Challenges And Opportunities In Managing Inter-Territorial Border Natural Resource-Use Conflict Between Kenya And Ethiopia

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Abstract: The exploitive and inequitable management of natural resources has exacerbated ethnic divisions and the struggle to capture the benefits of finite resources. Conflicts are caused by competition for scarce resources (economic, political and social). Policies adopted have ushered in partial settlements, reflecting compromises between parties - mainly states - over territorial issues. This paper interrogates the challenges and opportunities in the management of the Kenya- Ethiopia Cross border resource conflict. This is achieved through the analysis of the challenges and opportunities experienced by core actors involved in the management of the Kenya- Ethiopia cross border resource-use conflict. The key focus of this study was to analyze the contribution to the creation of conditions of positive peace through conflict transformation. This promotes a series of strategies which go beyond the state-centered dynamics of negative peace. The paper seeks to elaborate the structural problems and inequalities which are often the sources of tensions that can escalate into destructive conflict.

KEYWORDS: Diplomacy, inter-territorial, Resource-Use, Conflict, Conflict Management

1.0 Introduction

The new, emerging sovereignty regime among "Third World" states after the period of de-colonization, have been exacerbated by ethnic divisions and the struggle to capture the benefits of finite resources. The exploitive and inequitable management of natural resources has been a pervasive feature of the degenerative trends of the eco-system and environment (Dida, 2008). Within this context the potential for conflict over non-renewable resources is immense.

Thomas Homer-Dixon describes these conflicts in three ways: simple scarcity conflicts which arise over the use of rive water, fish and agriculturally productive land; group identity conflicts which can arise from the large-scale movement of populations brought about by environmental change; and relative deprivation conflicts whereby developing societies produce less wealth because of environmental problems and, as a result, their citizens become increasingly discontented by the widening gap between the actual level of economic achievement and the level they feel they deserve (Homer-Dixon, 1991). Conflicts are caused by competition for scarce resources (economic, political and social), and it is assumed that these conflicts will produce winners and losers" (CEWARN, 2005). In the past, policies based upon this approach have ushered in partial settlements, reflecting compromises between parties - mainly states - over territorial issues. However, when the issues involve "the protection of societal values or cultures, and are caused by the underlying deprivation of basic human needs"
(CEWARN, 2005), such traditional approaches fail. The long-term deprivation of basic human needs and the erosion of human security creates conditions of protracted social conflict (Temsegen, 2010). According to this argument, "Traditional conflict management approaches cannot effectively manage these conflicts because they miss the essential causes by focusing on substantive or objective issues. In cases where a settlement may be reached it will not provide a long-term, sustainable resolution to the conflict, which will inevitably boil over again at some point in the future."

2.0 Theoretical Framework

This paper is located within the Conflict Transformation theory focuses on the transformation of deep-rooted armed conflicts into peaceful ones, based on a different understanding of peace-building. John Paul Lederach developed the first comprehensive and widely discussed transformation-oriented approach (Lederach 1997). His proposal is to build “long-term infrastructure” for peace-building by supporting the reconciliation potential of society. He sees the need to rebuild destroyed relationships, focusing on reconciliation within society and the strengthening of society’s peace building potential. Third party intervention should concentrate on supporting internal actors and coordinating external peace efforts. Sensitivity to the local culture and a long-term time frame are also necessary.

This approach has a key focus on peace constituencies by identifying mid-level individuals or groups and empowering them to build peace and support reconciliation. Empowerment of the middle level is assumed to then influence peace-building at the macro and grassroots levels. Lederach (1997) divides society into three levels, which can be approached through different peace-building strategies. Top leadership can be accessed by mediation at the level of states (track 1) and by the outcome-oriented approach. Mid-level leadership (track 2) can be reached through more resolution-oriented approaches, such as problem-solving workshops or peace-commissions, and with the help of partial insiders (i.e., prominent individuals in society). The grassroots level (track 3), however, represents the majority of the population and can be reached through a wide range of peace building approaches, such as local peace commissions, community dialogue projects, or trauma healing (Paffenholz 2003; Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006).

The contribution of this theory is its shift in focus from international to local actors. It therefore, puts even more emphasis on civil society and ordinary people. When analysing the validity of the approach in the Mozambican and Somali peace processes, Paffenholz 2003, 2006a and 2009), points to several deficiencies: First, the linkage between the tracks is not sufficiently elaborated, as conflict management is still necessary but is conceptually understood in Lederach’s approach.

Secondly, external actors should not only support insiders directly, but also need to consider the wider peace-building arena, and might also lobby for peace-building vis-à-vis other actors like regional or international governments (Paffenholz, 2003). Thirdly, the emphasis on the incorporation of traditional values and local voices in Lederach’s approach needs to also be critically analysed, as in today’s world these structures are often transformed by modern developments (Paffenholz 2006). Fourth, the main focus on the middle level might not work in all societies, and the option to work directly with the grassroots in a bottom-up community peace-building approach should be better conceptualized. It is against these deficiencies that modern diplomacy theory is incorporated in this study to bring out the formidable dimensions of peace building in terms of agenda as well as actors.
Sustainable peace can, therefore, be attained if there is a clear balance between the interveners as well as the beneficiaries of such intervention efforts. This study, therefore, synthesized and integrated the various ideas in-built in modern diplomacy theory and the UN Agenda for peace to attempt an explanation of resource-use conflict management through Diplomatic peace building along the Kenya-Ethiopia border.

3.0 Methodology

The study sought to identify the challenges and opportunities in the management of natural resource-use conflicts between the Turkana and Merille communities of Kenya and Ethiopia respectively. The research employed quantitative and qualitative research methods. The research was formed through the analysis of secondary data and in this respect, extensive library research was done where journals, books, paper articles, organizations reports as well as published empirical reports were consulted and studied. Primary data sources were also used in this study. Both probability and non-probability sampling methods were used. A total of 381 household heads were sampled from the two countries. Purposive sampling was used to identify the key informants, government officials, CSOs, diplomatic/embassies personnel, and the security officers. Additionally, two focus group discussions were used for the cross-border peace committees comprising at least eight people in each group.

4.0 Study Findings

The study sought to identify the challenges experienced in the management of natural resource-use conflicts between the Turkana and Merille communities. The study revealed various challenges as elaborated below:

4.1 Ethiopia Omo River Irrigation a Major Concern for Kenya

The Gilgel Gibe III is the third of three dams to be built on the Omo River and its tributaries run south and empty into Lake Turkana across the Kenyan border. In 1996, a development “Master Plan” was produced for the Omo-Gibe Basin. The Terms of Reference were prepared by the Ethiopian Development Studies Authority (EVDA) and approved by the African Development Bank (AFDB). The aim was to plan the basins multi-sectoral development strategy, and prepare implementable sustainable projects, mainly agricultural, to exploit the basins natural resources.

This included exploiting the hydropower and irrigation potential of the basin, and identifying schemes that would depend on major dams to control the Omo River water (Woodroofe, et al., 1996). These recent Ethiopian proposals to divert Omo waters for irrigation of a major sugar plantation in the basin have alarmed officials in the administration. As part of its development strategy Ethiopia is seeking to become a major source of global sugar. It is building ten new refineries and devoting another five million hectares to growing sugarcane. South Omo is to host six of those factories and half of the plantation lands (Avery, 2013).

A UNEP report (2013b), documents how a dam and a series of irrigation projects being built in Ethiopia threaten the world’s largest desert lake, and the hundreds of thousands of people who depend on it. It describes how hydrological changes from the Gibe III Dam and irrigation projects now under construction in the Omo River Basin could turn Lake Turkana in Kenya into East Africa’s Aral Sea (the infamous Central Asia Lake that almost disappeared after the diversion of rivers that fed it). The environmental impacts, which include a huge drop in the lake’s level, could lead to a collapse of local livelihoods, and foment insecurity in the already conflict-ridden Horn of Africa.
In the case of Lake Turkana, the results have allowed observation of the seasonal fluctuations in chlorophyll and lake levels, which are being driven by the cyclical variation in Omo River inflows. Once the Gibe III dam is completed the oscillations in flow, which drive the ecology of the lake, will be dampened, posing a serious threat to local fisheries and the communities depending on them (Avery, 2012). After years of back and forth, UNEP is trying to convene meetings to look at a way forward on the issue.

The hydropower and irrigation schemes will drastically alter river hydrology, making changes in local livelihoods practices inevitable. These changes can remain potential drivers of conflict within the region. However, Avery (2013), in his reports shows that peak flows into the lake are reduced and dry season flow was increased with a dam moderated average flow rate of 640 m3/s, which was only 10 m3/s less than average lake inflows without Gibe III. During the first impoundment period (8-10 months) Lake Turkana would lose an average of 1 m due to reduction in the lake inflows. After the first impoundment period, Lake Turkana would lose up to 1.8 m over the 12-year analysis period.

His study also indicated that under a below-normal rainfall scenario, the lake level would decline which could cause the lake shoreline to recede up to 2 km along ‘hot spot’ areas. A normal rainfall scenario would result in minimal shoreline changes and an above-normal rainfall scenario would expand the lake up to 3 km along the ‘hot spot’ areas. Based on the model simulation, the impact of the Gibe III dam on Lake Turkana water levels was found to be within the natural variability of the lake observed since 1992. The impact of Gibe dams would vary if additional developments, such as large scale irrigation, occurred, resulting in permanent removal of water from the Omo River.

Another issue of concern surrounding construction of the Gilgel Gibe III dam is the displacement of people. Rights groups have reported that in Ethiopia many villagers been removed to provide up to 300,000 hectares in South Oromo for proposed sugar and cotton plantations. The destruction of agro-pastoral and fishing livelihoods in the Lower Omo and the coercion necessary to appropriate their lands for plantation agriculture will severely disrupt the lives of an estimated 200,000-300,000 people of a dozen ethnic groups.

The response highlights the government displacement of the indigenous communities of the South Omo region. The top-down approach was used in relocating the residents to other areas. As supported by Yared and Argaw (2013: 13), who criticizes the government’s “non-inclusive and non-participatory policy planning and implementations.” Argaw also argued that what has been done in the Lower Omo Valley was “largely a top-down political decision without joint consultation and planning involving the concerned communities. “The government can’t ensure sustainable development while at the same time disregarding the interests and needs of lots of marginalised local populations,” said Argaw, adding that the Ethiopian government wants indigenous peoples to be “wage labourers in commercial farms sooner or later.” The fate of the region depends on the ability of Kenya and Ethiopia to jointly manage the waters of the Omo River in the Turkana basin. From this quotation, the residents of the South Omo region are not only faced with the challenge of displacement but also there is interference in their daily livelihoods and loss of society contract. The displacement of these communities could lead to inter-territorial movements of these groups in their search to support their livelihoods. This is in turn could be result in clash with the neighbouring communities as they clash over water and territorial claims.
4.2 Lack of Common Institutional Framework for Harmonization

Cross-border activities and economic exchanges are also significantly constrained by the lack of a common institutional framework to enable the harmonisation, regulation and promotion of cross-border issues in the region. For example, the predominantly one-way flow of informal livestock trade from southern Ethiopia to northern Kenya that Kenya has benefited from substantial livestock imports and generation of local revenues without the corresponding payments of foreign exchange. In contrast, Ethiopia regards this trade as illegal and unofficial, citing tax evasion and consequent loss of local and foreign exchange revenues among the main reasons.

The opportunities to manage the externalities arising from cross-border exchanges – for example, through the synchronization of vaccination campaigns – are often not fully exploited because of poor communication and coordination among state veterinarians of both countries. The different incentives operating in Ethiopia and Kenya, and their diverging approaches to common veterinary issues arising from the trans-border livestock trade such as prevention and control measures, run counter to the ideal joint coordination and regional management of the externalities deriving from cross-border exchanges (Maphosa, 2012).

According to a study by Opiyo et al., 2012, in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya external players aim to introduce their own version of rational governance, and, in breaking up what they regard as old patterns of primitive competition, to bring peace. However, when they are studied without the assumptions of primitivism that are the starting points of outsider reports, these patterns of coercive competition turn out to be as modern as any other form of violence. The state, a participant, turns out not have the institutions to act alone on peace in the pastoralist areas of East Africa, even with the help of NGOs. In effect there is a struggle for the right to define how peace should be made and maintained.

4.3 Arms Flow, Insecurity and Underdevelopment

The study established that Small Arms and light Weapons held by the locals include G3, and AK47. These arms have fuelled cattle rustling and interethnic conflict, which is opined to remain the biggest security challenge in the region. Due to these insecurities, the locals from the two communities concentrate on their safety, leaving them with little time to engage in commercial and other livelihood activities. This has consequently impoverished the locals, further affecting education in the region. Despite concerted effort of various security agencies including Administration police, General Service Unit, Kenya Police Reservist and Anti Stock Theft Unit, Ethiopian Federal and Regional security teams, insecurity still persists. According to USAID (2009), efforts to restore security in the region face two main challenges – human and infrastructural. The road network in the region is poor, making it difficult to respond to crime or to intercept cattle rustlers. Equally, the number of security personnel in the region is not adequate.

The two communities have also been grappling with lack of food, water, health, inadequate security and education that have, together, retarded development. The absence of industries and lack of entrepreneurial skills have led to high unemployment rate. The persistent conflicts affect development and provision of essential services in pastoralists’ areas through disruption of the communities’ livelihood systems by restricting access to natural resources and marketing systems. The inter-ethnic conflict also leads to destruction of social amenities already put in place. For example, the education system is affected when teachers are forced to withdraw from conflict stricken areas and the communities re-locate their
settlements for fear of being invaded; and also acts as a disincentive to investment by the communities and development agencies, both in the long-term and short-term. High livestock deaths due to drought and cross border cattle rustling continue to fuel conflict. Locals have also suffered due to poor and lack of infrastructural facilities.

The study also established that inter-territorial flow of arms between the cross border communities intensified conflict situations in the region. Inadequate staffing level at border controls has created a loophole for high influx of illegal border movements. Staffing border control stations with de-motivated and inadequate poorly facilitated staff create an opportunity for unethical practices which compromise the effectiveness of conflict management efforts as supported by Opon (2015). Lack of adequate skilled personnel has continually compromised the ability of the border control stations and their security counterparts to discharge their mandates. There is limited capacity of the relevant institutions to cope with high human traffic at the border points which has created gaps in border control. This is further worsened by the vastness of the borders between the two countries which have negatively impacted on the morale and motivation of the security personnel (Opon, 2015).

4.4 Diminished Authority of Indigenous Methods

Traditional relational networks and authority of elders that used to hold different communities together for generations are to be on a steady decline. This is attributable to a number of factors which include emergence of new source of authority, economic systems that fall outside the sphere of elders’ influence, multiparty interests in conflicts and radical political developments in Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya.

The study established that one of the most pronounced changes is the diminished authority of the elders who used to regulate every aspect of communities’ affairs in the past. With the advent of the government systems of leadership, there is a steadily shift in values and social priorities. The government appointed institutions and functionaries like chiefs and their assistance replaced traditional leaders. As it often happens, such government appointees do not often share the same values that used to guide the traditional elders in discharge of their leadership responsibilities (USAID, 2009). It, therefore, comes as no surprise when government appointees become susceptible to corrupt and opportunistic tendencies that have come to jeopardize community social welfare as well as their security well being.

This explains why the old practice of cattle rustling among pastoralists has now acquired a new meaning. In the past, neighboring communities rustled animals from each other so as to restock their diminishing herds after severe drought or disease outbreak to avert economic ruin and starvation. But these days cattle rustling is no longer done to replenish diminished stock. It is a well organized commercial enterprise carried out with full knowledge and tacit support of corrupt government administration and security personnel who obviously have a stake in the proceeds of this heinous crime (Odhiambo, et al., 2012).

4.5 Poor Transport Network and remoteness

The South Omo zone covers an area of 22,000 square kilometers, which is relatively large. According to Yohannes et al., 2005, it is regarded as a typical marginalised region, where infrastructure and social services are very poor or non-existent in most areas. The pastoral part of the South Omo zone is one of the remotest and most sparsely populated areas in Ethiopia. The Omo river forms the eastern boundary of the large grass
plains of the Omo National Park and then meanders through the arid scrub plains of Kuraz (Geleb) woreda to form the eastern boundary of the territory of the semi-nomadic Nyagatom people (Temsegen, 2010). Turkana on the other hand, is the largest county in Kenya, has a low density of population, possesses few roads and, having been sidelined since colonial days, very little infrastructure.

Other challenges noted from the key informants’ results, one of the challenges experienced was misconceived role of outsiders in conflict situations. The community perceptions about the police and administration, is that they resort to excessive force and are often partisan. Other outsiders include the political and administrative leaders who, by and large, bring their own biases; even if they are from the community themselves. The police have been able to restore calm in the region but have failed to prevent conflict relapse. The police have also in some situations been able to recover stolen livestock from either community.

Results also indicated misconceived role of the CSOs. Existing misconceived perception on the membership and activities of the CSOs. Furthermore, civil society organizations – who are usually outsiders to the conflict – respond through a range of interventions, such as humanitarian emergency relief and peace building initiatives, which sometimes often aren’t suited to the local situation and lack sensitivity towards the factors driving conflict. Other outsiders include the political and administrative leaders who, by and large, bring their own biases; even if they are from the community themselves.

This is disagreement with Opiyo, et al., 2012 indicating that it is hard to achieve sustainable peace without civil actors. The CSOs have spearheaded conflict prevention, management, and resolution, particularly to their proximity to the communities, as well as CSOs’ understanding of the needs on the ground and ability to implement conflict management and resolution plans. The CSOs have been a step ahead, realizing that sustainable peace demands a different approach, such as the continuity of peace dialogues between violent events. In addition, international organizations have supported various peace efforts such as trainings, forums, peace clubs, peace radios, and peace committees.

Not going into the fundamentals of the conflict was noted as a sure way in derailing peace processes in the area prompting the return to violence. Applying track III diplomacy which is the focus of this study analyzes peace processes which address the real and pressing issues facing the local communities, dealing with the contradictions and underlying roots of the problems that give rise to the conflict. The identified cross-border peace building strategies and strategic peace lack emancipatory local ownership and balance of diplomacy with the economic and social realities, and its political and military capacities.

The scale and complexity of issues relating to scarce natural resources in the region to be dealt with is such that effective forums and mechanisms for the participation of a wide range of actors and groups both in the development and implementation of the peace process. No single group has the resources, awareness or capacity to effectively address all of the needs and issues facing the people. The needs of socially, economically and politically marginalized groups have not been adequately addressed by the participation of these groups themselves, as noted by the study.

The findings are in agreement with a study by UNSOP (2010) asserting that the process as a whole should seek to effectively address the real needs of the communities, parties and different social groups taking part in and affected by the conflict. Proposals for transforming the conflict and dealing with the challenges of a post-war
society should be based upon the real needs of the people, as put forth by the people themselves. Outside-imposed prescriptions or ‘solutions’ often fail to do this adequately, as do top-down ‘peace’ processes which exclude certain actors. Ascertaining the real needs and issues to be addressed can best be done by constructive participation through local forums of all social groups in the process itself. While parties to the armed conflict may effectively bring forward a number of these issues, civil society organizations, NGOs, and the people themselves can play a vital role in ensuring that their needs and concerns and the needs and concerns of their constituencies are addressed. A good process will be one in which the participation and the commitment of the communities are seen as central to the overall transformation of the conflict and peace building process, both in the final outcome and in the way the process is carried out.

5.0 Opportunities/ Prospects for Sustainable Peace

The key focus of this study was to analyze the contribution to the creation of conditions of positive peace. This promotes a series of strategies which go beyond the state-centered dynamics of negative peace; it is a much broader concept which seeks to deal with the structural problems and inequalities which are often the sources of tensions that can escalate into destructive conflict. The opportunities for sustainable peace are highlighted below:

5.1 Discovery of Aquifer in Turkana County

The discovery of a major aquifer means that there are good prospects for the removal of one source of this violent competition between neighboring peoples, once the county and the national governments are able to provide and share sufficient water not only for livestock, but also for irrigated agriculture and other uses.

Turkana County, in the extreme north-west of Kenya, is a semi-arid area that suffers from low rainfall, high temperatures and frequent droughts. The Turkana people, who are traditionally pastoralists, face constant problems in finding sufficient water and grass for their cattle, especially during the dry season. To complicate their lives still further, they are locked in an interminable and longstanding conflict with their neighbours, the Merille, for water and grass (Powers, 2011). The discovery of a major aquifer means that there are good prospects for the removal of one source of this violent competition between neighboring peoples, once the county and the national governments are able to provide and share sufficient water not only for livestock but also for irrigated agriculture and other uses. The availability of water should also encourage more of the Turkana people to take up mixed economy farming and, possibly, irrigated farming: the introduction of a modern livestock industry would build on the skills that most Turkana already have as pastoralists.

With the discovery of large aquifers of water within their land the Turkana's fortunes could change for the better: the finds could transform the county economically, socially and politically. These aquifers are estimated to have a total storage capacity of 250 billion cubic meters, enough to support Kenya's present population of 41 million for 70 years before the resource is completely exhausted (Radar Technologies International, 2013 60-61).

5.2 Development following the Discovery of Oil Reserves in Turkana

The increased investment in Turkana County following the discovery of oil is changing the face of the once neglected region. The discovery of oil has attracted investors in the region as highlighted above. USADF, for instance, have adopted grassroots collaborative project design,
development, and implementation where farmers are provided with the technical and financial resources to manage improved irrigation technologies, introduction of high-value crops, and prime market access that hold the highest promise to improve food security and generate wealth for the pastoral community of Turkana (Glenn et al., 2014). The organization efforts aim to provide high incomes for the pastoral community to address chronic poverty and food insecurity which in could address the conflict prevalence in the region.

Furthermore, the Kenyan government allocated Sh16 billion 2015 financial year budget for implementation of irrigation schemes by various departments to boost crop production and attain food security. This saw the launch of a Sh300 million Lake Turkana integrated irrigation project in Todonyang near the Elemi triangle on the border of Kenya and South Sudan. The initiative is to benefit more than 70,000 families and aims to improve food security and contain armed conflict among members of the Turkana community and their Merrile and Nyang'otom counterparts from South Sudan (Kolding et al., 2012).

Business activities on the lake declined drastically after traders moved out of the area due to insecurity following counter-attacks among communities. The raids forced many commercial fishmongers to move out of Lake Turkana, thereby impacting negatively on the fish business, an alternative source of income to livestock among the two communities as supported by Kolding et al., (2012).

Another of the county's priorities should be to make it more accessible and to link it to all the parts of the county by constructing modern roads and highways. Without proper infrastructure, the cost of exploiting the oil and water will be expensive. Since the discovery of oil and water a number of meetings, workshops, seminars and research initiatives have been carried out to address good infrastructure to link Turkana to the rest of the country and good roads to link the villages which are scattered far apart. The focus of these strategies is to enhance not only effective security in the region but also create opportunities for development in the region. Development strategies will help foster human security thus improve human capital of the communities.

5.3 Concerted Efforts of the State and Non-State Actors

The concerted efforts and direct initiatives of the two governments, local governments and CSOs, particularly; Oxfam GB, USAID, IOM, CEWARN-IGAD, ECOREDEP/TUPADO (Kenya), (EPaRDA), Riam Riam Peace network, CIFA working across the border, disregarding the ethno-centric and cultural divides adopting bottom-up approach are steps in the right direction towards sustainable peace among the two communities. This approach has a key focus on peace constituencies by identifying mid-level individuals or groups and empowering them to build peace and support reconciliation. Empowerment of the middle level is then influence peace-building at the macro and grassroots levels.

It was established that local involvement in peace building strategies went beyond national governments and the co-opting of self-appointed elites. The aim was basically to ensure emancipatory local ownership of these processes. This was done through greater involvement of civil society and the establishment of new mechanisms for consultation and participation. Such engagement goes beyond existing state institutions and customary local authority structures, and attempts to link more closely to existing state structures and external peace builders (Kolding et al., 2014).
Since the contemporary conflict arena is diffuse and multi-centered, the path towards positive peace must be designed along a number of multiple tracks. The study is based on the notion of complementarily and well-founded development programs as well as good governance and the development of institutions and mechanisms designed to prevent conflicts. This multiple approach to conflict transformation emphasizes a carefully designed process which is able to furnish sustainable capacity-building at the national and local levels.

The UN Agenda involves the conception of a holistic, multi-actor, participative program that prioritizes a consideration of local context and capacities. This shift in focus implies that the ultimate goal is to achieve a level of reconstruction and reconciliation in which actors could manage and resolve conflict, without recourse to violence or to external intervention. Sustainable peace entails enabling local populations to regain control over their physical and material security through a “culture of prevention” and a “culture of peace”, generated from the bottom up as well as from the top down interventions which is the argument advanced by this paper.

6.0 Conclusion/ Recommendation

The two states have facilitated communal peace processes resulting in a number of peace agreements allowing pastoralists to share in and have access to pasture and water located on both sides of the border. Communities created agreements with each other, supported by peace-building programmes run by joint efforts of the state and non state actors. The multi-layered approach is fostered from a range of different actors (different levels of government, from the federal to the local; traditional leaders and community mediators; other civil society organizations; regional inter-state organizations like IGAD international NGOs; international donors), to address the conflicts in a sustainable way.

The inclusiveness, though weak, has enhanced improved opportunities for different groups in terms of age, location, gender and ethnicity and elimination of various forms of marginalization. Peace structures on both sides of the border liaise regularly in response to occasional disputes. However, the challenges noted include misconceived role of outsiders in conflict situations. The study also established that there is also lack of effective models for conflict sensitivity and analysis, and for addressing the underlying drivers of conflict. Similarly, there is limited positive dialogue and communication within and between communities – an aspect that raises suspicion quickly and provokes tension, particularly where poor communication carries negative overtones that affect perceptions and dialogue between communities. There are also sustained arms flows across Kenya-Ethiopia long, porous borders. There is the Ethiopia Omo River Irrigation which has led to the decline in water levels of Lake Turkana as well as displacement of the Merille community. The prospects for stability include the discovery of a major water aquifer; likelihood of increased investment in Turkana County following the discovery of oil which is changing the face of the once neglected region.

Additionally, the concerted efforts of the state and non state actors across the border, disregarding the ethno-centric and cultural divides adopting bottom-up approach, are steps in the right direction towards sustainable peace among the two communities.

Recommendations

1. Local peace building initiatives which lack clear structures need to be strengthened to enhance their authority and operations.
2. Strategies for representation and inclusion must go beyond formal mechanisms.
3. Operational procedures including creation of cross-border environmental policies to address different regulatory regimes and standards, which are further complicated by border tensions and disagreements, should be developed between the two countries.

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