

Planetary Security Conference

**CROSBORDER DYNAMICS AND SECURITY IN THE
SOUTHERN ETHIOPIA-NORTHERN KENYA BORDERLANDS**

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PEACE PALACE, THE HAGUE



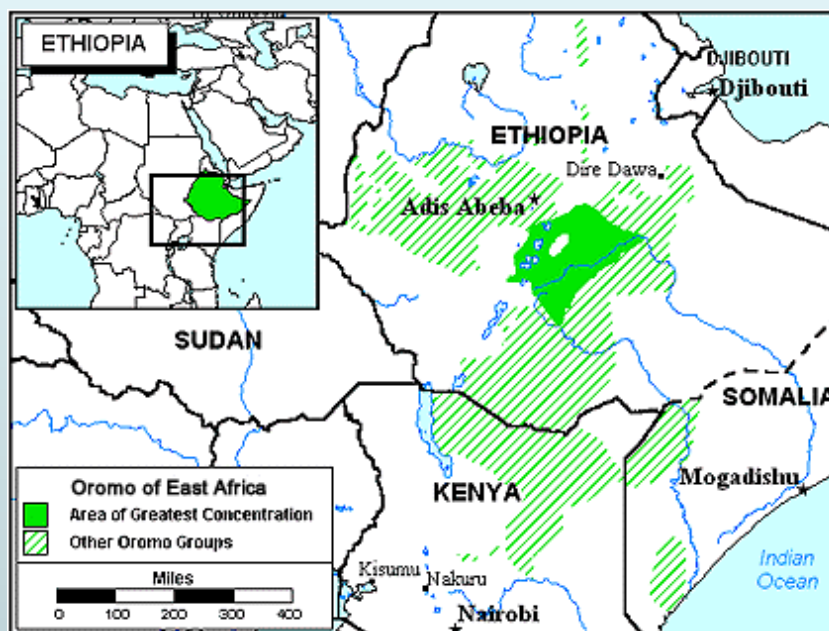
GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

- 530 mile border, with Moyale at its heart established by British/Italian splitting Gabra and Boran territories. Treaty 1970. Not fully demarcated still today.
- Government policies in Kenya containment rather than engagement and more recently impunity; in Ethiopia a general lack of engagement and more recently ethnic federalism influencing decisions.
- Absence of effective border controls
- Issues of national security e.g. Ethiopian government make sporadic incursion over border in pursuit of OLF; “fighting between pastoralist groups”. Lack of control over local militias (and security forces).

CUSTOMARY PERSPECTIVE

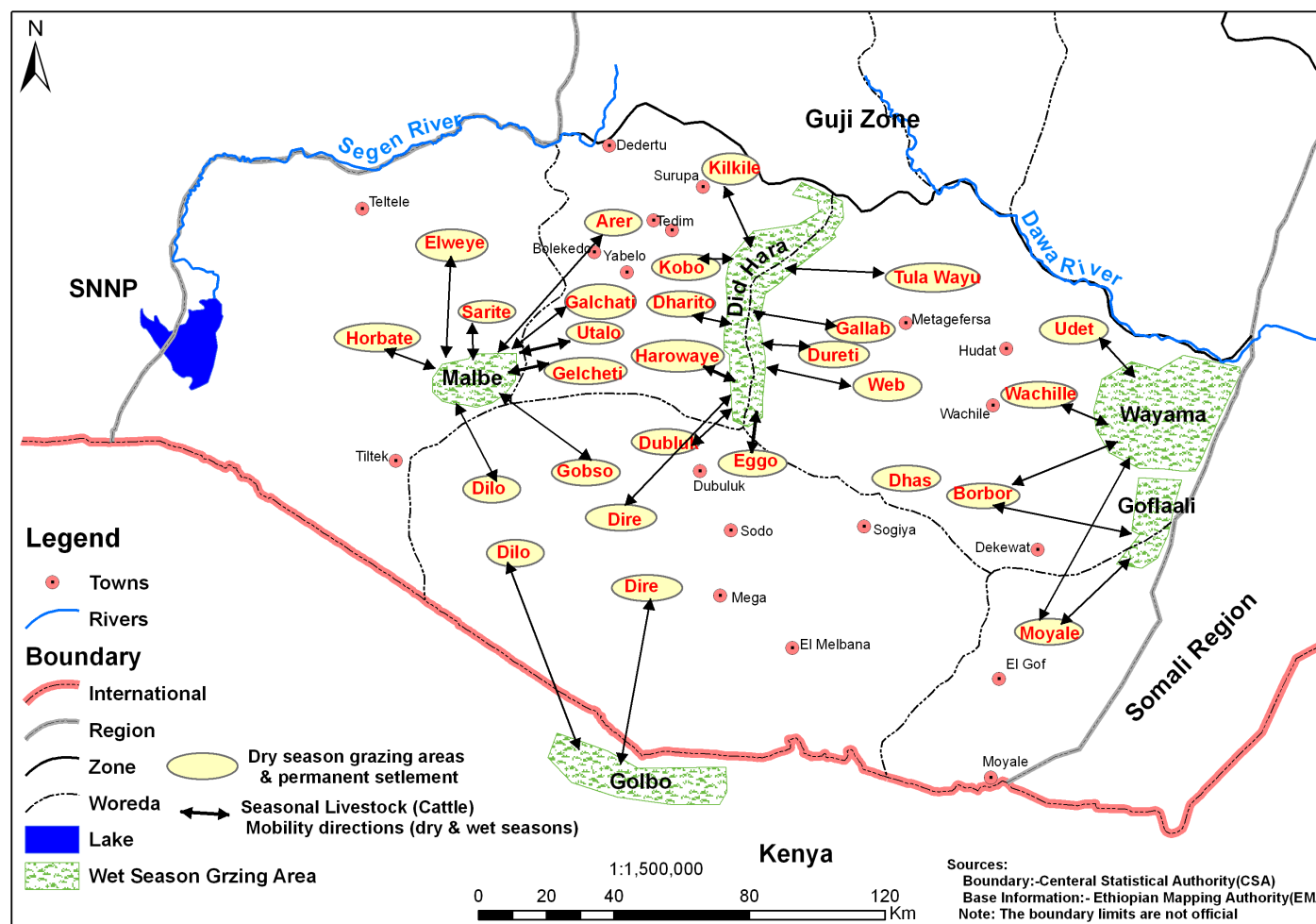
- Trans-clan and trans-national trade network
- Tradition of resource-sharing and movement across border. Customary institutions stronger in Ethiopia.
- “Free” movement of people (goods, culture & kinship, schools & health posts) and livestock

Oromo view of traditional territory across three countries

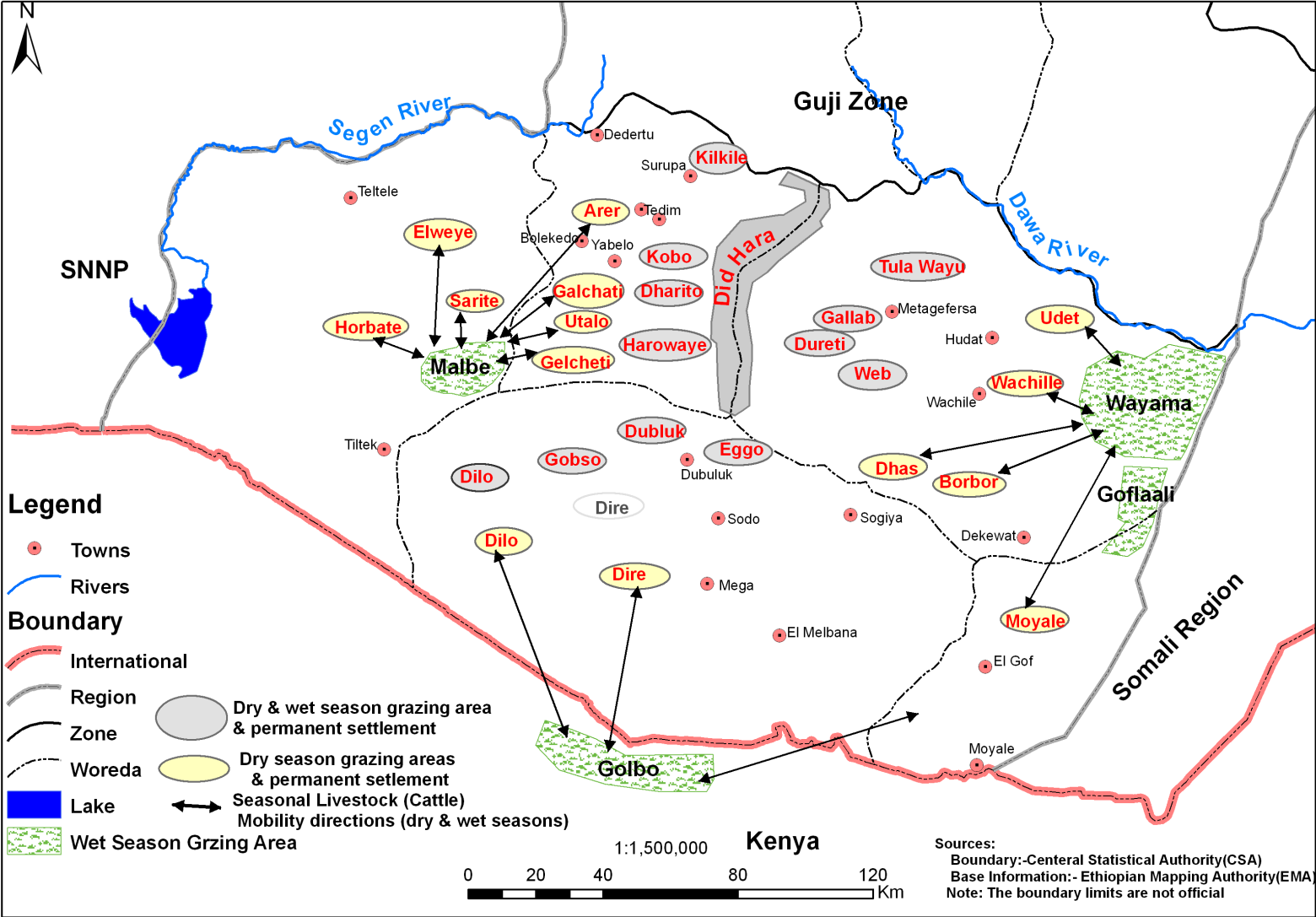


Golbo Grazing Area – crosses border

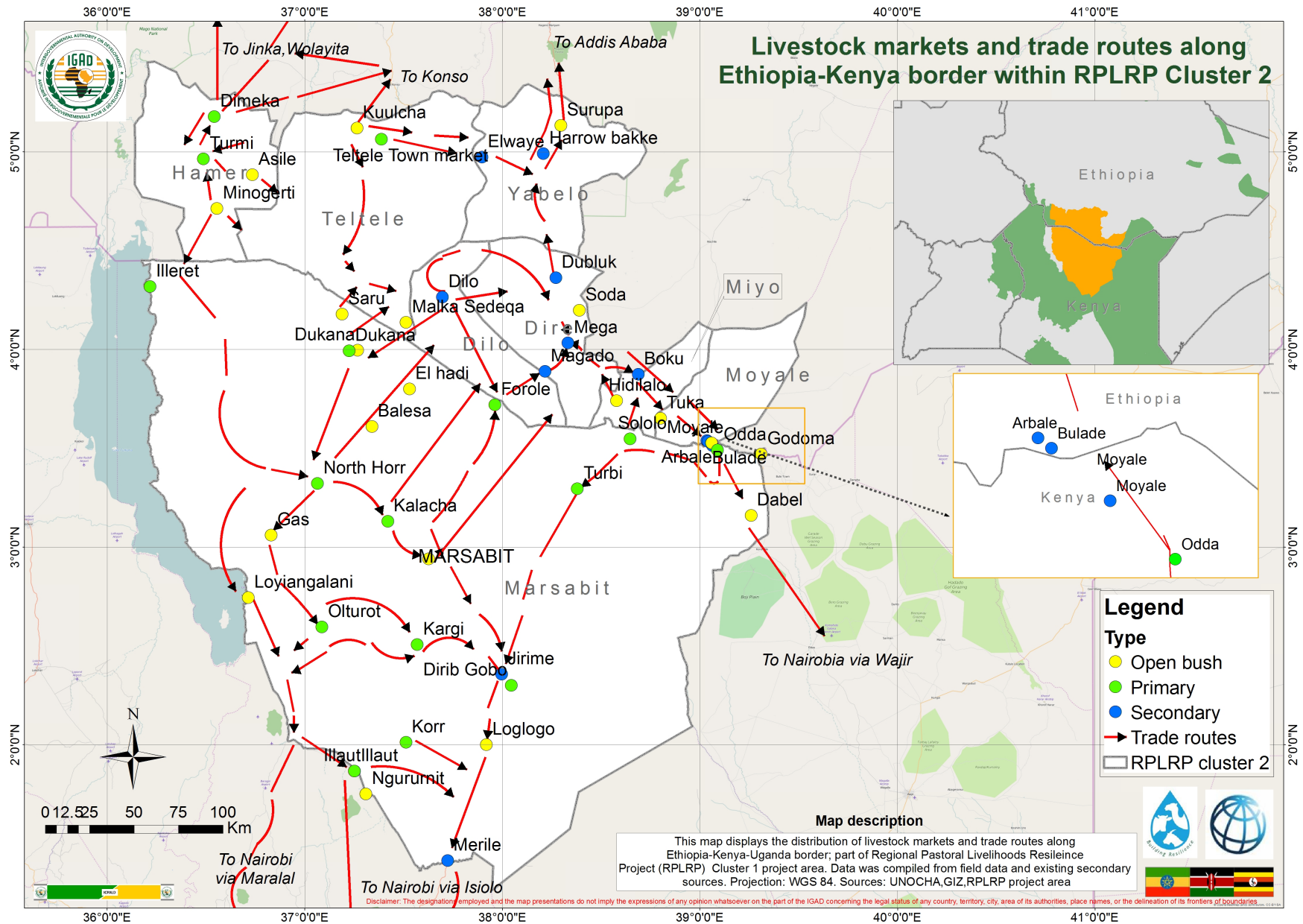
Migration patterns 50 years ago (Elias 2006/2015). Split separated “mother from child” (Gufa Oba 2013).



Migration patterns today (Elias 2009/2015)



Major livestock trading route

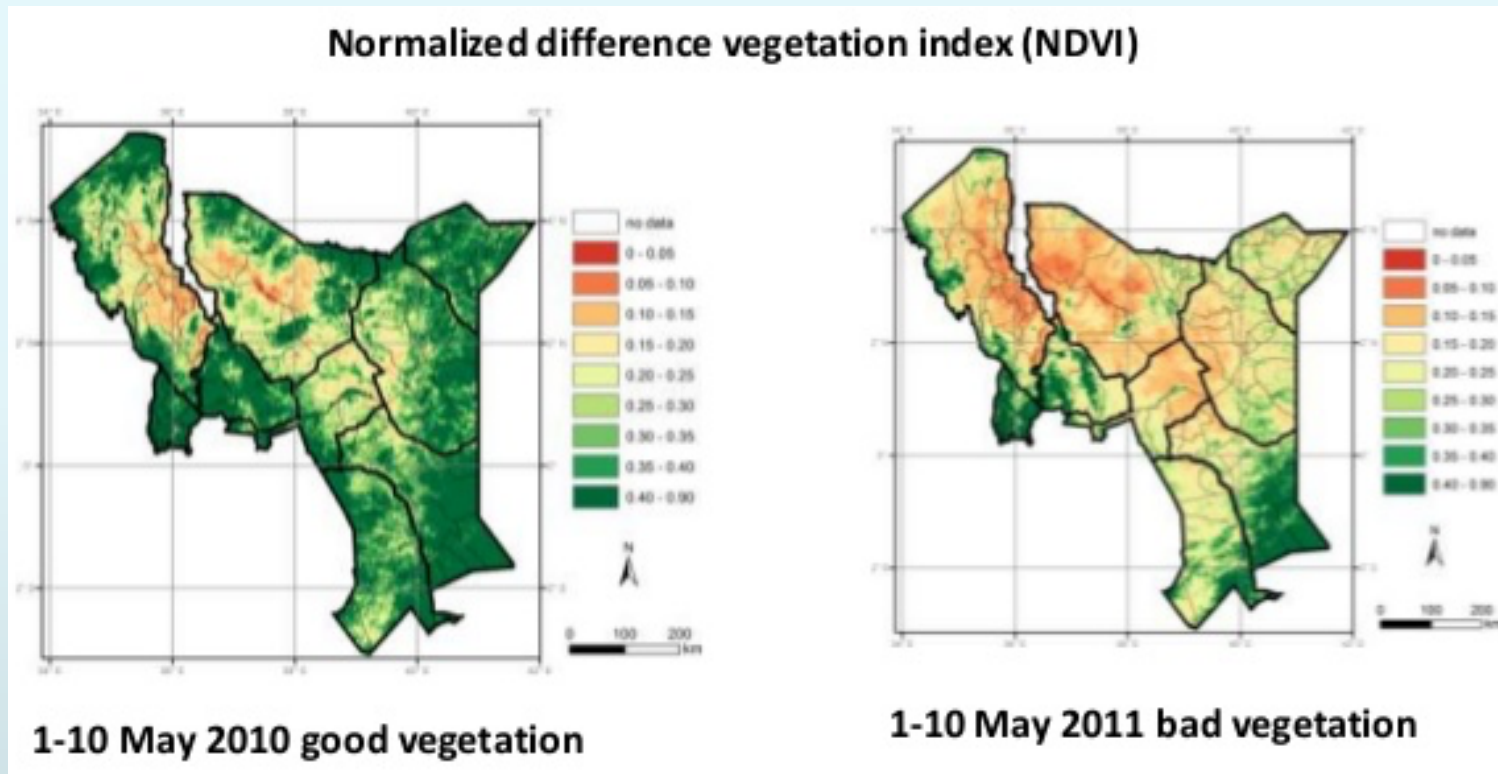


Ethiopia-Kenya (Moyale) livestock trading route

- To date much trade informal – tolerated by governments.
- A study concluded the economic value of cattle trade in excess of 2m USD, but only 38% is formal – 1.2m is informal (Bassa and Woldamanuel 2015).
- At Moyale number of taxes paid – either side of border.
- Study said only 2100USD in taxes (0.2%).
- Mutual understanding amongst border officials and traders.
- Few banks – foreign exchange black market.
- Lack of infrastructure.
- Lack of human and animal welfare
- Lack of protection of livestock routes
- Many advocate that if formalised money could be reinvested in the above. Steps being taken towards this.

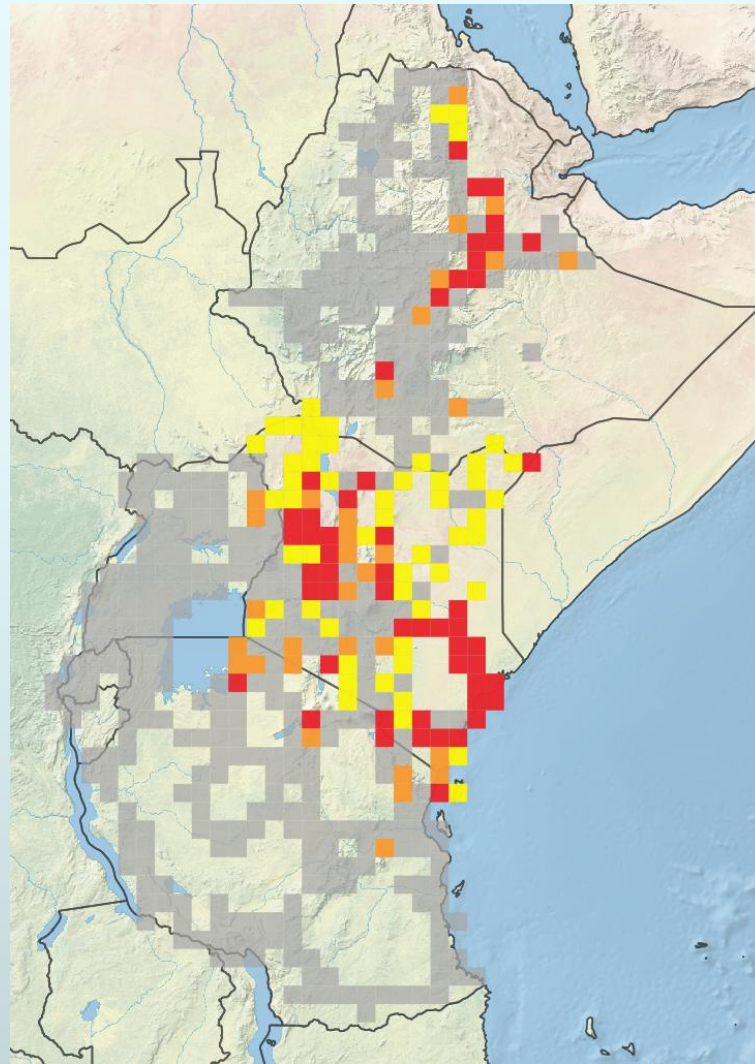
Source: IBLI

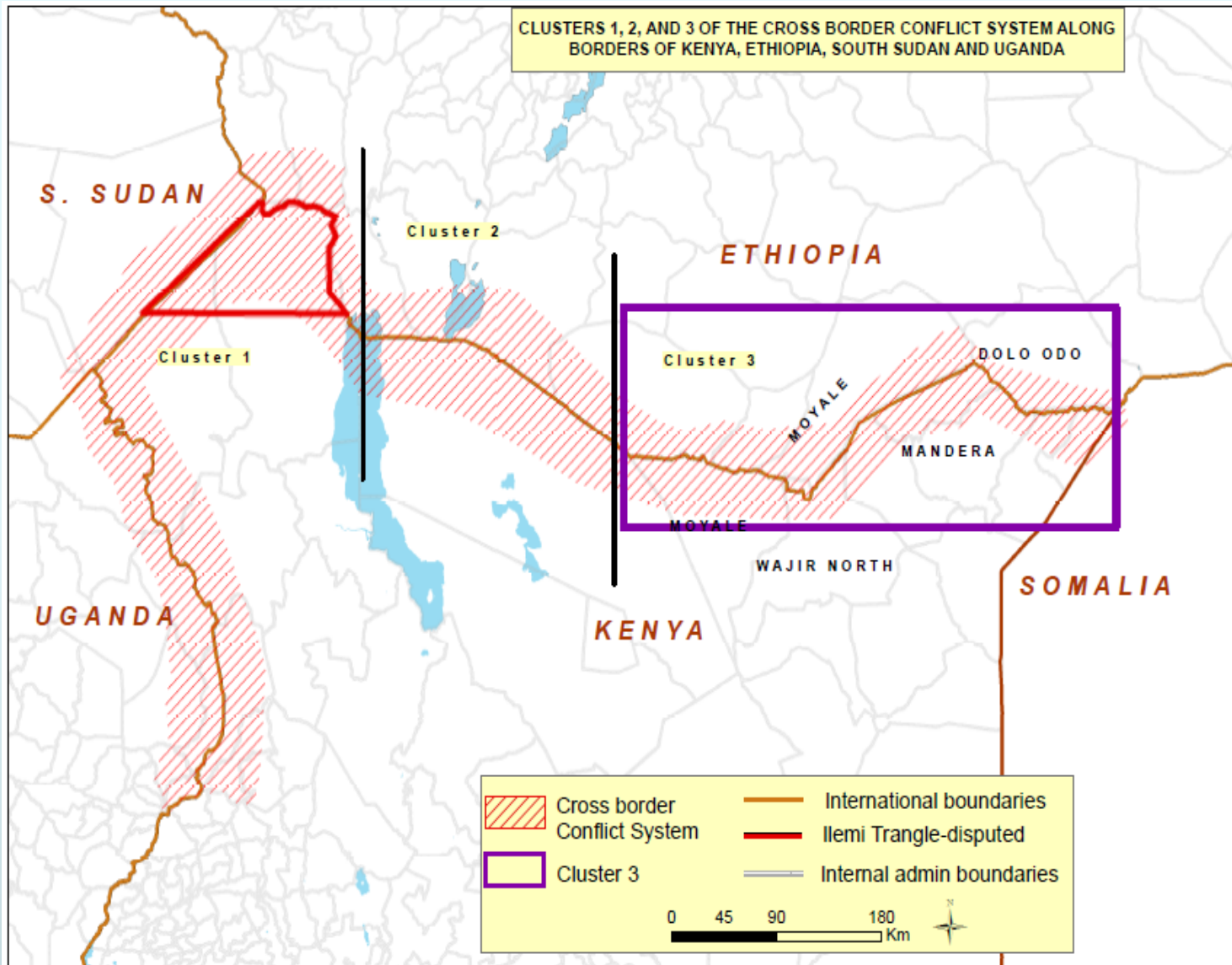
High variability in vegetation and climate changes



Steadily declining rainfall and increased temperatures since 1976 (Elias 2015)

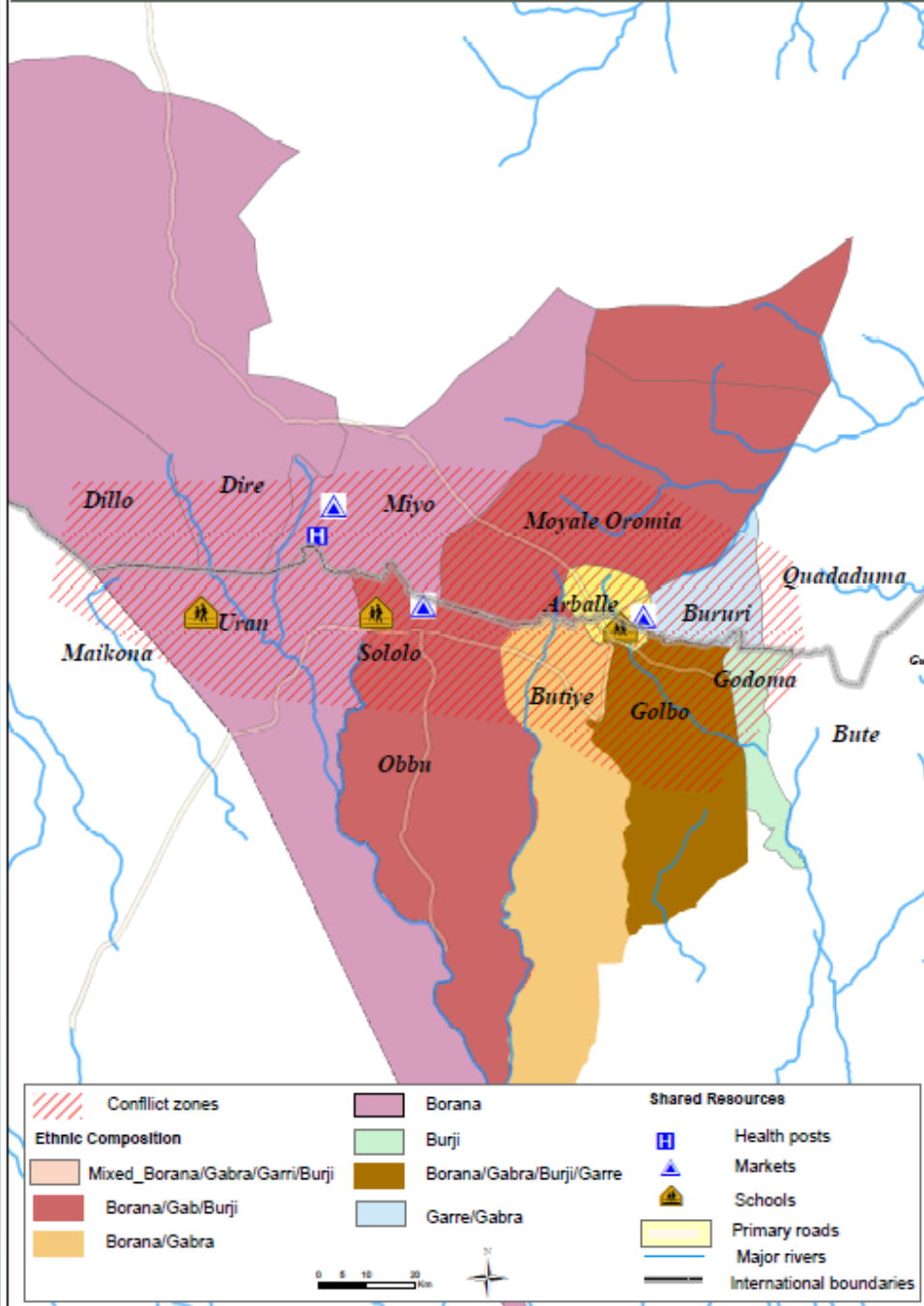
Other movements across border – *Prosopis juliflora* (CABI 2016)





Source: CEWARN 2015

CLUSTER 3: CONFLICT SUB SYSTEM INVOLVING THE BORANA/GARRE/GABRA AND BURJI COMMUNITIES



Source: CEWARN 2015

History of conflict

- Conflicts occur in the form of cattle rustling, inter-ethnic and clan violence, yet increasingly are politicised and have more complex causes, sparked by a particular event or intervention.
- 1960s shifita movement – armed Somali groups who turned on lesser-armed Boran. Ogaden war between Somali and Ethiopia – armed Boran against Somali.
- 1990s Somali Garri supported Ethiopia govt, OLF meant Boran ostracised. Loss of Borana land to Somali region. Garri initiated process of incorporating Moyale into Somali region (GLR – Garri Land Republic).

History of conflict

- 2009 conflict over new borehole drilled by Oromia govt – 70,000 Boran displaced
- Garri and Boran conflict 2012 – 30,000 Boran fleeing into Kenya through Moyale
- On Kenya side Gabra turned against the Boran and worked towards ousting them from East of Isiolo-Moyale Highway. Partnership with Garri and clans in Kenya. Support from Kenya security forces. Fighting between two.
- Decentralisation – Gabra won top seats in election 2013 election and Boran excluded from county govt. Changes in boundaries by Electoral Boundary Commission. Push by Gabra to remove Boran from lands in Kenya – incessant fighting including in Moyale. 70,000 fleeing to Borana, Ethiopia, loss of lives and livelihoods, infrastructure etc.

Peace-building initiatives

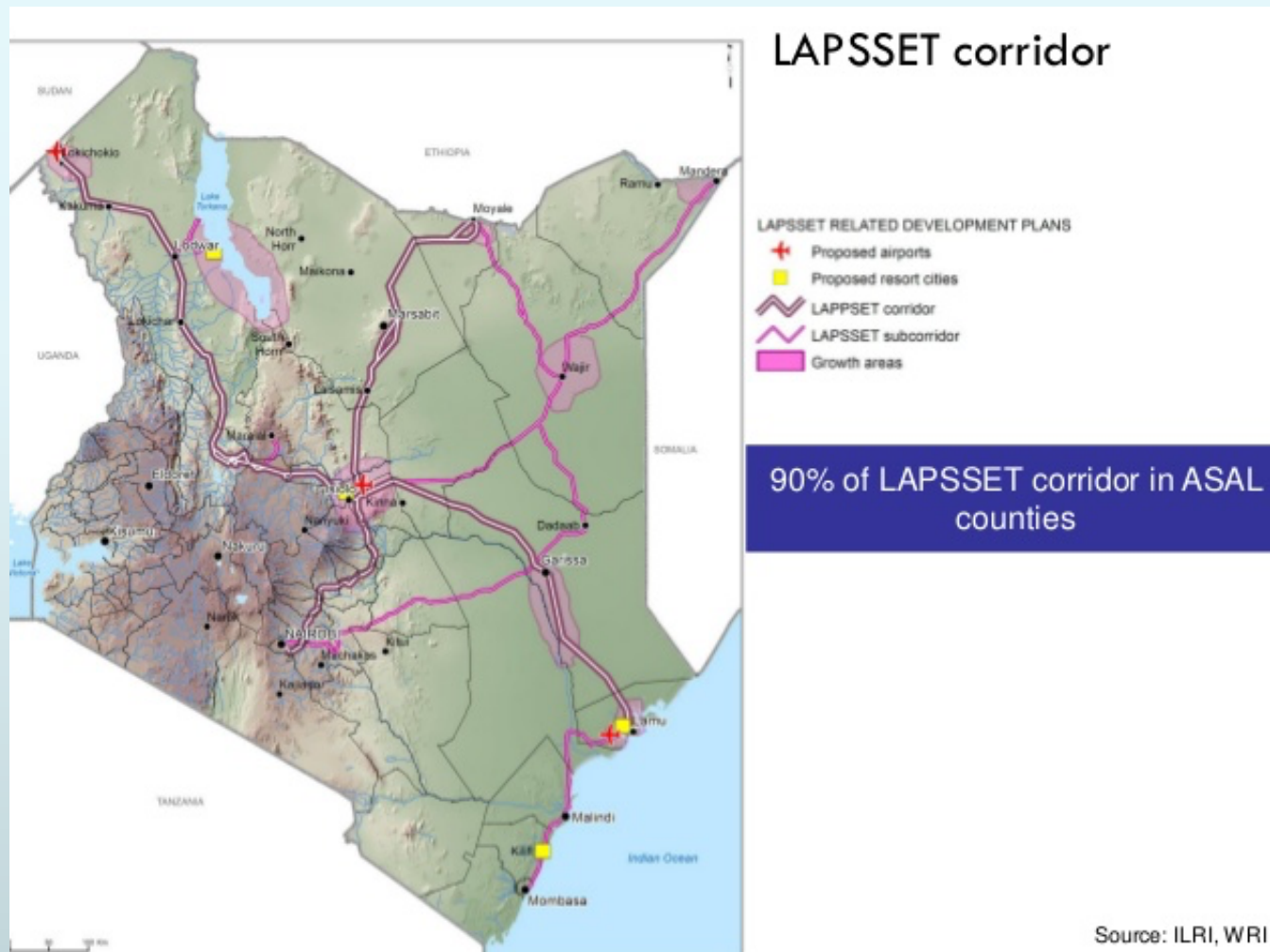
- Local – Modogahse Declaration for northern Kenya 2001 revalidated 2011
- Supported by NGOs/CSOs e.g. reciprocal grazing agreements; cross-border committees
- IOM and Kenya government supporting inter-clan and cross-border dialogues along the border.
- National policies and programmes
- 20 billion KShs Marsabit County/Borana Zone Kenya/ Ethiopia govt Integrated Cross-border & Area-based Programme supported by IGAD.
- IGAD – CEWARU and CEWARN

CHALLENGES: Conflict highly politicised; loss of customary authority; commercialisation of leadership; corruption and lethargy in govt administration (K); international security dimensions; arms; religious factions; ethnicity;

Land insecurity is fundamental issue

- Lack of it on both sides led to rangeland fragmentation, loss of key resources, blockage of livestock routes, degradation, conflict, loss of resilience (coping strategies compromised)
- Community Land Act (2016) in Kenya and communal land tenure system (Ethiopia).
- County spatial planning (Kenya) and national/local land use planning (Ethiopia).
- Mapping and protection of livestock routes.
- Elections Kenya 2017 – land issues central.

Future initiatives that will impact area and volatility – Challenges & opportunities



Other initiatives

- Community Land Act 2016 Kenya and pilots on communal land tenure in Ethiopia
- Unemployment of youth and targeting programmes to them
- Initiatives such as IBLI – Index-based Livestock Insurance
- UNEA2 Res.2/24 Combating desertification, land degradation and drought and promoting sustainable pastoralism & rangelands; International Year of Pastoralists & Rangelands
- IGAD: MOU on Animal Health and Sanitary Measures; draft Transhumance Protocol

