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**Cross-Border Conflicts and Social-Economic Development along the Kenya-Ethiopia
Border: A Case of Northwestern Kenya**

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Cross-Border Conflicts and Social-Economic Development along the Kenya-Ethiopia Border: A Case of Northwestern Kenya



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Abstract

Purpose: Kenya borders South Sudan, Ethiopia, and Uganda on the western side. The border is laden with cross-border conflict involving the Turkana of Kenya, Dasanach and Nyangatom of Ethiopia, Toposa of South Sudan, and Karamoja of Uganda. The cross-border conflicts between Kenya and Ethiopia continue to ravage the social-economic development of cross-border communities on the border of Kenya. Thus, this study focused on managing the cross-border conflict and improving economic growth on the Kenyan northwestern border and Kenya-Ethiopia relations.

Methodology: The study used an explanatory research design and multistage sampling. The study sampled the targeted population of 65,218 respondents of the Turkana North constituency. A descriptive analysis of 392 respondents was used in questionnaires, focus group discussions, and observation to collect quantitative and qualitative data.

Findings: The findings indicate a high prevalence of cross-border conflicts, their considerable impacts on the social and economic development of the affected areas and communities, and varying levels of effectiveness of various interventions to resolve the issue. After examining the effect of cross-border conflicts on the social economic development of the Kenya-Ethiopia border, the findings showed that locals on the Kenyan side were victims of cross-border attacks from Merille of Ethiopia, as revealed by 76% of the respondents. The study acknowledged the presence of interventions for Managing cross-border Conflicts and Social Economic Development in Turkana County, Kenya-Ethiopia Border administrative mechanisms in managing cross-border conflicts and improving Kenya-Ethiopia relations. The study concluded that the effectiveness of these strategies would enhance the capacity of Kenya and Ethiopia to alleviate the social economic growth of the people and boost relations in the region. The study evaluated measures for enhancing the interventions for managing Cross-border Conflict and Social Economic Development in Turkana County, Kenya-Ethiopia Border. The study documented the state's various actions to mitigate, reduce, or eradicate cross-border conflict in northwestern Kenya. These actions were meant to address cross-border conflict and improve the social economic development of the area.

Unique Contribution to Theory, Practice and Policy: Constructivist perspective to the cross-border conflict on Kenyan-Ethiopian conflict allows for a better understanding of how identity, norms, and perceptions contribute to the prevalence and persistence of the conflicts. Such perspectives provide a more nuanced approach to the issues that transcend the traditional economic and geopolitical factors to consider the cultural and social aspects of the cross-border conflict. The study concludes that the effective implementation of the disarmament mechanism on the border of Kenya and Ethiopia contributed to the cross-border conflict and enhanced the social-economic development of Turkana County, concluding that the mechanism for cross-border conflict is adequate. However, their implementation was weak due to lacking resources and goodwill. Therefore, the study recommended that Kenya and Ethiopia address the root causes of cross-border conflicts, triggers, and accelerators by promoting effective institutional policies and administrative frameworks for managing natural resources and setting up official access crossing points. Finally, Kenya and Ethiopia pool resources to boost the livelihoods of their border communities.

Keywords: *Cross-Border F51, Cross-Border Conflict F51, Social-Economic Development F63, Strategies F68, Conflict Management F51.*

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INTRODUCTION

When discussing cross-border conflict, we cannot ignore the fact that cross-border conflict seasons international relations and diplomacy. The treaties of Osnabrück and Munster laid the foundation for sovereignty and foreign representation after ending the Thirty Years' War. Cross-border conflicts have affected international and regional security due to incompatible interests (Gbenda, 2015), leading to border conflicts that affect social-economic development. The global cross-border conflicts have been felt between the United States and Canada on the Beaufort Sea, the United States and Mexico, China and North Korea, Israel and Palestine, and Israel and Syria. There are cross-border conflicts in Africa between Egypt and Sudan, Chad and Sudan, Eritrea and Ethiopia (FDRE), Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Sudan and South Sudan, Cameroon and Nigeria. Gbenda (2015) further notes that African national boundaries are marred by multiple conflicts affecting border communities.

Porous borders and inadequate security among many African countries have contributed to intractable cross-border conflicts, ranging from cattle rustling to ethnic violence and military skirmishes. For instance, livestock raids and scarce pastoral resources, such as water and pastures, contribute to cycles of reciprocal violence between pastoralist ethnic groups on the northern side of the Kenyan-Ugandan border. Leff (2009) notes that the increasingly frequent and severe periods of droughts and the proliferation of arms from neighbouring war-torn nations further aggravate the conflicts at the border.

Tingisha, K.O (2016) looked at communities in eastern Uganda and northwestern Kenya and how they experience considerable stress coping with violent conflicts and surviving. While the insecurity caused by the conflict can be attributed to competition for scarce resources, broader issues contribute to cross-border conflicts. He further examines some causes stemming from a history of economic, social, political, and cultural marginalisation. The states have also offered poor security and support to the pastoral communities. As a result, Uganda and Kenya experience various cross-border conflicts between groups in each country and spillover effects from regional conflicts from the neighbouring countries.

In 2018, the Ethiopian military was involved in the death of at least nine people in the border town of Moyale while pursuing Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) fighters. Similarly, Wasonga 2021 notes the complaints of Kenyan fishermen on Lake Victoria being persistently harassed by pirates and authorities from Uganda and Tanzania. Uganda deployed its military around Migingo with the narrative of curbing piracy in the Ugandan waters of Lake Victoria. However, they later started harassing and arresting Kenyan fishers in serious violation of territorial boundaries.

Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) report on cross-border community conflicts supports Ng'asike's 2011 article that Northwestern Kenya cross-border conflicts are most rampant during dry periods, and attacks reported are in line with a long stretch of drought experienced in the region.

Bancie (2018) notes that cross-border conflicts adversely affect the socioeconomic development of the Northwestern region of Kenya because of the loss of property and their primary livelihood sources. The contest is fueled by the poor response of local and national security agents, as first responders are National Police Reservists (NPRs). Pamba J. (2019) argues that Kenya must do more to project an adequate, solid diplomatic and defence strategy to leverage territorial questions because it is involved in territorial conflicts with Somalia, Ethiopia, South Sudan, and Uganda. The Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) brought peace

to South Sudan in the Horn of Africa. However, it affected the stability in northwestern Kenya as the South Sudanese government established its territory and encroached on the Kenyan territory.

According to Etyang (2021), due to a sizable number of livestock, pasture, and water deplete faster, forcing the communities inhabiting northwestern Kenya in Kibish, Kaeris, and Lapur to migrate into southern Ethiopia and South Sudan, and the same changes in pasture and water affect Ethiopia and Sudan. This movement encourages ethnic clashes, leading cattle rustlers from Nyangatoms, Dasanach, and Merille from Ethiopia and Toposa from South Sudan to attack Kenyan herders, prompting a circle of cross-border conflict between these warring communities. He further notes that, in September 2021, elders from Kenya and Ethiopia came to terms with ending the strife, and Ethiopian elders returned livestock taken from Kenya.

According to Ng'asike 2022, the Kenyan government got wind of Merille youth retaliation after an Ethiopian government official was shot in northwestern Kenya. The Turkana County deputy commissioner engaged the Ethiopian counterparts in a peace talk mission to quell the growing tensions at the border. The Kenyan northwestern border has had multiple cross-border incidents over the years, contributing to the area's poor economic development. (Ng'asike, 2022)

Countries around the globe have employed multiple ways of managing cross-border conflicts. A United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) research project on preventing cross-border conflict and peacebuilding between Kenya and Ethiopia was initiated by implementing an inter-state integrated Socioeconomic Development framework. Due to inharmonious interests, the project was criticised for not involving the local civil society organisations (CSOs) and the Minority Rights Group (MRG) without considering the constant changes to the targets and indicators.

Statement of the Problem

Cross-border conflicts season international relations and diplomacy, a variety of factors contribute to cross-border conflicts on the Kenya-Ethiopia border, as evident in the Kenya-Ethiopia water conflict of 2011. Kenya, especially Turkana County, which borders Ethiopia, has indicated prevalences of conflicts from Ethiopian communities that cross the border to attack communities in Turkana County in Kenya. The persistent conflicts in communities in Turkana County, Kenya, and Southern Ethiopia have worsened northern Kenya's social economic development despite various conflict management mechanisms and socioeconomic development measures initiated in Turkana County, Kenya. To what extent have cross-border conflicts affected the social economic development of Turkana County, Kenya, which has been marginalised since the colonial period.

Mkutu and Wandera (2016) also pointed out a socioeconomic change from a cattle economy to a cash economy, yielding both negative and positive changes on the border.

Therefore, the study explored the gaps in the effects of cross-border conflict management on the social-economic development of Turkana County on the border of Kenya and Ethiopia. The effectiveness of managing cross-border conflicts on social-economic development in Turkana County along the border between Kenya and Ethiopia was an issue that this study attempted to address. The study explored strategies to be employed in managing cross-border conflicts to improve the social-economic development of Turkana County along the northwest Kenya-Ethiopia border.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of cross-border or transnational conflict has been an agenda that needs more attention. Cross-border conflicts affected state relations negatively through people losing lives and property, displacement of people, and increased insecurity. Cross-border conflicts have social, economic, cultural, and political consequences that often result in a compromised ability to undertake economic activity, a weakening of institutions of governance, a reduction in the capacity to provide critical services, the drain and reduction of natural resources, reduced food output, and capital flight.

Ngeiywa's (2008) study on cross-border conflict and suppression mechanisms focuses on the pastoral settlements of Pokot, Turkana, and Karamojong. The study employed primary sources in data collection and a three-phased approach to data analysis. The study findings revealed underdevelopment in resource utilisation, political goodwill, women's involvement, border infrastructure and security, joint and coordinated disarmament, and socioeconomic and environmental networks. The study highlights the benefits of traditional authorities and customary approaches as an effective deterrence measure to pastoral conflicts. Similarly, the study recognises several weaknesses, such as neglect by the government and the untimely delivery of critical information, which is vital in the suppression mechanism. The study noted a gap in government involvement in supporting pastoral communities compared to NGOs and missionaries. The study notes that cross-border conflict arose from the poor provision of security and support and the exorbitant force of law-enforcement bodies, making communities feel alienated (Ngeiywa, 2008).

Sabala's (2013) study on environmental security, conflict, and governance highlights the following findings: historical unfairness and administrative issues, governmental and safety environment in the region, the relationship between the customary system of justice and the formal structure of justice, policy, and ecological and climatic conditions as the primary factors hindering cross-border conflict among pastoral communities. The study collected data from existing literature, interviews, and focus group discussions. For data analysis, the study employed the Content, Relationship SIPABAO model (context-relationship-sources, issues, parties, attitudes, behaviours, interventions, and outcome). The study addressed Kenya's regulatory and management frameworks for water and pasture conflict that sucks neighbouring communities across borders from Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia. The study noted the pastoral impacts on the reexamination of government environmental policies and the need to address the constant degradation of environmental systems caused by human activities. The study notes that the link between environmental security and climate change will persist as policymakers fail to understand the intensity of the problem because they treat pastoral issues as purely developmental and cultural. The study notes the need to assess the likely environmental challenges of oil extraction in Turkana County. (Sabala, 2013).

In contrast, Tingisha (2016) focuses on resource struggle and poor government cooperation during the cross-border conflict between Kenya and South Sudan. The study collected primary data from focus group discussions, interviews, and questionnaires. Secondary data was collected from published and unpublished documents. The study findings highlighted conflict as integral to resource use, where various strategies are employed to avoid or manage conflict, overcoming environmental uncertainty through individual and collective survival strategies and combating weapon proliferation between Kenya and South Sudan. The study findings further point out that Kenyan citizens were instrumental in necessitating development in South

Sudan. The findings were weak in establishing the effects of small arms in enhancing peace on the border of Kenya, South Sudan, and the region. The study established enough information on natural resources as a source of conflict but noted a gap in exploring how natural resources can enhance regional peace. (Tingisha, 2016).

Hannah Wild's (2020) study is on the political faction's systematic exploitation of pastoralist militias to perpetuate cross-border conflict. The study used secondary sources to collect data. The study findings demonstrate how cattle-raiding feuds have exploited intercommunity animosity to perpetuate military-scale political violence. The study strengthens the stand on exploring opportunities for conflict de-escalation by integrating local actors and cultural authorities into a comprehensive peace process. The study notes a barrier to durable peace in addressing grievances motivating the informal armed groups participating in the South Sudan conflict. (Hannah Wild, 2018).

Bancie (2018) notes that young men strike on vulnerable targets, perpetrating cross-border raids and leading to revenge attacks across borders. The researcher noted that cross-border conflict resulted from cultural practices and poverty, which had significant effects on households, and recommended the transformation to modern civilisation, which advocated for employing the efforts of the relevant agencies in joint disarmament in both states and calls for the government to provide security. Primary data was collected using structured questionnaires and data analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The study findings highlighted poverty as the root cause of aggression in addressing the nature and extent of the cross-border aggression in Turkana County; the socioeconomic security of households in Turkana County was severely affected by cross-border aggression, and the response strategies had minimal effect in combating ethnic cross-border conflict in Turkana County. The study addressed ways to reduce the effects of poverty in Turkana County as community members embraced businesses as an alternative economic activity. The study left a gap in addressing the cultural shift from readiness to raid and revenge to reporting and waiting for state action. (Njeri, 2018).

Ng'asike (2022) views regional border areas as dominated by security and sovereignty concerns, although the situations are handled by entities not governing cross-border activities like trade and security. The data in this article was collected through interviews and observation. The findings, as highlighted in this article, show serious animosity between the Turkana of Kenya and the Merille of Ethiopia, where retaliatory attacks are the norm instead of mediation as a means of conflict resolution. The article outlines the situation in the area and is based on the author's experience as a native. The article captures negotiation between state officers from Ethiopia and Kenya as one of the conflict resolution approaches employed by the parties. However, it fails to point out local involvement and other contingencies. (Ng'asike, 2022).

Cartley et al. (2021) focused on underdevelopment and political instability, banditry, and economic instability as the causes of cross-border conflict that had affected Ethiopia in the southwest, Kenya in the northwest, South Sudan in the southeast, and the northeastern part of Uganda. The study collected data from existing works of literature and surveys. The study findings noted illicit alcohol production to earn income due to the loss of livestock, and environmental impacts led to distressed livestock sales. A gap exists on how the government-issued exclusive mineral exploration land benefits the local community and protects them against climate change's external aggressions and environmental impacts. There is a need to

study conflicts caused by community-government mineral exploration agreements in East Africa. (Cartley et al., 2021).

Onditi (2022) notes that the lack of capacity weakened local conflict prevention due to their reliance on traditional conflict resolution mechanisms rather than the state. Poor communication structures with weak linkages with local authorities have hampered both states from addressing cross-border conflicts. The study used existing pieces of literature and interviews to collect data. The study recommended integrating kinship social networks into disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration programs. The study noted several setbacks, like maladaptation syndromes caused by environmental stress, an inadequate equitable approach to disarmament, and a fragmented, incoherent global model for controlling small arms and weapons. Further research on social kinship structures and networks is needed to address the proliferation of small arms and weapons in the Horn of Africa. (Onditi, 2022).

Theoretical Review

Constructivism Theory

Significant studies on the effects of cross-border conflict agree that constructivism offers a deeper understanding of the causal factors of conflicts. Stefano Guzzini (2003) stated that sociological and linguistic Interpretivism inspired constructivism in social sciences. Previous studies showed that cross-border conflict rose in border areas where the bordering country had civil unrest and the proliferation of small arms.

Alexander Wendt, a constructivist school of thought proponent, views constructivism as a shared sense of identity and beliefs. This shared identity shapes the political culture in each region as it guides states' behaviour, democratic rule, and humanitarian interventions and offers guidelines on the use of force.

According to Checkel (2008), constructivists view international politics as founded on shared ideas, social life, and how people relate. International politics is vital as a social construct based on identities that are changeable through interactions of actors with regulative and constitutive functions that are historically and socially constructed in world politics, and these are shared knowledge, material resources, and practices.

Conceptual Framework

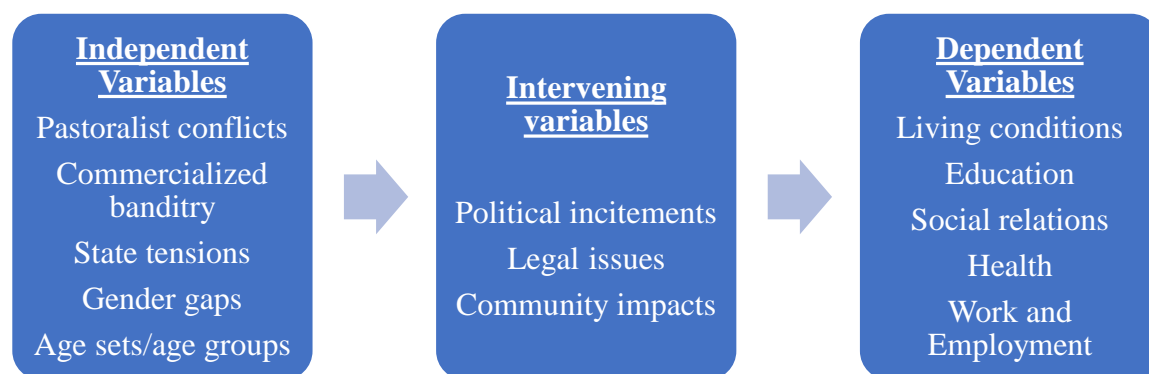


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

The framework highlighted the impacts of cross-border conflict on social-economic development through Pastoral conflicts, commercialised banditry, state tensions, Gender gaps, age sets, and age groups. These impacts can be lessened by addressing political incitements legally, improving legal frameworks, and the community's response to the process. To alleviate the living conditions and education standards, improve state relations between Kenya and Ethiopia and community relations along the border, improve health standards, and create a conducive environment for employment and work.

Research Gaps

A significant setback in examining cross-border conflict-generating and social economic factors to determine the relationship and how they impact the Kenya –Ethiopia relation is noted (Idriss 2019); most studies have intrinsically focused on pastoral conflicts and disregarded pastoral cross-border conflict as an area of concern for the prosperity of Kenya & Ethiopia and the horn of Africa (Idris A. A., 2019). (Njeri 2018) focused on Kenya-Uganda cross-border conflict and household changes by evaluating the effectiveness of state response strategies.

Consequently, a knowledge gap exists in the Kenya-Ethiopia cross-border conflict and the repercussions on the social economic development of northwestern Kenya due to climate changes, border communities' cultural practices, and government development projects.

Constructivists view international politics as founded on shared ideas, social life, and how people relate. However, constructivism emphasises individuals' experiences, knowledge, and interactions with the world. If an individual has a negative experience, their reality will be constructed to a specific subjective outcome. On the other hand, Interpretivism relies on the researcher's interpretation of the social world, focusing on understanding the subjective meaning attached to their experiences. It is right to say that in constructivism, the researcher may influence the construction of ideas. However, for this study, constructivism proved to be the relevant theory to be used as it shared the lived experiences.

METHODOLOGY

The study adopted an explanatory approach and a descriptive research design. The research used multistage probability sampling of simple random and cluster sampling; Northwestern Turkana County was used as a frame, and the wards were clustered, while the sample population was divided into role clusters with various experts in their work. The respondents were 397 from a total population of 65218, mainly from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), community elders, Security agencies, administrators, households, faith-based organisations, and critical security strategists in the security sector in Turkana County (Kakuma, Kaeris, and Lake zone). Data was collected by acquiring secondary sources and corroborating it with data from the respondents of Turkana sub-counties (Loima and Turkana North). The raw data was acquired from issuing the questionnaires and conducting focus group discussions and observations. Qualitative data analysis used content analysis, quantitative data used statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) and descriptive investigation. The results of the study were presented using tables and figures.

Response Rate

The study sampled 397 respondents. From this, 250 questionnaires were given out, 187 were filled out, 40 were partially filled out, and 23 were not returned. One hundred respondents were considered for focus group discussion. From this, 80 respondents participated in the discussion, and the remaining 47 were considered under observational study.

Table 1: Response Rate

Sample category	Sample selected	Response returned	Response deficit
Questionnaire	250	187	63
FGD	100	80	20
Observation	47	47	nil
Total	397	314	83
per cent	100	79	21

Table 1 illustrates the data distribution where the response feedback represents 79% of the total respondents, above the excellent response of 70%, according to Kothari (2004). According to Nachmias and Nachmias (2004) and Mugenda and Mugenda (2008), a response of 50% and above is satisfactory and provides a better basis for data analysis. Based on the recommended acceptable response rates, a response rate of 79% for the study translates to an appropriate percentage to progress to data analysis. The high response indicates an increase in awareness among the respondents of the effects of cross-border conflict in Northwestern Kenya.

RESULTS

Examining the effect of cross-border conflicts on the social economic development of the Kenya-Ethiopia border.

This study objective examined how cross-border conflict came to be and how frequently it was experienced in northwestern Kenya on the Kenya-Ethiopian border. Figure 2 below denotes the extent to which respondents experienced cross-border conflict in the northwestern Kenya, Kenya-Ethiopia border. A majority, 58% (182) of respondents, were victims of cross-border conflict, while 27% (85) respondents were not victims of cross-border conflict, and 15% (47) did not share their opinion. First, the respondents were asked if they were victims of cross-border conflicts; 58% revealed they were, while 27% were not. This feedback affirmed that cross-border conflict is prevalent in Turkana County on the Kenya-Ethiopia border. The tensions caused by cross-border conflicts impacted the community negatively, with devastating implications for the people's social, economic, and general livelihood. Lutta (2023) noted that the fresh border attacks threatened the peaceful coexistence of Turkana County at the Kenya-Ethiopia border (Lutta, 2023).

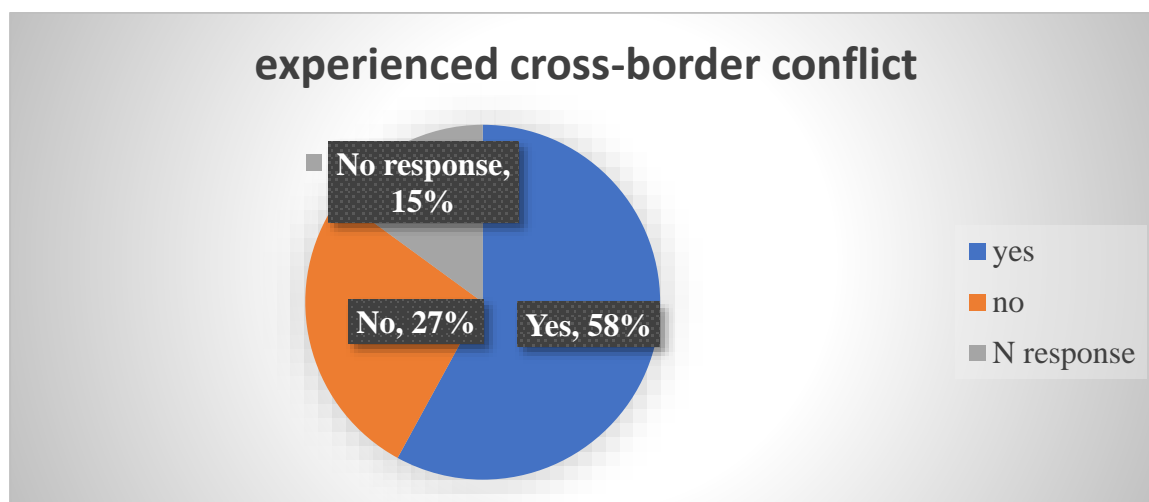


Figure 2: Victims of Cross-Border Conflict

The study sought to understand the nature of attacks perpetrated on the Kenya-Ethiopia border. Figure 3 below illustrates the cross-border attacks experienced in Northwestern Kenya along the Kenya-Ethiopia border. The respondents revealed that cross-border raids by Ethiopian communities were persistent at 1%, frequent at 12%, and rare at 4%. 30% of the respondents admitted that the killing of locals by foreign communities was frequent, 4% revealed that it was persistent, 4% indicated it to be rare, and 3% showed it to be scarce. Regarding land occupation by foreign communities, the respondents' feedback was 2% for rare and 3% for very rare. An indication that foreigners cross into Kenya to conduct atrocities and head back to their country, the free movement of militias from Ethiopia into Kenya enables them to attack Kenyans as they wish. Lutta (2023) noted that the environmental hazards in Nakuwa between Turkana County in Kenya and the Nyangatom Woreda District of the South Omo zone of Ethiopia were a ticking time bomb, and the interventions of the state and peace actors in the region were critically needed (Lutta, 2023).

These findings confirmed that killings of locals by foreign communities and cross-border raids by Ethiopian communities are the most frequent forms of cross-border conflict experienced in northwestern Turkana on the Kenya-Ethiopia border. Occupation of land by foreign communities was listed as very rare, and these findings corroborated with Rasool (2023), who stated that cross-border conflicts are barriers to progress, thus hindering the communities' harmonious coexistence on the border of Kenya and Ethiopia (Rasool, 2023).

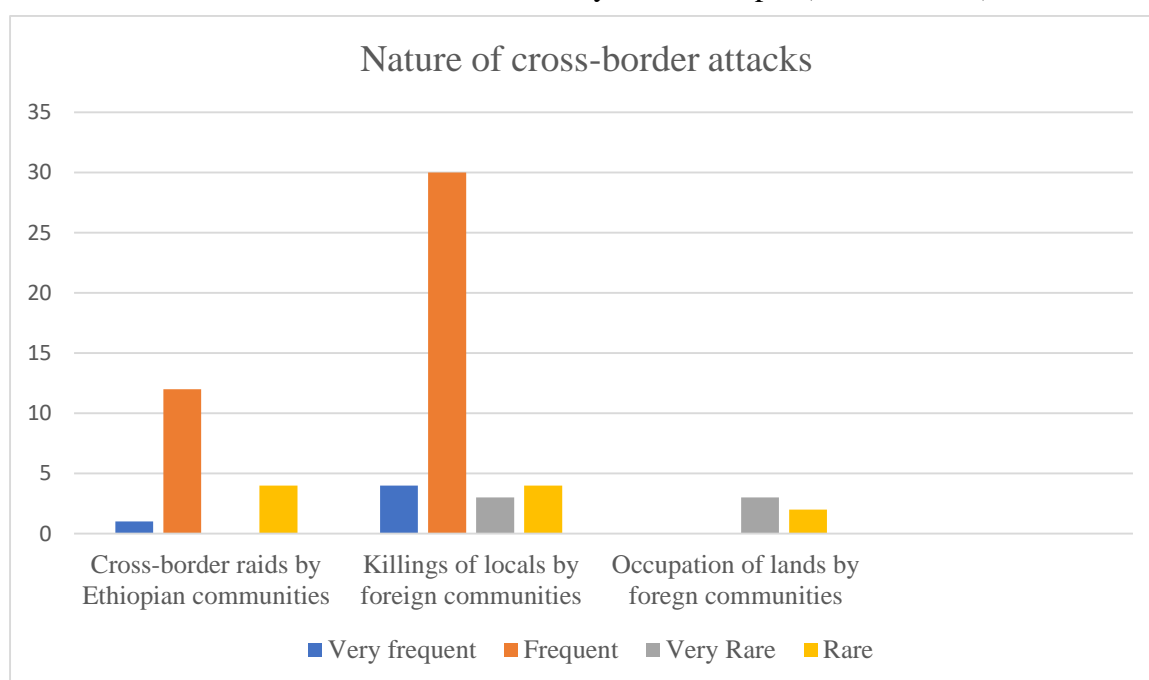


Figure 3: Nature of Cross-Border Attacks

The study sought to understand how cross-border attacks were organised to get a clear understanding and insight into the cross-border conflict in northwestern Kenya on the Kenya-Ethiopia border.

Figure 4 illustrates the organisation of the cross-border attacks experienced in northwestern Kenya on the Kenya-Ethiopia border. The respondents revealed that the attackers donned mixed military (12%) and civilian attire (24%), with civilian clothing taking precedence over military fatigues. The respondents further indicated that the attackers used assorted weapons,

comprising standard weapons (7%) and sophisticated weapons (13%). This feedback resulted from the proliferation of small arms and light weapons on the Kenya-Ethiopian border. This feedback acknowledges the existence of cross-border conflict in Kokuro, Todonyang, and Liwan Turkana on the Kenya-Ethiopia border. This response corroborates an article in the newspaper where five Turkana peace actors were killed by Merille militias from Ethiopia (Ng'asike, 2022).

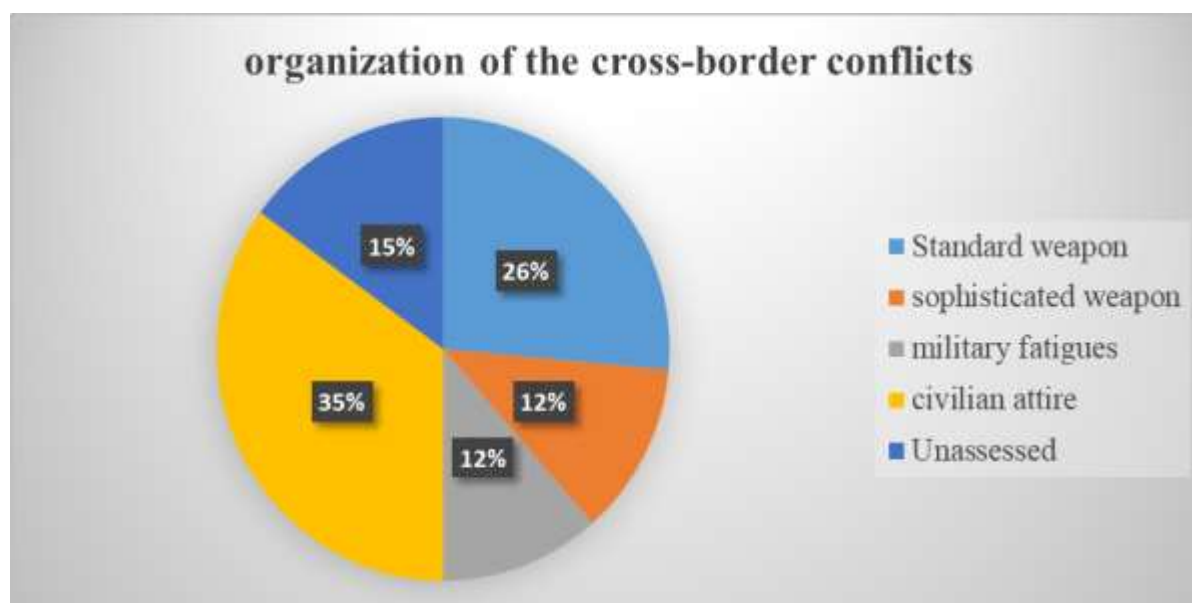


Figure 4: Organization of Cross-Border Attacks

The study sought to understand the involvement of Kenyan locals in cross-border attacks. For this to happen, the study gave respondents the option to answer using either yes, no, or I do not know. These responses were tabulated. Figure 5 below illustrates the involvement of Kenyan locals in cross-border conflict. The respondent's feedback was categorised into three responses: yes, no, and I do not know. A majority, 26% of the respondents, revealed that Kenyan locals are not involved in Cross-border conflict, while 22% contradicted the majority response, accepting that locals are involved in the conflicts. 12% of the respondents did not know if the locals were involved in cross-border conflicts on the Kenya-Ethiopia border, and questionnaires did not assess 40%. The response here shows that locals were willing to retaliate once attacked. An article in the standard newspaper documented a retaliatory attack that led to the death of an Ethiopian government official (Ng'asike, 2022). A national peace directorate engaged the warring communities in pacifying the situation with the support of the governments of Kenya and Ethiopia. The engagement in cross-border meetings is ongoing to eliminate the cross-border raids for good in Kenya and Ethiopia and foster good relations between the two countries for the betterment of the region and the continent.

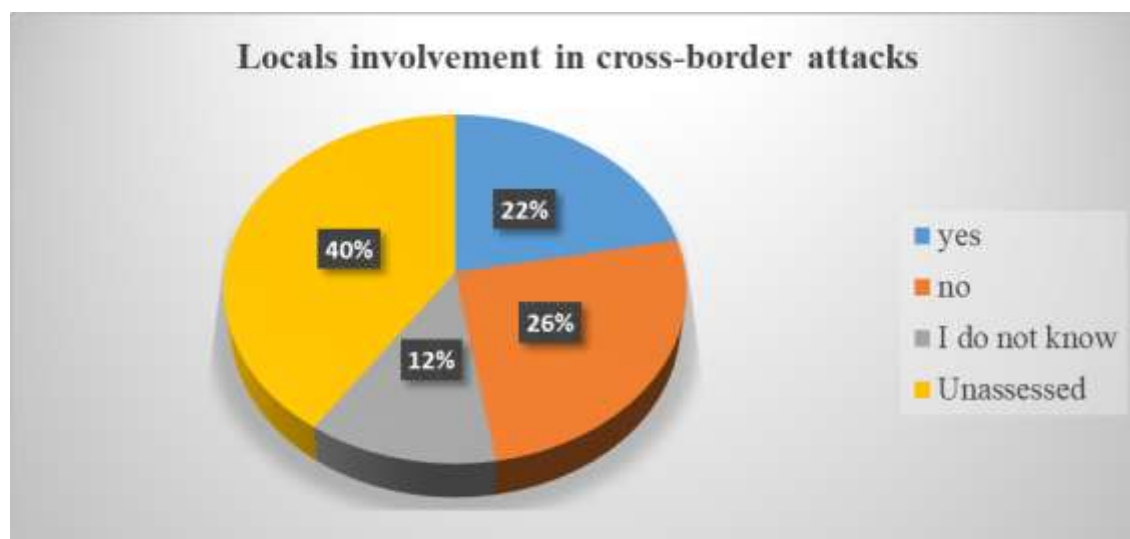


Figure 5: Locals Involvement in Cross-Border Conflict

The study examined the various reasons behind the attacks to understand the locals' involvement in the cross-border conflict. These reasons were categorised into revenge, wealth creation and accumulation, cultural practices, survival motives, and combinations of several motives.

Figure 6 below indicates the reasons that pushed locals to be involved in Cross-border conflicts. The respondents' feedback reveals that wealth creation and accumulation lead at 19%, followed by combinations of several motives at 14%, revenge at 12%, cultural practice at 8%, and survival motives at 7%. The views shared by the respondents indicate the reasons behind the locals' involvement in the cross-border conflict, in this case, the reason being revenge. This feedback was in line with a standard newspaper article where the Security personnel were following up on reports of Merille members who were out to retaliate after an official from Ethiopia was killed by assailants purported to be from Kenya (Ng'asike, 2022). This kind of attack might fuel trouble locally, extending to the state and region.

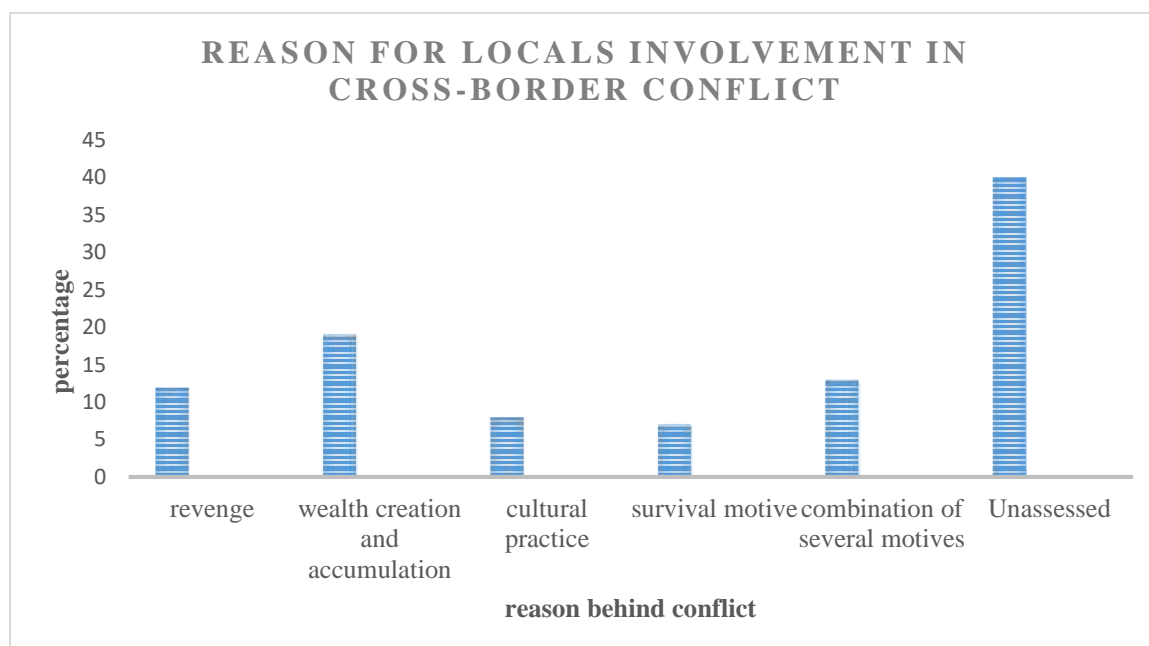


Figure 6: Reason behind Locals' Involvement in Cross-Border Conflict

Interventions for Managing cross-border Conflicts and Social Economic Development in Turkana County, Kenya-Ethiopia Border.

The second study objective was crafted to assess intervention mechanisms for managing cross-border conflicts on the Kenya-Ethiopia border. The study sought to find out if there was a management mechanism that the respondents knew.

Figure 7 below gives the respondents' feedback on the existence of management mechanisms to address the Cross-border conflict experienced in northwestern Kenya on the Kenya-Ethiopia border. Most respondents' feedback was Yes 56% and No at 29%, and 15% was unassessed. This feedback indicated that management mechanisms were in play. The Kenyan government converted the legal gun owners and the locals who supported the Cooperate to Disarm (C2D) programme into officially recognised NPR officers (Bonn, 2015). These mechanisms showed the states' willingness to manage the cross-border conflict between Kenya and Ethiopia with the help of peace agents who advocated for good relations between Ethiopia and Kenya.

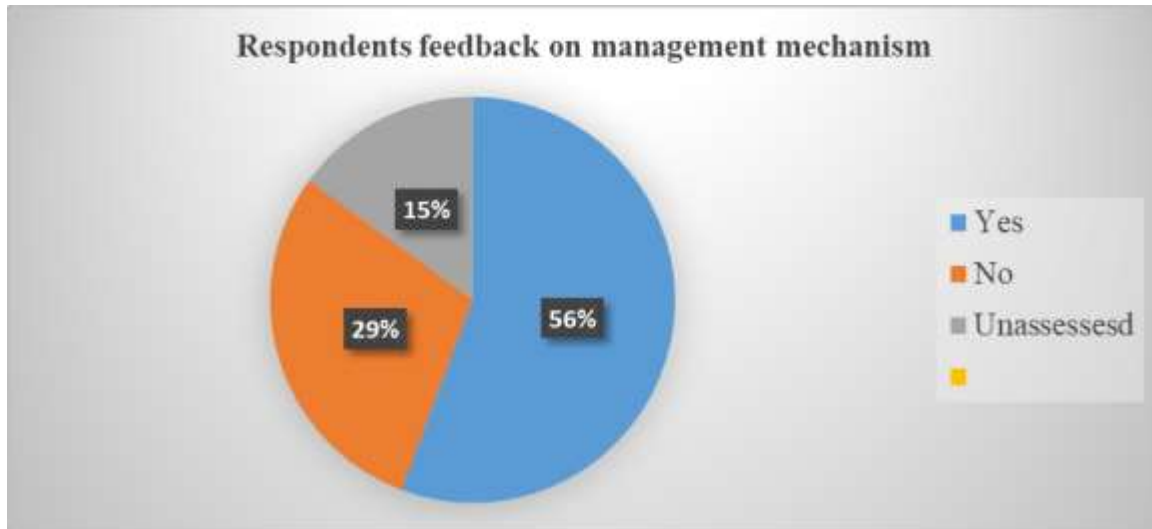


Figure 7: Availability of Cross-Border Conflict Management Mechanisms

The study sought to understand how the state responded after cross-border attacks were reported. Figure 8 below illustrates the feedback on the state's response after Cross-border attacks. The respondents were asked if the state responded, and the answer revealed that 64% said yes, 15% said no, 6% indicated they did not know, and another 15% were unassessed. This response indicated that the state was actively involved in responding to this threat to mitigate the hazards of the cross-border conflict in northwestern Turkana County on the Kenya-Ethiopia border. The state has been instrumental in conducting operations to mitigate cross-border conflict in Turkana County, creating international crossing points across borders, governments respecting and supporting the roles of community elders, and financing peace initiatives. The respondent's view falls in tandem with the state's objective of expanding its reach to the people; by deploying these multi-agency approaches, the state would meet its objective of protecting the lives and property of its people and improving bilateral relations with Ethiopia (Wanambisi, 2023).

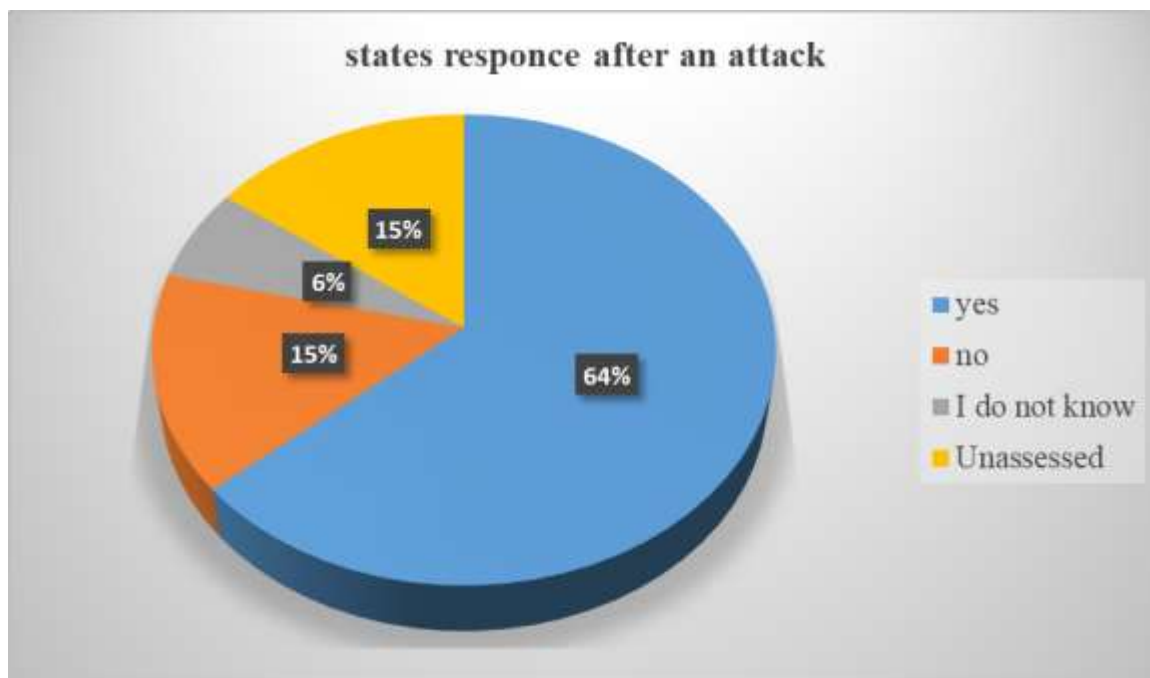


Figure 8: Respond for States Post Cross-Border Attack

The study sought to understand the effectiveness of the agencies involved in Cross-border conflict management in Turkana County, northwestern Kenya, on the Kenya-Ethiopia border. The agencies under study were the Administration police border unit, the Anti-stock theft police unit, the regular police, the Kenya Defence Forces, the National Police Reservists, and the General Service Unit. The respondents rated the agencies' performances as excellent, good, fair, and poor. The respondents' views support the promises issued by government officials who have complimented the efforts of NPRs. They have been known to complete the efforts of the National Police Service in monitoring the vast border area along the Kenyan borderline (Wanambisi, 2023).

Figure 9 below illustrates the respondents' views on the various agencies' effectiveness in managing Cross-border conflict. The feedback for Border Police Unit (BPU) was computed as 4% excellent, 49% good, 3% fair and 1% poor. The anti-stock theft police unit (ASTU) was 4% excellent, 5% good, 16% fair and 33% poor. The regular police results were 2% excellent, 15% good, 34% fair and 8% poor. The Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) results were 8% excellent, 41% good, 5% fair and 2% poor. The National Police Reservists (NPR) results were computed at 24% excellent, 29% good, and 5% fair, with no poor percentage. Finally, the results of the General Service Unit of the Police (GSU) were 5% excellent, 23% good, 26% fair and 5% poor. These findings listed the National Police Reservists as the respondents' best agency, followed by the Border Police Unit, The Kenya Defence Forces, The General Service Unit, The Regular Police, and the Anti-Stock Theft Unit. Despite the difference in ratings, this feedback revealed that Kenyan security agencies were actively involved in managing cross-border conflict on the Kenyan-Ethiopian border despite having multiple challenges like financial constraints, political ill will, and poor infrastructure. The respondents' sentiments supported the Kenyan government's goal to modernise border management to enhance trade, promote national security and foster regional integration. This approach will foster cooperation

among various agencies and create a hub for regional cooperation and collaboration (Ombati, 2024).

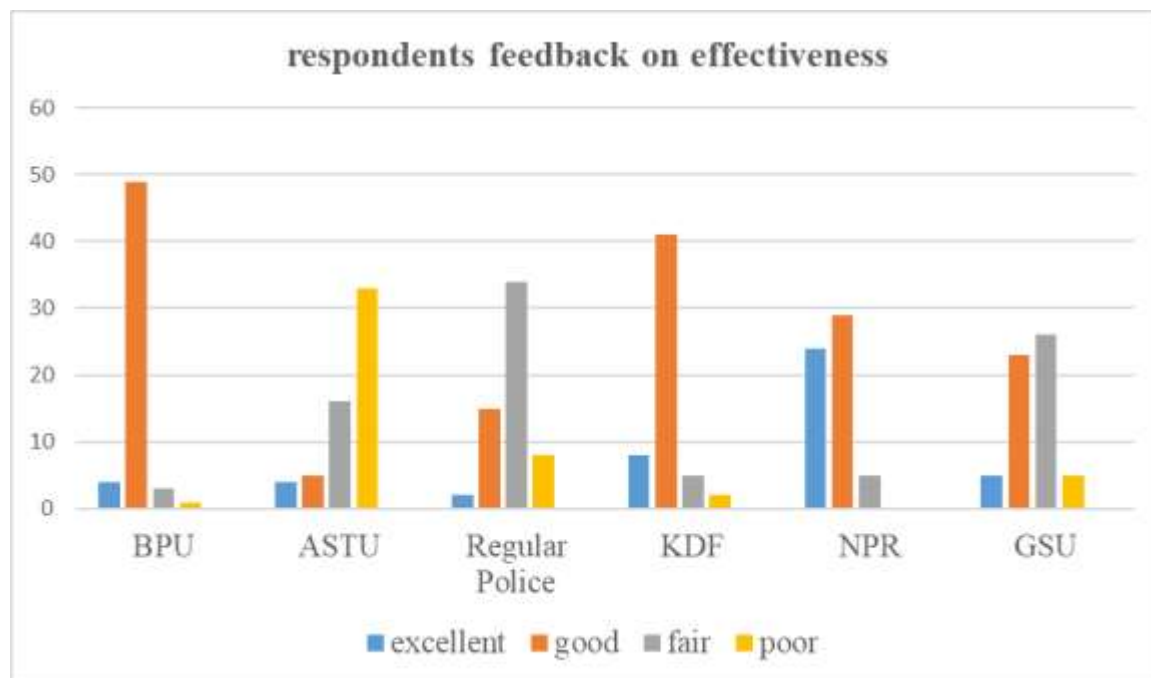


Figure 9: Response to the Effectiveness of Security Agencies

The study sought to shed more light on how the state managed cross-border attacks when reported. The responses were documented based on the following parameters: disarming the locals, using diplomatic channels, closing the border, and pursuing the attackers across the border. The respondents' sentiments support the states' measures in managing cross-border conflict, as Kenya is surrounded by neighbours facing complicated domestic politics. Kenya has been on the frontline, undertaking deft diplomatic approaches and authentic leadership in the region (Gavin, 2021). For Kenya and Ethiopia to improve their bilateral relations, several MOUs were signed to boost mutual ties across diverse sectors to bolster their relation (Kinyanjui, 2024).

Figure 10 below illustrates the respondents' feedback on the state's response when cross-border attacks were conducted. The feedback received for disarming the locals was 16% for very well, 55% for well, 20% for somehow, 5% for not well, and 1% for never. Using diplomatic channels got 5% for very well, 39% for well, 21% for somehow, 19% for not well, and 11% for never. Closing the border got 5% for very well, 37% for well, 29% for somehow, 10% for not well, and 6% for never. Finally, pursuing the attackers across the border got 8% for very well, 20% for well, 48% for somehow, 7% for not well, and 24% for never. The management mechanisms employed indicated the approaches used and how the respondents rated each mechanism. Disarming the locals was rated very well done, using diplomatic channels was rated as well done, closing the border was rated as average, and finally, pursuing the attackers across the border was rated as poor. This feedback indicates the level of the respondent's conceptualisation of alternative measures to address cross-border conflict and improve cross-border relations between Kenya and Ethiopia. The respondent's feedback was in line with the government's initiative, advocating for the voluntary surrender of illegal arms termed

Cooperate to Disarm (C2D). However, the initiative was skewed, leaving the locals vulnerable (Onditi, 2022).

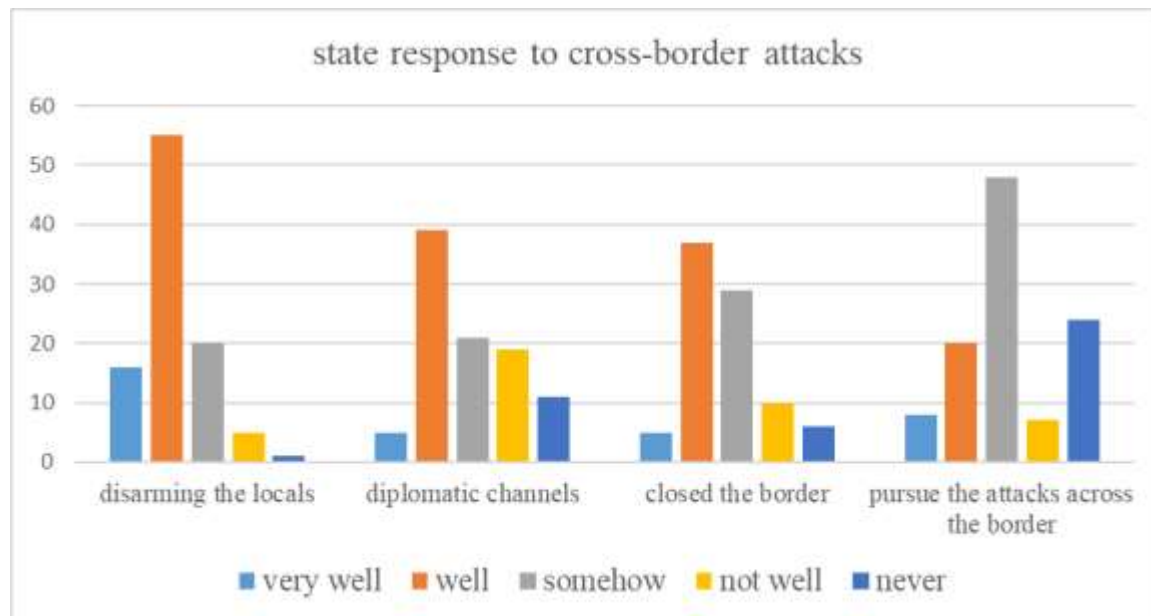


Figure 10: Respondent Views on State Responses

The study sought more holistic feedback on how prompt the security agencies were in managing the cross-border conflict. The respondents' feedback was reviewed as poor, average, above average, and excellent.

Figure 11 below illustrates the feedback on how prompt the state was rated when reacting to cross-border conflict. A majority of 57% rated the response as average, 17% rated the state response as poor, 7% rated the state's response as excellent, and 4% of the respondents rated the response of the state as above average. The feedback indicates that the state has been prompt in addressing cross-border conflict whenever it occurs despite the poor infrastructure and limited resources, and prompt responses to cross-border conflicts allowed for addressing issues that may hinder socioeconomic activities. These views align with the government initiative to create border points in Todonyang and Nakodoi in Nadapal to curb informal cross-border trade, boost formal cross-border trade and cooperation, and improve regional road infrastructure and network (Hussein, 2024). Timely resolution of conflict, especially raids, allowed the communities to resume their activities without undue delays.

Furthermore, the prompt response times facilitated the recovery of lost property and the possible punishment of perpetrators, which acts as a deterrent that further enhances security in the area and boosts good neighbourliness. The state agencies, jointly with other stakeholders, have empowered communities by supporting traditional leaders and informal conflict management structures in Kenya and Ethiopia to create a cordial relationship between the two Countries. According to Shalom (2023), there has to be a harmonious inter-relationship between the regulators of conflict, the executors, and the victims: elders, youth, and women, respectively (Shalom SCCRR, 2023).

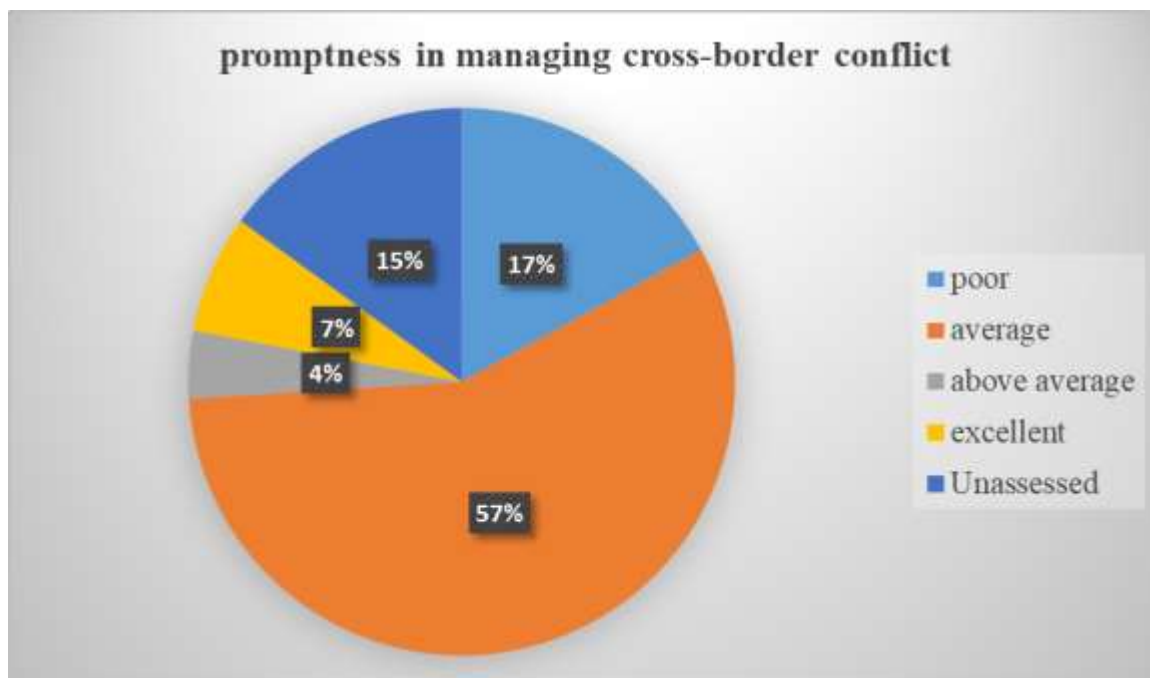


Figure 11: State Agencies' Promptness in Managing Cross-Border Conflict

Evaluating measures for enhancing the interventions for managing Cross-border Conflict and the Social Economic Development in Turkana County, Kenya-Ethiopia Border

The third study objective was crafted to evaluate the measures to address the interventions for managing cross-border conflict on the Kenya-Ethiopian border. The feedback for this objective was revealed through observation and focus group discussion, where the respondents were categorised as either youthful (18-40), middle-aged (41-60), or elderly (above 60).

Table 2 below illustrates the feedback from the focus group discussion and observation covering 40% of the sample population, where most respondents were youthful at 45%, middle-aged at 39%, and elderly at 16%. The respondents in focus groups were majorly peace advocates. They acted diplomatically within the area, revealing that more young people would likely help manage the cross-border conflict and improve relations on the Kenya-Ethiopia border. The study further sought to gain more insight into the social economic set-up of the study area through observation. This feedback shows that more youths who had moved away from their rural homes are now returning, intending to transform the socioeconomic development of their locality, thus resulting in a significant number of youthful respondents. This finding supports the article that outlined the alternative livelihoods system employed by the youths and women in Turkana County, where they traded relief food, sold charcoal and firewood, petty trades, boda-boda business, weaving baskets and local brew (kaada) brewing (Akall, 2021).

Table 2: Age Distribution for Observation and Focus Group Discussions Respondents

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Youthful	57	45
Middle Age	50	39
Elderly	20	16
Total	127	100

Table 3 below illustrates the feedback the researchers got from conducting observations on the target population. This feedback was observed in various areas, such as housing, social amenities, school attendance, business operations, and the environment. From this observation, the following results were documented. Most youthful respondents were involved in various business operations ranging from boda-boda to selling vegetables, plasticware, and clothing items. The older men would be found playing (Ajua) a game of counting rocks or seeds in holes dug on the ground or a wooden board, or sleeping under the tree, mainly in the afternoons. Most of the population lived in thatched houses in villages and semi-permanent houses in small centres, whereas in more developed towns, most shops were housed in stone-walled structures. Health facilities were housed in permanent buildings, and administration offices were housed in semi-permanent structures. School buildings for primary schools are semi-permanent, while secondary schools are permanent structures.

Northwestern Kenya, Turkana County, had tremendous growth in the last ten years, and the social amenities present showed the region had developed because of the effective management of cross-border conflicts, which had affected the region for a very long time. The governments on both sides of the border reduced the necessity of owning small arms and light weapons in the area. According to Horne (2015), all development projects conducted by the FDRE and Kenyan Government first addressed the local Indigenous people's rights, needs, and interests. Based on these impacts, the Kenyan-Ethiopian deal to generate electricity in the Gilgel Gibe 3 dam affected the social development of the local population south of Ethiopia and the lake zone region in Kenya, and it made these people more vulnerable and prone to conflict over natural resources and hunger due to a limited flow of water. It is prudent that governments should assess the positive and negative impacts of the projects they undertake. If the long-term adverse effects outweigh the long-term positive effects on the indigenous people, then the project should be reviewed or aborted. (Horne, 2015)

The involvement of NGOs and the state in improving infrastructure and social amenities and managing the changing environmental conditions enabled the residents to start settling in and seeking alternative ways of earning a living, ranging from farming to running businesses. In the past, some residents noticed a shift from other areas to Kakuma, where they sought services meant for refugees, including relief foods and health services. The governments of Ethiopia and Kenya had to embrace alternative conflict resolution measures by empowering traditional leaders as conflict regulators. Cross-border conflict emanates from competition for natural resources or disagreements between the locals of communities in Kenya and Ethiopia.

Table 3: Observation Log

Observation Areas	Date:	Observation time: (0600-1900 hrs.)
Housing	From 07-09 July 2023	Day time
Social amenities		
School attendance		
Business operation		
Environment		

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Examining the effect of cross-border conflicts on the social economic development of the Kenya-Ethiopia border prompted the study to identify the motives behind the attacks. The researcher sought to determine if Kenyans were involved in the cross-border attacks. Prevalence of Cross-border was evident with armed skirmishes between the locals in northwestern Kenya and their neighbours along the border over natural resources such as pasture, water, and livestock theft. Such incidents of insecurity disrupted access to markets, fields, and water sources. Due to the loss of productive household members resulting from violent clashes, some households have been left with fewer cash-earning members, exposing them to poverty and affecting the development of Kenya.

Interventions for Managing cross-border Conflicts and Social Economic Development in Turkana County, Kenya-Ethiopia Border, employed to manage Cross-border conflict varied from disarmament and arms control to conventional justice systems and border points. The lack of capacity proved it hard for states in the Global South to manage disarmament practices without the assistance of the Global North and International Governmental Organizations. Kenya has made some progress in disarmament, although her neighbours are sluggish in the exercise. These efforts changed the social economic development of Kenyans living in the Kenyan-Ethiopian border areas, and the community relies on the state security apparatus and the conventional judicial systems rather than on the armed population.

Evaluating the effectiveness of intervention mechanisms in addressing cross-border conflict on the Kenyan-Ethiopian border, the study documented the state's various actions to mitigate, reduce or eradicate cross-border conflict in northwestern Kenya. Using kraal leaders has been instrumental in recovering stolen livestock and relaying information to government officials. They have been steadfast in facilitating peaceful coexistence between the border communities, thus leading to intermarriages and border trade. The government and non-state actors have engaged the conflicting parties to embrace peace. Voluntary disarmament has proved to be effective in managing cross-border conflict over time. The proliferation of arms has enshrined the root causes of transnational pastoral conflict. Maintenance of international peace and security, as well as cross-border relations, entirely relies on disarmament practices.

Conclusions

From the analysis of the objectives of examining the effect of cross-border conflicts on the social economic development of the Kenya-Ethiopia border, interrogating the theoretical and practical linkages between interventions for Managing cross-border Conflicts and Social Economic Development in Turkana County, Kenya-Ethiopia Border and evaluating measures for enhancing the interventions for managing Cross-border Conflict and the Social Economic Development in Turkana County, Kenya-Ethiopia Border Page | 75, and assessing their

effectiveness in improving socioeconomic activities and conditions in northeastern Kenya, bordering Ethiopia, including the corresponding research questions, the study concludes there is a link between cross-border conflict and social economic development.

The nature of the link is double-edged in the sense that cross-border conflict can cause social economic challenges and vice versa. However, it is essential to identify specific conflict-causing and socioeconomic factors because of many interrelated factors. At the same time, the underlying reason is an institutional and legislative failure, which has seen one side disarmed while the other experiences civil unrest and war. The state used its security forces to conduct border patrols, improved infrastructure to open the areas, and enhanced cross-border peace engagements spearheaded by kraal leaders. It was concluded that the mechanisms for cross-border conflict management were adequate, although their implementations were weak due to a lack of resources and goodwill.

Recommendations

The study recommended that the interventions address the root causes of cross-border conflicts, triggers, and accelerators. The Kenyan and Ethiopian governments, through the County and Regional Council, provide grants to its people and reduce license fees for far-flank areas, provide animal feeds to the most affected areas, provide water tracking, and establish animal off take programmes with the support of non-state actors, and set up official border crossing areas in Todonyang and Nadapal. The study recommended an intergovernmental approach where both states pool resources and improve the livelihood of their border communities through shared facilities. Second, the intervention to manage cross-border conflicts has been recommended, with suggestions for initiatives that involve the communities from both sides of the border and the management strategies to be adequate to favour Ethiopians and Kenyans along the borders.

Based on the above recommendations, not providing these frameworks abundantly cannot be divorced from the contemporary regional and global issues in time and place.

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