordination. Inter-communication between the agencies can be an essential facility for performing patrol tasks; the nature and scope of patrols must be aligned depending on the information requirements and according to the situation. Communication serves reducing duplication of effort and saves on

resources used in patrol execution<sup>93</sup>. Inter-agency cooperation and policy making for the border security and their implementation are likely to be fragmented and divided among agencies with overlapping jurisdictions and shared or related responsibilities. Possible results of this kind of condition may be a conflict in carrying out each agent security roles. Cooperation could minimize, areas of uncertainty over existing and future roles and responsibilities of individual agencies, lack of a clear and common direction, or an ignorance of other agencies' responsibilities and activities in the same realm may create misunderstanding. Agencies operating alone, moreover, might be given contradictory tasks, compete with one another, or even work at cross-purposes<sup>94</sup>

#### **4.3.2 Fragmented Jurisdiction**

As indicated in figure 4.3 above, 54% of the respondents considered fragmented jurisdiction as one of the challenges experienced in rolling out the inter-agency coordination. Among multiple agencies or committees fragmented jurisdiction is seen as factor which can reinforce misunderstanding, resulting in uncoordinated responsibilities, mandates, and policy implementation. Inter-agency cooperation could help to reduce such fragmentation by encouraging a realignment of agency jurisdictions, at least for certain programs, projects, or operations. Following the same line of reasoning, agencies in collaborative efforts versus the ones operating alone if they cooperate, they could be made aware of different perspectives in dealing with common problems of patrols and surveillance Selee<sup>95</sup>. The different perspectives

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<sup>93</sup> Selee, A. D. (2007). *More Than Neighbors: An Overview of Mexico and US-Mexican Relations* (Vol. 3007). Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

<sup>94</sup> Tatham, P., Spens, K., & Kovács, G. (2017). The humanitarian common logistic operating picture: a solution to the inter-agency coordination challenge. *Disasters*, 41(1), 77-100.

<sup>95</sup> *ibid*



might focus on a single policy or might encompass a broad program. In either event, an agency might see benefits from different vantage points and viewpoints, in effect, expanding its horizons and adding to the ways it approaches its tasks of strategy formulation and its implementation.

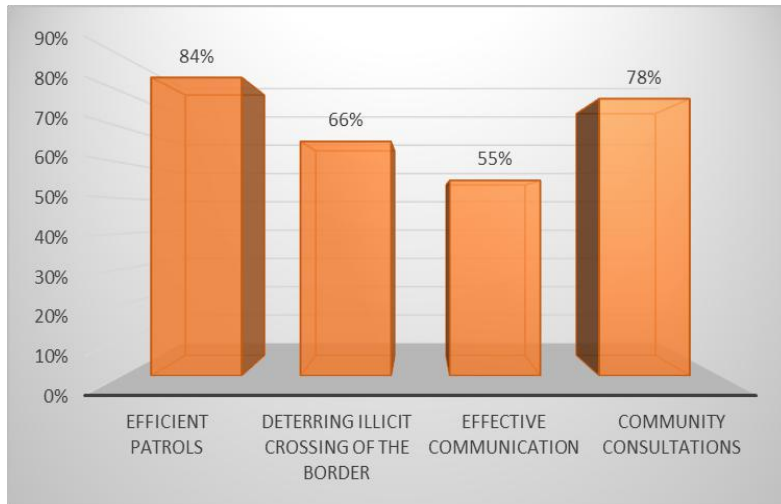
#### **4.3.3 Lack of a well-trained workforce**

According to the findings in figure 4.3 above, 67% of the respondents indicated lack of a well-trained workforce as another challenge experienced in rolling out the inter-agency coordination. Agencies do not always have the right people with the right skills in the right jobs at the right time to meet the challenges they face—including having a workforce that is able to quickly address crises. Moreover, agency performance management systems often do not recognize or reward inter-agency collaboration, and training is needed to understand other agencies' processes or cultures.

#### **4.3.4 Lack of effective collaboration**

As observed in figure 4.3 above, lack of effective collaborative organizations was also cited as another challenge experienced in rolling out the inter-agency coordination by 62% of the respondents. Organizational differences—including differences in agencies' structures, planning processes, and funding sources—can hinder inter-agency collaboration. Agencies lack adequate coordination mechanisms to facilitate this collaboration during planning and execution of programs and activities.

#### 4.4 Solutions Recommended to effectively secure the border



**Figure 4.4: Solutions Recommended to effectively secure the border**

**Source: Field data 2020**

##### 4.4.1 Efficient Patrols

As per the study findings in figure 4.4 above, 84% of the respondents confirmed that efficient patrols are the cornerstone for achieving insecurity free border and any state must endeavor to have functional and effective border security strategies. The state must strengthen the cooperation and networking of the border management agents, which will result into sharing of security information. Border surveillance should be systematically carried out in phases such as reception centers. Those people intercepted entering the country should be properly handled. Border patrolling should not have an obvious pattern it should be continuous and impromptu so that there are no gaps created by the absence of the security personnel at any one time. These strategies of patrol and surveillance have relevance to national security because border security if not properly managed it can bring territorial conflicts. The nomadic way of life of the border people and the uncontrolled crossing to and from both countries makes law enforcement difficult and problematic. The main threat to border security in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border today

could be associated with human mobility those who cross the border could be refugees and irregular immigrants. These are the people who evade the national law enforcement agencies and enter the country can cause mayhem. The porous border offers too many entry points allowing people to cross and engage in transnational organized crimes, like international terrorism, trafficking of human beings and arms that is why constant patrolling of the border is important.

The monitoring of refugees coming to the country in order to detect criminals from the genuine refugees may warrant a different approach than the normal registration of persons. What modifications need to be done to the normal surveillance and patrol procedures need to be identified and implemented. To curb border insecurity there is the need for the security agencies and the local citizens to cooperate in order to unearth bad elements crossing from Somalia because some of them may be known to the locals. This cooperation is a key to curbing insecurity, and it is important to find out if it exists within the security agents in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border.

#### **4.4.2 Community Consultations**

Figure 4.4 above indicates that 78% of the respondents cited community consultations as one of the strategies for curbing challenges faced in addressing conflict in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. According to Zamate<sup>96</sup> the local community usually has intimate knowledge of the terrain, the criminal syndicates, the gang members, their meeting places and other important security information. This knowledge can only be tapped if the community is consulted during the patrol planning and in the development of surveillance plan. The balance between trade and

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<sup>96</sup> Zamate, G. (2010). The emergence of a new world order: national security. *Stanford Journal of International Law*, 75(1): 212–345.

security is a difficult one because if too much border controls are imposed; they may impede trade by increasing the turnaround time. Understanding how to carry out patrol and surveillance proper may have positive impacts on reducing insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border and increases the chances of having a more secure border. Without effective border management strategies there can never be peace and without peace there can never be development<sup>97</sup>. According to Rigby<sup>98</sup> developing a framework for coordinated border management that focuses on the activities of border-control agencies during the pre-arrival, arrival and post-arrival clearance phases of a border crossing is still a challenge to many states more so when those coming have no official documents like the refugees in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. This is even critical for Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border which receives individuals without travel documents and are running away from their country. Studies have been done on how to check the security implication of those people who enter other countries officially with relevant documentation but very little has been done on how to control those people who enter a country through unofficial crossing point and without documentation to see whether the strategies work for both scenarios. It must be borne in mind that it is very easy to police a demarcated and marked border through patrol than to police a porous border which is very expansive, and it is unmarked like that of Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. With the scarcity of resources experienced by most third world countries it will be necessary to study the border management strategies in order to put across our recommendations on how to improve them. Border communities play a useful role in border management.

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<sup>97</sup> *ibid*

<sup>98</sup> Rigby, A. (2000) *Justice and Reconciliation initiatives: Border Patrols*, Lynne Rienner. Butterworth Heinemann

#### **4.4.3 Deterring illicit Crossing of the Border**

According to the study findings in figure 4.4 above, 66% of the respondents recommend deterring illicit crossing of the border as one of the strategies to curb challenges faced in addressing conflict in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. Effectiveness of deterring illicit crossing of the border plays an important political and symbolic role in highlighting the states authority and legitimacy to exert control within its territorial space. According to the Lewela <sup>99</sup>, up to 20,000 Somali immigrants are smuggled into Kenya annually with South Africa as their destination due to unmanned territories along the border. Ghosal<sup>100</sup> observes that the reception of refugees at Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border has experienced problems due to the large numbers of people coming in and leaving. There are loopholes that can be exploited by the criminals through lack of information and the places being concealed from the government security agents. There is a conflict of interest between the refugees and the local community the people feel that the refugees bring unnecessary competition for the local scarce resources<sup>101</sup>. If the security agents cooperate with the local community, they can be advised on where and when patrols are necessary.

#### **4.4.4 Effective Communication**

As indicated on figure 4.4 above, 55% of the respondents recommend effective communication as one of the strategies of curbing challenges faced in addressing conflict in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. In order to carry out the border security strategies it is important that authorities exchange relevant information on border related threats and strive to acquire new technologies to

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<sup>99</sup> Lewela, M. (2012). The Somali Diaspora Options for Post-Conflict Reconstruction.

<sup>100</sup> Ghoshal., S. (2010) 'Transnational management: Text, cases and readings in cross-Border management'.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid

improve their efficiency of border control. Through collection of information and intelligence, and by putting in place joint policing of the border, many instances of terrorism and organized crime can be reduced. Additionally, examination of connected literature, shows that a handful of studies have been conducted in the arena of assessing border management strategies of patrol and surveillance as independent strategies to curb insecurity along the border. For instance, a study conducted by Hobbing<sup>102</sup> in United States of America (USA) observed that strict requirements for the numerous authorities and agencies especially border control on customs and transport, need to cooperate on common problems, rather than working separately and often at cross purposes.

#### **4.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter presents an in-depth assessment of the challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. The study noted that most of the security agencies were not patrolling the border leaving the border to be porous and prone to irregular crossing. The police and the military are very positive on patrols and conduct them more often. The study revealed that insecurity has been compounded by the gaps created by lapses between when the patrol come in go out. The study revealed that patrols are challenged by the distances involved and the conditions of the roads hence the existing infrastructure are not conducive to carry out the function of patrols and proper surveillance along border. Better infrastructures like roads must be improved to afford access where the ground obstacles do not allow access. Police numbers compared to the expansive area of responsibility are also seen as a challenge to conduct frequent patrols which can enhance security. The chapter revealed that the police are engagement in other security related duties like maintaining roadblocks and vehicle

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<sup>102</sup> Hobbing, P (2005) Integrated border management at the EU Level CEPS working document No: 227/8 pg. 27

escorts diverted them from their core security business. The cooperation and coordination between the security agents and the local communities is necessary to boost security along the border.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the summary findings established in the entire research study in line with the cross-border security challenges in the horn of Africa region a case study of Kenya, Ethiopia Moyale Border. The summary is based on the findings established in regards to specific research objectives namely: examining the key cross border insecurity trends along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border, investigating the strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border and assessing the key challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. This chapter, therefore, presents the summary of the entire research study findings, conclusion and lastly policy recommendations suitable to the subject under investigation.

#### **5.1 Summary of the Findings**

##### **5.1.1 Key cross border insecurity trends along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border**

The study revealed that negative ethnicity that brought about ethnic conflicts in the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border could have been minimized or even prevented if action was taken at an early stage by the relevant authorities. It was, therefore, necessary to evaluate the conflict mitigation measures that are already in place. Competition for pastures and grazing land, limited natural water points, cattle raiding, and political factors have been cited as being the leading causes of conflict among pastoralist communities in Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. The study noted that political factors was ranked lower than the other three factors mentioned above.



### **5.1.2 Strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border**

The study established that it is important to consider livelihoods diversification and support initiatives such as training of youth on small scale business skills for income generating purposes and facilitating trade along the border area, strengthening policy and legal frameworks for cross-border conflicts prevention and peace building by introducing early warning system and establishing follow-up measures for the existing conflict resolution measures that are in place as it was observed that follow up measure were absent. Other initiatives should include financial support for local community's alternative dispute resolution initiatives, incorporation of ceasefires and Leaders Resolution for Peace in Marsabit County into the County Integrated Development Planning (C.I.D.P). Emphasis was made on the need to work with all stakeholders together and create such an opportunity for the communities. There should also be equal distribution of resources, integrating livelihood support system and building the capacity of both government and key stakeholders officials on various strategies for early warning, preventing, managing conflicts among other initiatives of conflict resolution such as follow-up measures.

### **5.1.3 Key challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border**

The study revealed that most of the security agencies were not patrolling the border as expected hence leaving the border to be porous and prone to irregular crossing. The study revealed that patrols are challenged by the distances involved and the poor state of the roads in along the border. The existing infrastructure was not conducive to carry out the function of patrols and proper surveillance along the border. Better infrastructures must be put in place to afford access where the ground obstacles do not allow access. The number of the security personnel compared

to the expansive area of responsibility was also seen as a challenge in terms of the frequency of the patrols that were needed to be conducted. The chapter revealed that the police are engaged in other security related duties such as maintaining roadblocks and vehicle escorts activities which diverted them from their core security business which are patrols along the border to maintain law and order. Cooperation and coordination between the security agents was observed to exist but was found not to be very effective as challenges such as language barrier and lack of funding was established. The utilization of technology was also observed to be very poor as the border post had not utilized the modern technology such as biometric scanning of documentations of the people that cross the border and the use of highly sophisticated technology in terms of communication between the security agencies. The number of staff at the border post was also noted to be very low and the services provided to those crossing the border was established to be poor, hence training of the border security personnel was required. It was also established that for effective border security, the involvement of the local communities was necessary especially when collecting intelligence. It was also noted in this study, some of the security personnel came across challenges in collecting intelligence due to language barrier between them and the local community of the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. Some of the residents confirmed that harsh methods were used to get information from the community and hence this created a mistrust between the security personnel and the community members that would have otherwise be willing to give out such information.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

Kenya- Ethiopia border conflict has adopted cultural, political and ethnic dimensions over the years. However, upon a close look at the dynamics surrounding this conflict, major root causes of the conflicts include competition over scarce natural resources, colonial borders, and

subsequent marginalization and poverty. From the empirical perspective of this study, the key factors fueling this conflict and especially the violent confrontations include the environmental factors such as drought seasons, socio-economic factors that narrow the survival choices that both communities have to make on day to day basis and to some extent political factors that is accompanied with hate speech and the struggle for power over shared resources.

From the data collected from the respondents who live at the heart of these conflicts, poverty was the main factor that mostly lead these communities to engage in conflicts within themselves. Most of the violent confrontations between these communities occur during the drought seasons hence further affirming that climate change and its effect on environmental factors plays a big role in the fueling the cycle of poverty in these communities. The negative effects of climate change such as drought brings along hunger as well as underdevelopment among the marginalized communities across the Horn of Africa region that often pushes them to unending cycle of conflicts. In the past, the intervention by the government as well as other non-governmental organizations such as the Catholic Church had been focusing on the effects of this conflict as well as mitigation of the impact on the communities. However, the root cause of this conflict has not yet been explored and addressed hence its recurrence over the last several decades. The introduction of colonial artificial borders only worsened the relationships between the pastoralist communities. The presence of these conflicts in the HoA region makes illegal arms trafficking easy, hence fueling these conflicts. Marginal communities receive little attention from the National government of Kenya and in turn, they end up feeling obliged to take up the responsibility of defending themselves from their adversaries. Frequent cattle raids, as well as

attacks by their neighboring communities, often are the motivating factors towards the purchasing of illegal weapons.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Government intervention is required in these conflicts that is both the Kenyan and Ethiopian states. There is a more urgent need of expanding opportunities for all the communities along the border. Empowering these communities economically as well as increasing their literacy levels will play a crucial role in alleviating poverty which has been established in this study to be the key cause of the violent confrontations in competition for scarce natural resources.

There is also a great need to involve the local communities who are the key players in the conflict in seeking out for its solutions. It is very important to go to the grass root level and engage with these communities and receive opinions and suggestions from them on the viable solutions that are sensitive to their culture as well as their religious beliefs on how to curb the insecurity challenges. Inclusive policy formulation should, therefore, bring on board both Kenyan and Ethiopian states, political leaders from both communities as well as the local leaders who are very vocal, international Non-Governmental Organization that work in curbing insecurity along the border and command great respect from the communities. Proper incorporation of local communities in seeking a resolution framework would ensure the provision of timely intelligence hence easy curbing of violent confrontations. On this same note of involving the community, it is paramount to also bring on board the women in these communities. As over the years the security sector has always been male dominated due to the patriarchy nature of these border communities, it is very much recommended that women should also be involved in all the steps of attaining peace in the HoA region. Women have a unique insight on how conflicts affect the and the burdens they bare during conflicts and this might

mean that they have unique input and solutions to how peace could be reached in this region. It is also crucial to have youth representation as majority are unemployed and can be easily trained on skills that would assist them in attaining a livelihood.

Criminal offenses such as hate speech incited by political leaders during elections that stir up negative ethnicity related to power struggles should be prosecuted accordingly and such individuals must be held accountable for their actions and the matter addressed as per constitutional guidelines. Establishing the rule of law, however, requires government policing officers on the ground. Therefore, both governments should increase security personnel in the conflict zones at the borders. The collaboration of administration officials from both states should supersede ethnic clichés which have in the past been the center of their attention and hence division. The establishment of a joint cross border conflict control committee could be a great starting point towards seeking resolution for this conflict that has last for several decades and caused a great humanitarian crisis. Such a committee could also oversee effective cross border disarmament of both communities. Civilians should not be responsible for border securing and hence possession of arms is only likely to worsen this conflict. However, disarming the communities needs to be done in a very orderly, voluntarily and a fair manner. The exercise should not target one ethnic group but cut across all the ethnic groups living along the border. At first, it should ensure that the arms are not back in the hands of the community as soon as the states seize them as there exists a lot of gaps that could be exploited for enhancing arms trade in the region and due to corrupt security personnel. Additionally, the two states must ensure the security of the civilians in their country as this is the paramount duty of the sovereign government and curb the fear of living and herding without being armed.

For the effective end to the vicious cycle of poverty, there is a need to empower communities at the border with formal education and training on skills that enable them venture into various economic activities. Both the Kenyan and Ethiopian governments have neglected the two regions in terms of providing education and such trainings. Over the years, these has turned to be left in the hands of NGOs, however, it is the duty of the two governments to provide education to these communities at the border. If these communities continue to lag in terms of education, they will continue to be poor and scramble over the limited natural resources at their localities to support their livelihoods since this is a basic need of a human being.

The study recommends that all the security agencies at the border to share any available security related information and have a joint security update platform. They could make better use of the available technological equipment such as interlinked telephones, use of drones for surveillance and improve the internet connectivity at the border for ease of passage of information. The study recommends that all the necessary infrastructures both roads, up to date machinery and housing for the personnel at the border be improved. Since the working conditions at the border are harsh, the study recommends the remuneration of the security personnel working at the border to be revised and both the two governments to allocate such funding in the budget. This will also assist in preventing the security personnel to fall in corruption as their basic needs are catered for. The Non-Governmental Organization like United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to be provided with security briefs from the security agents like the police for their updates on security situation. These Non-Governmental Organization should also be supported by offering enough security personnel such as security escort while they perform their humanitarian duties. All the security actors need to work together and conduct regular patrols and be swift in response at the

emergence of a threat. For this to be effective, these security personnel need to be trained together by security experts on a regional scale and such an exercise should be organized by the Kenyan and Ethiopian governments.

#### **5.4 Areas for Further research**

This research study recommends that a detailed study on the effectiveness of International Non-governmental Organizations and Non-Governmental Organization in curbing the cross-border conflicts in the communities along the Kenya-Ethiopia, Moyale border.

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## Appendix 1: Questionnaire

### Short message for the respondent

#### Dear Respondent,

I am conducting an assessment of the cross-border security challenges in the Horn of Africa Region. A case study of Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border. The output concluded by this research will contribute to knowledge aimed at improving the security in the Horn of Africa Region. On this note, this questionnaire you are about to fill out, will enable me to collect data that will aid in answering the objectives of this study. Kindly answer the questions correctly and sincerely by checking the appropriate response in one of the boxes provided (where applicable). Please note that the information you will provide via this questionnaire will be treated with confidentiality.

#### Section A: Bio data of the respondent

1. Indicate your gender

a. Male

b. Female

2. What age bracket do you fall under?

a. 18-24 years

b. 25-31 years

c. 32-38 years

d. 39-45 years

e. 45 and above

3. How long have you served at the Moyale border post?

*(This section only applies to border security officials/personnel)*

a. Less than 1 year

- b. 1-3 years
- c. 4-7 years
- d. 8-12 years
- e. 12 years and above

4. What is your country of origin?

- a. Kenya
- b. Ethiopia
- c. Other. Please specify.....

5. How long have you been a resident of Moyale town?

*(This section only applies to inhabitants of Moyale town)*

- a. Less than 1 year
- b. 1-3 years
- c. 4-7 years
- d. 8-12 years
- e. 12 year and above

6. What is your profession?

.....  
 .....

7. What ethnic group do you belong? .....

**Section B: Cross-border insecurity trends along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border**

8. Have you witnessed conflict in Moyale while you have lived there? Yes  No



9. Kindly specify the period when you mostly witnessed this conflict.....

.....

10. Might you be aware of the cause of the conflict? .....

.....

.....

11. In your opinion how do you rate the security of the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border?

.....

12. Do you consider the border to be safe? Yes  No . If No, please specify why?

.....

**Section C: Strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border**

13. What are some of the strategies being applied to address the cross-border insecurity along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border?

.....

.....

14. In your opinion do you think these strategies are effective in curbing insecurity?

.....

15. Which security agencies are actively concerned with border security within the Region?

National Police Service

National Security Intelligence Service (NSIS)

District Commissioner (DC)

Anti-Terror Police Unit (ATPU)

Kenya Defense Force (KDF)

16. What role did the agency named above play? .....

**Section D: Challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border**

17. What are some of the key challenges faced in addressing the cross-border security challenges along the Kenya-Ethiopia Moyale border? .....

18. What challenges do the security teams experience in the process of collecting information and intelligence? .....

19. How is the planning and the execution of the patrols done especially the composition, timings and frequency of the patrols? .....

20. How has technology been applied in addressing the border security challenges?

- .....
- .....
21. Is there any inter agency coordination amongst the security agencies operating along the border? .....
- .....
22. How effective is the inter-agency coordination?.....
- .....
23. What are some of the challenges experienced in rolling out the inter-agency coordination? .....
- .....
24. What solutions can you recommend to effectively secure the border? .....
- .....
- .....

*Thank you for your time and cooperation*


## Appendix 2: Work Plan

Start time May 2020	Establishing a research topic and problem. May 2020	Drafting of research proposal, chapter 2 and 3 June-August 2020	Data collection. End of Sep. - Mid Oct. 2020	Report compilation. End of Oct. 2020	Report submission. Nov. 2020
2 weeks					
3 months					
3 weeks					
3 Weeks					
1 week					

### Appendix 3: Breakdown of the budget

	<b>Items</b>	<b>Cost in KSHS.</b>
1	Stationery, typing papers, pens	1100
2	Printing	800
3	Binding	530
4	Communication and telephone Services	670
5	Research assistants	4,000
6	Travelling	3,000
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10100</b>


## Appendix 4: Research Permit from NACOSTI

  
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION  
REPUBLIC OF KENYA

**Ref No: 193040**

**Date of Issue: 18/September/2020**


**RESEARCH LICENSE**




**This is to Certify that Ms. Jamila Mohamed Shidane of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Marsabit on the topic: ASSESSMENT OF THE CROSS-BORDER SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA REGION. A CASE STUDY OF KENYA, ETHIOPIA MOVALE BORDER for the period ending : 18/September/2021.**

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