

Regional Pastoral Livelihoods Resilience Project (RPLRP) and Pastoralism and Stability in the Sahel and Horn of Africa (RPLRP/PASSHA)



CROSS BORDER CONFLICT ATLAS REPORT



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1. Introduction

The Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism of IGAD (CEWARN), in partnership with The Regional Pastoralist's Livelihood and Resilience Project (RPLRP) with support from PASSHA, carried out a cross border mapping exercise of the pastoral areas in clusters 1, 2 and 3 of Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya and South Sudan. The major aim of the exercise was to develop a dynamic cross border conflict atlas. The atlas was intended to be published and accessed digitally by web with the purpose of providing relevant information which would highlight the current cross border conflict dynamics; spatial extents; actors and the resources that are directly or indirectly associated with the conflicts. The atlas will be regularly updated to reflect emerging conflict dynamics and responses in terms of investments that are aimed at averting conflicts, and improving on the livelihoods of the cross border communities. The atlas will be made available to local leaders and administrators and widely circulated to the various interventional organizations that are investing in conflict prevention and resolution.

1.1 Objectives

The overall objective of the mapping was to develop a cross border Conflict Atlas for dissemination that would contain baseline information on the different cross border conflict situations and Actors along the clusters.

Specifically, the objectives of the mapping were to;

- Engage with the local cross border communities and local peace actors through FGDs to identify the major cross border conflicts, their causes and main actors;
- Engage with local leadership to validate information that was obtained from the community level consultations;
- Produce maps that will depict the cross border conflict situations and dynamics in terms of; common *conflict incidents and intensities*;

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geographic extents and hotspots of the conflicts; conflict actors; causes factors; and any other secondary information that would highlight the different aspects of the conflict situations in the clusters.

2. Methodology

2.1 Description of the focus area-Clusters

The study area covered 3 clusters of the cross border ASAL area.

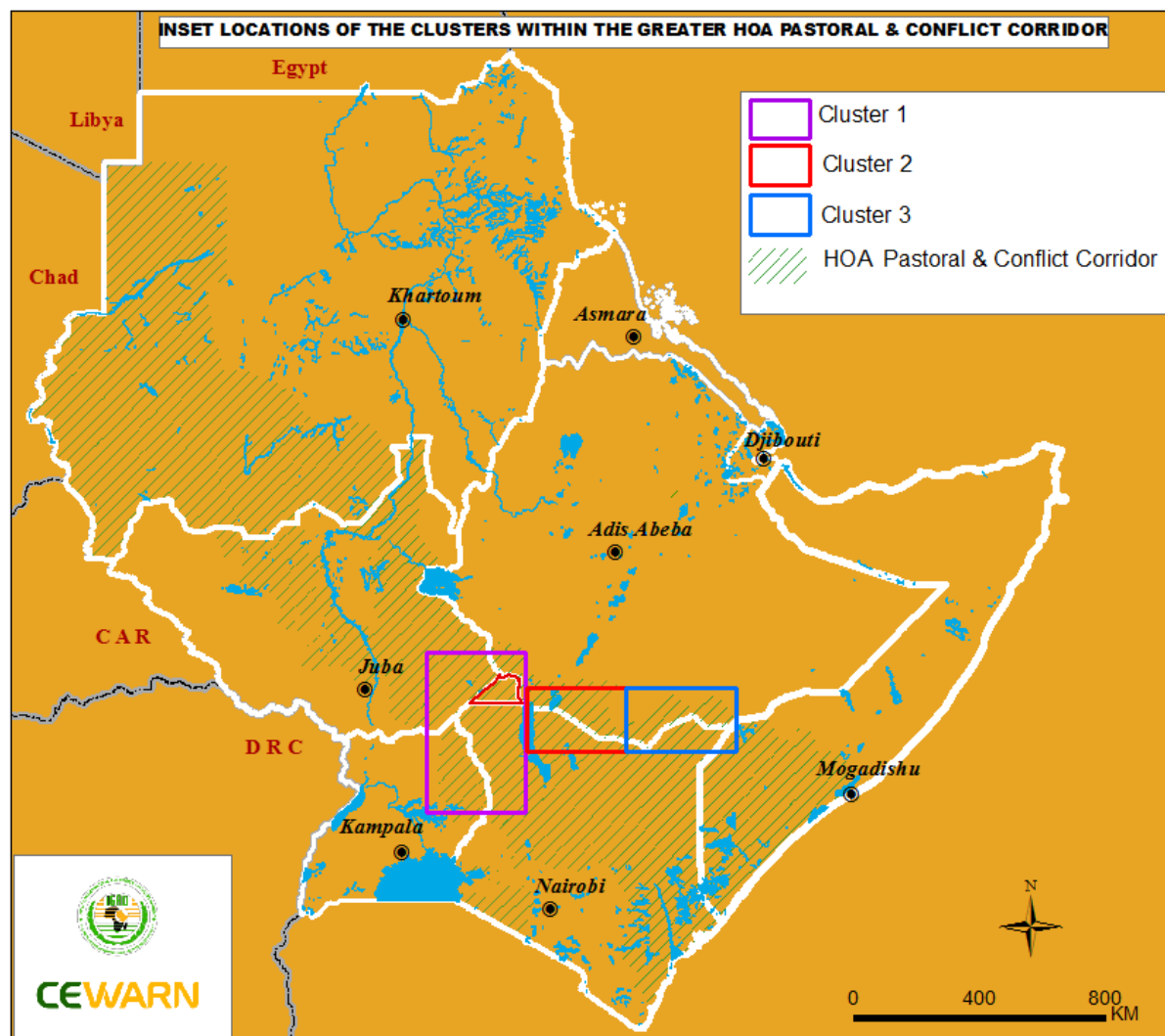
1. **Cluster 1:** Whose extent includes Pokot, Sabiny and parts of Teso (around Lake Opeta) in Uganda and West Pokot in Kenya to North Karamoja in Uganda (Kaabong District and Turkana in Kenya. In South Sudan, it covers Budi, IKotos and parts of Pibor and Surma, Parts of Maji, Nyangatom and Dassenech in Ethiopia.
2. **Cluster 2:** whose extent stretches from Hamer to Dilo in Ethiopia and from Ileret to Maikona in Kenya.
3. **Cluster 3:** Which extends from Dire to Dolo Ado in Ethiopia and from Sololo to Mandera in Kenya.

Clusters 2 and 3 are cross border clusters of Kenya and Ethiopia while Cluster 1 Covers the cross borders of Uganda Kenya South Sudan and Ethiopia.

The following map 1 provides and geographical insight into the locations of the clusters.

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Map 1: cluster focus areas



2.2 Approach

The mapping was carried out in phases:

Phase I:

Involved community level consultations with cross border communities drawing from across ages, gender and roles including local peace committees. The consultations involved conducting question guided discussions that targeted community responses on the different aspects of the conflicts Ref: attached sample questionnaire. These meetings were conducted at the

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community facilities where the selected participants were brought together to engage in an open discussion.



A cross border community meeting being conducted in Ethiopia.

Phase II:

Desk work involving transforming information from the community consultations into a draft map and cluster field reports for validation. These maps and report summaries were presented to the local leaders for their validation and input:

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Kenya local leaders validating a cross border conflict map at a validation meeting.

Phase II:

Finalizing atlas maps development based on validated information and additional secondary information for dissemination.

3. Conflict Atlas Maps

3.1 Overview of conflict zone descriptions

The cluster areas were categorized into 3 different conflict categories;

1. Highly active –hotspot conflict zones: these zones are characterized by having very frequent conflict incident occurrences with fatalities and property losses.

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2. Low –Moderately Active zones: conflict incidents in these zones are common but not frequent and rarely are fatalities reporting in these zones.
3. Low - minimal incident occurrence zones: These zones are characterized by a presence of causal factors or drivers but with very rare case incidents of violent nature. These are relatively peaceful zones in the clusters.

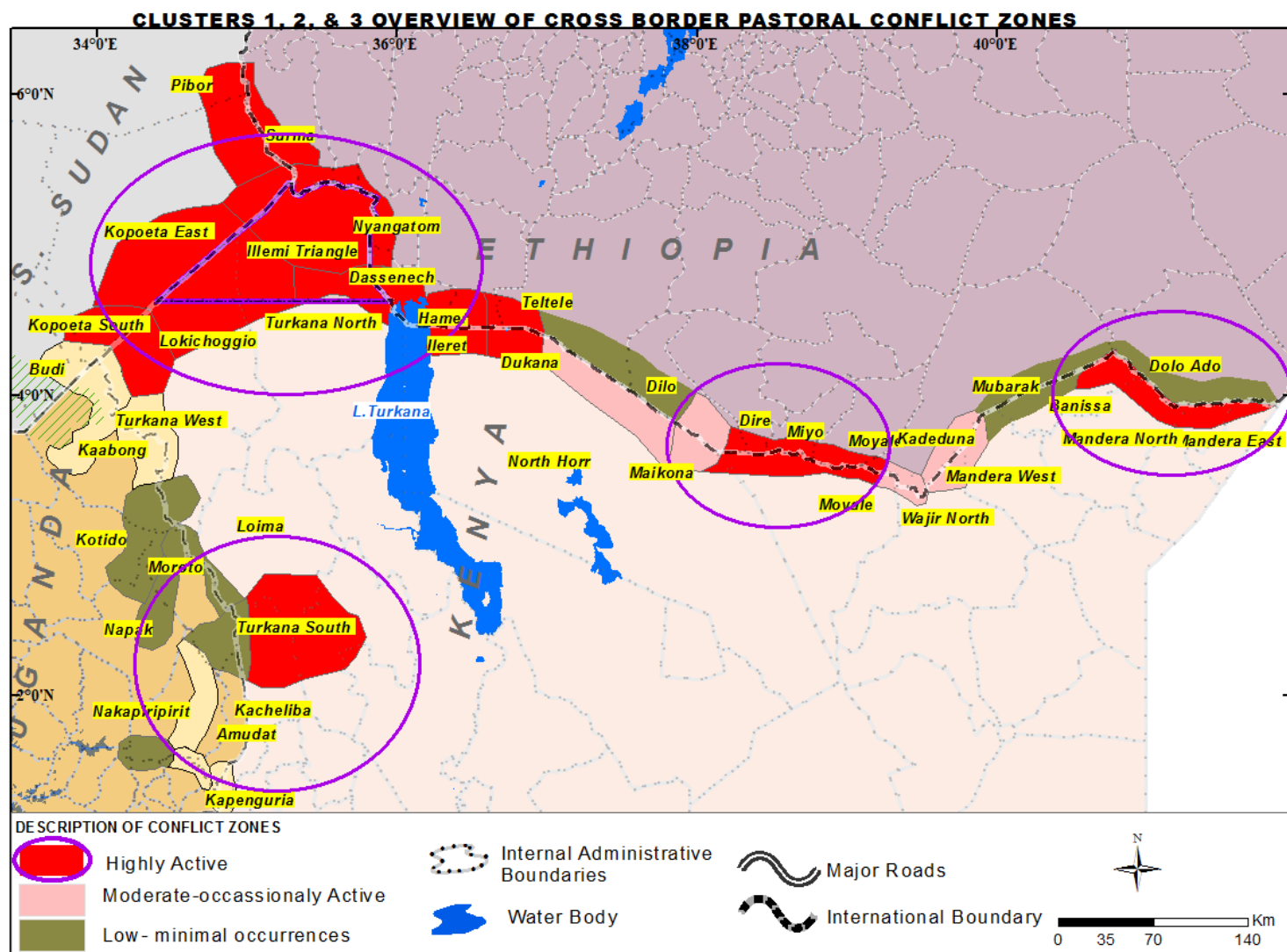
Generally, about 4 distinct highly active conflict hotspot zones were identified as summarized in the following table and map 2.

Cluster Hotspot areas

Cluster	Conflict Hotspots	Key Actors
Cluster 1	Zones 6	Mostly Turkana – Pokot clashes
Cluster 1	Zones 12-16	Mostly Turkana, Toposa, Dassenech, Nyanagtom Surma, Maji
Cluster 2	Zone 17-18	Hamer, Dassenech, Gabra, Borana
Cluster 3	22-24	Borana, Gabra, Burji, Sakuye other Somali mixed tribes
Cluster 3	27	Degodiya, Garre, Murule and Conar tribe

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Map 2 Cluster conflict hotspots

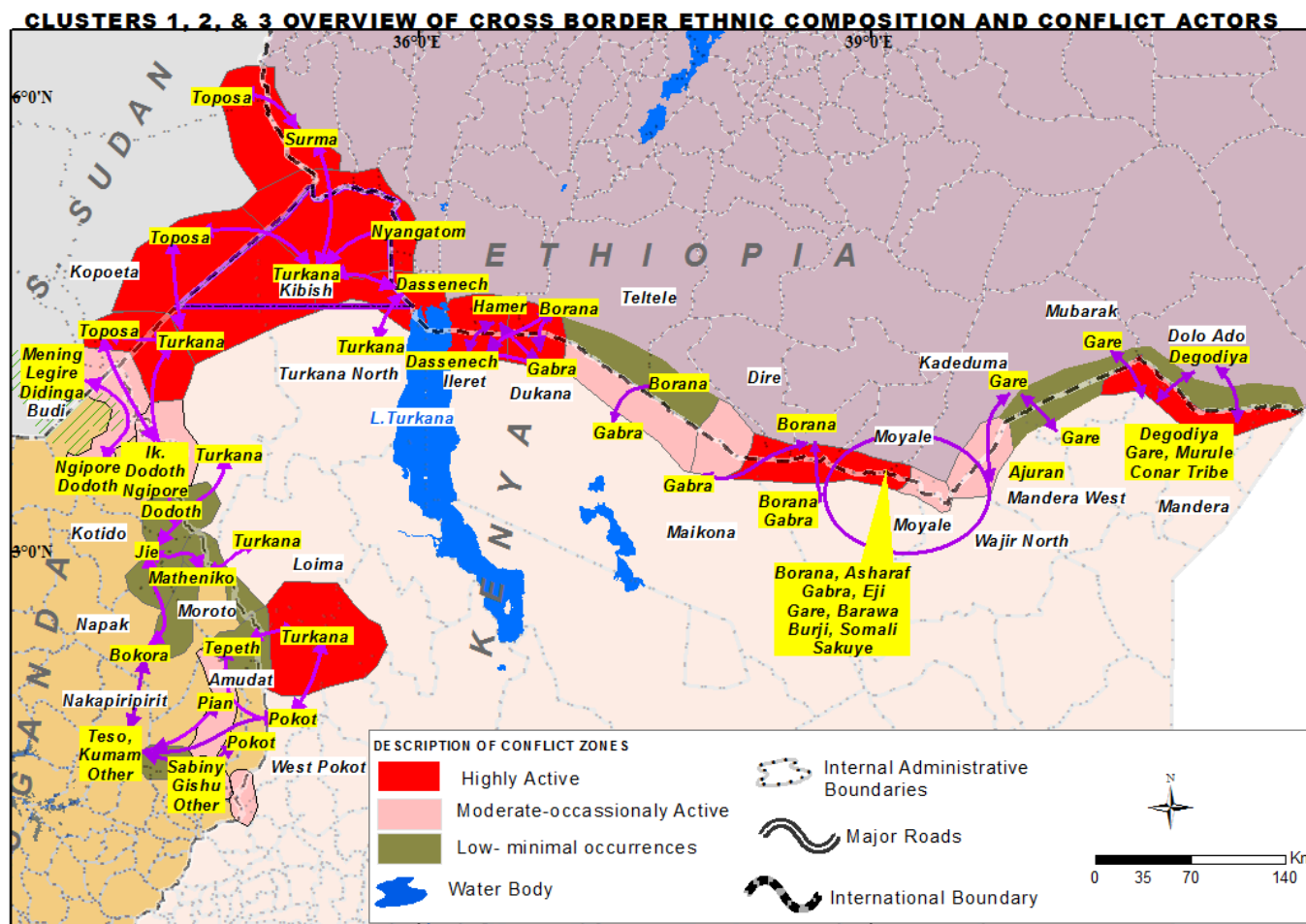


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3.2 Overview of Ethnic Composition and Actors

The livelihood of the cross border communities is majorly pastoral. Because of the adverse climate conditions, the communities are compelled to track along meager available resources transcending political boundaries and ethnic divides often bringing them into conflict. The ethnic geographic divide and proximity creates a pattern of interaction and relationship which brings together particular ethnic groups at a given time as described by the map 3 below.

Map 3 overview of cross border Ethnic composition and Actors



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3.3 Conflict Incidents and related causes

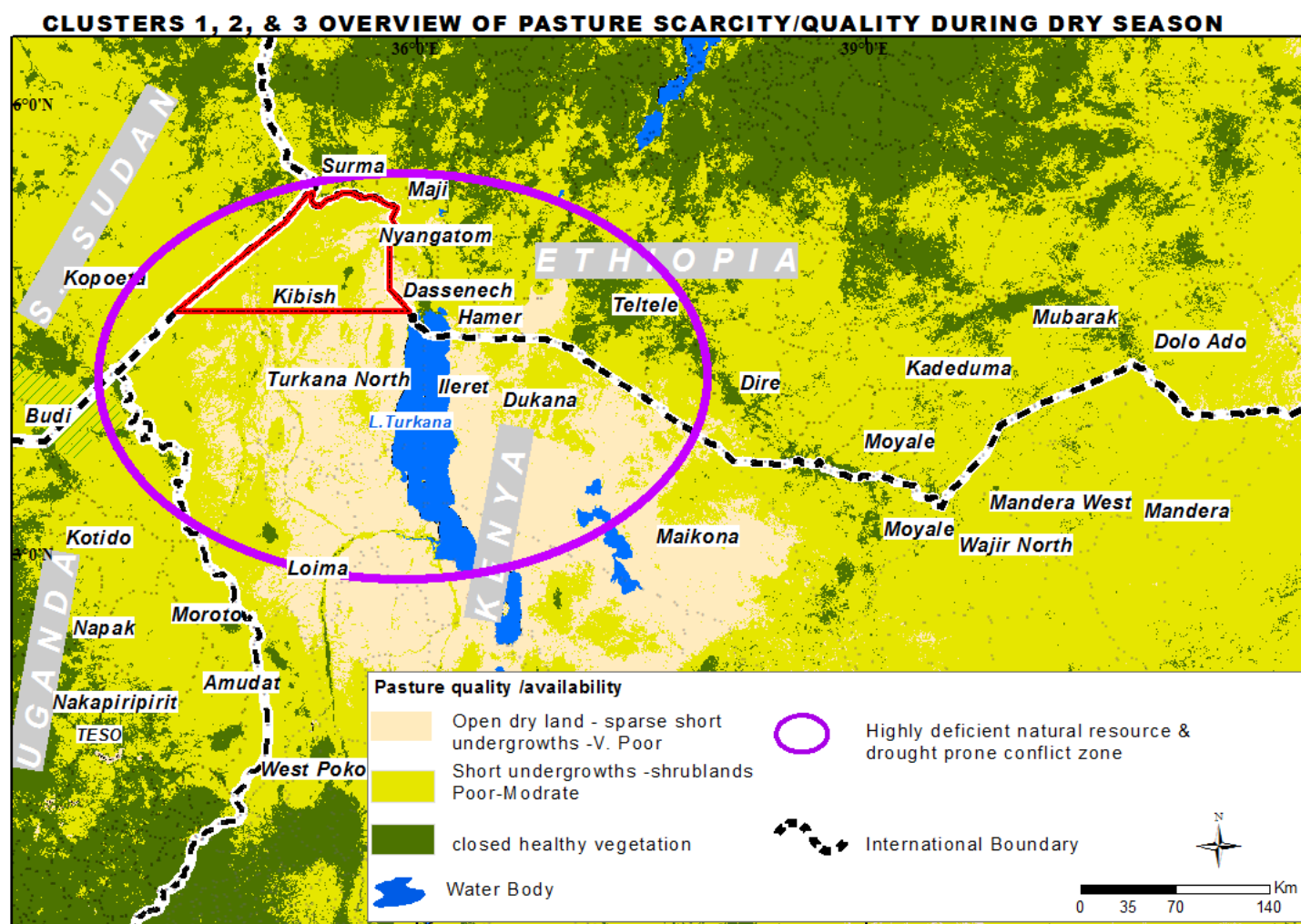
The main cross border conflict incident occurrences range from tensions, skirmishes and clashes to random attacks and killings resulting from inadequate resources such as grazing land and water points for livestock, or ethnically motivated culturally or politically. Other incidents include livestock thefts, rampant raids, and blatant environmental destruction including poaching on protected game areas. The incidents occur at various levels of intensity and frequency across the clusters. Specific causes have been outlined for each of the described cluster zones.

Climate and weather conditions as a major driver of conflicts

The map below depicts the distribution and condition of pasture during a dry season. Across all the clusters, the vegetation conditions fall within either poor to moderate quality/ availability with cluster 1 particularly around Turkana area being the most vulnerable and affected.

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Map 4: overview of the vegetation/pasture conditions in the different cluster areas during drought



4. Detailed description of cluster zones

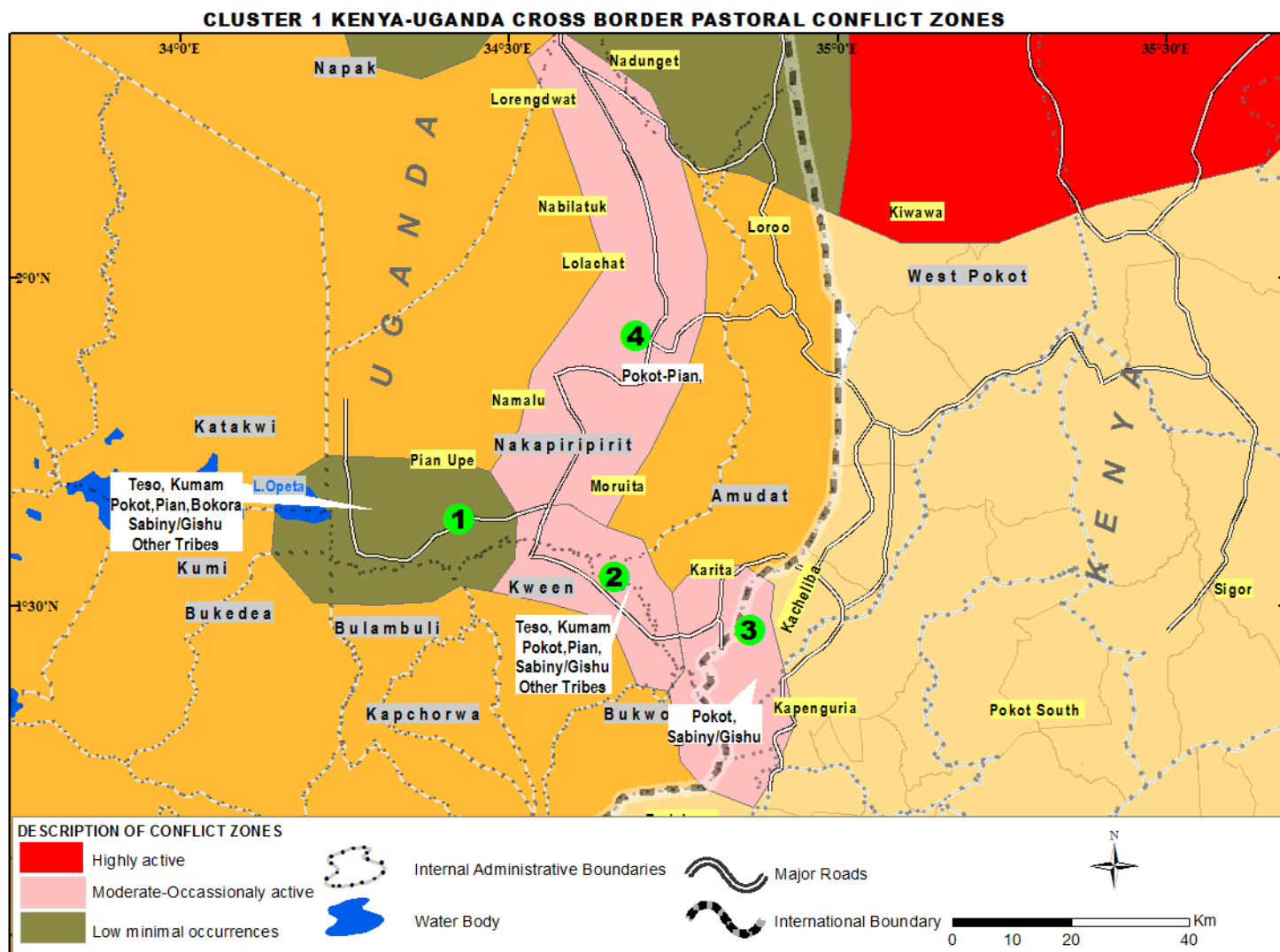
4.1 Description of conflict zones (1-4) KENYA-UGANDA

The southern part of cluster 1 has 4 distinct conflict zones; zones 1-4. It is characterized by vast floodplains that drain the surrounding hills of Sebei and the Pokot hills of Kadam. Within this area are protected game parks and forest reserves. The main conflict actors in this zone are the Pokot who are native both in Uganda (Amudat) and Kenya (West Pokot) and, the Pian and Sabiny who are native in Uganda. Other actors include the Teso, Kumam, Gishu and

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other interior tribes of Uganda. The Uganda Wildlife Authority is a key player in the zones because of its location within the Pian-Upe game reserve.

Map 5: Description of cluster 1 zones 1-4



Zone 1: The zone is characterized by being a low lying floodplain draining to Lake Opeta, and retains water and pasture for long periods of time even during extended droughts making it an ideal zone for grazing during prolonged droughts. It is highly conflict prone because of the diverse communities that converge here during drought and the resulting alliance formations among

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them. Currently, the conflicts are relatively contained and limited to a few incidents of livestock losses and community bickering over resource sharing and access. The zone attracts other actors including the Uganda Wild Life Authority and the Environment Authorities because of its placement within the Pian Upe game reserve.

Summary of zone 1

Locations	Main Conflicts	Actors	Conflict Description
Uganda: 1. Bulambuli, (Bunambutye) 2. Bukedea, (Malera) 3. Kumi,(Ongino) 4. Katakwi,(Magoro) Nakapiripirit,(Pian Upe) Kween(Ngenge)	1. Livestock theft; 2. competition over grass and water; 3. destruction of natural resources;	Sabiny, Gishu, Pian, Bokora, Kumam Ankole Teso, and Pokots (Uganda and Kenya)	Low

Zone 2: The zone is a low lying floodplain in the sub county of Ngenge in Kween district at the foot hills of the surrounding mountainous areas of Sebei region. In addition to the main conflict actors, there is a notable presence of other interior tribes of Uganda like the Teso, Kumam and others who are engaged in various business and lucrative activities. The zone is located in a fertile area with lots of dry season grazing areas making it an attraction to the neighboring pastoralists from Kenya and Uganda. The conflict situation involves Pokot and other tribes over unresolved settlement in and around Sabiny land sparking land related conflicts. This zone is a moderately conflict active zone.

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Summary of the zone 2:

Locations	Main Conflicts	Actors	Conflict Description
Uganda: 1. Kween,(Ngenge, Kaproron, Kwanyiny) 2. Amudat (Karita) 3. Nakapiripirit (Moruita)	1. Livestock theft; 2. competition over grass and water; 3. destruction of natural resources; 4. disagreements over land ownership; 5. encroachment on protected land	Pokot-Uganda Pokot-Kenya Sabiny, Pian, UWA-Uganda.	Moderate

Zone 3:

The zone covers both sides of the border of Kenya and Uganda. It is endowed with natural resources and fertile land suitable for both agriculture and livestock keeping making conflicting land use and resource access the major conflict driver in the zone.

Summary of zone 3

Locations	Main Conflicts	Actors	Conflict Description
Uganda: 1. Bukwo, (Kabei, Bukwa, Suam)	1. Cross border livestock thefts;	1. Sabiny – Uganda	Moderate

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2. Kween (Ngenge) 3. Amudat(Karita) Kenya: 1. Kacheliba(Suam) 2. Kapenguria (Riwo) 3. Endebess (Chepchoina)	2. Access to cross border resources like sand mines 3. land use conflicts between agronomy and grazing land, 4. Political rivalry	Pokots-Uganda 2. Pokot-Kenya 3. Gishu-Uganda	
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Zone 4:

The zone lies along the ethnic divide of the Popkot and Pian along the borders of Amudat and Nakapiripirit are numerous grazing areas that bring together the Pian and Pokot. The Pokot (from Kenya and Uganda) graze along this zone as they move up north to Tepeth with their animals. Skirmishes are very common and theft of livestock. It is a moderately conflict active zone.

Summary of the zone 4

Locations	Actors	Major conflicts	Description of Conflicts
Uganda 1. Nakapiripirit (Lolachat, Nabilatuk, Lorengdwat) 2. Amudat (Loroo)	1. Pokot – Uganda 2. Pokot - Kenya 3. Pian-Uganda	1. Livestock thefts 2. Land ownership and conflicting land uses for agriculture and grazing 3. Environmental destruction notably bush burning.	Moderate

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water sources are not well distributed but rather concentrated around certain locations which correspond to convergence zones by the grazing communities. These areas are potential conflict hotspots. Concrete resource management plans across the borderline region should be advocated for to avoid incidences of resource based conflicts.

The linear distribution of markets implies markets are located along specific routes/trade routes (are linearly distributed along the road network). There is presence for both structured and non-structured markets. This calls for upgrading as well as rehabilitation of current markets so as to cater for trade that exist within these cross border communities owing to the populous livestock population.

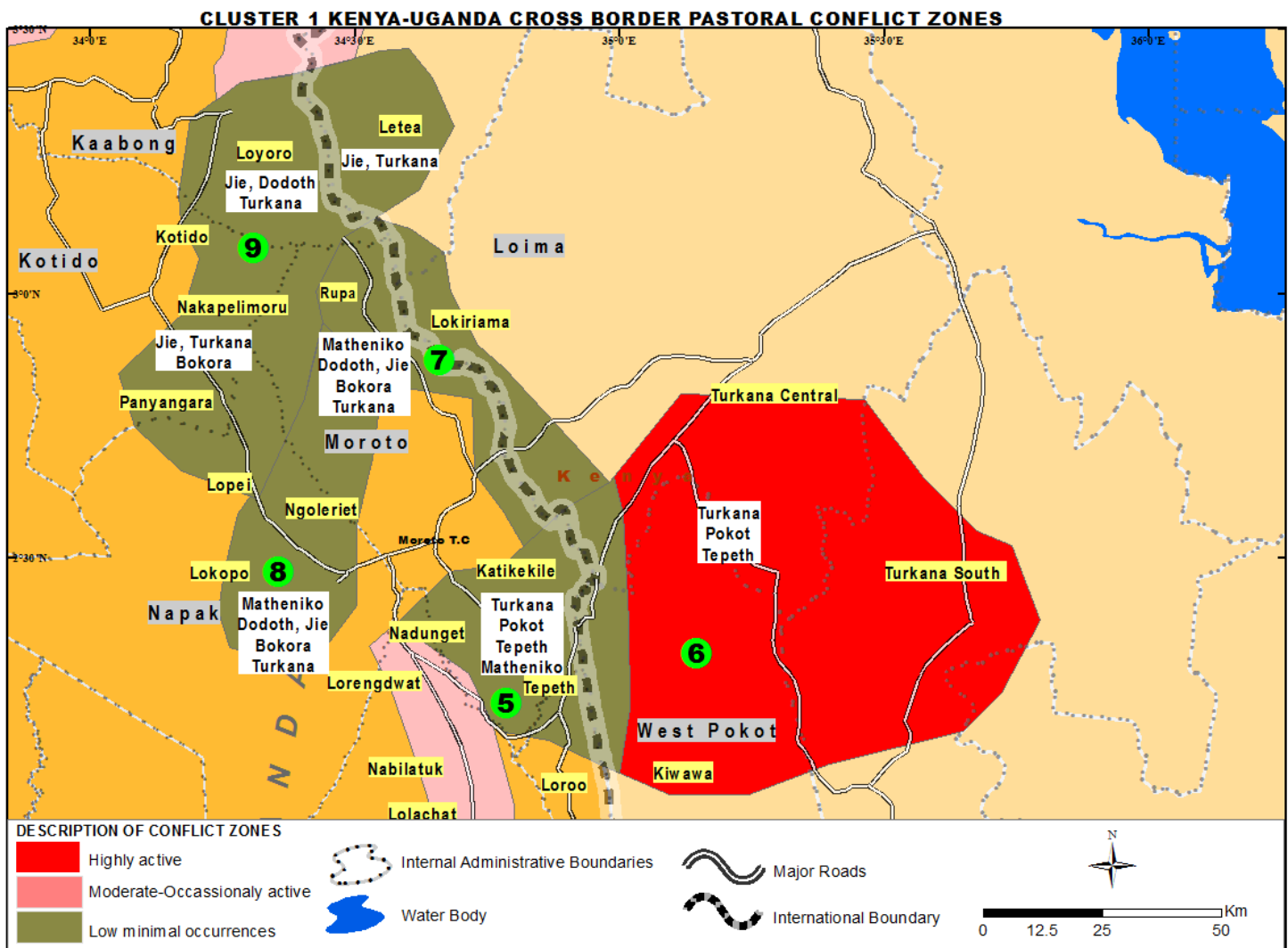
Description of cluster 1 zones 5-9

The zones bring together the Turkana from Kenya and the Matheniko, Jie and Bokora from Uganda. It is much more endowed with water resources and pasture especially during dry seasons.

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Map 7: Cluster 1 Kenya-Uganda zones 5-9

Zone 5: The conflict situation in this zone is characterized by low minimal



incidents of livestock thefts and losses. It is a relatively low level conflict zone with incidents managed by communal and local government set ups.

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Summary of the zone 5:

Locations	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict Description
Uganda: 1. Moroto District (Tepeth, Nadunget and Katiekile)	1. Tepeth-Uganda 2. Pokot-Uganda 3. Pokot-Kenya 4. Matheniko-Uganda 5. Turkana -Kenya	1. Livestock thefts	Low

Zone 6: This zone is a highly conflict active zone located along the ethnic divides of the Pokot and Turkana in Kenya. The main actors are the Turkana and the Pokot. The conflict sometimes involves alliance formation between the Pokot and Tepeth against the other groups which exacerbates the clashes.

Summary of zone 6

Locations	Actors	Major conflicts	Description of Conflicts
Kenya 1. West Pokot (Alale). 2. Turkana Central(Kotaruk, Lobei). 3. Turkana South (Katilu, Lokichar).	1. Pokot-Uganda 2. Pokot - Kenya 3. Turkana-Kenya	1. Clashes over grazing and water points. 2. Livestock raids and thefts, 3. Random killings and	High

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		tribal clashes.	
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Zone 7: This zone is characteristically a low conflict zone with incidents and tensions limited to livestock thefts and unresolved issues of land ownership and settlement of migrating communities that have since settled in for over 4 decades.

Locations	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict Descriptions
Uganda 1. Moroto (Rupa)	1. Matheniko-Uganda 2. Turkana-Kenya 3. Dodoth-Uganda 4. Bokora-Uganda 5. Jie-Uganda	1. Livestock thefts 2. Land ownership contestation 3. Citizenship naturalization by the Turkana	Low

Zone 8: This zone is a low conflict zone that attracts pastoralists once the Kobebe area dries up or exceeds its carrying capacity.

Locations	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict Descriptions
Uganda 1. Napak (Lokopo, Lopei, Ngoleriet)	1. Bokora-Uganda 2. Turkana-Kenya 3. Matheniko-Uganda 4. Jie-Uganda	1. Competition over grazing and water points	Low

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Zone 9: Conflict incidents are uncommon in this zone with occasional incidents limited to livestock thefts, and competition over access to and excessive use of water, and arguments of corridor land access that would see the Jie and Turkana communities have direct land access with each other, rather than have the boundary land barrier designated under Dodoth to the north and Matheniko to the south that currently separates the Jie from the Turkana. The Jie and Turkana are known to be of the same ethnic lineage. Skirmishes do exist over utilization of water points among the Jie and Turkana, and alliance formation between some Dodoth and Toposa to steal from the Turkana.

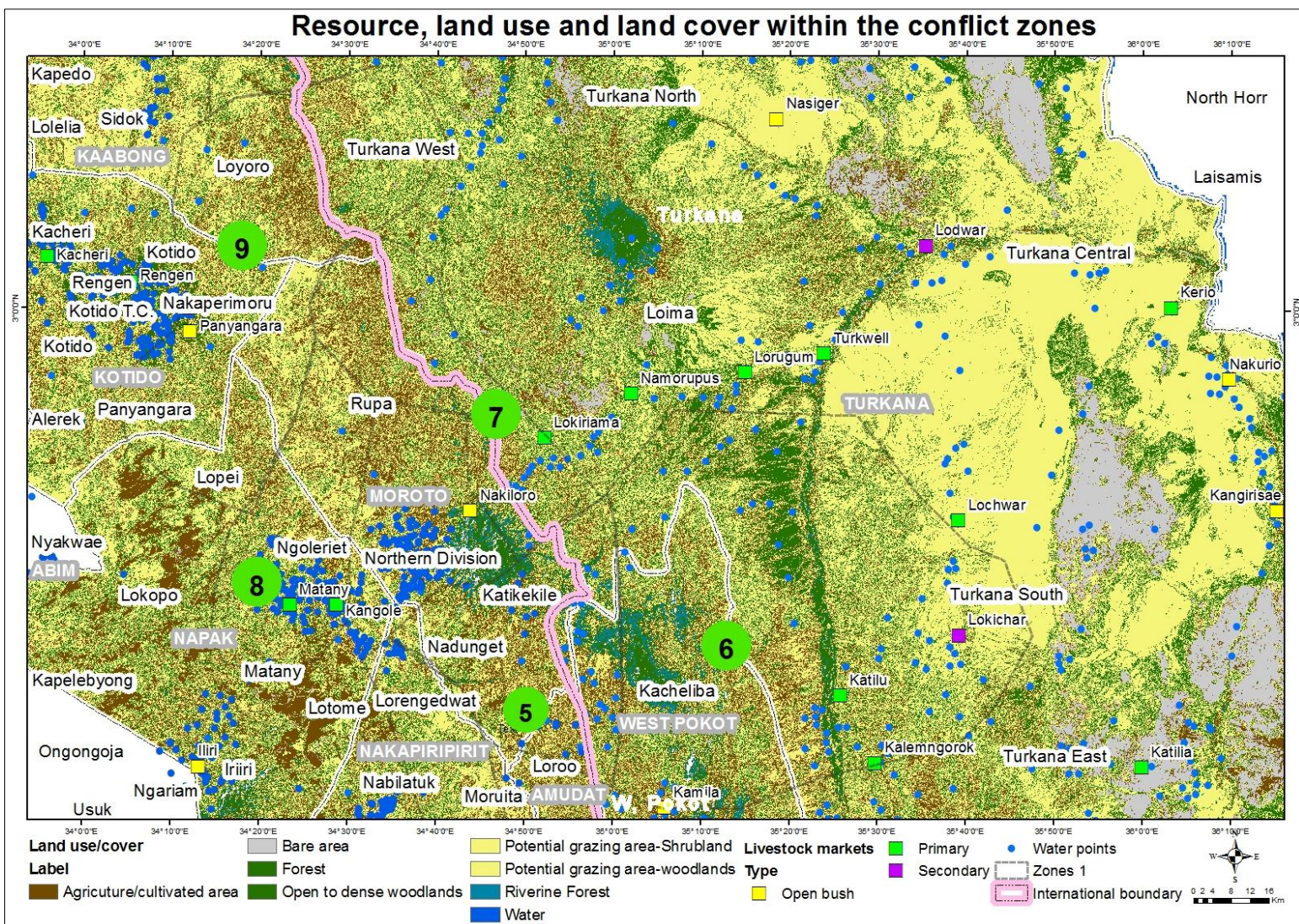
Summary of zone 9

Locations	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict Description
Uganda 1. Kotido (Panyangara, Nakapelimoru, Kotido)	1. Jie- Uganda 2. Turkana- Kenya 3. Bokora- Uganda	1. Competition for mainly water points 2. Livestock thefts 3. Boundary disputes between the Jie against the Dodoth and Matheniko	Low

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Map 8: zone 5-9 RESOURCE LAND USE AND LAND COVER

There is a notable higher concentration of water points within zones 8 and 9



in Uganda compared to zone 7 and 6 in Kenya. This often facilitates the movement of pastoralist during the dry season in towards Uganda. The existing livestock markets are in close proximity to the water points. Most of these markets are structured markets (markets with infrastructure). Generally, there is presence of expansive grazing potential areas across the borderlines which constitutes as both grassland shrubland and woodlands

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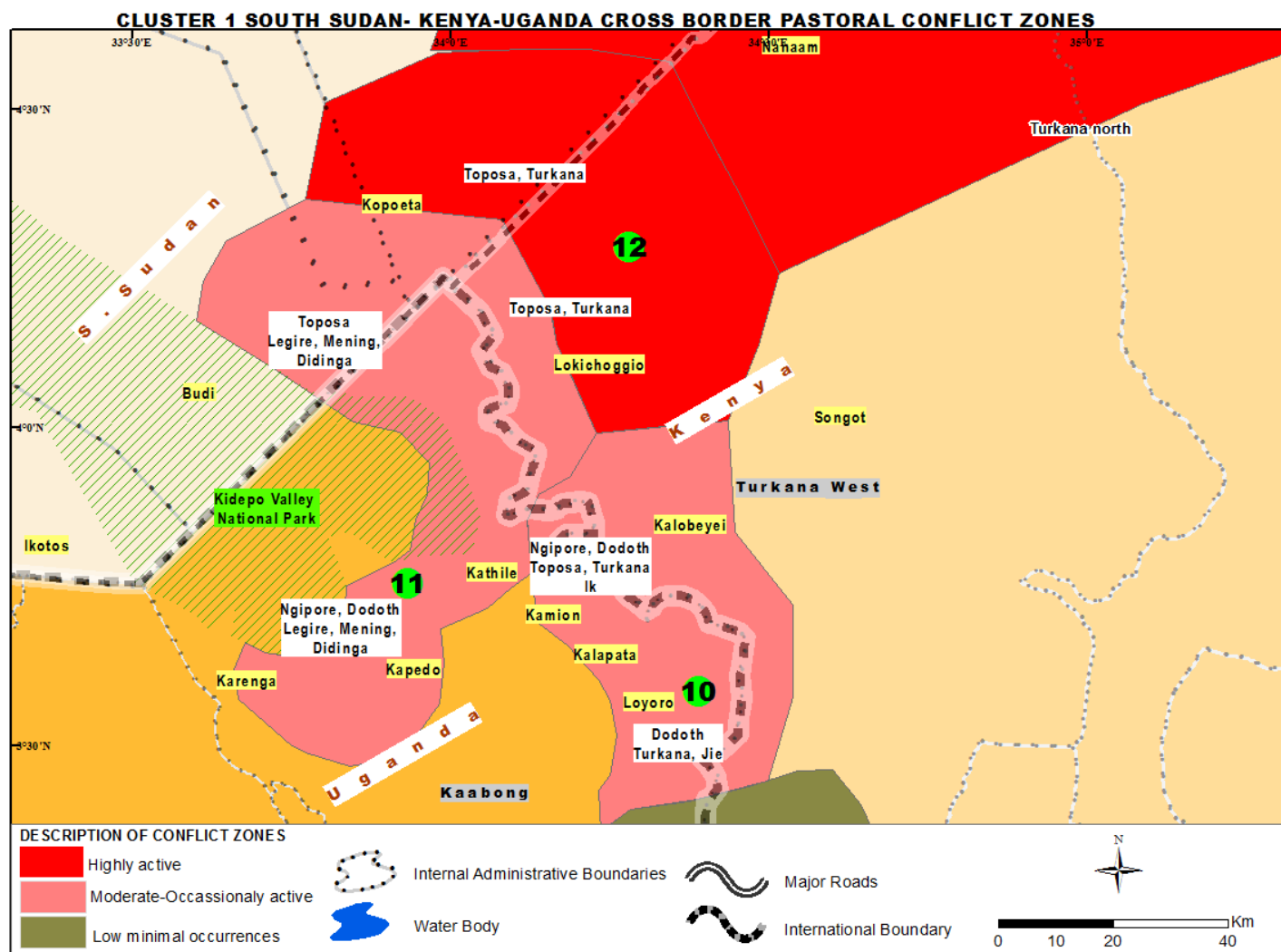
within the zones. This translates to low minimal conflict occurrences related to resources. . Zone 6 conflicts incidences can be attributed more to tribal conflicts other than resource based. However, the presence of both potential grazing and agricultural land uses is a potential conflict cause factor due to the competing land use. Further, due to the relatively better grazing and watering conditions in Uganda, concrete resource management plans across the borderline region should be advocated for to avoid incidences of resource based conflicts

4.3 Description of Cluster 1 zones 10-12

The zones cover 3 countries of Kenya, Uganda and South Sudan. The conflicts are mainly related to natural resources and ethnic rivalry between the Turkana and the Toposa.

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Map 9: CLUSTER 1 KENYA-UGANDA-SOUTH SUDAN-ZONES: 10-12



Zone 10: This zone covers the sub counties of Loyoro, Kalapata and Kamion in Kaabong district in Uganda and Kalobeyei parts of Lokichoggio and Songot in Turkana west in Kenya. Loyoro and Kalapata comprises of mostly the Dodoth ethnic group, while Kamion comprises mostly the endangered Ik

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ethnic tribe. The zone is an interactive area between the Dodoth, Ik, Ngipore of Uganda and the Turkana from Kenya and Toposa from South Sudan. In Kamion, the Ik carry out subsistence agronomy and gathering as the major livelihood. The conflict situation is therefore characterized by clashes over conflicting land uses among the agronomists and grazing pastoralists from Turkana, Dodoth and Toposa. The other conflict is over the depletion of protected resources around the Timo forest reserve in kamion. Occasionally, the Toposa form alliances with Dodoth to carryout raids and theft of livestock from the Turkana during the drought. Retaliatory attacks by the Turkana during rain seasons are common. Criminal attacks and killings do take place between rival ethnic groups especially between the Toposa and Turkana. The conflict intensity is of moderate nature with incidents occurring quite commonly with occasional killings but not so frequent. Tsetse fly infestation particularly in the areas of Loyoro has greatly reduced on the grazing areas and has increased on competition over water and available grazing areas.

Summary of zone 10

Locations	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict Description
Uganda 1. Kaabong (Loyoro, Kalapata and Kamion) 2. Kalobeyei – Kenya	1. Dodoth- Uganda 2. IK-Uganda 3. Ngipore- Uganda 4. Turkana-Kenya 5. Toposa- S.Sudan	1. Livestock thefts 2. Occasional – raids 3. Occasional ethnic killings 4. Environmental destruction 5. Conflict over land use	Moderate

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		agriculture vs grazing 6. Conflicts over grazing and water points	
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Zone 11: this zone is located in Karenga, Kapedo and Kathile in Kaabong district of Uganda. It covers Lokichoggio in Kenya and Kapoeta, Budi and Ikotos in South Sudan. It is an interactive zone between the Ngipore and Dodoth of Uganda, with the Toposa, Didinga, Mening and Legire from South Sudan. The major conflict in this zone is between the pastoral communities and the wildlife authorities over incursions into the game park and poaching. Livestock thefts and rival killings are also common. The conflict zone is of moderate intensity. Clashes over watering points and grazing areas during drought are common. Tsetse fly infestation has exacerbated the situation by reducing on the grazing areas coverage. Concerns over depletion of social services resources is very much a concern of the local authorities as the migrating communities seek for the meager services available to the local communities.

Summary of Zone 11

Locations	Actors	Major conflicts	Description of conflicts
1. Kaabong - Uganda: (Karenga, Kapedo and Kathile in	4. Toposa –S. Sudan 5. Turkana – Kenya	1. Livestock thefts. 2. Ethnic attacks (Toposa/Dodoth –Turkana)	Moderate

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2. Turkana North in Kenya: (Lokichoggio) 3. East Equatorial S.Sudan (Kapoeta, Budi and Ikotos)	6. Ngipore, Ik, Dodoth – Uganda 7. Legire, Mening ,Didinga – S.Sudan 8. Wildlife Authority and Local governments of Kaabong	3. Environmental degradation. 4. Game Park encroachment and Poaching 5. Conflicting land use practices – Agronomy vs grazing among the Ik and pastoralists.	
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Zone 12: This zone is located in Lokichoggio in Turkana North County in Kenya, and Kopoeta in South Sudan. It is an interactive zone between the Toposa and Turkana. The conflict situation is over grazing land and watering points and is of very high intensity involving raids killings and revenge killings. There is fierce dislike between the Turkana and Toposa which is manifested in this zone through rampant raids and killings.

Summary of zone 12

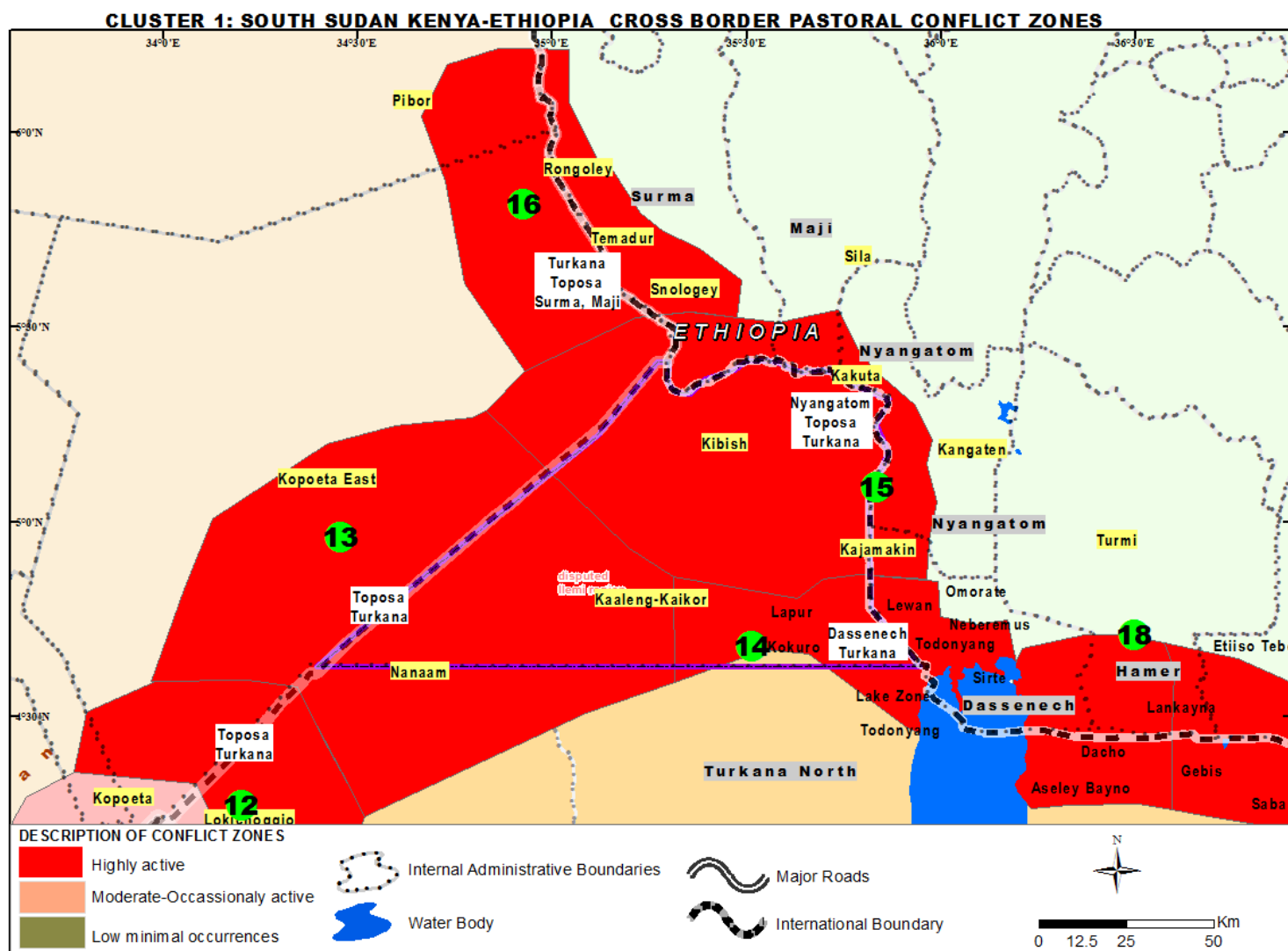
Locations	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict Description
1. Turkana North (Lokichoggio)- Kenya 2. East Equatorial (Kopoeta)- S.Sudan	1. Toposa – S.Sudan 2. Turkana- Kenya	1. Clashes over grazing land and water points 2. Ethnic attacks 3. Raids	High

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4.4 Description of Cluster 1 zones 13-16

The zones cover the 3 countries of Kenya, Ethiopia and s. Sudan. The major issues rotate along sharing of pasture and water, ethnic attacks and boundary contestation around Kibish in the Ilemi triangle.

Map 10: CLUSTER 1 ETHIOPIA-SOUTH SUDAN –KENYA ZONES 13-16



Zone 13: This zone is located in Turkana North in Kenya and Kopoeta East in South Sudan. It is a highly conflict active zone involving the Toposa from

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Kopoeta East and Turkana from Turkana North. Conflict incidents include livestock theft, and raids, competition over grazing and water areas and random ethnic revenge attacks and killings. The area around the Ilemi Triangle has seen these communities claim historical land ownership and hence putting the border demarcation into contestation. The zone extent covers Lokichoggio, Naanam to Kaaleng-kaikor in Kenya and covers the eastern locations of Kapoeta east county of South Sudan. The locations of Nadagal in Lokichoggio, Mogile and Naanam in the disputed Ilemi triangle are the most affected as these are the areas located along hilly ranges and water sources during scarcity and act as convergent points where attacks are usually initiated.

Summary of zone 13

Locations	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict Description
1. Turkana North (Lokichoggio,Naanam ,Kaaleng, Kaikor)- Kenya 2. East Equatorial (Kopoeta)-S.Sudan	1. Toposa – S.Sudan 2. Turkana- Kenya	1. Clashes over grazing land and water points 2. Ethnic attacks 3. Raids	High

Zone 14: This zone is a conflict zone involving the Turkana from Kenya and the Dassenech from Ethiopia. It extends from Kokuro, Lapur, Todonyang and lake Turkana shore areas in Kenya. It extends from Lewan, Kanamugur, Todonyang Buebuea and around the shores of Lake Turkana in Ethiopia. The major conflicts arise from random revenge ethnic attacks and killings, sometimes associated with violent acquisition of small arms or cultural beliefs

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for heroism, and competition over natural resources including water and pasture areas. Other conflict incidents include massive livestock thefts with occasional raids and clashes over fishing areas and thefts of fishing gear. The locations of Sirte , Nebermus and Buebuea are important areas for spiritual blessing for the Dassenech before engaging in any attacks.

Summary of zone 14

Locations	Actors	Major conflicts	Description of Conflicts
1. Turkana Noth (Kokuro, Lapur, Todonyang, Lake zone)-Kenya 2. Dassenech (Lewan, Sirte, Nebremus, Kanamugur, Todonyang Buebuea)-Ethiopia	1. Turkana – Kenya 2. Dassenech-Ethiopia	1. Clashes over grazing land and water points 2. Raids 3. Ethnic clashes 4. Clashes over fishing grounds, fishing gear thefts robberies	High

Zone 15: This zone is a highly volatile conflict zone between the Toposa communities of S. Sudan, Turkana of Kenya and Nyangatom , Suruma and to a small extent the Maji of Ethiopia. In Ethiopia, It extends from Kajamakin to kakuta around the Tirga hills and Kangaten (Nyangatom), and from Brem to the north to Snology to the south of Suruma covering Sirte to the interior in

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Maji. In Kenya it covers the area of Kibish and in S.Sudan, and includes Kapoeta east. The major conflict arises from the disputed border areas in Kibish currently under Turkana occupation but contested by the Toposa of South Sudan and Nyangatom, Suruma communities of Ethiopia. The area is enriched with minerals, grazing hills and valleys for watering during drought leading to other conflicts such as competition over grazing lands, random ethnic revenge killings, and raids. It is highly conflict active zone.

Locations	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict Description
1. Nyangatom: (Kajamakin to kakuta, Tirga hills and Kangaten; Surma (Brem ,Snology); Maji:(Sirte)- Ethiopia 2. Turkana North:(Kibish)- Kenya 3. Kopoeta east – S.Sudan.	1. Toposa – S.Sudan 2. Surma,- Ethiopia. 3. Nyangatom, -Ethiopia 4. Maji- Ethiopia 5. Turkana – Kenya	1. Border disputes around Kibish. 2. clashes over grazing and water points. 3. Ethnic attacks and clashes 4. Border incursions and occupations	High

Zone 16: This zone includes Pibor, and Kapoeta east in South Sudan, part of Kibish in Kenya, and the western locations of Suruma (Brem in the north to Snology in the south), and Maji (Sila) in Ethiopia. Contestation of the border around Kibish in Kenya and Snology in Suruma, incursions and attacks from heavily armed Toposa from Pibor and Kapoeta east are the major areas of constant conflict between the Suruma and Toposa. Other conflicts include

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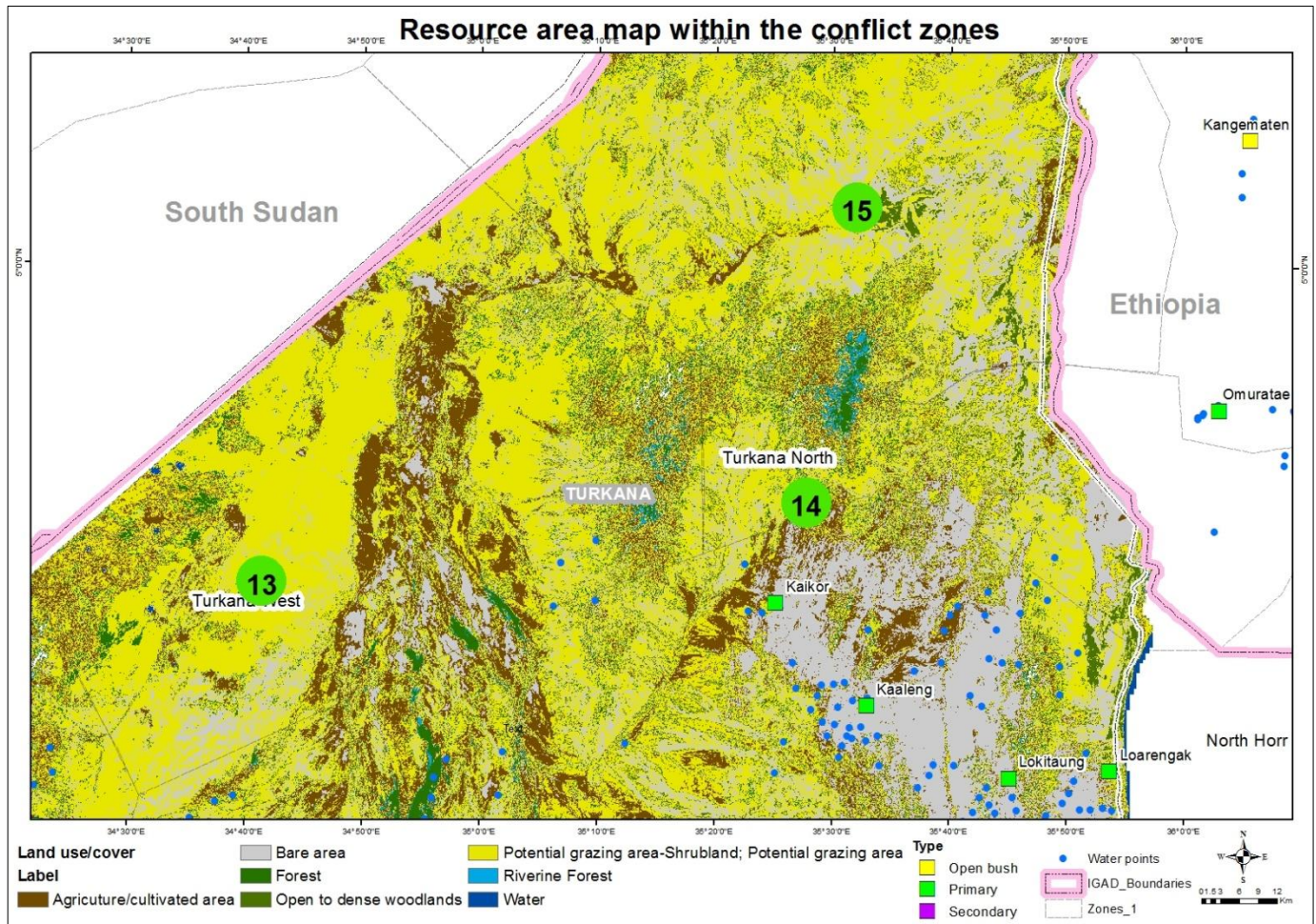
competition over grazing land along hills and water basins during droughts, and random revenge ethnic killings. Ripple effects are felt in Sila at Maji as the Maji communities get pushed further to the interior by the escaping Surumas. Land abandonment and disruption of livelihood activities is very regular occurrences in this zone.

Summary of zone 16:

Locations			Actors	Major conflicts	Co De
1. South Sudan –Pibor, Kopoeta 2. Kenya –Kibish 3. Ethiopia-Rongelely, Snology,Temadur	1. Toposa – S.Sudan 2. Turkana –Kenya 3. Surma, Maji, - Ethiopia	1. Clashes over grazing and water points 2. Border incursions 3. Border disputes 4. Raids 5. Ethnic clashes	High		

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MAP 11: zone 13-16 RESOURCE LAND USE AND LAND COVER

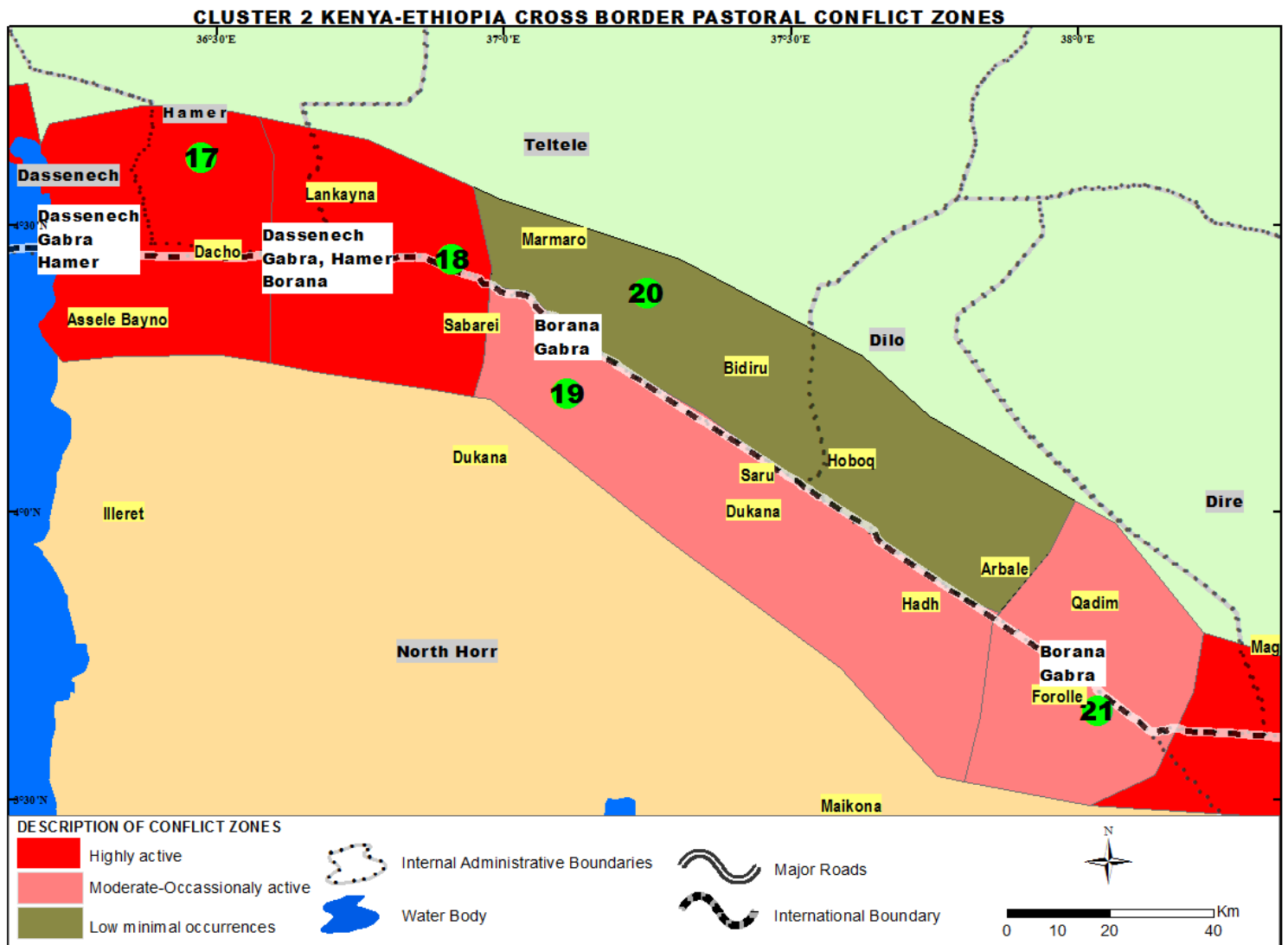


The land use in the zones is characteristically pasture grazing areas with limited agriculture areas. There is a sparse distribution of water sources in the zones, this could be a potential conflict driver within these zone. Hence, the major conflicts in the zone are attributed to competition over the grazing areas and water points as well as tribal rivalry.

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4.5 Description of Cluster 2 zones 17-21

Map 12: Cluster 2 KENYA-ETHIOPIA ZONES 17-21



The zones include Dassenach, Hamer and Borana of Ethiopian and the Dassenach, Gabra and some Borana of Kenya. Conflict incidents are very

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frequent around the border areas of Hamer, Dassenech and Gabra making it a highly active conflict zone. It then transcends to a moderate to low conflict incidents along the Gabra-Borana borders.

Zone 17: Actors in this zone include the Hamer ethnic group of Hamer Woreda and the Dassenech of Dassenech Wored Ethiopia. In Kenya, it includes the Dassenech of Ileret and some Gabra communities from Dukana. The conflict spots are usually around the locations of Daccho, and Asseley Bayno in Kenya where there are favorable grazing lands during drought. The conflict incidents include; raids and random revenge attacks and killings on either side of the border areas. It is highly active conflict zone. There are ongoing conflicts over territorial land ownership between the Gabra and the Dassenech which perpetuates clashes and attacks.

Summary of zone 17

Local Administrative coverage	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict Descriptions
1. Ethiopia -Hamer, Dassenech 2. Kenya –Illeret	1. Dassenech, Hamer - Ethiopia 2. Dassenech, Gabra-Kenya	1. Clashes over grazing lands and water points. 2. Territorial land claims. 3. Ethnic attacks. 4. Raids. 5. Livestock thefts.	High

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Zone 18: The ethnic groups in this zone include the Hamar of Hamer Woreda in Ethiopia and some Borana communities from Teltele in Ethiopia. In Kenya, it includes the Gabra of Dukana and Dassenech of Ileret. The conflict spots include the locations of Lankayna and Etiiso Tebel in Hamer and Gebis and sabarei in Ileret, Kenya. The conflicts here are commonly over grazing land, raids and ethnic revenge attacks associated with cultural beliefs and violent acquisition of small arms. It is highly conflict active.

Summary of Table 18

Local Administrative coverage	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict Descriptions
1. Ethiopia -Hamer, Teltele 2. Kenya –Ileret, Dukana	1. Hamer, Dassenech, Borana-Ethiopia 2. Gabra, Dassenech – Kenya	1. Clashes of Grazing and water points 2. Ethnic attacks 3. Raids and livestock thefts	High

Zone 19: This zone is native to mainly the Gabra ethnic group of Kenya who occasionally clash with Borana of Ethiopia over pasture and water. The main conflict active area is around Sabarei, Saru Hadh and Forolle border areas Ethiopia. The zone occasionally suffers from spillover effects as a result of political tensions and conflicts from the neighboring Moyale. It is of moderate conflict intensity.

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Local Administrative coverage	Actors	Major conflicts
1. Kenya –Dukana, Maikona	1. Gabra-Kenya 2. Borana-Ethiopia	1. Livestock thefts 2. Local political conflicts

Zone 20: This Borana zone is characterized by being latent in terms of conflict on the Ethiopian side of the border. It stretches from Marmaro in Teltele Woreda to Arbale in Dilo Woreda. It is a relatively peaceful zone with very rare incidents of livestock thefts.

Local Administrative coverage	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict status
1. Ethiopia- Teltela, Dilo	1. Borana-Kenya 2. Gabra-Kenya	1. Competition of grazing land and water points 2. Spillover effects of political rivalry in Moyale.	Low - conflict incidents not common

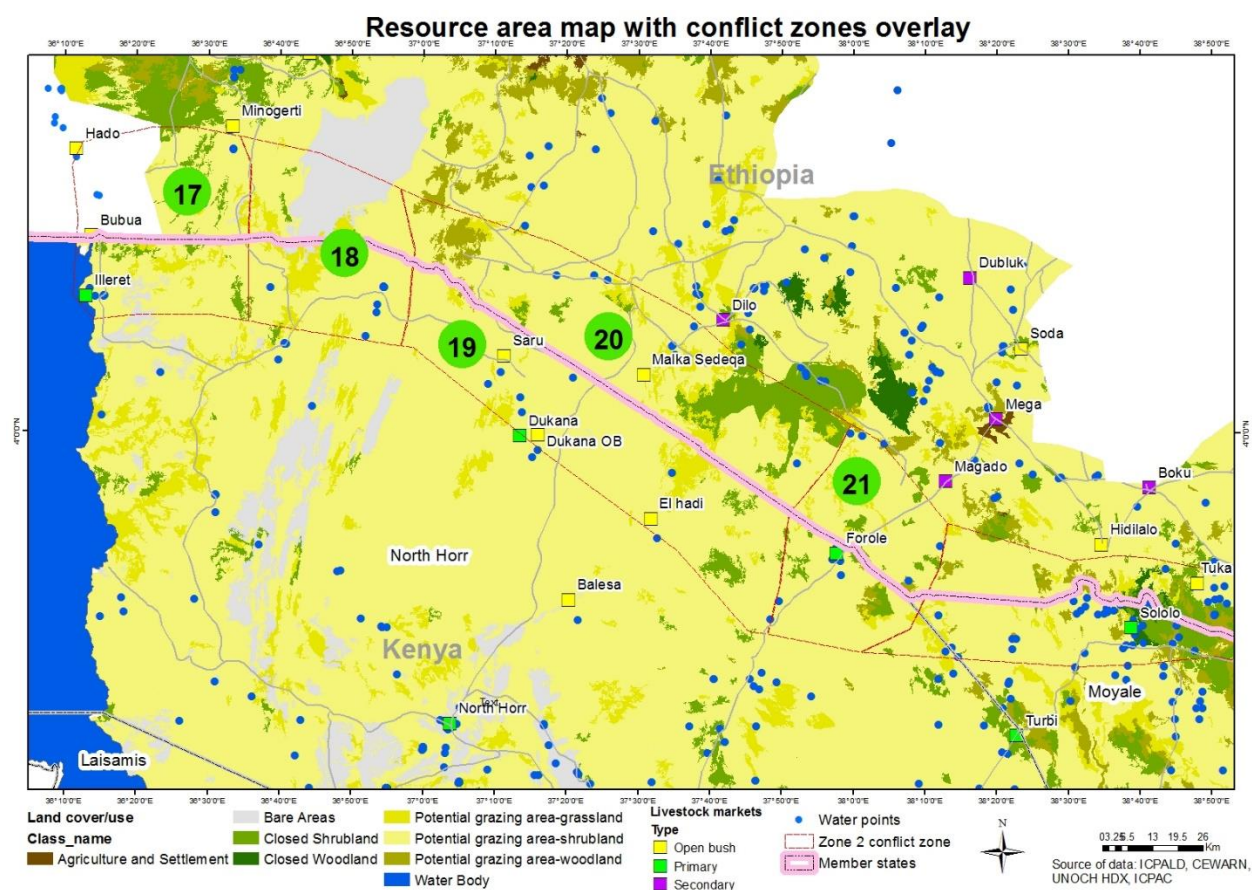
Zone 21: similar to zone 19 but includes areas of Qadim in Dilo Woreda in Ethiopia and Forolle in Kenya. It is a moderately conflict active zone involving armed insurgents characterized by random killings and thefts of livestock.

Summary of zone 21

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Local Administrative coverage	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict status
1. Ethiopia – Dilo 2. Kenya – Maikona	1. Borana-Ethiopia 2. Borana, Gabra-Kenya	1. Armed insurgents 2. Livestock thefts	Moderate – few cases of conflict incidents

MAP 13: ZONE 17-21 RESOURCE LAND USE AND LAND COVER



The water points are sparsely distributed within the conflict zones. The potential grazing areas are distributed across the border; along zones 17 and 18. Within zone 19 and 20, there is a distinction between the grazing

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vegetation types with concentration of closed shrublands in zone 20 as compared to zone 19 with open shrublands. This implies that there is seasonal communal grazing that takes place with a significant number of browsers such as camels and goats.

On livestock markets, there is a clear distinction across the border with concentration of structured markets in Ethiopia as compared to Kenya. This calls for upgrading of livestock markets in Kenya so as boost the prevailing livestock trade relations between the two countries.

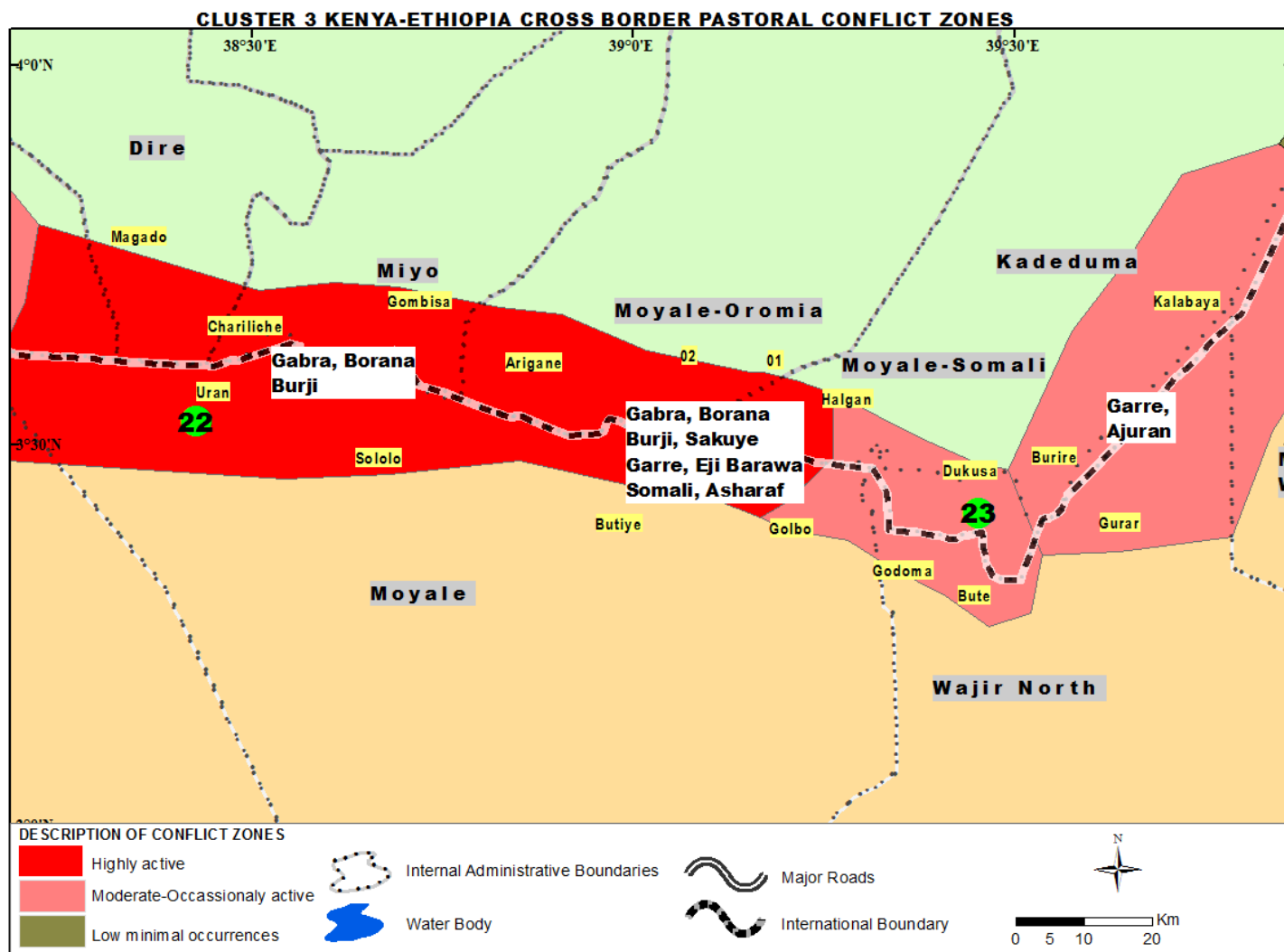
Hence, with the even distribution of potential grazing areas, the prevailing conflict triggers are more tribal and border than resources based.

4.6 Description of cluster 3 zones 22-24

This is a conflict hotspot area involving political rivalries and armed insurgents who randomly carry out attacks and loot property. The conflict incidents are frequent and involves fatalities and property losses. The dominant ethnic tribes in the zones are the Borana and Gabra. However, there are numerous other minority tribes that are significant in terms of alliance formations for political and business dominance.

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Map 14: CLUSTER 3: KENYA -ETHIOPIA: Zone 22-24



Zone 22: In Ethiopia, the zone extends from Magado in Dire Woreda to 01 and parts of Halgan in Moyale Somali Woreda. In Kenya, it covers Uran Sololo and Butiye and parts of Golbo Constituencies. The Borana are majorly on the Ethiopian side while on the Kenya side, the Gabra constitute the majority. There is a mixture of other tribes across the border areas. The zone is highly

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conflict active zone with conflict incidents related to military insurgence, political and business rivalry. Livestock thefts are also common. The zone is usually conflict active or clouded in tensions over impending active conflict.

Summary of zone 22

Local Administrative coverage	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict status
Kenya –Uran, Sololo, Butiye Ethiopia- Dire, Miyo, Moyale Oromia and Somali	Mixed tribes with dominance of Borana in Ethiopia and Gabra in Kenya. Other tribes include; Garre, Burji, Eji, Barawa, Somali, Asharaf and Sakuye.	1. Armed insurgents 2. Political rivalry 3. Business rivalry 4. Livestock thefts 5. Civilian attacks	Highly active

Zone 23: Zone 23 is located within the Kadeduna Woreda in Ethiopia. While in Kenya, it is within Mandera West. The Actors in this zone are the Garre of Ethiopia, and the Ajuran and Garre in Kenya. The conflict zone is of a moderate nature limited to livestock thefts and competition over grazing lands and water points.

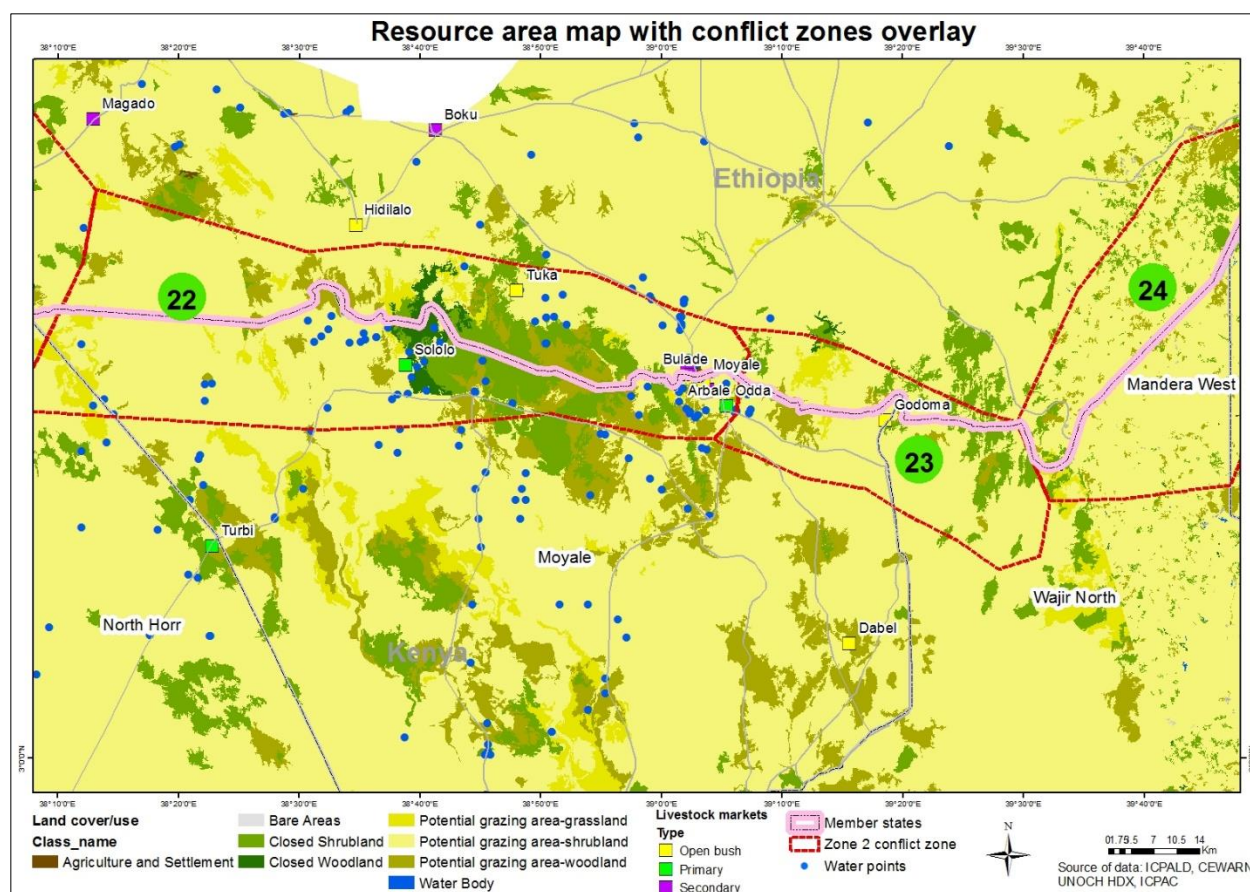
Summary of zone 23

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Local Administrative coverage	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict status
1. Ethiopia – Kadeduma, 2. Kenya -wajir North, Mandera West	1. Gare – Ethiopia 2. Ajuran, Gare-Kenya	1. Livestock thefts 2. Inter clan clashes 3. Grazing land and water points conflicts	Low-Insignificant

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MAP 15: ZONE 22-24 RESOURCE LAND USE AND LAND COVER



There is relatively uniform distributions of potential grazing lands with relative distribution of water points in the zones. This fosters good relations between the cross border communities in terms of both accessibility to resource as well as trade. The livestock markets are sparsely distributed within the zones and are located in the major towns, with moyale market serving as a cross border market. The livestock markets are in close proximity to water points. Hence, within these zones, the conflict drivers are triggered by prevailing tribal and political conflicts rather than resource based.

4.7 Description of cluster 3 zones 24-26

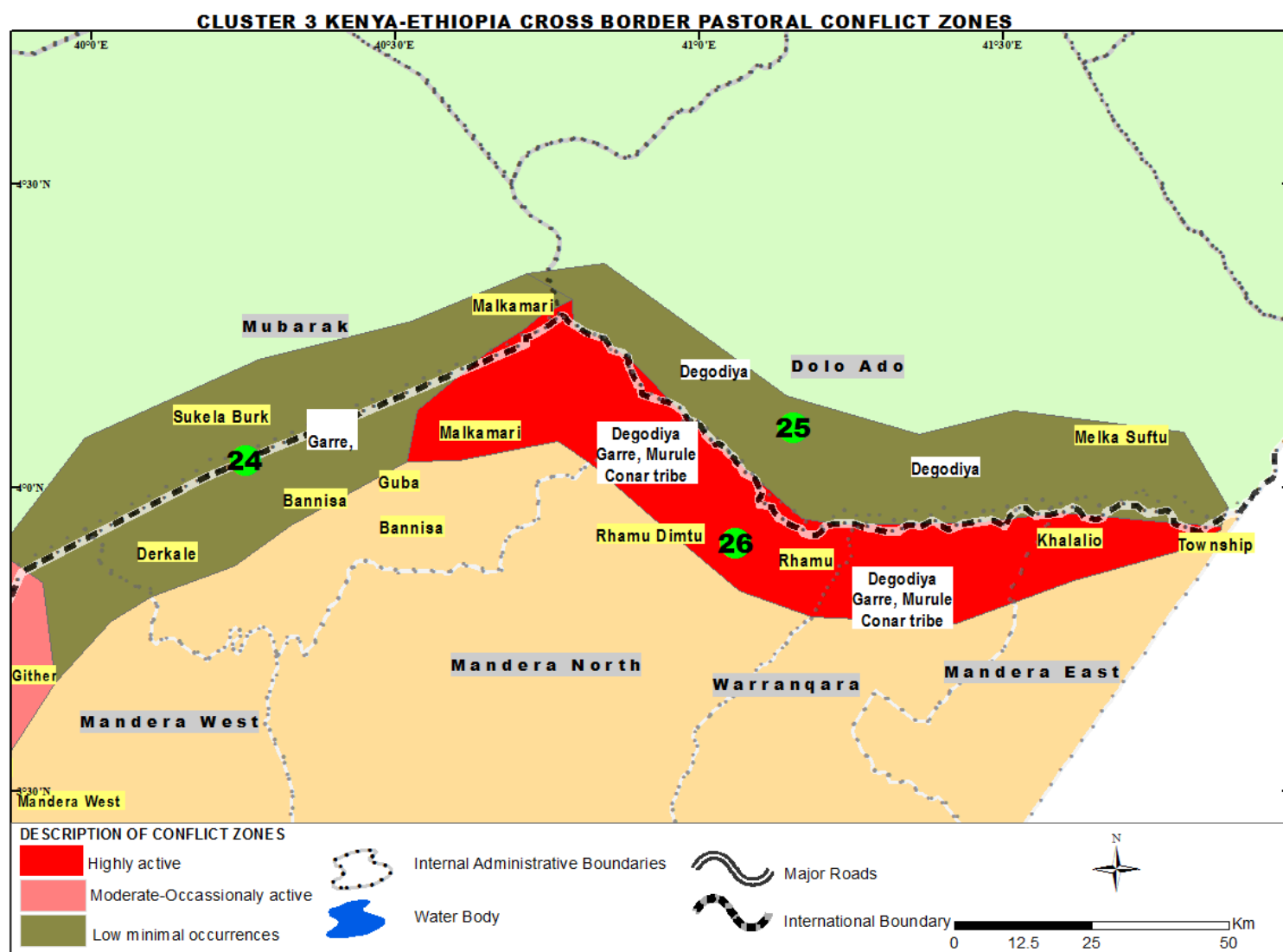
From Mubarak to Dolo Ado in Ethiopia and around Banisa in Kenya is a relatively peaceful area. The areas around Melkemer on either side of the

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border is a conflict hotspot that stretches all the way to Mandera township in Kenya. The conflicts are mostly inter-clan in nature and while the tribes in Ethiopia are more homogeneous, there are different tribes' domiciled on the Kenya side where the conflicts are manifested. The conflicts are more on political and business rivalry and dominance, and territorial and land ownership wrangles based on clans, location of resources and evolving land use including investment over traditional land use for grazing.

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Map 16: CLUSTER 3 KENYA –ETHIOPIA Zone 24, 25 and 26



Zone 24: This zone is located within the Mubarak Woreda in Ethiopia and in Kenya, Banissa and part of Madera West. It is homogeneously Garre on either side of the border making it relatively peaceful with conflict incidents limited to clan rivalry and competition over water points.

Summary of zone 24:

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Local Administrative coverage	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict description
1. Ethiopia- Mubarak 2. Kenya – Banisa, (Mandera West (Gither)	1. Gare- Ethiopia 2. Gare- Kenya	1. Inter-clan conflicts 2. Access to water points	Low – insignificant

Zone 25: The zone is entirely located in Dolo Ado Woreda of Ethiopia neighboring Kenya from Malkameri to Mandera Township. It is homogeneously Degodiya native zone. The zone is relatively peaceful zone with rarely reported conflict occurrences. It is characterized by youth migration flight to Kenya where opportunities are deemed to be more abundant.

Summary of zone 25

Local Administrative coverage	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict status
1. Ethiopia-Dolo Ado	1. Degodiya- Ethiopia	1. Mostly social- economic and internal clan conflicts.	Low- insignificant

Zone 26: The zone is entirely located in Kenya extending from Mandera Township to Malkamari. It has a heterogeneous composition of Somali tribes of Degodiya, Conar tribe, Murule and Gare. It is highly active conflict zone with incidents related to clashes over grazing lands, disputes over internal

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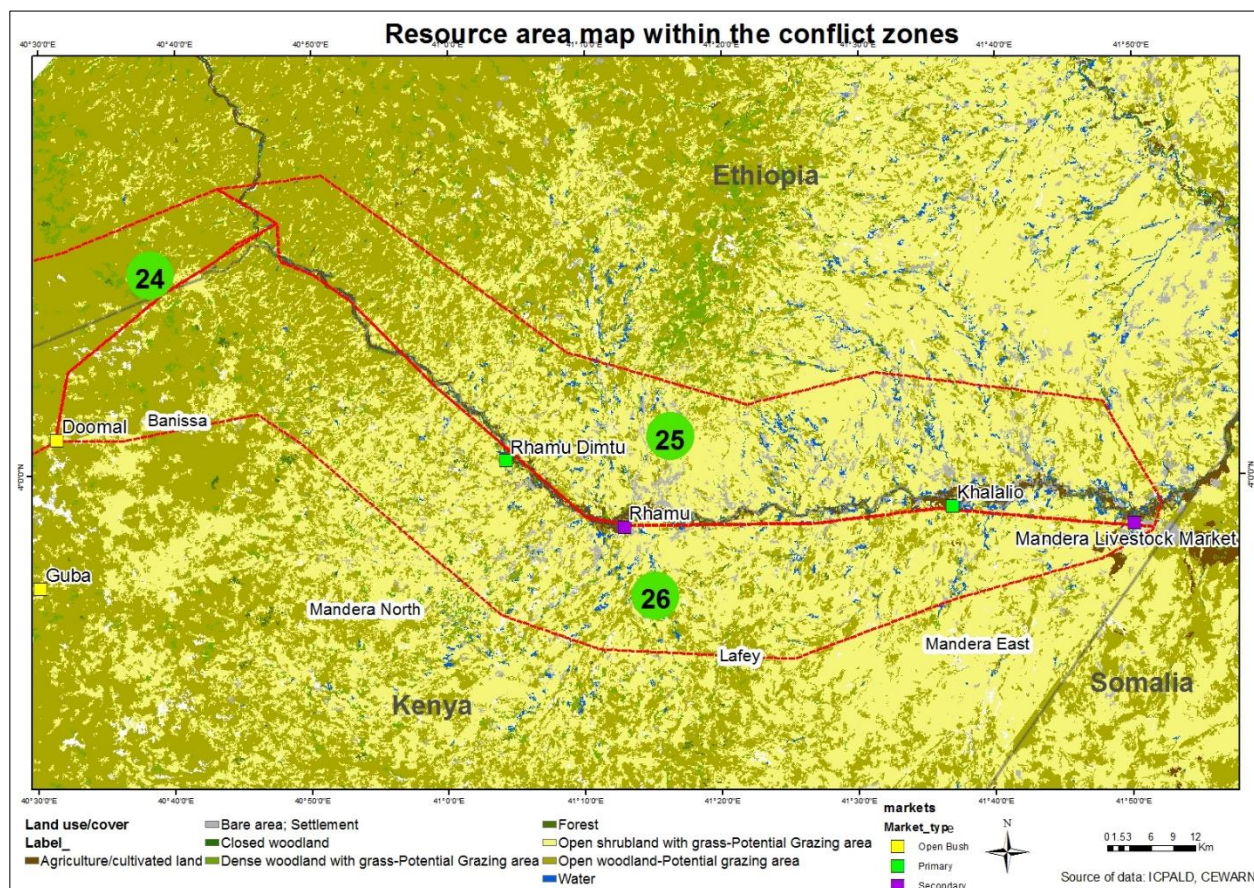
border demarcations and land ownership conflicts, business and political rivalry, conflicting land use practices between pastoralists and other emerging land uses and ethnic rival killings.

Summary of zone 26

Local Administrative coverage	Actors	Major conflicts	Conflict description
1. Kenya – Mandera East, West and North	1. Degodiya, 2. Murule 3. Gare 4. Conar tribe	1. Clashes over grazing land and water points. 2. Clashes over ethnic land ownership. 3. Clashes over conflicting land use practices – settlements, agronomy vs grazing. 4. Business rivalry. 5. Political rivalry. 6. Inter clan ethnic clashes 7. Migration	Highly active

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MAP 17: ZONE 24-26 RESOURCE LAND USE AND LAND COVER



Relatively uniform distribution of grazing resources along the border which translates to low-minimal occurrence of conflicts within the zone related to resources. In zone 26 and 27 there is uniform distribution of grazing resource however in zone 27 owing to the heterogeneous mixture of tribes, this translates to highly active conflict zone as compared to zone 26 (which is homogeneously Degodiya).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the exercise identified the major cross border conflicts, the actors involved, spatial extents and described the conflict prone areas in terms of being either highly active or of low activity with regard to conflict incident occurrences.

Along the cross border clusters some pocket zones experiencing traditional conflicts such as livestock raids and ethnic attacks dissipate especially around cluster 1 in Karamoja, while in some zones like along the Turkana Toposa and Ethiopia corridors, these vices have remained persistent. Conflicts as a result of political and business take center stage along cluster 3 areas of Moyale and Mandera especially during election times.

The region is generally characterized by being ASAL and therefore making it vulnerable to erratic weather conditions and persistent long dry spells. The cross border conflicts are still very much hinged on pasture and water availability especially in the areas of scarce resource in which the pastoralists share and utilize the meager reserves. There is a rising land use competition-settlement/urbanization and conversion of potential grazing lands to agricultural fields. This poses a threat as competing land use could trigger potential conflicts within these areas deemed fairly stable. This calls for well-coordinated cross border resource management plans.

The cross border areas of Kenya- Uganda and Ethiopia are populous with livestock. This fosters favorable livestock trade relations across the borderline region. The current market infrastructure within this area calls for upgrading, rehabilitation of existing markets. The lack of infrastructure in some of the livestock markets limits the livelihood diversity of the pastoralists and curtails the much needed transformation of traditional pastoralism to modern market value livestock farming where pastoralists can view livestock as a source of income and sustenance and not as a way of life.

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Because the region is rapidly transforming, new conflict dynamics are emerging and therefore regular updates of the conflict trends is an imperative step moving forward.