

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**ASSESSING DYNAMICS OF CROSS BORDER ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN HORN  
OF AFRICA: A CASE OF TURKANA-DASSANECH CONFLICT IN KENYA-  
ETHIOPIA BORDER.**

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## DECLARATION

This research study is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a master's degree in this University or any other Institution of higher learning for examination.

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

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## **ABSTRACT**

Horn of Africa region in 21<sup>st</sup> century continues to face the challenge of conflict. Some of these conflicts are inter-state and others are intra state but in both cases they continue to evolve and take on new dynamics hence making it more difficult to have clear resolution mechanisms. Ethnic conflicts have especially been very difficult to resolve as they often have deep rooted causes that hibernate in the ethnicity differences. This study focused on Turkana-Dassanech conflict at the border of Kenya and Ethiopia between the two communities living at the border region. Some of the key causes of this conflict include marginalization hence poverty, competition for natural resources, small weapons proliferation, State neglect and culture justifying violence. The study found out that competition for resources among the two communities is the main source of this conflict and poverty alleviation could go a long way in finding a lasting solution to this conflict. The study also found that both communities have been greatly neglected by their governments hence their struggle for survival pushes them to extreme measures such as cattle raiding and violent confrontations. Insecurity as well as border polarity at the Ilemi triangle has made small weapons smuggling easy hence further worsening this particular conflict. Finally the study provides some recommendations that could be adopted to solve this conflict which include cross border disarmament, empowering the communities with education in order to expand their choices and opportunities beyond pastoralism and finally formation of joint conflict resolution committee by both Kenya and Ethiopia states.

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my peace-loving mother Francisca Mulia and to all who live in amidst of violent conflicts.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I wish to express my gratitude to God for guiding me throughout writing this project. My sincere gratitude also goes to my dedicated supervisor Dr. Kiamba for her guidance. I would also wish to thank my loving parents for all the support they have accorded me up to this far. Lastly, I wish to express my gratitude to the entire missionary community of St Paul (MSCPA) Turkana and more especially Cosmas Onyango and Fr Andrew of Todonyang Mission for their overwhelming support.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>ASAL</b>	Arid and Semiarid Lands
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>CEWARN</b>	Conflict Early Warning and Response mechanisms
<b>CSA</b>	Ethiopian Central Statistical Agency
<b>FDIs</b>	Foreign Direct Investments
<b>GOK</b>	Government of Kenya
<b>GSU</b>	General Service Unit
<b>HDI</b>	<b>Human</b> Development Index
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council
<b>KPR</b>	Kenya police reserve
<b>NGOs</b>	Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>SNNPS</b>	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional state

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

Conflicts have become endemic scenarios in Sub Saharan Africa. This fact is evident in the most recent massacres in countries such as Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, Algeria, Burundi, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Somalia. There are various structural root causes of such conflicts some of which date back to the colonial eras especially the arbitrary borders established putting together people who never had anything in common not mention their time immemorial cultural differences.

Traditionally Sub-Saharan Africa's political identity has always been shaped by loyalty or rather allegiance to a tribe or rather some ethnic group and not a nation (this could be one of the major explanations why African unification has failed over time)<sup>1</sup>. Examples, where ethnically based conflicts have escalated to civil wars, include Western Darfur Region, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, just to name but few<sup>2</sup> Initially, such conflicts only took on a narrow perspective involving two ethnic conflicts but over the years they have resulted in political instabilities, civil wars, genocides and mass atrocities resulting in adverse human suffering and loss of lives among other awful effects such as economic consequences. As such Ajayi, observes that "the regularity of conflicts in Africa over the last few decades has become one of the unique characteristics of this continent"<sup>3</sup>. However, at this point it is very important to note that ethnic conflicts are not unique only to Africa as there still other regions of

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<sup>1</sup>Berman, Bruce J. "Ethnicity, patronage and the African state: the politics of uncivil nationalism." *African affairs* 97, no. 388 (1998): 305-341.

<sup>2</sup>Smith, A.D. 1992. Chosen Peoples: Why Ethnic Groups Survive. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 15 (3), pp 436-456.

<sup>3</sup>Ajayi, Adeyinka Theresa, and Lateef Oluwafemi Buhari. "Methods of conflict resolution in African traditional society." *African research review* 8, no. 2 (2014): 138-157.

the globe that are affected by this epidemic, apparently one of the key root causes of collapse of the great Yugoslavia of negative ethnicity hence conflict<sup>4</sup>. This study will pay close focus on the root causes and impact of various ethnic-based conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa taking Turkana-Dassanech conflict in the Kenya-Ethiopia border as a case study.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Turkana County on the far north region of Kenya (Known as Ilemi Triangle) has been experiencing a persistent conflict between the Turkana's of Kenya and Dassanech of Ethiopia. Turkana-Dassanech conflict is one of the Ethnic cross border conflicts that have been witnessed in Kenya without very clear root causes. This study will seek to enhance knowledge on the nature of this conflict.

## **1.3 Research questions**

1. What are the root causes of the Turkana- Dassanech conflict?
2. What are the social, economic and political implications of Turkana- Dassanech conflict?
3. What are some possible interventions to Turkana- Dassanech conflict?

## **1.4 Research objectives**

1. To analyze the underlying causes of conflict between Turkana and Dassanech communities.
2. To examine the implications of Turkana-Dassanech Conflict.
3. To explore possible Interventions that could aid in the resolution of the Turkana-Dassanech conflict.

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<sup>4</sup>Mays, Terry M. "African solutions for African problems: the changing face of African-Mandated peace operations." *Journal of conflict studies* 23, no. 1 (2003).

## 1.5 Literature review

This section will focus on reviewing the literature on the key thematic areas of conflicts, ethnicity, and border dynamics. It will, therefore, focus on the discussions of key scholars in the field of international conflicts as well as previous studies on ethnic conflicts.

### 1.5.1 Overview of conflict

Conflict is a struggle or some form of a contest between people, groups, societies or any other forms of parties with different ideas, values, beliefs, and goals<sup>5</sup>. The major emphasis of this definition is thus the incompatibility that exists between views of various parties over one given subject. Galtung similarly defines conflict as incompatibility of contradiction<sup>6</sup>. He further explains conflict as an interaction that involves antagonistic encounters and some forms of clashes between people or groups that possess and firmly defend different interests, policies, ideas, and programs. It seems, therefore, the origin of the conflict is mostly due to the rational and self-centered nature of humans and thus a desire to always dominate others in terms of ideologies in various subject matters. Given these definitions it's clear that conflicts are not always characterized by violence, it's thus possible for conflicting parties to co-exist in the same geographical locations without necessary fighting physically. However often when conflicts escalate into violent forms, they become quite undesirable as they result in losses of lives, destruction of property and great economic repercussions in the long term<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand,

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<sup>5</sup>Diez, Thomas, Stephan Stetter, and Mathias Albert. "The European Union and border conflicts: the transformative power of integration." *International organization* 60, no. 3 (2006): 563-593.

<sup>6</sup>Galtung, Johan. "A Framework for the Analysis of Social Conflict." *Sociology* 127 (1958).

<sup>7</sup>Vadala, Alexander Attilio. "Understanding famine in Ethiopia: Poverty, politics and human rights." In *Proceedings of the 16th international conference of Ethiopian studies*, pp. 1071-1088. 2009.

conflicts can be advantageous as they can be key drivers to positive change in society and governments. However, this is only achievable if the parties involved can embrace their incompatibilities, acknowledge each other's unique views and endeavor to find a common ground for their differences. Most of the revolutions that lead to new modes of governance such as democracies from the ancient autocratic, monarchical and often dictatorial modes of governance were attained through great conflicts. These structural changes are often a result of conflicts in the system that overtimes rise and challenge the status quo hence fueling the entire process of change.

The Horn of African region has been experiencing an array of violent conflicts, the populations in this region have endured numerous conflicts in various forms such as civil wars, ethnic conflicts both in inter and interstate forms. As a result, most of the economic resources have been diverted into conflict management, resolution, peacebuilding and peacekeeping processes and this probably is one of the key explanations of the region's extreme poverty levels. Although most of such conflicts in this region are interconnected, they often occur in different levels such as inter and intrastate conflict and armed ethnic inter-communal conflicts<sup>8</sup>. As thus two broad categories of conflict have been identified that are intrastate and Inter-state conflicts. Intrastate conflicts (occurring within a state) mostly involve a situation whereby a certain opposition group seeks to overthrow an incumbent government in an armed manner<sup>9</sup>. However Internal conflicts can also occur between two groups within a state such could be ethnic-based and not necessarily anti-government oriented<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand, interstate conflicts occur

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<sup>8</sup>Kidane, Mengisteab. "Critical Factors in the Horn of Africa's Raging Conflicts." *Uppsala: Nordiska Africa institutet* (2011).

<sup>9</sup>Eminue, O. "Conflict resolution, and management in Africa: a panorama of conceptual and theoretical issues." *African Journal of International Affairs and Development* 9, no. 1/2 (2004): 10.

<sup>10</sup>Blanton, Robert, T. David Mason, and Brian Athow. "Colonial style and post-colonial ethnic conflict in Africa." *Journal of Peace Research* 38, no. 4 (2001): 473-491.

outside the borders of a given country, thus they involve two or more states. They are often characterized by forces from different states confronting each other to protect interests of their sending states<sup>11</sup>. It's obvious to note that Africa has experienced numerous of both inter and intrastate conflicts over the years. In the dawn of independence however Africa has experienced yet another form of conflict which can be termed as internationalized internal conflict, such conflicts are civil wars that have been fueled by external involvement by interested parties; good examples are Sierra Leone and Angola civil wars.

Conflicts are therefore inevitable evils in the society which is often characterized by diversity in terms of cultural aspects, political ideologies, interests among other aspects of day to day human co-existence. The need for managing such conflicts thus arises and requires proper identification and measurement of various aspects of such conflicts. Unless a conflict is identified then it is impossible to initiate any viable management mechanisms. Where else it is easy to identify a violent conflict, whose results and effects are usually clearly visible it is quite a difficult task to identify non-violent conflicts as they are more structural and thus difficult to identify<sup>12</sup>. Structural conflicts over time tend to evolve and eventually erupt to wars and violence and thus it is important to ensure early warning signs of such conflicts are pinpointed and addressed. People in such forms of conflict barely know that they are in conflict and normalcy may prevail for long before actual violence erupts<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup>Puchala, D. J., R. O. Matthews, A. G. Rubinoff, and J. G. Stein. "Origins and Characteristics of the Modern State." *International Conflict and Conflict Management* (1971).

<sup>12</sup>Kilmann, Ralph H., and Kenneth W. Thomas. "Four perspectives on conflict management: An attributional framework for organizing descriptive and normative theory." *Academy of Management Review* 3, no. 1 (1978): 59-68.

<sup>13</sup>Lea, John. "Karl Marx (1818-83) and Frederick Engels (1820-95)." *K. Hayward, S. Maruna, J. Mooney, Fifty Key Thinkers in Criminology, London, Routledge* (2010): 18-24.

Conflicts are never abrupt, on the contrary conflicts often are a result of a gradual process with definite stages and thus in most cases, the final stage is more visible as it involves full-blown violence<sup>14</sup>. The reason why most conflicts in Africa have been extremely disastrous is simply that more often various early warning signs are often ignored and hence managing a fully blown conflict becomes almost impossible. If early signs of conflict are identified and addressed promptly is possible to prevent many of the conflicts that have been witnessed in this Continent. Such identification is often done through conflict early warning and response mechanisms (CEWARMS).

### **1.5. 2 Role of natural resources in shaping border regions conflicts**

Conflicts can be in personal, interpersonal, interstate or intrastate. Where else other forms of conflict adopt relatively simple and straight forward dynamics interstate conflicts tend to be more complicated<sup>15</sup>. Most if not all inter-state conflicts are over natural resources that each of the conflicting states wishes to claim ownership over. For instance, Israel-Palestine conflict over Gaza Strip has been attributed to natural gas in Gaza that each of the state claims rightful ownership over. Japan and China have also been in border disputes over the years especially over the Senkaku islands.

At the dawn of ant colonialism in Africa, the pan Africanists referred to the colonial borders as "artificial borders". Most nationalists from across the continent tarnished the idea of the borders and deemed them irrelevant and unnecessary<sup>16</sup>. Therefore, there was great anticipation that

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<sup>14</sup>Spaccapietra, Stefano, and Christine Parent. "View integration: A step forward in solving structural conflicts." *IEEE transactions on Knowledge and Data Engineering* 6, no. 2 (1994): 258-274.

<sup>15</sup>Scarritt, James R. "Nonviolent versus violent ethnic political action in Africa." *Paul Wehr and Heidi and Guy Burgess (eds.), Justice Without Violence, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner(1994): 165-189*

<sup>16</sup>Humphreys, Macartan. "Natural resources, conflict, and conflict resolution: Uncovering the mechanisms." *Journal of conflict resolution* 49, no. 4 (2005): 508-537.

such borders would be greatly modified and even redrawn upon independence. However, this idea seemed to erode from the political agenda of the leaders as soon as the independence attained and soon some of the newly self-governed African states would go to war over the very borders that they initially discredited. Where else there are many sources of conflict in African soil ranging from natural resources to ethnicity to recession issues borders remain to be major roots of these conflict.

According to the world bank report, natural resources refer to materials that occur in nature and are quite essential for human survival they include water, air, forests, wildlife, and minerals<sup>17</sup>According to the United Nations, basic natural resource scarcity is the main source of conflict in border communities in many states. Many women walk for hours to find water and more than two million people mostly children die each year to diseases associated with water stresses<sup>18</sup>. The scarcity of such resources more often fuels conflicts. Paul Collier who is an expert in civil war economics estimated that more than fifty border conflicts had a strong link with natural resources and their exploitation. As such exploitation, illicit or licit of such resources more often have triggered, intensified and sustained violence. In recent time's countries such as Bolivia, Pakistan, and Sudan violent protests have erupted due to the distribution of natural resources such as water. Over history adverse conflicts have been caused by natural resources, apparently in the Middle East first gulf war as a result of gradual conflicts over Kuwait oil fields<sup>19</sup>. Stricken by poverty and most marginalized by their government's border communities often clash over the limited resources that they must rely on for daily

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<sup>17</sup>Humphreys, Macartan. "Natural resources, conflict, and conflict resolution: Uncovering the mechanisms." *Journal of conflict resolution* 49, no. 4 (2005): 508-537.

<sup>18</sup>"Factsheet on Water and Sanitation," [www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/factsheet.html](http://www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/factsheet.html).

<sup>19</sup>Shaw, Martin. *Post-military society: Militarism, demilitarization, and war at the end of the twentieth century*. Temple University Press, 1991.



survival. Low literacy levels and the vicious cycle of poverty leaves the border communities with limited choices but to fight for survival with limited resources. Such resources, therefore, form an integral part of their livelihoods and to a greater extent shape identity and income of such communities<sup>20</sup>.

### **1.5.3 Political marginalization and conflicts**

Ethnic groups in Africa can be categorized into politically relevant and politically irrelevant. Political relevance is measured as a function of the extent of influence that a particular community plays in shaping the national politics of a particular state<sup>21</sup>. The politically irrelevant communities are often excluded from the national level agenda and thus are often excluded from basic amenities and denied basic government services. Such communities are thus not only politically excluded but also economically crippled which results in a vicious cycle of poverty among the<sup>22</sup>. As a result, the geographical regions that are inhabited by these communities are often poverty-stricken with very low infrastructure if any and government capacity. Such political-economic exclusion often leaves such communities with limited choices as they face their adverse livelihoods. Violence over access to resources among marginalized communities is often a long term product of "self-governance". This situation is worsened in the situations where the resources are limited and opposing marginalized communities depend on them for their survival. Ignorant of the fact that they are in a similar calamity of exclusion by their governments' such communities confront each other in the endeavor to survival.

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<sup>20</sup>Thomas F. Homer-Dixon, *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999)

<sup>21</sup>Gurr, Ted Robert. "Why minorities rebel: A global analysis of communal mobilization and conflict since 1945." *International Political Science Review* 14, no. 2 (1993): 161-201.

<sup>22</sup> Scarritt, James R. "Nonviolent versus violent ethnic political action in Africa." *Paul Wehr and Heidi and Guy Burgess (eds.), Justice Without Violence, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner(1994): 165-189.*

Despite been largely democratic most of the African states have their bedrocks in patrimonial politics. Neopatrimonialism is a mode of governance characterized by a patron-client relationship whose main goal is the maintenance of power and influence through selective access to public resources. There is thus some extent of a personalized rule which co-exists with the modern democracy yielding a hybrid structure and therefore the ineffective model of governance<sup>23</sup>. Such bases of patron-client bases greatly differ from state to state but in the African context, they are majorly shaped by the ethnicity factor. Ethnicity is thus used as a vehicle through which private patronage and public goods provision exchange is carried between the ruling coalition's and the ethnic local communities<sup>24</sup>. Political agendas are therefore shaped and framed in ethnic terms because such groups inhabit the same geographical location<sup>25</sup>. Different regimes, therefore, gain their support from some regions and through some web and hence different regions will assume different levels of political weight over time depending on the regime's needs and interests. Local "strongmen" and political patrons keep on forming some webs which define the allocation of state resources at the national arena. Where else some ethnic communities may be temporarily marginalized by a certain regime and upheld by another; some communities are permanently marginalized and remain politically irrelevant irrespective of the sitting regime. Such communities are likely to the minorities and more often occupy the peripheral regions of a given state. This sort of variation produces what is known as "topography of government power" which as a result underscores distribution of public goods

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<sup>23</sup>Raleigh, Clionadh. "Political marginalization, climate change, and conflict in African Sahel states." *International studies review* 12, no. 1 (2010): 69-86.

<sup>24</sup>Justino, Patricia. "Poverty and violent conflict: A micro-level perspective on the causes and duration of warfare." *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 3 (2009): 315-333.

<sup>25</sup>Scarritt, James R. "Nonviolent versus violent ethnic political action in Africa." *Paul Wehr and Heidi and Guy Burgess (eds.), Justice Without Violence, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner(1994): 165-189*

both in national and local levels<sup>26</sup>. Imbalances in political representations among ethnic communities are evident in Africa with over 65% of ethno political minorities encountering disadvantage in gaining of top political positions<sup>27</sup>. Over these minority communities over time develop a sense of alienation and devise their modes of governance which are mostly characterized by radical means of survival which yields violence among themselves and their neighboring communities.

#### **1.5.4 Territorial control and conflict**

There exist various governance gaps in most African states due to a lack of effective sovereignty across the territories<sup>28</sup>. This scenario, therefore, affects the ability of the state to effectively deliver on its primary mandate of fostering the peaceful co-existence of its citizens. When geography of government control is varied across the territory there is a high likelihood that the gaps will set in. Most of the arid regions are occupied by the pastoralist communities which are characterized by high illiteracy levels due to continuous exclusion hence marginalization in their own countries.

There exists a close link between governments' ability to exercise control and conflicts. When the communities can't trust their safety to the police which is the state's agent of fostering law, order, and security there is always a tendency to take the law into their hands and rise to protect themselves. This is a possible explanation of many inter-ethnic conflicts, especially among pastoralist communities. When the government loses the trust of its citizens it loses its

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<sup>26</sup>Raleigh, Clionadh. "Political marginalization, climate change, and conflict in African Sahel states." *International studies review* 12, no. 1 (2010): 69-86.

<sup>27</sup>Cornelissen, Scarlett. "Japan's 'Africa thrust'." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 6, no. 1 (1998): 7-20.

<sup>28</sup>Raleigh, Clionadh. "Political marginalization, climate change, and conflict in African Sahel states." *International studies review* 12, no. 1 (2010): 69-86.

credibility and consequently its sovereignty is weakened<sup>29</sup>. In such a situation's external factors such as a weapon, smugglers are likely to set in and take advantage of the communities' vulnerable state worsening the conflicts.

One of the key contributors to ethnic conflicts is poor governance. Kenya is one of the leading countries in sub-Saharan Africa whose poor governance has greatly played a role in the escalation of negative ethnicity hence conflicts since pre-colonial eras<sup>30</sup>. This evidence from the events of 2007/2008 post-election violence which was the worst ethnic conflict explosion the country had ever experienced. Devolution which was a herald of the 2010 constitution aimed at resolving such conflicts again by decentralizing governance mechanisms. However, there are very chances that this goal may not be attainable especially if there are no clear policies that foster the equal distribution of resources as well as political power at the national government levels. With over 42 ethnic conflicts Kenyan political structure has always been characterized by such ethnic animosity as some of the ethnic groups are underrepresented or not represented at all in the government. This has resulted in ill feelings towards some of the groups which have been viewed to be dominant over the others in terms of political power hence policy formulation influence. If the state doesn't have measures that can foster the equal distribution of political power and resources, then we are likely to remain in the danger of even worse ethnic conflicts as civilization and literacy levels continue to increase. One of the primary duties of a state is to ensure peace and security of its citizens, therefore a state ought to fight such factors that are likely to interfere with passive peace and security. Negative animosity among citizens from different ethnic groups if one of those threats that should be identified and addressed

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<sup>29</sup>Raleigh, Clionadh. "Political marginalization, climate change, and conflict in African Sahel states." *International studies review* 12, no. 1 (2010): 69-86.

<sup>30</sup>Rothchild, Donald S. *Managing ethnic conflict in Africa: Pressures and incentives for cooperation*. Brookings Institution Press, 2007.

promptly. A state is defined as an organization that is comprised of various arms that are governed by sovereign authority. A state, therefore, exercises authority over the citizens within its defined jurisdiction. For a state to continue to survive it must also regulate social interactions of its citizens<sup>31</sup>. Failure of a state to regulate such interactions could provoke some groups to raise and take power to their hands to defend themselves from any external threats. This mostly results in ethnic conflicts as various groups defend their existence and security<sup>32</sup>. States are categorized from weak to strong, to failing and finally collapsed states. Such classification is often based on the ability of such states to deliver political goods to its citizens in an equitable manner. Peace and security are one such political goods.

Another crucial indicator of state power is measured by the ability of the state to exercise great social control within its territory. States are therefore regarded to be more powerful if they are able to mobilize and convince their citizens to abide by the state statutes taking into consideration many mechanisms that have been put in place to foster peaceful co-existence as well and respect for life and its dignity. Kenya and Ethiopia can only be regarded as weak states in regard to Turkana-Dassanech conflicts at the border region. Some scholars, however, have pointed out the role of various external forces in weakening state power by taking advantage of weak mitigation mechanisms. However, it is entirely the role of the eradicate to strengthen hence boost the effectiveness of its structures to curb as gaps that the external forces are likely to take advantage of; sabotaging and eventually eradicating such social organizations that are contrary to its structures. A state must be able to have infrastructural power within its jurisdiction for effective control over the social interactions. There exists extensive illegal

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<sup>31</sup>Osaghae, Eghosa E. "Ethnicity and the State in Africa." *Afrasian center for Peace and Development Studies. Ryukoku University* (2006).

<sup>32</sup>Midgal, Joel S. "Strong societies and weak states: state-society relations and state capabilities in the third world." (1988): 8.

ownership of small arms within the Ilemi triangle. This is the main loophole that has greatly weakened various interventions by both governments to bring this conflict in control. There exists a great consensus between security and infrastructural power and thus such a widespread of illegal arms among the Turkana of Kenya and Dassanech of Ethiopia could be termed as great security neglect on the side of both governments. To seal such loopholes there is great importance of using both repressive and ideologies apparatus to attain the favorable social order<sup>33</sup> The ideological apparatus involves government use of various institutions such as schools, religious bodies, and media to support and foster its ideologies. However ideological apparatus may often fail hence requiring the governments to apply repressive measures as well. Repressive measures majorly involve the use of force or threats by the governments through such arms as the police and the army. It is quite difficult for the government to foster peaceful co-existence it ought to apply either or combinations of the mechanisms especially in partaking its infrastructural power exercise.

## **1.6 Justification of the study**

This study has been academic was justified only on academic grounds.

### **1.6. 1 Academic justification**

There exists very minimal literature especially on the ethnic dimension of Turkana- Dassanech conflict. The few scholars such as Patrick Devine<sup>34</sup> that have studied this conflict have majorly focused on the pastoralist and environmental dimensions of this conflict. Most of the explanations about this conflict have been on the natural resources as the main cause of the

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<sup>33</sup>Althusser, Louis. "Politics and History: Montesquieu." *Rousseau, Marx, London–New York* (1972).

<sup>34</sup>Devine, Patrick R. "Persistent Conflict Between The Pokot And The Turkana: Causes And Policy Implications." PhD Diss., Department Of Political Science And Public Administration, University Of Nairobi, 2016.

conflict; majorly pasture and water as the two communities are pastoralists. Therefore, there have not been any attempts to analyze the underlying causes of this conflict especially the ethnic dimension which is the main point of drift between the two communities. This gap in the literature has weakened any attempts so far to bring the situation into control and hence minimize human suffering that it has yielded over the years of its existence. Various governmental and non-governmental attempts to solve this dispute have failed over the years due to this knowledge gap that this study seeks to seal for such future interventions to be anchored on a clear analytical contextual framework. This analysis will adopt a great extent of structural analysis to be able to point out the causative factors that have fueled the persistence of this conflict over time. This study will also endeavor to establish a strong empirical linkage that exists between the behavioral and structural violence among ethnic communities.

### **1.7 Theoretical framework**

Ethnicity is one of the most dynamic contemporary issues in the world today. The already established academic models on the ethnic conflict over time have been proved by the most recent scholars to be insufficient. Particularly the functionalist and conflict schools of sociology, which have been dominant theories in the social sciences, continue to be irrelevant especially in their approach to ethnic conflict phenomena.

Where else it is true that there are instances when conflicts are beneficial, they are largely troublesome phenomena in society. Therefore, the theorization of this domain still leaves so much to be done. The functionalist theory continues to be the dominant school of thought in the study of conflict however as far as ethnic conflicts are concerned it is quite insufficient.

The constructivism paradigm outlines that conflicts such as those resulting from ethnic differences are outcomes of variations of means such as conquest, immigration, and modes of governance<sup>35</sup>. Ethnicity is thus not a fixed state but rather a variable that is influenced by an array of factors<sup>36</sup>. Constructivism, for instance, views ethnic and cross border conflicts in some states as a result of colonialism. Over time the social-political injustices founded by the colonial powers continue to be to evolve and model the dynamics of such conflicts decades after independence of such states<sup>37</sup>. Baumann who is one of the main propagators of this paradigm argues that ethnicity has nothing to do with blood origins or ancestry rather it is a product of people's actions as well as identification, not a product of nature working by itself<sup>38</sup>. Animosity among ethnic conflicts is therefore as a result of interrelated historical processes that make such communities view each other as opponents<sup>39</sup>. This paradigm, however, does not provide a very clear explanation of the cleavage structures that exist in society or why the people choose to divide themselves the way they do. This paradigm is useful for this study since the conflict under assessment takes both ethnic and cross border dimensions.

## **1.8 Hypotheses**

1. The Turkana-Dassanech conflict has persistent because some of the underlying issues have not been addressed.
2. The conflicts will go on until both Kenyan and Ethiopian governments can consolidate their authorities.

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<sup>35</sup>William, D., 2015. How Useful are the Main Existing Theories of Ethnic Conflict? *March*, 4(1), pp. 147-152.

<sup>36</sup>Malešević, S., 2004. *The Sociology of Ethnicity*. London: Sage.

<sup>37</sup>Ibhawoh, B., 2010. Beyond Intrusmentalism and Constructivism; Reconceptualising Ethnic Identities in Africa. *Humanities Today*, 1(1), pp. 221-230.

<sup>38</sup>Baumann, G., 1999. *Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identity*. New York: Routledge.

<sup>39</sup>William, D., 2015. How Useful are the Main Existing Theories of Ethnic Conflict?. *March*, 4(1), pp. 147-152.



## **1.9 Research methodology**

This section elaborates on how the study was carried out as well as field research and analysis of the collected data.

### **1.9.1 Research design**

The nature of this study will be quantitative. It will thus be associated with survey designs, for this study the specific design that will be used will be a cross-sectional survey. This choice of a design is more favorable as it will aid in understanding relationships among variables that have to do with this conflict through observation of their values over three months. This design is also effective since it provides estimates of effect variables. The cause-effect hypotheses will be used to choose the variables that will be labeled as predictors and which ones will be labeled as outcomes and not the design. A cross-sectional sample survey will be applied in this study and it will be underpinned by the explanation: To investigate why and how the phenomena, varied and wide-ranging of Turkana-Dassanech violent ethnic conflict operate by looking for evidence of cause-Effect relationships in the data.

### **1.9.2 Sampling techniques**

The sampling strategy aimed at getting the number of respondents that would be a good representation of the people being affected by the conflict. The sample was drawn from the areas that have been worst hit by the conflict including the settlements in the River Omo delta along the Kenya-Ethiopia border. Cluster sampling used since the population is widely spread and across the widely dispersed villages.

### **1.9.3 Data collection Instrument**

The main instruments used to obtain the data were two questionnaires one for the survey sample and the other one for key informants. They were designed to tap data on five distinct types of questions content that is behavior, knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and attributes.

### **1.9.4 Data collection**

Before data collection, the instruments were pilot tested at the research site. Afterward, data was collected through face to face interviews with the selected respondents by the researcher and two research assistants from each of the two communities; both assistants were fluent in their mother tongues, Swahili and English languages. The data of this study took 1 month to collect.

### **1.9.5 Data analysis**

Factor analysis, correlation then regression and skewness (multivariate analysis) were applied to the collected data. The data was quantitative.

### **1.9.6 Ethical considerations**

The data collected from the field was be kept confidential and this will be observed both by the researcher and the research assistants. The data collection instruments were formulated in such a way that they didn't require the respondents to reveal their details. This been a conflicting situation throughout the study the researcher remained neutral and thus showed no favoritism to either of the conflicting parties.

## CHAPTER TWO

### ANALYSIS OF ETHNIC AND CROSS BORDER CONFLICTS AT THE HORN OF AFRICA

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter will explore the root causes of ethnic and cross border conflicts at the Horn of Africa region. Such causes will be divided into prior and post-colonial causes as there was a great shift in the nature of conflicts in Africa upon the onset of colonial nationalization. Finally, this chapter will explore the historical causes of such conflicts paying a closer look at the current conventional boundaries and states formation before and after colonialism.

#### 2.1 Evolution of cross border ethnic conflicts

Sub-Saharan Africa is characterized by a diversity of people as well as cultures and traditions<sup>40</sup>. Such diversities have existed from pre-colonial periods, through colonial time's up-to-the current contemporary Africa and continue to play a crucial role in shaping Africa as a continent and all its aspects of governance and existence. Such diversity is a great source of richness in terms of innovation, creativity, and the history of this continent. However, on the unfortunate side, it is

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<sup>40</sup>Qadir, M. I. & Khan, R. A., 2015. Abounding Internal Conflicts in Africa: An Analysis of Prepotency of Greed and Grievance. Margalla Papers, pp. 67-86

also a source of most problems that are facing this continent and hindering its growth and development<sup>41</sup>.

Among many other conquest mechanisms that the colonial powers applied were divide and rule<sup>42</sup>. They used the cleavages that existed among the tribes and pacified the lands while asserting their authorities among the Africans. Without taking into consideration the cultures that existed or the traditional political systems that were majorly involved kingdoms the colonial powers established arbitrary boundaries that separated such coherent structures and united people who had nothing in common<sup>43</sup>. Unfortunately, upon independence, such boundaries prevailed and people who had nothing in common for now forced to live with each other in the modern nation-state setups. Despite their common enemies who in this case were colonists having left these people couldn't agree on the way forward and instead rose against each other divided on ethnic bases. Development restructuring themselves and hence meaningful reconstruction has ever since become impossible. The greatest challenge in the development and growth of Africa has been unification for purposeful policy formulation in a multicultural and multiethnic has proved to be ready to be a major challenge Africa n't ready to meet yet<sup>44</sup>. The main goal of Europeans in Africa to gain access and control of the resources. Long after their departure, the states that they established are still conflict-torn as different ethnic groups fight over the same resources despite being in the same states. The spillover of the same conflicts is witnessed among states especially in the form of cross border conflicts. What modernization has done is the creation of a competition for the limited resources and formation of a new stratification system

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<sup>41</sup> Eminue, O. (2004). " Conflict Resolution and Management in Africa: A Panorama of Conceptual and Theoretical Issues" African Journal of International Affairs and Development, Vol. 9, No 1 and 2

<sup>42</sup>Conteh, J.S. (1998). " Colonial Roots of Conflicts in Africa: A Historical Perspective, Prevention and Resolution" African Journal of Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution, Vol. 2, No 1, Jan- April

<sup>43</sup>Global Coalition for Africa (2004). African Social and Economic Trends, 2003/ 2004, hington, D.C,pp34-35

<sup>44</sup>Arquilla J (2011). Insurgents, Raiders, and Bandits: How Masters of Irregular Warfare Have Shaped Our World. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group pp 11-13.

across the continent<sup>45</sup>. Consequently, ethnic groups have thus been turned as the most appropriate avenues that can be used to compete for such resources as land, political mileage, markets as well as job opportunities. Where else it true that even in the precolonial period competition for such resources as land, pasture and cattle, not a rare phenomenon; introduction of money economy has intensified such competition more than any other time in history<sup>46</sup>.

Such competition for resources doesn't begin and end with the land issue instead it has spread across all the sectors of the very existence of the continent. To seek some sort of security and identity people then look up to their primary group, in this case, their ethnic group to gain some sort of primary support<sup>47</sup>. In the state set up individuals, therefore, see themselves first as members of an ethnic group in some regions then as a citizen of that country<sup>48</sup>. The national scenes, therefore, are characterized for competition for the so-called "national cakes" where each ethnic group wants to have their share. History is repeating itself in Africa as the current competition looks exactly like that in the Berlin conference in 1884 as European powers divided Africa among themselves. With the centralization of most regimes across the continent wealth as well as power are now concentrated in the hands of the political classes. The completion has thus taken another dimension which focuses on struggling to control the political system<sup>49</sup>. Even though most African States have adopted democratization in their political systems the voting

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<sup>45</sup>Collier, P. & Hoeffler, A., 2004. Greed and Grievances in the Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers*, pp. 563-595.

<sup>46</sup>Aall, P. (2007). The Power of Nonofficial Actors in Conflict Management, In C.A. Crocker, O. Hampson and P.Aall, (Eds.), *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*. hington, D.C: Institute of Peace Press.

<sup>47</sup>Curtin, D. P., & Bohanan, P. (1995). Africans: the history of a continent, In *African Literatures* (1):2-15

Miles, William F.S., David Rochefort. 1991. "Nationalism Versus Ethnic Identity in Sub-Saharan Africa." *American Political Science Review*, 85, 2: 393-404.

<sup>48</sup>Bujra A. African Conflicts: Their Causes and Their Political and Social Environment; Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF) Occasional Paper, No. 4 Addis Ababa 2002

<sup>49</sup>Mengistu, Muhabie Mekonnen. "The root causes of conflicts in the Horn of Africa." *American Journal of Applied Psychology*4, no. 2 (2015): 28-34.

process is highly ethnic-based. People, therefore, make the voting decisions mostly not on manifesto agendas of candidates but their ethnic groups. Such voters make decisions with expectations that once their kinsmen occupy the political seats, they will be able to channel the resources to their directions and thus accord to them a share of the national cakes. Most ethnic conflicts in Africa are therefore as a result of political polarization around ethnic groups other than political ideologies. The spillover effects of such antagonism are evident in terms of widespread corruption, inflation, widening the gap between the rich as the poor and in worst-case scenario full-blown violence cases like what is currently been witnessed in Sudan, South Sudan and Rwanda 1994 genocide.

The new system stratification has resulted in groupings that are based on political class influence and hence resource allocation manipulation. The ethnic groups which are highly represented in the political systems are better off in terms of education, infrastructure, and other opportunities<sup>50</sup>. On the contrary, those communities that are not as represented end up been disadvantaged and eventually marginalized. In the long run, the latter is likely to rise in protests to reclaim their rightful positions in the system. Trying to address such historical injustices is likely to be met with opposition by the dominant groups and what follows is intrastate conflicts that have often escalated to civil wars with drastic results such as massive loss of lives, untold humanitarian sufferings, and violation of the fundamental human rights.

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<sup>50</sup>. Miles, William F.S., David Rochefort. 1991. "Nationalism Versus Ethnic Identity in Sub-Saharan Africa." *American Political Science Review*, 85, 2: pp 393-404.

## **2.2 Causes of Post-colonial conflicts in Africa**

For a clear understanding hence appreciation of conflict in Africa, it is important to pay closer attention to their causes at different times in history as well in contemporary times. Immediately after the decolonization period, Africa experienced an array of both interstate and intrastate conflicts. Such conflicts were a manifestation of various underlying issues that the colonial era had put the continent into. Such factors included:

### **2.2.1 The new arbitrary borders**

Organization of African Unity (OAU) fully recognized that the borders established by the colonial powers had raised serious concerns for the now independent Africa<sup>51</sup>. The role that such borders could play in shaping future conflict was thus evident even at such early stages of self-rule in Africa<sup>52</sup>. Since independence, such borders have remained quite unconsolidated and this has played a key role in reducing the government's efficiency to institutionalize and implement any meaningful national consolidation plans. It has therefore been impossible attaining sustainable stability in the region. Such porous and unviable conflicts have crippled any attempts to establish a perpetual peace and harmonious co-existence in the region. Conflicts including those at the border regions have continued to be a major hindrance towards the attainment of historical liberation goals of economic, political and social well-being of all Africans. The

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<sup>51</sup>Mamdani M. *Citizen and Subject, Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, 1996 Fountain Publishers, Kampala, Uganda

<sup>52</sup>Sesay A. *The African Union: Forward March Or About Face-Turn?*; Claude Ake Memorial Papers No. 3 Department Of Peace And Conflict Research Uppsala University & Nordic Africa Institute Uppsala 2008

marginalization of the border regions in terms of infrastructure and other core state services has also played a key role in slowing the continents' integration and inclusion agendas.

The post-cold war period ushered a wave of freedom and self-expression especially to people who had been subjects of oppression by their governments. With the new winds of change in the early 1980s and 90s, there was an extent of unblocking of most channels of political voices, growth of political organizations and subsequent growth and empowerment of opposition forces<sup>53</sup>. As discussed earlier most African states were comprised of incompatible ethnic groups that had been pushed to co-existence with one another by the colonial demarcations, with the new empowerment and sense of freedom of expression majority of such groups started seeking redress including demands for separate statehoods. With the new empowerment, groups were now more perceptive to issues such as exclusions, historical injustices and other forms of oppression; such feelings gradually aggregated to sub-national consciousness and ethnic loyalties which has now become one of the key peace threatening factors across the Continent<sup>54</sup>. There has therefore been a clear evolvement of the conflicts from the border-related interstate conflict to intrastate conflicts among the communities occupying the same jurisdictions. Most recent conflicts in Africa have been as a result of governments' inability to effectively accommodate and reconcile social, economic, political and cultural contradictions in their own institutions<sup>55</sup>. Due to the porous nature of the borders, such internal conflicts easily spill over to the neighboring countries. This phenomenon is now popularly known as the regionalization of

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<sup>53</sup>Asiwaju A. I. 1985. *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic relations across Africa's international boundaries 1884-1984*, London and Lagos: Christopher Hurst and University of Lagos Press.

<sup>54</sup>Blagovic, Bojana. *Causes of Ethnic Conflict: A Conceptual Framework*. New York: Journal of Global Change and Governance, Vol 3, Number 1, 2009.

<sup>55</sup>Bujra A. *African Conflicts: Their Causes and Their Political and Social Environment*; Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF) Occasional Paper, No. 4 Addis Ababa 2002



conflict in Africa<sup>56</sup>. At this point, it is important to note that the poor state of economic development in the border regions results in two major issues. First and foremost, lack of physical and the most essential infrastructure tends to serve as a key impediment to national as well as regional integration efforts. The interactions of people in such regions are therefore mostly informal and aggressive. Secondly neglecting such areas results in vulnerability hence criminality and as a result such areas are hotspots for such issues are terrors and bandits' groups.

### **2.2.2 Ethnic tensions**

The arbitrary borders didn't just split families and groups they also caged different groups into the state system with zero consideration of their cultural co-existence and ancestral origins. Kinship ties were an important component of African governance systems and the abrupt changes introduced by the formation of states a great disruption of the status quo. Nationalization of the governance system, therefore, yielded highly heterogeneous states that could prove almost impossible to unite towards a common goal. Some states as Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, and Nigeria had more than 200 ethnic groups residing in the new states and having to establish, build and thereafter share the same political institutions. The tensions were quite high, and they were even worsened by elites who used such ethnic identities to mobilize support for their political ambitions<sup>57</sup>. Ethnic based conflicts would soon be a source of bloody civil wars in Africa in countries such as Congo, Somali, and Sudan.

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<sup>56</sup>Harbom L., Wallenstein P. (2005). "Armed conflict and its international dimensions, 1946-2004" (PDF). *Journal of Peace Research* 42(5): 623-635.

<sup>57</sup>Coakley John (1992). *The resolution of ethnic conflict: Towards a typology*. *International* 13. pp. 343-358.

### **2.2.3 Leadership crisis**

Objectivity and diversity tolerance were missing elements among the elite ruling class who took over governance responsibilities from the European powers<sup>58</sup>. Rather than societal development, there is a great extent of primitive wealth accumulation at the expense of the common good of common Africans. The democracy that had been fought now a tool of selfishness among them and used it to the disadvantage of their people who were not only illiterate but also ignorant to a great extent. Social nobility, therefore, became a key instrument of access to government services, institutions, and power. Corruption would then become a dominant factor across the governance system. With destroyed public trust conflict broke across the continent as more people tried to rise to the new political social class. Revolutions have also been stirred by such issues as corruption and unequal distribution of resources.

### **2.2.4 Spillover effects of the superpower rivalry**

Africa's independence happened at the same time with heightened tensions created by the cold war between the capitalists and communists worlds<sup>59</sup>. The superpowers managed to create a

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<sup>58</sup>Zunes S. and Mundy J. *Western Sahara: War, Nationalism and Conflict Irresolution* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2010

<sup>59</sup>Schmidt E. *Conflict In Africa: The Historical Roots Of Current Problems* The American Historical Association (Aha) July 26, 2016

wave of influence and used Africa as one of their avenues for fighting the proxy wars<sup>60</sup>. The client state system arose and leaders in Africa received assistance for aligning themselves to the ideologies of their overseas masters. A good example of such conflicts Angolan and Mozambique civil wars through which superpowers used to their advantage and in exchange supplied massive weapons, mercenaries, troops, and funds. The Horn of Africa was a strategic area of interest to the superpower adversaries. Arms and military expenditure suppliers to the region increased dramatically; the region also used training grounds. Where else in these superpower states cold war cold without any actual confrontations in Africa it was intensely hot and with the new increased confrontation capacities as well military backing from the developed countries states such as Ethiopia and Somali went to actual confrontations in the famous Ogadanwar.

### **2.3 Sources of conflicts in the contemporary horn of Africa region**

Since the colonial period and the cold war era, there has been a dramatic increase in conflicts in the horn of Africa region. Most of such conflicts have been intrastate and negative ethnicity is one key cause of many of such conflicts. However, it is quite important to note that there are more underlying causes of such conflicts and in most cases, ethnicity has only been used as a cover-up for the actual roots of such conflicts. Some of such primary sources of conflict include:

#### **2.3.1 Historical inequalities in resource allocation**

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<sup>60</sup>.De Sousa A. N. ( 22 Feb 2016) Between East and West: The Cold War's legacy in Africa 'Red Africa': From a generation of cinematographers to the end of apartheid - Africa, Cuba and the Soviet Union  
<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2016/02/east-west-cold-war-legacy-africa-160214113015863.html>

Inequality remains a major source of conflicts been witnessed in the horn of African region<sup>61</sup>. There is evident segregation of various groups of people when it comes to the allocation of resources; even the most basic government resources such as infrastructure and medical care. The most vulnerable groups include people residing in the border regions who are mostly the minority communities. The political power which is a key determinant of resource allocation is concentrated in the hands of the few and some instances, there is event extend of political power monopoly. Such inequality increases prospects of violent conflicts as aggression builds and takes root been the oppressed and seemingly favored communities<sup>62</sup>. Sometimes such conflicts can as well occur between communities that are both oppressed and isolated by their governments; a good example of such conflict is the Turkana-Dassanech conflict. This is in the endeavors to survive on the minimal natural resources at their disposal.

### **2.3.2 Failure of states to consolidate their authorities**

A failed state is defined as a state that is not able to perform the very fundamental roles of a sovereign nation-state in the modern world order. Such roles include a complete projection of control over its jurisdiction, people and protection of its borders<sup>63</sup>. Majority of African states have been weak since their establishment and independence and were therefore founded on de jure sovereignty and not de facto sovereignty<sup>64</sup>. Many countries exercise very minimal control over the individuals, groups and institutions within their jurisdictions<sup>65</sup>. The populations in such sates

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<sup>61</sup>Freeman, D., 2005. An Explanation of Conflict: Ethnicity, Deprivation, and Rationalisation. Kentucky, Kentucky Political Science Association Conference.

<sup>62</sup>Anseeuw, W. & Alden, C., 2010. The Struggle Over Land in Africa: Conflicts, Politics, and Change. 1st red. Cape Town: HSRC Press

<sup>63</sup>Encyclopedia Britannica <https://www.britannica.com/topic/failed-state>

<sup>64</sup>Jackson R. H. and Rosberg C.G. "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood"; World Politics, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Oct., 1982) Cambridge University Press <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010277>

<sup>65</sup>Jackson R. H. and Rosberg C.G. "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood"; World Politics, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Oct., 1982) Cambridge University Press <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010277>

are therefore often divided on the ethnic bases and this often erupts to violence if not curbed and addressed and resolute promptly. Unfortunately, the very foundation of such regimes is founded on ethnic; lines and thus such states are willing to do very little to bring coherency and harmonious existence among the people they govern<sup>66</sup>. Such structural weakness easily translates to state failure and thus has been witnessed in some states in the horn of Africa such as Somali. The weak governing capacity of states means that the institutions are not in a position to effectively fulfill their mandate of reaching out to all citizens and provide the basic needs. After some time, people perceive this weakness and start revolting against oppression from others as they feel their governments cannot protect them anymore. Case study states for such failures include Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Somali.

### **2.3.3 Historical Antecedents**

There exist many and yet terrible historical antecedents of violence. Such trends have become key defining factors of most cross border ethnic conflicts. Most if not all acts of violence are often justified on revenge basis for previous acts of aggression from the attacked groups. Cultures of most warring communities dictate that such revenge missions ought to be carried out as a way of honoring those killed in the previous attacks. Both political and traditional leaders often find a way of institutionalizing these forms of violence. In extreme situations, political violence uses state instruments such as the army and the place as well as the judiciary to justify and sustain it. Turkana - Dassanech conflict has mostly been shaped around this idea of continuous revenge and hit backs.

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<sup>66</sup> Adedeji, A (1999). *Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts: The Search of Sustainable Peace and Good Government*, London, Zed Books

### **2.3.4 Small and light weapons proliferation**

Traditionally communities use obsolete weapons such as arrows and machetes in violent confrontations such as raids. The extent of such confrontations was therefore minimal and lasted only for a short period. Ease access to modern weapons has played a key role in the intensification of violent conflicts in the horn of Africa region. With very porous borders it is quite easy for weapons to be smuggled into and across the states. Such ease access to weapons not only fuels but also ignites an explosion of small conflicts into full-blown violent scenes<sup>67</sup>.

Through sponsored violence which includes the provision of modern weapons the developed countries are advancing their interests in Africa. Today there is 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.

### **2.3.4 Regional and interconnecting conflicts**

There exist overlapping ethnic ties across the horn of Africa region due to the geographical proximity. Most conflicts have been witnessed in the region often start as minor skirmishes among different groups but spreads very fast and end up being regional emergencies. Most kinship and ethnic loyalties transcend national borders. Therefore, what happens in one State swiftly spreads over to the neighboring areas. Coupled with the extent of foreign interference these factors have made peace in this region a difficult mission to accomplish.

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<sup>67</sup>Mkutu, K. A. (2007). Small Arms and Light Weapons among Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area. *African Affairs* 106 (422), pp 47-70

### **2.3.5 Natural resource wealth**

Resource-based conflict in Africa can be categorized into two major groups that conflict due to abundance and conflicts due to scarcity of natural resources<sup>68</sup>. However, the most abundant wealth-based conflicts are those caused by the scarcity of such resources as pasture and water among the nomadic groups. Struggling to survive with the minimal resources they have at their disposal such groups often go to violent conflicts to try to have as much control as possible. Turkana-Dassanech conflict is a good example of such conflicts. On the other hand, those countries with great wealth abundance are also likely to go war, their economies been anchored in such resources the chances of conflict eruptions are also high<sup>69</sup>. Such resources as oil also attract external interferences and as discussed in the previous section sponsored violence makes it difficult for any resolution attempts.

### **2.4 Role of Marginalization in shaping conflict**

Most border Communities live in extreme poverty conditions with little or no government aid at all. In Kenya for instance, 40% of the population is living below the poverty level and 80% of such population is comprised of people living in marginal areas especially in the northern region of the country. Such poverty conditions are coupled with high illiteracy levels, malnutrition, lack of medical care and consequently low life expectancy. In endeavors to survive such communities must diversify their economic activities such as agriculture, pastoralism, and fishing. Such activities due to scarcity of resources and often harsh environmental conditions are only carried out on a substantial level.

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<sup>68</sup>Ginifer, Jeremy. *Internal Review of DFID's Engagement with the Conflict in Northern Uganda*. Department for International Development, 2006.

<sup>69</sup>. Dan, F., 2011. *Rethinking the Resource Curse: Natural Resources and Polywar in the Ituri District*. California: University of California.

One of the key tools of breaking out the vicious cycle of poverty is through education and sustainable development. Unfortunately, border communities are constantly neglected by their governments and hence the populations keep growing and having to survive on the limited livelihoods. In endeavors to survive in harsh conditions, such people resort to what they know best and that includes even illegal activities such as animal raiding activities, firearms trade, drug smuggling among other criminal activities. Insecurity and conflict gradually emerge and eventually, such areas are turned to conflict zones. Insecurity is a great hindrance of any sustainable development, living in conditions for fear and perpetual tension engaging in any economic activity becomes a strain and vulnerability of such communities' increases year in year out.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

To this far unification of Africa doesn't seem to be a realizable goal. Therefore, there is a high likelihood that the African States must learn to cope with the borders passed down by the colonial powers upon independence. Cultural diversity tolerance, inclusive governance as well as development-oriented politics are inevitable paths towards a peaceful and prosperous Africa for all Africans. Border communities suffer the most from conflict effects and thus much government interventions in terms of socioeconomic and political inclusivity are key in providing long-term peace building solutions to these conflicts. Where else ethnicity is cited to be the primary cause of most conflicts been experienced in the horn of Africa region there are more underlying root causes and ethnicity is often a revelation of such factors.





## CHAPTER THREE

### ANALYSING SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS

#### 3.0 Introduction

Conflicts have devastating impacts on the regions they occur in. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) established with the sole goal of establishing sustainable peace across the globe following the untold sorrow that first and second world wars had caused in the world<sup>70</sup>. Harmonious existence forms the core root of human life and peace is mostly marked by the absence of war. Where else it is true that conflicts form a fundamental aspect of human existence and can to some extent be a channel towards beneficial policy restructuring in most cases such conflicts have a great negative impact on social, economic and political implications on individuals in the conflicting regions and those beyond. Ethnic conflicts particularly occur among people living in the same geographical locations and thus their implications often affect the involved groups to relatively equal measures. This chapter will focus on such negative implications both in short term and long terms.

#### 3.1 Social implications of ethnic conflicts

Two propositions can be derived from various conflict schools of thought that will be used to explain the social consequences of violence. One, that conflict is capable of changing the very inherent in the social world as order and states of permanence. Secondly, every individual, group, organization, as well as any other unit in society represents a force whose action

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<sup>70</sup>Hurd, Ian. *After anarchy: legitimacy and power in the United Nations Security Council*. Princeton University Press, 2008.

stimulates many counter forces. When force meets counterforce, a new product or relationship emerges from the interaction<sup>71</sup>. Such results are often conflicts which have negative social implications such as:

### **3.1.1 Humanitarian suffering**

Today more than ever before in the world history internal wars have typically taken a heavier toll on the civilians than inter-State wars this is because combatants increasingly have made targeting civilians a strategic objective in such conflicts. Women, as well as children, are the ones that suffer unspeakable atrocities in armed conflicts. In the past decade, according to one estimate, up to two million of those killed in armed conflicts were children<sup>72</sup>. The immediate results of any conflict are a humanitarian crisis. This affects especially the poor who are ever more vulnerable to issues such as attacks, displacement, killings, rape, and starvation. Such crises are mostly overlooked and willingly ignored, and this is basically because the affected civilians are mostly from the poor class who in most cases are voiceless in the societies affected and even in the international relations arena. Conflicts create an environment of fear and constant tension; as a result, people are limited from performing their day to day survival activities such as farming and engaging in trade. Lack of food is thus one of the earliest forms of humanitarian crisis and unfortunately, it quickly translates to other forms of suffering such as diseases and malnutrition among children and the elderly first then the entire affected populations. According to the United

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<sup>71</sup>Bartos, Otomar J., and Paul Wehr. *Using conflict theory*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

<sup>72</sup> United Nations, *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children: Report of Graça Machel, Expert of the Secretary-General of the United Nations (Selected Highlights)* New York, 2006

Nations report by mid-2018 821 million people were on the verge of starvation 150 of them been infants. The report further indicated that 55% of such people were mostly in war-torn regions<sup>73</sup>.

### **3.1.2 Civilian casualties**

Sub Saharan Africa region has indeed paid dearly for ethnic-based conflicts since the dawning of the independence era. Since 1960 over eight million people have died as a result of ethnic-based conflicts in Africa about five million of them were civilians. The Rwanda genocide of 1994 which left over 800,000 people dead within three months has been termed as the worst ethnic-based conflict that has been witnessed in world history. Burundi's civil war resulted in 200,000 deaths and currently, the same scenario is being witnessed in Sudan which has been a war zone for the last several decades results in deaths of over 2 Million people. Among the many propagandas that ethnicity spreads ; include viewing people from other communities as enemies and hence obstacles of progress. Ethnic cleansing, therefore, is the ultimate goal of ethnic-based violence. Misconceptions, radicalization, sponsored violence, availability of small and light weapons among other factors make this even easier for ethnic lunatics to kill in such ethnic-based confrontations. Many deaths in such conflicts go unreported due to the nature and complexity of the confrontations as well as the rural setting of the conflicts.

### **3.1.2 Internal displacement**

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<sup>73</sup>. Williams Ayers, A World Flying Apart? Violent Nationalist Conflict and the end of the Cold War, Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 37, no. 1, 2000, pp.105-117; see also Armed Conflict Report 1993, 1995 and 1998, Project Ploughshares, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, Waterloo, Ontario (Canada).

High poverty levels, scarcity of resource and over-reliance on the natural resources for livelihoods are key causes of ethnic conflicts. Land issues especially take a central position in group conflicts as a different group feels more entitled to belong to a certain geographical location while viewing others as "strangers". As the conflicts escalate the minority or rather the weaker groups are forced out of their homes mostly which are their ancestral homes. In 2000, more than 11 million people were internally displaced in the horn of African region<sup>74</sup>. The number has been consistently rising due to the increase in the number of intra-state ethnic-based conflicts. The ongoing crisis in Sudan and South Sudan has particularly played a key role in the increase of the Internally Displaced persons. Refugee influxes are the immediate results of such conflicts as people flee their home countries to seek asylum in the neighboring states. This, however, doesn't does always turn out as a smooth process as states are constantly shying away from asylum seekers. Recently the Kenyan government announced a move to shut down Dadaab refugee camp which hosts more than 211,700 refugees and has been ranked to be the world's third-largest refugee camp. Such camps are viewed as hotspots of criminal activities and often host states feel strained in terms of resources they have to constantly provide to the asylum seekers. Displacement greatly impacts the social wellbeing of the victims who have to constantly be on move trying to flee to safer havens. Adjusting to their new "homes" as well as coping with post-trauma of the conflicts is great torture with long term impacts on their mental well-being<sup>75</sup>.

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<sup>74</sup>Esman, Milton J., and Ronald J. Herring. *Carrots, sticks, and ethnic conflict: Rethinking development assistance*. University of Michigan Press, 2003.

<sup>75</sup>Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. "Causes and consequences of conflict-induced displacement." *Civil Wars* 9, no. 2 (2007): 142-155.

### 3.1.4 Disruption of the education process

Conflicts create an environment of tension and constant fear<sup>76</sup>. Such environments are not only unsuitable but also are unfriendly and insecure for learners especially children in the lower levels of education. Children are great targets of conflicts and are constantly being used to perpetuate such armed conflicts. Regarded as easy to teach, manipulate and radicalize they are often abducted to be forcefully trained as soldiers in wars, boys are especially main targets. Education is a key tool of transformation and thus one of the basic components of the social fabric; by its disruptions societies are doomed to unending ignorance and the perpetual vicious cycle of poverty. Most ethnic conflict zones have the highest levels of illiteracy and this consequently greatly hinders such communities' opportunities of policy formulation as they are unrepresented even in the political arenas of their nations<sup>77</sup>. Social and economic justices are based on institutions that ought to be established, build and development of equitable and sound education system; unfortunately, ethnic conflicts deny younger generations these fundamental rights and push them to an abyss of poverty and deprivation<sup>78</sup>. Unequal access to education is one of the key tools that the dominant groups use to maintain high odds in terms of wealth and power. Therefore the inequalities are carried forward from one generation to another and the conflict mitigation efforts are eventually nullified. Education in ethnic conflict zones is one of the key tools that can be used to nurture the mindsets of diversity tolerance and hence peaceful co-existence in the society. Unfortunately, education remains a low priority in conflicts and much

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<sup>76</sup>Basuchoudhary, Atin, and William F. Shughart. "On ethnic conflict and the origins of transnational terrorism." *Defense and Peace Economics* 21, no. 1 (2010): 65-87.

<sup>77</sup>Brown, Michael E. "Causes, and implications of ethnic conflict." *The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, multiculturalism, and migration* (1997): 80-100.

<sup>78</sup>Medrano, Juan Diez. "The effects of ethnic segregation and ethnic competition on political mobilization in the Basque Country, 2008." *American Sociological Review* (1994): 873-889.

attention even by the humanitarian organizations is focused on the basic amenities such as food and medical care.

### **3.2 Economic implications of Ethnic conflicts**

The seemingly unending political tensions and wars have been major causes of the economic crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa. Economic development is indeed difficult to achieve in conflict situations as people are always in constant fear, tension and in-flight for safer havens. Therefore, focusing on productive economic activities is the lowest priority in conflict regions. Some of the key economic implications of ethnic conflicts include:

#### **3.2.1 Reconstruction costs**

All countries coming out of conflicts often face the major challenge of economic costs involved in the entire reconstruction process. Infrastructural facilities are greatly destroyed during wars and the aftermaths reconstructions are often costly and, in most cases, leave such countries economically crippled. Ethnic conflicts often erupt without much early warning signs and there are minimal planning and forecasting of whether to go on a war. Reconstruction refers to the efforts of restoration to the initial economic conditions before the occurrence of conflicts. Efforts such as winning back investor confidence, rebuilding financial systems, re-establishing order and rule of law are very costly to countries in the post-war eras. It is important to note that resources spend in these efforts could have diverted to more useful ventures by mitigating such conflicts in the first place. The reconstruction process often requires the implementation of intense economic reforms. Even though most recipient countries usually require extensive structural adjustments, the international community should proceed with a great deal of caution to the adoption of relevant policies so that such efforts do not end up steering social discontent and

renewed hostilities. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who are mostly the key instruments used by the donors to implement the reconstruction efforts have been accused of misusing such funds and awarding international professionals hefty salaries while the rest of the populations struggle to survive in dysfunctional infrastructural conditions and often post-war economic crisis such as inflation and high unemployment rates.

### **3.2.2 Economic dysfunctions**

It is very difficult to be able to accurately estimate the economic cost of violent conflict is hard. This is because the existence of wars and conflicts make the measurement of economic activity difficult, and conflict can interact with the economies through multiple, complex pathways. In addition to the immediate, direct effects of violence on the economy, there are several indirect effects that may last long after the violence has receded. Fragile states greatly struggle to be able to maintain their resilience to conflicts and other shocks; conflict, economic instability, poverty, and fragility tend to feed each other in a negative cycle. Recurrence of violence is the largest threat to long-term growth and development in conflict-affected countries. Due to international peacekeeping missions, humanitarian interventions and often result in heavy international presence causes distortions to the local economy and bring about the emergence of a type of 'Dutch disease'. Rents, prices, and salaries rise dramatically in disharmony with changes in the local economy's competitiveness. This is because foreigners bring their currencies which in most cases are stronger and more valuable than the local currencies. A bubble economy is created that frequently revolves around the needs of such foreigners<sup>79</sup>. Prices on rent, transport, food and other basic commodities in such localities rise abruptly and this result to more worse survival

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<sup>79</sup>Spear, Joanna. "From political economies of war to political economies of peace: The contribution of DDR after wars of predation." *Contemporary Security Policy* 27, no. 01 (2006): 168-189.



conditions for the nationals who become more strained financially as they try to cope in more raised living cost<sup>80</sup>. Conflicts can also create indirect effects such as the breakdown of political institutions as well as public services including health and education, as well as effects that spill over into other countries, such as refugee crises. Insecurity and weak law enforcement can threaten property rights and suppress economic activities in war-torn countries. Economic shocks impacted on the economies during the conflict eruptions are likely to impact such economies in the long run. A good example is the Kenyan post-election violence which greatly threw the country's economy into a depression and took almost a decade to recover. At the Horn of Africa countries greatly relies on Tourism; unfortunately, conflicts result in the chaos which hinders tourists to such destinations.

### **3.2.3 Debt burden**

Conflicts greatly contribute to the creation of unsustainable debts. For instance, Democratic Republic of Congo owes various institutions up-to US\$9 billion that has been spent on the civil war that has lasted for several decades; basically, to fund military infrastructure as well as defense forces<sup>81</sup>. There more of such countries in Africa that have trended in similar debt path due to persistent conflicts which evolve from ethnic tensions between the conflicts. According to

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<sup>80</sup>Pugh, Michael Charles, Neil Cooper, Michael Pugh, and Jonathan Goodhand. *War economies in a regional context: challenges of transformation*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.

<sup>81</sup>Azam, Jean-Paul, Paul Collier, David Bevan, Stefan Dercon, Jan Willem Gunning, and Sanjay Pradhan. "Some economic consequences of the transition from the civil war to peace." *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper* 1392 (2015).

the World Bank, there are currently 13 highly indebted countries whose debts have accumulated due to conflicts. Such countries include the Central African Republic, Burundi, Congo, Sudan, and Somalia. World Bank further indicates that such countries are neither progressing towards qualifying for debt reliefs under the Heavily Indebted Countries. Heavy debts stagnate Countries' sustainable development as most resources are committed on the debt repayment efforts and post-war reconstruction even decades after the dust of the conflict has settled. Heavy reliance on the debts as well repaying them makes the path towards economic recovery more difficult hence sending such states to an unending economic crisis.

#### **3.2.4 Governance and investment**

There exists an inverse relationship between the quality of state governance and ethnic conflicts, especially at their violent stages. Armed crimes escalated during such conflicts due to weakened governance structures. The environment during conflicts is therefore unsuitable for investors to establish entrepreneurial Ventures. Foreign direct investments (FDIs) which are also key players in countries Gross Domestic Products(GNPs) drastically reduce as foreign investors flee with their capital investments to safer and less risky regions.

#### **3.3 Political implications of ethnic conflicts**

Upon their escalation, Ethnic conflicts can have a great impact on the political and governance structures of their governments. Where else it is true that ethnic conflicts rarely come out as political in nature politics is the very epicenter of conflicts. This is the elite classes who are often

key players in the countries politics and often use their ethnic groups as bandwagon tools in their ambitions to ascend to power. Some of the political repercussions of ethnic conflicts include:

### **3.3.1 Political regime changes**

When conflicts escalate there is always an extent of impact they create on the government structures as well as the people in power in such regimes. Transition periods are often marked by extreme violence as the military forces who are mostly in charge of transition governments try to enforce post-conflict order by all means including the use of extreme force even on the civilians<sup>82</sup>. Such transition periods can prolong longer than usual and endeavors to establish democratic government results in even worse conditions than those previously witnessed during the actual ethnic conflicts. Establishing new governance structures is often an expensive process marked by the diplomatic crisis as international actors tangle on whether to recognize the new governments or not. A good example of countries that have recently trailed in this path in the horn of Africa region includes Somalia and Sudan<sup>83</sup>. Finally, the new regimes once established may not last long as they are often founded by alliances that are founded on circumstances of the war and not necessarily common governance ideologies.

### **3.3.2 Political instability**

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<sup>82</sup>Pedersen, Duncan. "Political violence, ethnic conflict, and contemporary wars: broad implications for health and social well-being." *Social science & medicine* 55, no. 2 (2002): 175-190.

<sup>83</sup>Wallensteen, Peter, and Margareta Sollenberg. "Armed Conflict, 1989-2000." *Journal of Peace Research* 38, no. 5 (2001): 629-644.

Ethnic conflicts are often marked by political battles and ethnic-based political alliances. Through the use of such tools as propaganda the political elite try as much as possible to garner support and ascend to power. Unfortunately, such regimes are marked by instabilities as people get more enlightened and break free from ignorance. On the other hand, the weaker groups feel underrepresented in such regimes and work continuously towards attaining their rightful positions. Unending anti-government riots, as well as industrial strikes, become the order of the day as posing a great threat to the sitting governments.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

Nearly all countries have experienced conflicts, even though the results of such conflicts vary in their impact. Ethnic conflicts are often accompanied by gross human rights violations, such as genocide and crimes against humanity, and by economic decline, state failure, environmental problems, and refugee flows. Violent ethnic conflict leads to tremendous human suffering. However, besides such social impacts, ethnic conflicts also result in tremendous economic crisis as well as political dysfunctions in the countries involved

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter forms the backbone of this study. It explores, examines and analyses Turkana-Dassanech conflict paying close attention to the field findings on the subject. The analysis starts with a brief analysis of the conflicting communities, conflict dynamics, present situations, challenges, and opportunities. This chapter will finally explore various strategies and approaches to conflict transformation.

#### **4.1 Turkana-Dassanech conflict overview**

This conflict is located at the Ilemi triangle which is a confluence of Kenya, Ethiopia, and South Sudan. The actors in this conflict are both indigenous communities leading a traditional way of life in an environment with scarce resources and adverse environmental conditions. Lack of basic infrastructures such as roads, health, and education facilities makes survival in this region even more difficult. Other factors that have played a key role in escalating this conflict include states neglect-both communities are marginalized communities, arms proliferation and lack of state reliable security mechanisms. Vulnerability and poverty have played a key role in shaping animosity between the two communities as they view each other as rivals over the minimal resources they both depend on for survival. Lake Turkana which is the main natural resource is a

major source of confrontations that have been witnessed in the last few decades. Both communities been pastoral communities depend on the waters of this lake for their cattle as well as fishing for both own consumption and commercial purposes.

Cattle raiding is not a new phenomenon among African pastoralist communities and it is the historical basis of this conflict. What originally a cultural practice and viewed as a rite of passage for the young warriors into adulthood has now transformed into a deadly conflict that has lasted for more than five decades. Horn of Africa region harbors highest pastoralist aggression in the world<sup>84</sup>. The degree of such conflicts, however, differs from one region to another and with the dawn of the new millennium, there are so many other intervening factors especially from the political arena that have played a key role in turning the cultural dimension of these conflicts. As discussed in the previous chapter introduction of colonial borders brought together rival communities that were historical rivals forcing them to co-exist. This has never been easy.

Nomadic communities are characterized by strength and determination to overcome most of the challenges and choices that their everyday life poses to them. Surviving in an arid area with extremely harsh climatic communities requires these communities to react to the slightest provocation with extreme violent measures as their key interest is survival<sup>85</sup>.

#### **4.2 The areas of the conflict**

This conflict is widely spread. However, for this study, the research was majorly carried out along the Kenya-Ethiopia border. In Ethiopia, it took place in the South Omo administrative zone and Dassenech woreda the two areas cover about 100,234sq Km and are collectively

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<sup>84</sup> Tolera, A,(2002), ' problems of sustainable resource use among pastoralist societies: The influence of State Intervention on pastoral life of the Karayya'in Manger,L. –Ahemed ,AG.M(eds), Pastoralists and Environment.Addis Ababa;OSSEREA

<sup>85</sup>Pugh, Michael Charles, Neil Cooper, Michael Pugh, and Jonathan Goodhand. *War economies in a regional context: challenges of transformation*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004

inhabited by about 9,024,213 people<sup>86</sup>. About 80% of the inhabitants of these regions live in semi-arid regions which comprise more than 70% of the total region area. Their main livelihood is majorly pastoralism but still practice subsistence agriculture due to their proximity to the River Omo basin. On the Kenyan side, the research carried out in the Todonyang area which is in Turkana North District, Turkana County. Been the border area and one of the most remote arid regions the area is the worst hit by the conflict than any other region in the Ilemi .The interviews were carried out in Kapedor,Kariodome and Nyanae Akabaran villages. In the Ethiopia side, the interviews were carried out in Sies- (Which is in Kenyan territory but occupied by Dassanech of Ethiopia), Koro and Bokon villages. The study region is a resource-rich territory that is well endowed with pasture,water-Lake Turkana and Fish. The Ethiopian government has been recently investing heavily in agro-business but the need of local communities have been widely ignored and most of the exploration is been carried out by foreign investors. On Kenyan side, the main livelihood of the study village dwellers is fishing and Pastoralism. Unfortunately, the government has done little to promote the market for the fish and hence most of the products are consumed and the rest go to waste. The few sole entrepreneurs who buy the commodities find it extremely difficult transporting them to the county headquarters which is Lowdar town due to bad roads. However, it is important to note that the conflict extends further deeper into both Kenya and Ethiopian territories.

### **4.3 Population**

Both communities have always confronted each other over resources which are major water and grazing lands. However, their confrontations are always on and off and therefore there are times

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<sup>86</sup> Figures from Country Statistical analysis of 2008

of peace when Dassench cross the border over to the Turkana side and erect temporary villages especially when river Omo floods. On the other side, such times Turkanas can take their cattle as far as Parar highlands which are in Dassanech territory.

#### **4.4 Research design, sampling, data collection and analysis**

For this study two questionnaires, were developed that is one for the survey sample and another for key informants. Direct observations as well and group discussions were also used as supplementary means of obtaining key data for this study. The key objective of the sampling method to ensure that a good representation of the population been affected by the conflict obtained. The survey cluster comprised of 100 respondents, 50 of them from the Dassanech community and the other 50 from the Turkana community. 52 of the respondents were men and 48 women. All the respondents were adults of between 18 to 90 years old. This comprises of elders, women, youths and middle-aged people. The key variables were resource scarcity, issues of marginalization, arms proliferation and states neglect. All these variables were tailored into questions that sought to answer the three research questions.

##### **4.4.1 Data analysis**

The key inquiry areas were causes of violent confrontations, their impact on the communities and past interventions by the States. Both communities rely on the transhumance, fishing and subsistence Agriculture as their main economic activities. Such resources to sustain these activities are very scarce as the region is arid and often experiences extreme droughts as



compared to the rest of the region. 60% of the respondents agreed that grass which the most precious natural resource has been the main source of confrontations as both communities try to expand their grasslands for their cattle. Further 84% of those interviewed affirmed that such violent confrontations between the two communities occur when its dry season and pasture is scarce. In Kenya Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) areas cover up to 80% of the total land and support up to 25% of the population<sup>87</sup>.

There are three main dimensions of environmental scarcity which include supply-induced scarcity, demand-induced scarcity, and structural scarcity<sup>88</sup>. The natural resource supply induced scarcity occurs when the rate of consumption is higher than the rate of renewal. This means that the resources get depleted faster and hence their users have to cope to survive on the limited resources. On the other hand, the demand induced scarcity occurs when the population increases at a rate that cannot be fully sustained by the available natural resources when the renewal rate of such resources is equally at a faster rate. The per capita demand for such resources is simply unsustainable in this type of scarcity. Finally, structural scarcity occurs when the resources are available but are concentrated in the hands of only a few individuals hence the rest of the population suffers from scarcity due to the inability to access control of such resources. For instance, 37% of the respondents agreed to an extremely larger extent that raids are caused by hunger and scarcity played a role in raids. Conflict and hence violent clashes are likely to occur when these three types of scarcity are combined. In the case of Turkana-Dassanech conflict such has been the scenario.

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<sup>87</sup>Mwaura, Ciru. *Kenya and Uganda pastoral conflict case study*. No. HDOCPA-2005-20. Human Development Report Office (HDRO), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2005.

<sup>88</sup>Tolera, A. (2002), 'problems of sustainable resource use among pastoralist societies: The influence of State Intervention on pastoral life of the Karayya' in Manger, L. –Ahemed, AG.M(eds), *Pastoralists and Environment*. Addis Ababa; OSSEREA

90% of the respondents depended fully on their livestock for food, transport and as well as the main source of income. They further affirmed that livestock is also a source of prestige as the culture in most pastoralist communities' livestock with wealth. Discussions with village elders revealed that traditional chiefs were 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 tried to increase their cattle ownership. Most of the raids are often associated with violence however they are spontaneous confrontation and lasted only for a few hours. Such raids often occur during the prolonged droughts when the cattle and people as well are hungry and weak. As such these natures of conflicts are associated more with scarcity and survival rather than economic gain<sup>89</sup>.

In previous research carried among the Turkana pastoralists more than 80% of the respondents attributed the conflicts and subsequent insecurities been experienced in the region as competition for the minimal resources in the area<sup>90</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. This was affirmed by the fact that 30% of the respondents strongly agreed that scarcity has an extremely high influence on violent confrontations between the two communities. 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 and become deep-rooted enmity between the communities hence continuity and further complication of the conflicts. Therefore where else it's true that there are many

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<sup>89</sup>Percival, Val, and Thomas Homer-Dixon. "Environmental scarcity and violent conflict: the case of South Africa." *Journal of Peace Research* 35, no. 3 (1998): 279-298.

<sup>90</sup>Briere, Peter R. "Playa, playa lake, sabkha: Proposed definitions for old terms." *Journal of Arid Environments* 45, no. 1 (2000): 1-7.

causes of violent conflicts among pastoralist communities most of such conflicts such as the Turkana-Dassanech conflicts are resource based<sup>91</sup>.

Overexploitation of natural resources, drastic climate change coupled with increased population growth has been escalating the poverty levels among Turkana- Dassanech communities. Political interference, border issues, and other factors have only worsened the condition that is deeply rooted in such environmental matters. With overexploitation comes degradation than results to the increased pressure of the available resources hence fierce 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. From the Ethiopian side, 87% of the respondents strongly agreed that the government has neglected their community in terms of basic infrastructure while from the Kenyan side 92% alleged such state neglect.

71% of the respondents agreed that there are excess guns in conflicting areas. 52% agreed that there is a direct linkage between accessibility to weapons and violent conflicts. Only 19% of the respondents said that there are no excess weapons in the area. In some of the unstructured interviews with youths who are often the key players in the violent confrontations agreed the easy accessibility of weapons is the key cause of many of the violent confrontations. Turkana-Dassanech conflict has been influenced by both inter-community and extra community factors. As discussed in the previous section is entirely wrong to allege ethnicity and environmental issues as the sole sources of animosity between the two tribes. The legacy of the colonial borders

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<sup>91</sup>Pkalya, Ruto, Mohamud Adan, and Isabella Masinde. "Conflict in Northern Kenya: A focus on the internally-displaced conflict victims in Northern Kenya." *Edited by Martin Karimi. Practical Answers to Poverty* (2003).

cannot be entirely ignored as a key factor in shaping this conflict just as in other conflicts across the region<sup>92</sup>. The economies of both colonial and post-colonial times, as well as the dawning of globalization, have been peripheral yet very influential factors in shaping ethnic conflicts in Africa. The introduction of colonial borders brought together communities that were historical 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. Where else the war in the region has been mostly "cold" between the governments it has been intensely severe and deadly among the communities on the grassroots level<sup>93</sup>. 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 lands for their animals.

The ambiguity in the treaties was intentional as the colonial powers attempted to allow for free movements of the pastoralist communities. What such treaty makers didn't foresee was the fact that the pastoralist communities were rivals and creating such an open frontier would only worsen their relationships in the long run. However, they were fully mindful of the fact that it would be extremely tedious to control pastoralist communities and bring them to the recognition of the closed frontiers. The indigenous communities have never been concerned with the administrative

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<sup>92</sup>Zezeza, Paul T. "The Causes and Costs of War in Africa: From Liberation Struggles to the 'War on Terror'." (2008)

<sup>93</sup>Mburu, Nene. "Delimitation of the elastic Ilemi Triangle: Pastoral conflicts and official indifference in the Horn of Africa." *African Studies Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (2003): 15-37.

borders but rather their survival which is entirely depended on their animals. To protect their interests they often engage in illegal activities such as raiding and illegal smuggling of guns<sup>94</sup>.

The colonial government tried to mitigate the often disputes through such measures as punishing the raiders as well as the establishment of compensation schemes for the raided communities, destocking, establishment of quarantines as well as restoration of raided livestock<sup>95</sup>. Unfortunately upon independence, modern governments didn't take much interest in the pastoralist communities which were regarded as "backward" due to their low political mileage during the post-colonial era. Such potential conflicts that had been repressed were therefore once again restored. Due to the low literacy levels among the communities in the Ilemi triangles government has been using them to secure the borders.

Where else it is true that there is no tangible evidence for this action it is evident that concerned governments have been arming the communities in the region. This is evidenced by the government's reluctance to disarm the communities as well as putting efforts to diplomatically address the border issues. There is minimal government presence in the region despite been very insecure for the last several decades. Non-governmental organizations especially the Catholic Church have taken the sole responsibility of restoring peace in the region through the initiation of dialogues among the communities as well as providing the much needed humanitarian aid. 75% of the respondents are illiterate and the 25% who are semi-illiterate have attained some skills through church sponsorships. The church has also been the key provider of education and

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<sup>94</sup>McPeak, John G., Cheryl Doss, and Peter D. Little. *Risk and social change in an African rural economy: livelihoods in pastoralist communities*. Routledge, 2011.

<sup>95</sup>Ngeiywa, Benson K. *Deterring Cross-Border Conflict in the Horn of Africa: A Case Study of Kenya-Uganda Border*. naval postgraduate school monterey ca, 2008

health care to the communities in the region. These are primary services that governments owe to its citizen's and have been willingly neglected by the states<sup>96</sup>.

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<sup>96</sup> Devine, Patrick r. "persistent conflict between the Pokot and the Turkana: causes and policy implications." phd diss. department of political science and public administration, university of Nairobi, 2016

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Summary

Turkana- Dassanech conflict has adopted cultural, political and ethnic dimensions over the years. However, upon a close look at the dynamics surrounding this conflict, it is clear several salient root causes 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 socio-economic factors that narrow the survival choices that both communities have to make on day to day basis.

From data collected directly from respondents who live at the center of this conflict, it is clear that poverty mostly drags the communities to conflict with each other. Most of the violent confrontations between the two communities occur during the drought seasons hence further affirming this fact. Hunger, as well as underdevelopment among the marginalized communities across the Horn of Africa region, often pushes them to unending conflicts. In the past, the intervention by the government as well as other nongovernmental organizations such as the catholic church has 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, especially at the Ilemi triangle. The location of this conflict of this region makes illegal arms trafficking easy hence worsening the condition of this conflict. Marginal communities receive little attention

from the government 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.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

Where else government intervention is required in this conflict by both Kenya and Ethiopian states there is a more urgent need of expanding the choices as well as opportunities for both communities. Empowering the two communities economically as well as increasing literacy levels will play a crucial role in alleviating poverty which is a 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 this conflict in seeking out for its solutions. Inclusive policy formulation should, therefore, bring onboard both Kenyan and Ethiopian States, political leaders from both communities as well as the local leaders who are very vocal 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.

Insecurity in the conflict zones is the immediate cause of direct armed confrontations. This could, therefore, be a key area of intervention by both administrations. Criminal offenses such as murders should, therefore, be handled and addressed as per constitutional guidelines. Establishing the rule of law, however, requires government policing officers on the ground. Both governments should there increase such personnel in the conflict zones which are mostly 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 shouldn't 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 and voluntarily first just to ensure the arms are not as back 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. Additionally, the States must ensure the civilians of their security hence curbing the fear of living and herding unarmed.

For the effective breaking of the vicious cycle of poverty, there is a need for empowering both communities with formal education. Both Kenya and Ethiopian governments have neglected the two regions in terms of providing education. As long as these communities continue to lag in terms of education they will continue to be poor and grumble over the limited natural resources at their localities to support their livelihoods.





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## Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Am Jackline Mutinda a postgraduate student in University of Nairobi, am carrying out a research on Turkana-Dassanech conflict. I request you to give information I need for the purposes of this research by responding to the questions in this questionnaire. The information you give will be kept confidential and your identity will not be revealed to anybody. Thank you very much.

1. What is your gender?

(1) Male      (2) Female

2. What is your ethnic community?

(1) Turkana      (2) Dassanech

3. What is your education level?

(1) Primary school   (2) Secondary school   (3) Tertiary level   (4) No Formal education Acquired

4. Do you have any trust towards your neighboring communities?

Do not trust at all	Trust very little	Trust little	Trust
1	2	3	4

5. Have you or any member of your family been a victim of violent ethnic conflict?

(1) Yes      (2) No

6. If yes, have you witnessed a direct confrontation between your community and the other community in your village recently?

(1) Yes      (2) No

6. If yes did your community plan or execute a counter or revenge attack?

(1) Yes      (2) No

7. Is grazing land, fishing and raids three main causes of conflict in this region?

(1) Yes      (2) No

8. What is your view on cattle rustling?

(1) Cultural practice (2)Criminal act (3) Survival tactic

9. Which seasons of the year are most violent confrontations witnessed?

(1) Rainy seasons (2)Dry season (3) Any season

10. Has the government taken any legal steps such as arrests and prosecution of cattle raiders?

(1) Yes (2) No

11. Have you witnessed any government intervention for instance police in countering inter-ethnic violence?

(1) Yes (2) No

12. Is there adequate border patrolling by the administrative police?

(1)Yes (2) Patrol is lacking (3) Not adequate (4) don't know

13. Do you or any member of your family own a gun?

a. (1) Yes (2) No

b. If yes to the above question, where was that gun acquired from?

1. Government 2. Neighboring country 3. Middlemen 4. Other sources (Specify)

14. What are your recommendations about possible resolution measures of this conflict?

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**Appendix 2: Focus group discussion**

1. What are the main causes of this conflict?
2. Are traditional conflict resolution mechanisms still effective in this community?
3. How is governance in this area?
4. Do you feel that the State has marginalized your community in terms of basic infrastructure?
5. Is violence against the other community justified?
6. Are there some influential people who play a role in fuelling this conflict? For instance local politicians?
7. Do you think cross border disarmed can be effective in reducing number of violent confrontations?
8. What are some measures can the state take to boost security in this area?
9. Do you feel like your community has adequate political representation in the government?
10. Any other additional comments on this conflict?

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