Climate Change, Human Mobility and Conflicts: The Role of Local Knowledge for Policy-Making



A case study in Moyale-Moyale







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#### Climate Change, Mobility and Conflict Nexus: The Role of Local Knowledge and Practices for Policy-Making:

#### On behalf of

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)

#### by

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1th December, 2023

This report was made possible through the support of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) in close collaboration with the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The contents of this report solely represents the opinions of the author (Jattani Gufu Wario), and do not necessarily reflect the views of neither GIZ nor IGAD.

This report was prepared for the GIZ - Human Mobility in the Context of Climate Change (HMCCC) Project Reference No. 17.4062.0-007.00, Contract No. SA-010/2023 by Jattani Gufu Wario.

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# Climate Change, Mobility and Conflict Nexus: The role of Local Knowledge and Practices for Policy-Making:

### A Synopsis of Climate Change, Mobility and Conflict Nexus:

The Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) of Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia continue to bear the brunt of historical marginalization and political neglect. While devolution was meant to reverse the roots of poor governance, inequality and conflicts that reinforced the historical marginalization of the Northern Frontier in Kenya, over a decade down the line, efforts to safeguard the devolution promises remain far below the pastoralist expectations. Overly, the Moyale-Moyale borderlands<sup>1</sup> are characterized by poor and inadequate infrastructure or none at all in some instances. They include but are not limited to tarmac roads in many parts, manufacturing industries, airports, railways, stadiums, higher learning institutions, state-of-the-art healthcare facilities and telecommunication networks. The region's inhabitants are nomadic communities ordinarily classified as ethnic minorities whose participation in the national development agenda is negligible. Regrettably, these pastoralist communities are profoundly unaware of the laws and institutions put in place to protect them against impunity and abuses of power.

The interplay between climate change, mobility, and conflict is a complex and multifaceted concern with significant implication for regional security and stability. The effects of climate-induced hazards such as drought, famine, and environmental degradation not only escalate the frequencies and intensity of conflict risks but also change the conflict dynamics in areas prone to violence. While climate-induced environmental hazards and conflicts directly impact human mobility, an array of mobility defects among the nomads also cause deplorable environments and resource scarcity, consequently leading to resource-based conflicts. Climate change has caused environmental degradation and desertification, increased surface temperatures, significant drops in underground water tables, erratic rainfall patterns, crop failures, and protracted drought spells, which impact the lives and livelihoods of pastoralists and crop farmers alike. Resident communities report that famines are happening every three years, as opposed to every decade in the past. The social landscape of the Moyale-Moyale borderland is characterized by chronic food and water shortages, insecurity, abject poverty, high dependency on food aid and rapidly changing livelihoods. It suffices to mention that the household dynamics are equally changing rapidly, with pastoralist women evolving as breadwinners in most resident households. Devastating environmental degradation accounts for the diminishing vegetation cover, soil erosion, flash floods, deplorable state of pastoral rangelands, loss of livelihoods, displacement and migrations of people. Displacement and migrations have led to mushrooming settlements, overcrowding and conflicts over resources, such as pasture, water, social amenities, trade and competition for jobs and housing.

A significant population become pastoral drop-outs following the unbearable aftermaths of each major catastrophe like drought and conflict. These pastoral drop-outs find Moyale a haven for relocation and economic recovery. Furthermore, the population congestion from human mobility has instigated contestations, occupational rivalry, racial profiling and social disharmony, particularly over stiff competition for public services, political alignments and scarce natural resources such as pastoral rangelands, water sources, the extractives industry and lands for settlement and crop farming.

A recent report by IGAD revealed that major Land Use Land Cover (LULC) changes in Marsabit county and Borana zone of Southern Ethiopia were observed in Shrublands whose land cover increased from 13602 km2 to 49046 km2 (an increment by more than triple in 30 years) between 1986 and 2017. In the same period, the land cover of Grasslands decreased from 20% to 10%. The report also argues that an estimated 25876 sq. km is covered by invasive woody species. Approximately, 34% of cross-border areas in Ethiopia and 18% in Kenya fall under very high degradation status. The pastoralist communities inhabiting these fragile ecosystems stand to suffer the most from the adversities of climate change.

<sup>1</sup> Moyale-Moyale cluster is also referred to as Moyale/Borana cluster that is an expansive stretch of borderlands from Moyale-Sololo-Forole-Dukana in Kenya; and Moyale-Mio-Dire-Dillo/Taltale in Ethiopia.

Pastoralism is challenged by a misconception positioning it not only as an economically non-viable occupation but also as an environmentally destructive land use practice. Livestock wealth that pastoralists entirely depend on for livelihoods hardly features in the Government's development priorities. Livestock and by-products have not yet advanced market value chains, with the establishment of abattoirs, milk processing plants and hides and skins tanneries remaining distant dream in the region. In addition, valuable livestock by-products like manure, bones, hooves, and horns barely remain a recipe for garbage disposal among pastoralists. Overly, the inherent nomadic lifestyle continues to evolve as more residents move out of pastoralism, opting for an otherwise more environmentally destructive land use practice, felling indigenous woody species for charcoal burning and construction poles that aggravates the magnitude of deforestation and environmental fragility.

The traditional customs govern the pastoralist society within the Moyale-Moyale borderlands. However, changing power dynamics brought about by formal education, the increasing role of religious institutions, and the roles of elected political leaders and contemporary administrators like Chiefs continue to weaken the role of traditional clan elders, threatening the social fabric of the nomadic communities. Political leaders often capitalize on the rifts between the pastoralist tribes to incite ethnic animosity. The contemporary peace structures, councils of elders, and other socio-cultural institutions that once existed to promote peace and stability within communities have been hijacked as vehicles for gaining political power. This is a worrying trend that threatens the authenticity and legitimacy of these peace and security institutions and undermines their original purpose. The increased politicization of these institutions has also exacerbated social polarization and division, making it more challenging to resolve conflicts and disputes.

Unfortunately, traditional systems existing for efficacy of environmental governance, natural resources sharing and management, disaster resilience practices and conflict transformation pathways are seldom integrated into policy and legislative frameworks, consequently lacking administrative recognition and legal basis on which to operate. The existing policies and legislative frameworks for mitigation and adaptation of climate-induced hazards and the conventional Early Warning Information (EWI) systems fail to recognize and empower these customary institutions, structures and individuals endowed with indigenous knowledge, who perform varied age-old practices of conflict and weather-related forecasts, socio-cultural justice pathways, pastoral rangelands ('dheeda')<sup>2</sup> governance, water resources utilization and management, transhumance and migratory regulation<sup>3</sup> as well as preventive and curative remedies to human and livestock illnesses. Traditional forecasters are held heavily reliable by pastoralists especially on droughts and floods forecasts whose accuracy have been proven as opposed to those by meteorological department and National Drought Management Authority (NDMA) whose predictions severally stood contestations and locally negated as misleading.

#### **Background Information:**

Human Mobility in the Context of Climate Change (HMCCC) is an umbrella term to describe changes of residence in anticipation or response to climate change impacts, and encompasses (internal) migration, forced displacement and planned relocations. More intense and/or frequent extreme weather events as well as gradual changes in the climate and environment are already affecting many people and their livelihoods. In the future, the adverse effects of climate change will continue to have significant impacts on human mobility and be major influencing factors in people's decisions to leave their homes. Existing migration patterns are most likely to intensify.

The German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) commissioned the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) with implementing a Global Programme (GP) Human Mobility in the Context of Climate Change (HMCCC). GIZ was commissioned in 2020 to expand HMCCC global program to the Horn of Africa, where people are already enduring the negative effects of climate change. The challenges include increasingly unpre-dictable precipitation patterns and an increase in the frequency and intensity of episodes of drought, which contribute to desertification, crop failure, and livestock death. The region's pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities are increasingly affected by severe economic losses, increased food insecurity, increased resource-based conflicts and

<sup>2 &#</sup>x27;Dheeda' is a Borana-Oromo term used by nomadic pastoralists to refer to traditional grazing zones within a particular pasture rangeland. 3 Transhumance/migration regulation sets season-specific demarcations of pasturelands and area-specific migratory paths for use by lives-

tock on transit to far-flung pasturelands

drought-induced displacement. Managing human mobility in a sustainable manner plays a major role in climate change adaptation.

The programme focuses on:

- Supporting GIZ partners at the regional, national and sub-national levels in managing HMCCC through participatory approaches.
- Developing information and resources on HMCCC. These processes will involve relevant stakeholders, including from knowledge-based institutions and academia, and closing subject-related gaps e.g. through capacity building and institutionalizing exchange platforms.
- Supporting international processes by feeding knowledge and experiences from the partner regions into German and international development cooperation.

The IGAD region is composed of 60 to 70% arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL). The ASAL lands are characterized by low rainfall rarely exceeding 500 millimeters per year. One in three people resides in rural areas with agriculture being the most dominant economic sector for most IGAD countries in terms of employment, income and share of GDP. In terms of weight and importance the livestock sector accounts for two thirds of the agricultural activities. Throughout the IGAD region, land aridity and climate variability have become increasingly unpredictable. Pastoral and agro-pastoral communities are particularly affected by the impacts of climate change, more particularly by slow onset climate processes and especially droughts. This is explained by the fact that most pastoral and agro-pastoral activities are heavily dependent on rainfall. Pastoral activities are adapted to the ASAL and pastoralists constantly navigate the difficulties imposed by the scarcity of waters sources and pastures.

Population increase as well as the spread of land uses non compatible with pastoral activities leading to overgrazing, the depletion of water resources and the degradation of rangelands further exacerbate the difficulties that pastoral communities are facing. Mobility has always been a central part of the identity and behavior of pastoralist communities; it is a core component of livelihood strategies for rural households. Pastoralists use mobility in the form of transhumance as a strategy to maximize livestock productivity in an environment prone to temporal and spatial variability in rainfall as well as the quantity and quality of forage. They move their livestock across large areas both within and across border. The Moyale-Moyale Cluster (also known as the Borana Cross-Border Cluster) is one of the cross-border cluster and migration hotspot defined by the IGAD. It straddles the borderland of northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia. The town of Moyale, split in two with one side in Ethiopia and the other in Kenya, contains the main border post on the Nairobi-Addis Ababa road. The Moyale cross-border cluster is inhabited by varied ethnic groups the largest of which being the Oromo and the Somali. Pastoralism remains the predominant livelihood practice in the region along with more urban livelihood alternatives appearing in and around Moyale and pulling workers into the city.

#### **Research Methodology and Approach:**

This report provides an analysis of climate change, mobility and conflict nexus in the Moyale-Moyale cluster based on the findings of desk research dependent on already available research and grey literature, and the views of a two-day community engagement workshop. Within the scope of the study, the two-day workshop held at Koket Borena Hotel on the 28th and 29th of November 2023, meaningfully engaged with the resident communities and government departments to understand local experiences and gather their first-hand accounts of the interactions between conflicts and human mobility in the context of climate change.

With a total attendance of 35 primary stakeholders, series of participatory sessions were planned to better interrogate their varied perspectives of climate change, mobility and conflict. To render the sessions exemplary interactive and to maximize on desired outcomes, a variety of content delivery methods were interchangeably employed including precise PowerPoint presentations, plenary brainstorming, group work assignments, web-based e-learning tool, language interpretation, peer-learning and/or experience sharing sessions. Delivery materials involved were notebooks, biro pens, marker pens, flip charts, manila papers and projector. Therefore, the content of this report is a consolidation of the desk research and gathered information from the community engagement sessions.

## Research Objectives and Guiding Questions:

The objectives of this study includes the following:

- 1. To carry out an in-depth desk analysis of the climate change, mobility and conflict nexus, and identifying what the knowledge gaps are;
- To provide an analysis of conflict dynamics and specificities of the Moyale-Moyale cross-border cluster including a historical review of conflict associated with climate-induced mobility as well as current trends;
- **3.** To map out all the relevant actors at the local level as well as the policies implemented at the regional and national levels;
- 4. To identify what knowledge, initiatives and practices implemented at the local level are contributing in managing and mitigating the impacts of conflicts.
- 5. To comment on exiting relevant government policies related to current and long-term plans for pastoralism with attention to future land use and service delivery.
- 6. To sensitize policy makers in the utility of local and traditional knowledge and practices in mitigating conflicts associated with climate induced mobility. Provide steps for raising awareness on these practices and their institutionalization/integration into regional and national policies.

Based on these objectives, the following research questions have been developed in collaboration with GIZ/IGAD to guide the approach of the overall analysis:

- 1. What are the current trends in climate change, human mobility and conflict dynamics and their inter-relations in Moyale-Moyale borderlands and its wider surroundings?
- 2. What are the policies and practices implemented locally to mitigate conflicts in the context of climate change and human mobility?
- **3.** What are the roles of indigenous knowledge and traditional practices in mitigating conflict in the context of climate change and human mobility?
- 4. What are the interactions between gender dynamics and the climate change, human mobility and conflict nexus?
- 5. What are the current and planned land uses and how do they impact human mobility in the context of climate change?

6. What knowledge gaps exists that require further research?



Part 1: Analysis of Trends in Climate Change, Mobility and Conflict Dynamics in Moyale-Moyale Borderlands and How They Impact Lives, Livelihoods and Peace and Security:

- 1) Climate-induced Environmental Challenges and Experiences within Moyale-Moyale borderlands and Surroundings and how they impact lives and livelihoods:
- a. Perennial droughts, famine and Extreme weather: It's heartbreaking to learn about the devastating effects of climate change on the IGAD region. The region has been experiencing severe droughts more frequently, which puts millions of people and their livelihoods at risk. Historical records show that the Horn of Africa has experienced severe droughts in 1983/84, 1988/89, 1999/2000, 2007/2008, 2010/2011, 2013/14, 2016/2017, and from 2020 to 2023.
- **b.** Food insecurity, acute hunger & malnutrition: The situation in the IGAD region is dire, with widespread food insecurity, hunger, and malnutrition affecting the population. The prolonged famine has led to the shrinking of natural resource bases, exacerbating the problem. Livelihoods have been severely impacted, with food insecurity, acute water shortage, and loss of livestock being the main issues. The situation has been worsened by COVID-19 outbreaks, desert locust infestations, and recurring violent conflicts.

According to a recent report by the africannews. com, nearly 950,000 children under the age of five and 134,000 pregnant and lactating women were acutely malnourished in the northern desert regions as of June 2022. The report projected that by February 2023, about 23 to 26 million people in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Somalia would face high levels of acute food insecurity primarily due to the drought. The report also indicated that as of July 2022, 568,000 children in the region were admitted to health facilities for treatment of severe acute malnutrition.

c. Pastoral destitution and economic loss: The situation of pastoralists is dire due to mass loss of livelihoods caused by vulnerabilities to famine, flash floods, and violent armed conflicts. The decline in natural resources has been caused by various factors such as extreme poverty, frequent famine, desertification, limited precipitation, and poor rangelands management practices. In addition, other factors including the spread of invasive shrubs that are unsuitable for livestock, encroachment of pastureland by crop farming, intrusion of wildlife conservancies into rangelands, destruction of prime-land by extractive industries, poor spacing between boreholes leading to overcrowding, and a drop in underground water tables have contributed to this decline.

In the Borena zone of Southern Ethiopia, the economic loss of 2,249,888 cattle as of October 28, 2022, has led to an estimated loss of 22,498,880,000 Ethiopian Birr. With drought continuing for five months since October 2022, the perished livestock is expected to increase twofold by the onset of the rainy season in April 2023. As of February 2023, 34,769 households were left destitute and had to part with all their livestock. The situation is alarming and requires immediate attention and action to prevent further loss of livelihoods.

d. Devastating environmental degradation and desertification: The environmental degradation and desertification in the ASALs is a critical issue that needs to be addressed urgently. Deforestation, overgrazing, land use change, and grass fires are driving unsustainable forest use by communities, leading to land degradation and biodiversity loss. The lack of alternative livelihoods and rapid population growth have exacerbated the situation, with Kenya's forest cover decreasing from 12% to 6% between 1990 and 2010.

A recent report by IGAD revealed that major Land Use Land Cover (LULC) changes in Marsabit County and Borana Zone of Southern Ethiopia were observed in Shrublands whose land cover increased from 13602 km2 to 49046 km2 (an increment by more than triple in 30 years) between 1986 and 2017. During the same period, the land cover of Grasslands decreased from 20% to 10%. In addition, an estimated 25876 sq. km is covered by invasive woody species. It adds that approximately 34% of cross-border areas in Ethiopia and 18% in Kenya fall under very high degradation status.

Climate change has also contributed to livestock diseases and has led to dreadful pasture conditions, which have left the environment bare and impoverished agricultural and livestock farmers. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) predicts that climate extremes will increase in frequency and intensity due to rising global temperatures, population pressure, land use change, and the continued destruction of forests, grasslands, wetlands, and critical ecosystems. It is crucial to implement sustainable development strategies to increase resilience to climate change, droughts, and environmental conservation and management.

e. Depleted water resources and fisheries: The decline in water bodies in Marsabit County has been a continuous problem for years, with the water bodies occupying 515,154.36 hectares in 1979 but shrinking to 500,636.86 hectares in 2014, according FAO Land Use Land Cover (LULC) analysis. This constant decline is due to the increase in surface temperatures and the frequency of droughts in the area. Sadly, the situation is even worse for Lake Turkana, which has seen a significant reduction in its water body volume over the years. This is primarily due to increased damming of the Omo River, which is the main inlet into the lake. Plankton abundance and other aquatic life have suffered as a result of the reduced volume of water and alteration of the lake's chemical composition. Recurrent droughts have also led to a reduction in fish stock.

The Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) has reported that in Marsabit, most households rely on shallow wells and boreholes for their water needs, with only 2% having access to improved latrines. In many Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) areas, groundwater resources are generally over-extracted, inappropriately located, mostly saline, and unsuitable for both domestic and commercial use. Climate change has also affected water availability due to reduced recharge rates,

depletion of water catchments, siltation of surface water sources, and water contamination, resulting in waterborne diseases.

f. Unclear land and environmental policies: The lack of clear land policies and inadequate environmental policies are major issues in the region. The land adjudication process has led to fragile ecosystems with rich biodiversity being encroached upon without allowing for buffer zones. This has resulted in human-human and human-wildlife conflicts, particularly on Mount Marsabit, where wildlife encroaches on crop farms and homesteads that border unprotected areas.

The vast rangelands in northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia are communal, and the land area under rich indigenous biodiversity continues to diminish. Although governments recognize the use of the ecosystems approach as the best method for conserving biodiversity, there are inadequate environmental and biodiversity-related laws, policies, and instructional frameworks towards this end. In Marsabit County, there are climate change and environment-related policies on paper, but they are not being implemented, including the Climate Change Fund Act and the Climate Change Finance Framework.

**g.** Crop failures: Crop failures in the Moyale-Moyale borderlands have become a major concern due to various factors such as climate change, unsustainable agricultural practices, and incompatible land use. These factors have contributed to successive crop failures, which have negatively impacted the already food-insecure communities in the IGAD region. Additionally, increased rates of water runoffs, soil erosion, crop despoilment from wildlife, locust invasion, limited farm inputs, and pests and diseases have also magnified crop losses. It is crucial to address these issues to prevent further decline in crop production and ensure food security in the region.

The recent famine has caused the death of over 1.5 million livestock in Kenya alone, and the situation is dire in Southern Ethiopia's Borena zone, where 2,249,888 cattle have died due to the inadequacy of rainfall patterns, according to a Zonal Inter-Cluster Coordination Forum report, as of October 28, 2022. The Food Security and Nutrition Working Group's special drought report of July 29, 2022, notes that the famine resulted from four consecutive below-average rainy seasons, which had not been seen in at least the last 40 years. It's essential to address climate change and implement sustainable strategies to ensure the resilience of communities and ecosystems.

## 2) Prevalent Conflict Dynamics within Moyale-Moyale borderlands and How They Influence Social Cohesion, Cross-Border Cooperation and the Community Social Fabric:

Cross-border incursions: The Ethio-Kenyan borderlands are hotbeds of cyclical conflicts. The resident nomadic tribes<sup>4</sup> within the Moyale-Moyale borderlands, such as the Borana, Gabbra, Sakuye and Gari, share a common Cushitic culture, language, and origin. It is worth mentioning that the 'Kona'5 community and Burji are non-pastoralists ordinarily dependent on trade for livelihoods. However, the constant mobility of pastoralists across ethnic, district, and international boundaries in search of natural resources has led to resource-based conflicts. The frequent cross-border incursions have resulted in pastoralists having dual citizenship, further exacerbating the crisscrossing of Ethio-Kenyan borders and increasing levels of international crimes. The struggle for scarce natural resources like water, pasture, and grazing lands has caused inter-ethnic armed conflicts aggravated by ethnicized political competition between the Borana and Gabbra since Kenya's devolution in 2013.

**Inter-ethnic feuds:** The most prevalent conflict types are intra- and inter-tribal rivalry attributed to resource-related disputes (foremost pasture and water), land ownership claims, expansionist politics, unclear demarcations of boundaries, political supremacy competition and cattle rustling. These conflicts have affected the local communities by restricting their movements, killings, displacements, rape, torture and maiming, property destruction and impoverishment. Ethicized armed conflicts manifest in periodic outbursts of communal violence claiming mass loss of human lives, huge casualties, large-scale human displacements, thousands of houses torched, vehicles burnt on highways, livestock rustled, and household properties and shops looted. Human killings happen nearly every day, and perpetrators are seldom brought to books. Efforts by governments to disarm resident civilians have always turned futile as pastoralists have grown immune to such coercive remedies owing to the porosity of boundaries and their entitlement to dual citizenry <sup>6</sup>.

As a result, violence and displacement of communities living in the borderlands is rampant. The busy town of Moyale with bee-hive of economic activities have severally been rendered a 'ghost town' by violent armed conflicts. Conflicts have led to mistrust, suspicion, and fear among the ethnic groups and make it difficult for them to work together towards common goals. These have also affected the community's social fabric, leading to a breakdown in traditional social networks and structures. Addressing these issues requires a multi-faceted approach, including dialogue and reconciliation efforts, resource-sharing agreements, empowerment of traditional socio-cultural institutions and improved governance and security measures.

Militarization of resident tribes: The general militarization of resident communities and the presence of armed militia groups have contributed to the insecurity and instability in the region. The Moyale-Moyale borderlands have conflicting policies across the borders. While the Kenyan government prohibits citizens from possessing weapons, the security system in Ethiopia permits civilians to own arms as long as they register with the federal government. Despite weapon possession being a severely punishable act of criminality in Kenya, residents acquire illicit arms to formidably equip their clan warriors for their defence and reinforcements for clansmen across borders during security distress. The government efforts to disarm civilians always turned futile due to pastoralists' ability to cope with the complexities of international border dynamics through flexibility to crisscross international boundaries, thereby aggravating levels of criminality across borders. On a

<sup>4</sup> Moyale-Moyale borderlands have six resident tribes, the Borana, Gabbra, Sakuye, Gari, Burji and 'Kona' communities. The Borana, Gabbra, Sakuye and Gari are pastoralists dependent on livestock rearing. The Burji and Kona communities are town dwellers who dominate trade in the Central Business District (CBD).

<sup>5</sup> Kona community is a name referring to the collection of smaller minority groups and individuals in urban setup who all trace varied ethnic grounds.

<sup>6</sup> A good number of nomadic pastoralists across the borders subscribe to be citizens of both countries of Ethiopia and Kenya as being permitted by the Kenyan constitution 2010.

different note, until very recently, Civil Societies in Ethiopia were restricted from engagement in peace and security interventions except a few state-accredited agencies.

Small arms race: In Moyale-Kenya, operational inefficiency of state security apparatus continues to exacerbate small arms race across borders, with the Kenya Defense Force (KDF), National Police Service (NPS), Critical Infrastructure Protection Unit (CIPU), Border Patrol Unit (BPU), Rapid Deployment Unit (RDU), Anti-Terror Police Unit (ATPU) and Anti-Stock Theft Unit (ASTU) being stationed right on the Moyale border. The proliferation and access to Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) are due to the proximity and porosity of the borders around Moyale-Kenya/ Moyale-Ethiopia, the Kenya/Ethiopia/Somali border around Mandera and the Kenya/South Sudan border around Lake Turkana. Cyclical inter-ethnic conflicts among nomadic groups exacerbate this proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the region, which has made it easier for communities to engage in violent conflict.

The borderlands of Moyale and its environs purportedly harbour<sup>7</sup> armed rebel groups like the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) whose roots in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia trace the Borana tribe, whereas the Al-Shabaab terror group inhibit the lands occupied by the Somali ethnic groups. In Moyale-Ethiopia<sup>8</sup>, there is the '*Qeero*'<sup>9</sup> insurgence on the side of Oromia region 4, whose violence always obstruct state security measures. Mob justice pressures suffice to instill fear in the public and intimidate civic loyalty to administrative directives.

Political supremacy competition: the conflicts that went on in Moyale in 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014 were all associated with political supremacy completion between the Borana and Gabbra. The most recent violent armed conflicts between Gabbra and Borana, with Saku as the epicenter, were attributed to a tussle between political leaders. Under the leadership of the first County Governor, Amb. Ukur Yattani<sup>10</sup>, the area witnessed different political philosophies and practices, including politics of ethnic exclusion, tribal identity claims by Waata<sup>11</sup> and Konso, and inter-ethnic conflicts. Governor Mohamud Ali<sup>12</sup>, also adopted varied political strategies to maintain incumbency, such as tokenism, elite-capture, and excuses of non-recognition by the national deep-state authorities.

Land Alienation Politics – This is characterized by tribal identity that overwhelms communal claims on the land, with tribes committed to protecting their rights to specific pieces of land. Tribal and clan identities are significant in the social and political life of the residents. Tribal identity plays a crucial role in communal claims on land, but it has never saved them from vulnerability to conflict insurgence and suffering. The history of retaliatory outbursts of communal violence deepens the clan identities and makes it easy for political entrepreneurs to mobilize clans and tribes as political blocs, potentially leading to armed violence. History of retaliatory outbursts of communal conflicts has left many people dead or displaced, deepening these clan identities and making it easy for political entrepreneurs to mobilize clans and tribes as political blocs and, potentially, for armed violence. The historic shifts in the control of land, the result of conquest and migration by more powerful groups at the expense of others, have been a main theme in the Horn of Africa, with ownership claims on land shifting from one tribe to another dependent on interests of political regime on power.

For instance, in Ethiopia, change in land ownership of Goof and Laey zones in Southern Ethiopia shifted from the Borana to Garri during the reign of Prime Minister Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia. Until very recently, rebranding name of a major town, from Nagelle Borana to Nagelle Guji, intensified ethnic tensions for decades. Similarly, in Northern Kenya, Turbi and Shuur were formerly under Moyale and Marsabit Central respectively, and were relocated

<sup>7</sup> The Kenyan government has severally been accused of hosting the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA), Ethiopian-based rebel group that existed in northern Kenya since the fall of Mengistu Haile Mariam regime in 1991.

<sup>8</sup> Moyale-Ethiopia is one town that is administratively divided into two separate regional state governments, Moyale-Oromia region 4 (Boran-Oromo people) and Moyale-Somali region 5 (Gari people) respectively. Like the conflicting resident tribes separated by the tarmac highway, the regional states police of the two governments are also at war during inter-ethnic feuds and territorial boundary conflicts.

<sup>9 &#</sup>x27;Qeero' is a Borana word to denote unmarried youth. The term is used to refer to an organized Oromo-based outfit consisting of youths who purportedly sacrificed themselves to protect the Borana territory and the Oromo race.

<sup>10</sup> Amb. Ukur Yattani is the first elected Marsabit County Governor belonging to the Gabbra ethnic group who ruled during the first term of Kenya's devolution from 2013-2017.

<sup>11 &#</sup>x27;Waata' is an ethnic minority tribe who were politically enticed to claim a distinct tribal identity from the dominant Borana to which they remained assimilated for centuries. They were rebranded to be called 'Waayu' and not 'Waata'.

<sup>12</sup> Mohamud Ali is the second Marsabit County Governor belonging to the Borana ethnic group, whom Amb. Ukur Yattani lost to in 2017 general elections. He is the current County Governor who managed to defend his incumbency in the 2022 general elections.

under Marsabit North (North Horr) when Dr Bonaya Godana was a powerful Minister in Daniel Moi's government. Furthermore, Shegel which was originally part of Marsabit Central is now allegedly claimed to fall under the North Horr sub-county. Thus, in northern Kenya, to cope with the vulnerabilities of land-based conflicts, pastoralists elect political leaders based on their "Military Prowess", the ability to defend their people against enemies, implying that "warlords with heavy pockets" rise to power.

Fragmented community structures: Over time, due to weakened Alternative Justice Systems (AJS)<sup>13</sup>, the pastoralist society developed a preference for the Formal Justice System (FJS) over their customary dispute resolution instruments, leading to an intensification of case backlogs in local courts. The formal, informal, and ad-hoc peace structures had parallel operations, clashing/competing interests, and overlapping roles. NGOs and government commissions like National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) also constituted loose informal structures mostly around electioneering periods. Community Councils of Elders (CoE) have over time evolved into legal entities registered with government authorities due to growing political stakes. Nearly all six resident tribes possess two parallel councils of elders divided along political affiliations and incompatible goals. Ethnic-based Professional Associations (PA) are all equally split along political divides, with the Borana tribe presenting the highest sets of think-tank groups.

## 3) Mobility Trends Across the Moyale-Moyale Borderlands and How They Affect the Socio-Economic Wellbeing:

a. Ruined pastoral rangelands and customary transhumance lifestyle: Mobility significantly contributes to the local economies by supporting livestock production, wildlife conservation and tourism. Climate change impacts water availability, pasture productivity, massive livestock and wildlife losses owing to frequent drought episodes, increased human-human and human-wildlife conflicts, escalation in resource-based conflicts between various pastoralist groups competing over meagre rangeland resources, loss of biological diversity, reduced aesthetics of landscape as a result of degradation and encroachment of invasive plant species unpalatable to livestock. Observable changes in vegetation patterns are forcing specific wildlife species to migrate to newer sites, neighbouring counties and even across international borders, leading to reduced visitation by tourists and subsequent loss of revenue.

"When water projects are implemented in pastoral rangelands, the requisite professional standards are not adhered to. Placing of boreholes are non-compliant to the required depth and distance from the nearest water sources. As opposed to previous times, the need for borehole drilling is actually evolving as the main source of land degradation due live overcrowding and overgrazing"- Daud Gubo, Sub-County Water Officer, Moyale Sub-County

Pastoralism remains the dominant livestock production system in the ASALs of the IGAD region. Within the milieu of age-old pastoralism, mobility stands out as a vital feature of nomadism, a migration-oriented lifestyle inherently adaptive to climate change owing to the organized nature of transhumance, deeply held on homegrown societal norms. Consequently, changes in land use systems, recurrent droughts and the resultant rangeland dilapidation have seen most pastoralists shift to epicyclical translocation (haphazard movement anywhere and everywhere, with no particular order) as opposed to the otherwise customary transhumance model embedded in holistic preplans and systematic arrangements.

Weakened traditional authorities and distorted transhumance practices have incapacitated the inherent livestock wellbeing methods and environmental governance approaches, escalating resource conflicts and reducing livestock productivity. Regrettably, climate change has contributed to the emergence of livestock diseases, such as Rift Valley Fever (RVF), Peste des Petits Ruminants (PPR), Trypanosomiasis, sudden camel death syndrome and enterotoxemia.

**b.** Climate-induced human displacements: Undignified living conditions among pastoralist society emanate from the loss of livelihoods resulting from the catastrophic effects of droughts, conflicts and floods. Severely affected populations flee for their

<sup>13</sup> Alternative Justice Systems (AJS) are alternative dispute resolution pathways that are constitutionally accepted. The pastoralist society in Moyale-Moyale borderlands have socio-cultural institutions like the Borana 'Gada' system and the Gabbra 'Yaa' that serve as the traditional dispute resolution instruments

lives and assemble as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), the potential to attract humanitarian attention notwithstanding. For instance, in the Borena zone of Southern Ethiopia alone, by mid-February 2023, a total of 68,931 households, making a population of 378,043 people, were registered victims of famine-induced internal displacements and assembled in 20 IDP sites and within their respective host communities. Similarly, an unknown number were displaced as climate-induced economic migrants to seek opportunities for casual labour in major urban centres and other business hubs.

**c. Mixed migrations:** The Horn of Africa states are fraught with enduring tensions and cyclical conflicts, primarily due to incompatible geopolitical and economic interests, as well as environmental distress that exacerbates the frequency of droughts and protracted spells of famine, cyclical resource-based conflicts and storm floods. From ancient times, Ethiopia was ruled by emperors historically renowned as the "Solomonic dynasty" until the fall of Haile Selassie in 1974. Ethiopia later came under the 'Derg' regime which imposed a socialist system of governance until its downfall in 1991, during which movement out of the country was oppressed.

Of late, movements from Ethiopia have evolved from one involving refugees and asylum seekers to one typified as mixed migration. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), mixed migrations are complex migratory movements by population that include refugees, asylum-seekers, economic migrants, unaccompanied and separated children and victims of trafficking, as opposed to migratory population movements consisting of entirely one category of migrants. Some of the migrants are destined for Kenya, and for others, Kenya serves as a rest-stop while awaiting the processing of their travel documents and subsequently re-finance their onward travel arrangements.

Smuggled migrants from Addis Ababa are connected to smuggling organizers in Nairobi. Press reports reveal that the majority of migrants' destination is South Africa. Smugglers organize movements against the laws of both transit and destination countries. Rural Ethiopian youths fall target for smugglers, who entice them with a better life elsewhere. The smugglers appear effectual in running intricate, well-organized and dynamic operations consigned to a constantly changing network of conspirators involving recruitment agents, truck drivers and transporters, boat owners, providers of forged and stolen travel documents, border guards, immigration and refugee officials, and members of the police and military.

Smuggled persons travelling by bus, truck, or on foot pay inevitable bribes to Moyale border immigration officers through brokers, their travel documentation status notwithstanding. Bribes ranging from US \$250 to US\$450 are payable to obtain an immigration stamp on their passport. These amounts for the otherwise free public services are colluded upon for sharing amongst immigration officials and the respective traitors or collaborators. Migrants who travel through the bushes to evade payment of corrupt passage fees are bound to taste unbearable extortions upon being intercepted by the police. Besides the unjustified lump sum payoffs at the Moyale border points, smuggled migrants are coerced to cash outflows of varied piecemeal amounts at every police barrier, random military roadblocks, urban traffic checkpoints and immigration's surprise inspections along the highway to Nairobi, regardless of whether the basis of these hurdles is authentic or fabricated.

In practice, a vicious cycle of recidivism ensues, with migrants re-attempting travel even after being deported to their country of origin, Ethiopia. Ideally, the banking on smugglers by migrants reduces the risk of detection by Kenyan police, whereas the use of illicit routes entailing hazardous vast terrains exposes the migrants susceptible to the whims of the smuggler. Smugglers rarely care about the basic survival necessities of migrants, including food, water and shelter during the journey to Nairobi and onwards. In addition, migrants are susceptible to physical abuse by smugglers and abandonment in the course of their travel due to the fear of being detected.

# Part 2: Analysis of Indigenous Knowledge and Traditional Practices on Climate Change Adaptation and Conflict Mitigation within Moyale-Moyale borderlands:

Tracing Borana traditional calendars 'Ayaan': Traditionally, the Borana people in Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya use a unique calendrical system known as 'Ayaan'. This system comprises 12 months and 29.5 days, resulting in 354 days in a year. Unlike the Gregorian calendar, there are no weeks in the Borana calendar; however, each day of the month has a specific name. The Borana people rely on astronomical observation of the moon in conjunction with seven particular stars or constellations to determine the lunar-stellar calendar. Each month in the Borana 'Ayaan' calendar is associated with predictions of events and is used to build community resilience against conflicts and droughts. The names of the twelve calendar months (Stars/ Lunar Phases) among the Borana-Oromo people are Bittottessa (Triangulum), Camsa (Pleiades), Bufa (Aldebaran), Waxabajjii (Bellatrix), Obora Gudda (Central Orion-saiph), Obora Dikka (Sirius), Birra (full moon), Cikawa (gibbous moon), Sadasaa (quarter moon), Abrasa (large crescent), Ammaji (medium crescent), and Gurrandala (small crescent).

#### Pasturelands demarcation and setting grazing

**patterns:** Traditionally, pastoralist societies communally arrange dry<sup>14</sup> and wet season grazing zones<sup>15</sup>. Demarcating pasturelands can be extremely helpful in setting grazing patterns for livestock, especially during the dry and wet seasons. By dividing the land into separate grazing areas, livestock herders can ensure that their livestock access fresh pasture and water sources throughout the year. Setting the boundaries for grazing ensures that livestock have access to sufficient pasture during the dry season while also allowing the vegetation to recover during the wet season. This practice also helps to prevent overgrazing in certain areas, which leads to soil erosion and other environmental problems. With careful planning and management, demarcated pasturelands can be a valuable tool for ensuring sustainable grazing practices and maintaining healthy livestock populations. This helps maintain the health and productivity of the land and the livestock.

**Livestock watering patterns:** Among the Borana people, the management of water and pasture rangeland resources is crucial, and livestock watering patterns play a significant role in this regard. The community has a systematic approach to watering their livestock, which depends on the availability of water and pasture. When water is abundant, livestock drink water daily 'takhaa', either from water that percolates in land depressions ('dambala') or the base of seasonal streams ('dololo'). However, as the dry season approaches, the livestock is watered at earth pans ('Haro') and wells ('Eell'), starting from one day and then increasing to two, three, or four days, depending on the severity of the drought.

**Forecast by reading livestock intestine 'Uss'**<sup>16</sup>**:** Among the Borana and Gabbra communities, reading livestock intestine '*Uss*' is a traditional forecast practice that serves as an early warning system for droughts and conflicts. The Borana people believe that the 'Uss' can predict human deaths, rainfall, migrations, and family histories. 'Uss' is a crucial practice for the community as it helps them prepare for any upcoming challenges and take necessary measures to mitigate their impact.

"There are also other practices used for forecasting like funno<sup>47</sup> and faal<sup>48</sup>. They also play similar role like that of 'Uss'" – Mohamed Guyo Abdi -Vice Chairman of the Cross-Border Peace Committee and official Gabbra Council of Elders.

<sup>14</sup> Dry-season grazing zones are pasturelands adjacent to permanent settlements that are ordinarily reserved for livestock grazing during the dry spell when livestock herds are gradually weakening.

<sup>15</sup> Wet-season grazing zones are far-flung pasture rangelands meant for livestock grazing during the rainy season when livestock feedstuffs are abundant.

<sup>16 &#</sup>x27;Uss' is a noble practice of interpreting maps on the livestock intestines. Borana people believe that their holy books were eaten by cows in ancient times.

<sup>17 &#</sup>x27;Funno' is a common practice among women where a short rope thrown around the palm is used to predict certain things, with focus being the direction it faces.

<sup>18 &#</sup>x27;Faal' involves throwing shoes upwards and predicting from direction and position whether the shoe sole faces upwards or downwards. This practice is among Somali assimilated groups.

**Livestock behavior monitoring:** Livestock behaviours are constantly assessed by the pastoralist communities, who associate them with certain things. For example, if cattle defecate while sleeping, it is believed to signify that there will be a severe dry spell ahead. Similarly, if the cattle congest one corner of their pen, it is a sign of danger ahead. In contrast, pausing and defecating to resist going into the cattle pen is believed to signify heavy rains that will make the cattle pen untenable from mud.

**Forecast by monitoring wildlife sounds:** Pastoralist communities living in the Moyale-Moyale borderlands have a unique way of predicting certain things by assessing wildlife behaviours. They monitor the sounds made by specific birds and hyenas to gather information. For instance, some birds communicate about rain or insecurity, while hyenas crowding around a cemetery signify the death of a prominent person. Interestingly, hyena sounds are counted, and even numbers predict sad events, whereas odd numbers are seen as happy things ahead.

**Traditional pasture enclosures 'Kalo'**<sup>19</sup>**:** Among the pastoralists in the Ethio-Kenyan borderlands, there is a tradition to preserve pasture enclosures known as 'Kalo' for calves and weak livestock. These enclosures serve as a way to reserve vegetation and ensure that vulnerable herds have access to adequate grazing during times of drought. This practice is a way to enhance the resilience of livestock and reduce the negative impacts of drought-vulnerable herds.

"The establishment of 'Kalo' has gradually evolved into a contentious issue as it is causing more harm than good due to diversion from the original purpose for which it is meant. Entrepreneurs and individuals with better fence huge parcels of land in the pretext of pasture reservation for dry spell, while their hidden interest is grabbing prime lands. Currently, it features as a major threat to pastoral pasturelands that lay within the vicinity of permanent settlements adjacent to tarmac roads due to its potential to fetch high monetary value when sold" – Boru Roba, Chairman Cross-Border Peace Committee (Ethiopia), Chairman Borana Council of Elders; and resident delegate of the Borana "Gada" System for Moyale area.

#### Harvesting and storage of hay and fodder ('Okha')<sup>20</sup>:

During pasture abundance, women in the Borana community are committed to harvesting grass for hay and tree leaves as well as creepy plants to use as fodder during spells of drought. The harvesting and storing of 'Okha' is a traditional way of locally providing remedial livestock feeds for vulnerable livestock, which helps them withstand the severity of drought distress.

**Organized communal transhumance practice:** Nomads communally hold planning sessions before the commencement of transhumance to far-flung pasturelands during pasture abundance and reserve some for use during dry spells. Rules and regulations for migrations, pasture use and management are communally constituted and adhered to as opposed to current haphazard migrations with no particular order.

**Security surveillance 'salfa':** This is a practice of dispatching youthful warriors to far-flung pasturelands prone to insecurity to assess any trace of raiders and probabilities of insecurity within their surroundings.

"Also there are other traditional practices performed among the Borana with the intent to beef up security vigilance or patrol. They are mostly performed in the peripheries of lands prone to raid attacks. It is then believed to keep bad omen at bay, including incidence of raid attacks and defeats by opponent tribes. These practices include 'Korma-Korbes<sup>21</sup>, 'Uchum', 'Anqisso' <sup>22</sup>and 'Gool'. However, these practices now remain eroded due to widespread subscription to religious ideologies" – Boru Roba, Chairman of Cross-Border Peace Committee (Ethiopia), Chairman of the Borana Council of Elders; and resident delegate of the Borana "Gada" System for the Moyale area.

**Calf Slaughter:** Young calves of cows who have had frequent births in the recent past were slaughtered before the onset of drought with the intent to make most at-risk cows gain more survival chances from the severity of drought spells.

**Blood-drain from livestock:** Besides the livestock blood for human food, removal of blood from livestock

<sup>19 &#</sup>x27;Kalo' is a term that refers to privately owned traditional pasture enclosures that are restricted or reserved for weak herds and young calves to enable them withstand the drought distress.

<sup>20 &#</sup>x27;Okha' are traditional bells of hay and fodder harvested and stored by pastoralist women reserved for use by weak herds and calves during drought spells.

<sup>21 &#</sup>x27;Korma-Korbes' is an occasional heroic function among the Borana people where the sacrifice of a bull or he-goat is performed with the belief to safeguard territorial lands against enemy invasions.

<sup>22 &#</sup>x27;Anqisso' is an early-morning practice where three red-hot charcoals are put off using cold water at the right side of the traditional door frame and crossed over three times by family members. They then believe that bad omen is at bay.

is a way of draining away infected blood or purifying blood and optimizing the opportunity to fatten and withstand drought distress.

**Removal of long horns and hooves:** Vulnerable livestock are dehorned before drought onset to remove the burden of heavy horns and hooves that otherwise expose the livestock to vulnerabilities to drought.

**Bullock Castrations:** Bullock castration is a common practice before drought onset, meant to fatten up the livestock and help them better withstand the distress caused by the drought. Further, it makes the livestock fetch more monetary value in the market.

## Part 3: Policies and practices on Climate Change, Mobility and Conflict in the Moyale-Moyale Borderlands:

### Policy Frameworks on Climate Change in Marsabit County:

The climate change policies in Marsabit County include the Marsabit County Climate Change Fund Act 2020; Marsabit County Climate Change Adaptation Policy; Marsabit County Climate Change Action Plan 2023-2017; Marsabit Water Act; Marsabit Natural Management Policy; and Marsabit County Disaster Risk Management Policy. The workshop participants purport that there is a draft bill on peace. On mobility, residents report that there are some established guidelines by the 'Dheeda Council'.

According to resident communities, the existing policy gaps in Marsabit County include the failure of Members of the County Assembly to understand the importance of enacting policies on climate change, mobility and conflicts; lack of data on migrants; unclear demarcation boundaries, lack of policy framework on mobility, lapse in leadership regime before policy enactment, under-resourced policy enactment processes and bureaucratic bottlenecks that derail policy formulation processes. The proposed remedies to mitigate the policy gaps in Marsabit county include advocacy initiatives to fast-track policy enactment, sensitization of borderland communities on regional migration regulations, mobilization of resources for policy financing and strengthening adherence to existing policies and practices.

"The Members of County Assembly (MCAs) always seem to lack adequate awareness, knowledge and skills on their constitutional obligations to formulate and enact environment-friendly policies on behalf of the resident communities, as they are legitimately elected representatives of the electorates. MCAs often finish their five-year tenure of office before they conclude on policies in process, and the incoming new ones fail to understand the importance of accomplishing the previous efforts. The awareness levels among citizens need to be raised significantly to enable them to raise civic voice to fast*track policies that have stagnated"*– said Molu Qalla, Sub-County Livestock Production Officer (SCLPO), Moyale Sub-County

Kenya Vision 2030 is one of the foremost developmental roadmaps that aims to transform the country into a middle-income, newly industrialized state. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 provides for sustainable management of natural resources and the environment by both the State and individuals. Environmental rights are constitutionally recognized as a universally accepted approach to environmental conservation and management.

National policies aligned to climate change and mobility include the ASAL Policy 2016, which aims to promote environmental conservation efforts and protection of forest covers; the National Energy Policy 2014, which ensures affordable, competitive, sustainable, and reliable energy supply while protecting and conserving the environment; the Environmental Management and Co-ordination Act 1999 (EMCA) that provides for the establishment of legal and institutional framework for the management of the environment and creation of National Environment Management Authority (NEMA); the Water Act, 2002 (revised 2016) provides for Integrated Water Resources Management (IWRM) principles and establishment of Water Resources User Associations (WRUA) for collaborative management of water resources and resolution of conflicts; the Community Land Act No 27 of 2016 that provides for the recognition, protection and registration of community land rights and empowers communities to manage their land resources and develop their own local land use plans; and the Forest Conservation and Management Act 2016 that encourages sustainable exploitation, utilization, management, and conservation of environment and natural resources.

### Policy Frameworks on Climate Change in Southern Ethiopia:

In the Borena zone of southern Ethiopia, there is an amended climate change policy dubbed 'Climate Resilience Green Economy (CRGE)'. In addition, various administrative directives are in place to enable citizens to desist from cutting down of trees and forest cover, improper use of trees for firewood, charcoal burning and erection of fences. There is enormous advocacy by the Ethiopian government on soil and water conservation and afforestation. The government encourages citizens to gradually destock livestock and practice plantation and irrigation farming around permanent water sources.

The policy gaps existing in Southern Ethiopia include limited knowledge and policies, inadequate access to technologies, improper settlement practices prone to deforestation, and soil and wind erosion. Remedies to curb climate change are awareness-raising campaigns for pastoralists to comprehend climate change policies, amendment of existing policy frameworks, instituting appropriate settlement practices, massive afforestation campaigns, embracing electronic technologies and advocacy for the construction of livestock value-addition industries.

# Policies and Practices at regional level:

It is worth noting that the Niamey convention, which aims to promote cross-border cooperation and ensure peaceful border dispute resolution, remains unratified among the IGAD member states. Additionally, the inauguration of the One-Stop Border Point (OSBP) on either side of the Moyale border could not regulate the intended tariff subsidy as it is not fully functional. Moreover, the regional cross-border policies, including Informal Cross-Border Trade (ICBT) and the Cross-Border Security Governance (CBSG) policies, remain unimplemented. However, there is hope that the political promises will soon be realized with the execution of mega infrastructural development like LAPPSET that was meant to traverse through the Moyale-Moyale borderlands. This development is expected to position Moyale as the "Dubai for Africa" in the near future, ushering in a new era of growth and development.

## Land Use Practices in Moyale-Moyale borderlands and Surroundings:

**Land use for nomadism:** Main form of land use in the ASALs of Moyale-Moyale borderlands is extensive livestock herding. The pastoralists believe in keeping large numbers of animals. This causes overgrazing because livestock eat all the vegetation to the roots. Thus, during long periods of drought, the livestock are left without enough grass and water, posing them to high risk of drought vulnerability. There is a traditional 'fora<sup>23</sup> practice which involves migrating with livestock periodically to follow the seasonal supply of water and pasture.

The livestock kept are mainly small stock (goats & sheep), camels, cattle and donkeys. Sheep and goats play a key role in pastoral households' food security and incomes due to their short-gestation periods and thus prolificacy, high adaptability and versatile feeding habits. Pasture rangelands are significantly shrinking due to encroachment from crop farming in the pastoral rangelands. Agro-pastoralism<sup>24</sup> that combines crop farming along with pastoral livestock keeping is a livelihood coping strategy in areas where rain fed agriculture is possible and around permanent water sources.

External threats to pastoral rangelands: Among the Waso Boran, the expansive pasturelands are out for grabs and manipulations. Northern Rangelands Trust (NRT) was accused of sidelining resident communities from managing their lands. It was accused of securing the landscape for high-end wildlife tourism and keeping aid dollars from global donors flowing. Local communities lament displacements as conservancies were established without their involvement. In Biligo-Bulesa conservancy of neighbouring Isiolo county, about 70 people were purportedly dead in 2021 alone, following the undoing of game rangers during livestock raids. It is vital to find a balance that allows for the protection of wildlife and their habitats while also ensuring that the rights and needs of local communities are respected and upheld. Conservancies have also been initiated in Marsabit county including at Dabel and Elle Bor in Moyale sub-county and Jaldesa in Saku sub-county respectively.

"Invasion of pastoral rangelands by private conservancies is a sensitive matter that has come to the attention of pastoralist political leaders and community elders as well. In this regard, the already started conservancies, have of late experienced resistance from political leaders at county level. What I am aware is that, very recently, the conservancy initiated within Dabel location has been denied permission to operate. We have learned that some of the lands they claim for conservancy are not even part of Dabel location as they fall under jurisdictions of Odda, Bori and Damballa Fachana locations respectively. The conservancy initiated at Elle Bor within Uran ward has also been rendered dormant" – Abdikadir Waqo Dabassa, Chairman Borana Council of Elders and member of Cross-Border Peace Committee.

Nomadism has long been eroded as the age-old transhumance practice that enables livestock mobility to far-flung satellite camps 'fora', has been done away with. In Sololo, elders purport that North Eastern communities from Wajir county crossed over and established sub-locations within Marsabit county including Arb Jahan, Titu, Basir and Bododa among others. In the Dabel location, a huge pastureland was claimed by a Kikuyu merchant who purported to have a legitimate title deed.

The pastoral pastureland in Dabel location whose ownership was claimed by unknown merchants, involved a tough tug-of-war between resident communities and the perpetrators. When a Kikuyu merchant claimed ownership of the land, a wealthy elite from the Sakuye tribe also purported to own the same land, with both purporting possession of legitimate ownership documents. Money was spent to lobby communities on their side. Ultimately, those who boldly claimed the said land totalled five people. Therefore, there is a dire need to sensitize pastoralist communities to be vigilant about land invasion by prominent individuals and business firms" – said Mohamed Guyo Abdi -Vice Chairman of the Cross-Border Peace Committee and official Gabbra Council of Elders.

"The lengthy stretch of pasturelands encroached by Wajir North communities are actually about nine, all with permanent settlements and chiefs who are answerable to Wajir County. This lands all lie along the "Cut-line", the colonial boundary that separates North Eastern and Eastern Provinces respectively" – added Mohamed Guyo, Vice Chairman Cross-Border Peace Committee and official Gabbra Council of Elders.

<sup>23 &#</sup>x27;Fora' is a traditional transhumant satellite camps in far-flung pasture rangelands especially during pasture abundance.

<sup>24</sup> Agro-pastoralism is a sedentary livelihood practice involving pastoralism alongside subsistence farming that is common along the Moyale-Sololo escarpments and Ethiopian highlands.

Burning indigenous woody species as alternative energy sources: The lack of alternative energy sources in the Moyale-Moyale borderlands is a major threat to biodiversity and poses a serious challenge in the region. Access to energy sources is essential for sustainable development and growth. Unfortunately, only a few of the resource-poor rural pastoralists in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia have access to the national power grid, unlike those residing in urban areas. Most rural and urban dwellers depend on primary biomass energy sources for lighting and cooking, with wood fuel being the predominant source. Charcoal, in particular, is used by over 95% of the local populace and is obtained from indigenous woody species, posing a serious threat to local biodiversity.

Commercial charcoal burning: Charcoal burning for commercial purposes is growing rampant in Butiye and Golbo wards of Moyale Sub-County in Marsabit county. Small-scale charcoal trade is evident along the Marsabit-Moyale highway around Dadach Lakole, Bori Junction, Qate, and Funan Nyatta villages. Shockingly, school children in Qate, Dadach lakole, and Bori junction are reportedly dropping out due to engagements in charcoal burning. Indigenous hardwood species like 'Hallo' and 'Qorobo' have already gone extinct, and politicians and prominent businessmen are reportedly engaging in large-scale commercial charcoal burning. Hired casual laborers from Ethiopia camp in the bushes and produce charcoal for ferrying by trucks to North Eastern counties. Several charcoal stores exist within Moyale, and the government's effort to salvage the desperate situation is negligible.

#### Inappropriate spacing between water sources:

More often than not, the execution of permanent water projects like drilling of boreholes and development of dams defy appropriate compliance to environmentally sound design and implementation. Suchlike professionally-deficient water facility remains inappropriately positioned owing to non-compliance to the obligatory spacing standards required between permanent water infrastructures, consequently leading to livestock concentration and overgrazing, depletion of traditional shallow wells, dreadful conditions of vital watershed areas, soil erosion and subsequent siltation and contamination of surface earth pans and water runways.

Pasture encroachment by extractives industry: Primeland destructions by the extractives industry, particularly the gold rush in Dabel and petroleum extraction around Lake Turkana in Marsabit county, caused severe damage to the environment and local communities. The gold mining activities in the Moyale sub-county have destroyed the vegetation cover and created deep holes within the pasturelands, making the land insecure for livestock and human habitation. As a result, many people, particularly the minority Sakuye, have migrated with their livestock away from the extractives area.

**Pastureland invasion by conservancies:** Private conservancies are mushrooming in Northern Kenya, with the Northern Rangeland Trust taking the lead. Wildlife conservancies have already commenced within Dabel and Elle Dimtu in the Moyale sub-county and Jaldesa in the Saku sub-county. Land disputes between wildlife conservancies and communities are rampant in the neighbouring Isiolo.

# The Gender Perspectives in Moyale-Moyale Borderlands:



Culturally, the pastoralist society is patriarchal. The patriarchal dynamism portrays women and girls as inferior and incompetent for leadership positions and the division of labour stereotyped for them. Due to forms of gender-based discrimination stemming from age-old patriarchal cultures, women and girls significantly remain exempted from leadership positions, participation in decision-making forums, meaningful engagement in the development of policy and legislative frameworks and the right of ownership of properties. These deep-seated patriarchal cultures significantly derail women and girls' participation in democratic governance processes. Thus, the democratic spaces for women and girls, youths, persons with disabilities and ethnic minorities to meaningfully participate in political leadership spheres and decision-making are shrinking.

"The patriarchy across resident pastoralist tribes is aloud. Boys and girls are brought up differently. Since childhood girls are nurtured to perceive that they are inferior to boys and therefore incapable of taking leadership positions. To this end, there are several indigenous proverbs and phrases that stereotype women and demean their ability to lead. Consequently, women themselves have overtime presumed and portrayed self-limiting attitudes that remain to deter their performance in life. Women are even not entitled to property ownership and inheritance" – Sadia Osman – Member Cross-Border Peace Committee (Ethiopia), Women rights champion, and officer at Women Rights and Child Protection Bureau (Moyale-Ethiopia)

The effects of conflicts in the Moyale-Moyale borderlands have age and gender-differential vulnerabilities and violence intensity and devastations, where women and children are disproportionately affected. Pastoralist societies have patriarchal norms, where societal resources are male-dominated. Patriarchy dynamism portrays women as inferior and incompetent for leadership positions and division of labour stereotypes them. Age-old patriarchal cultures have exempted women from political leadership spheres, decision-making forums, policy formulation processes and property ownership. Deep-seated retrogressive societal norms have rendered women to feel lesser human and incapable of holding leadership positions.

The gender concerns across the different pastoralist communities revolve around patriarchy, with culture at the core of women and girls' exclusion. Some of the most prevalent impediments to women's progression include the preference for boy-child over girl-child that impacts school enrolments, retention and transition rates, low educational achievements among girls, absence of women role models in political leadership spheres, lack of financial resources to mount meaningful political campaigns, religious prescriptions that disregard women leadership and early/forced marriages that cut short their educational ambitions.

"The discrimination against girls begins right from child birth. Birth of a boy child is rejoiced, loudly announced and widely celebrated by family and kinsmen, while that of a girl passes unnoticed. The case is not any different during naming ceremony, where boy's naming function warrants a bull-slaughter and a consecutive three-day celebration. Particularly among the Borana people, a small skin 'kallo' is hung at the doorframe of traditional hut for a whole year to signify that the family is blessed with a boy child" – Asha Golicha, member of Chairman Cross-Border Peace Committee (Ethiopia)

Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) and discrimination among women and girls manifest in early and forced marriages of schoolgirls, unreported rape and defilements, Female Genital mutilation (FGM), physical assaults, wife inheritance and child labour and trafficking. These hurdles limit women and girls from developing their leadership potential to take full advantage of the positive enabling environment created by the various policies in the region.

Women lack representation in formal, informal and ad hoc peace infrastructure, tribal Councils of Elders (CoE), traditional socio-cultural institutions, natural Resource User Associations (RUAs), and grazing and rangeland management structures. Common dispute resolution avenues are traditional socio-cultural institutions like the Borana 'Gada' system, Gabbra 'Yaa', Rendille 'Naabo' and Somali 'Maslaha' Courts, all of which exclusively constitute male community elders. Such customary law systems focus more on easing tensions between communities than providing justice for women and girls. In instances of SGBV, women fall susceptible to forced marriage by their assailants, thereby further stigmatizing survivors. Unaddressed traumas and psychosocial distress undermine women's capabilities to participate in socio-economic and political well-being.

"In any case, men are not to blame for the deep-seated women inferiority among pastoralists. It is us women who deepen these retrogressive presumptions. It appears women are enemies to themselves. This is portrayed by a common statement, that when a baby girl is born, women usually tease the mother, that she just gave birth to her own self" – Asna Abdalla, Chairlady Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO), and vibrant Human Rights Defender (HRD), Kenya.

# Key Knowledge Gaps/Action Points:

- There are no data available on migrants within the borderlands including those providing domestic workforce within homesteads, casual labour, and business premises as well as those on transit to South Africa and beyond.
- 2. In-depth mapping of customary/socio-cultural institutions among the borderland communities (e.g. the Borana "Gada System" and the Gabbra "Yaa" etc.) and documenting indigenous knowledge and practices on climate change adaptive capacities, customary migratory regulation and indigenous Alternative Justice Systems (AJS) for peacebuilding and conflict transformation.
- 3. Analysis of gaps and challenges of frontline

peace and security infrastructure (duty bearers), formal peace structures and informal or ad hoc peacekeeping groups in maintaining sustainable peace and stability. In many instances, women do not have representation in decision-making structures. Therefore, it is vital to assess the level of women's representation in councils of elders, resource management structures and peace and security committees. There is need to find out the capacity needs of both state security apparatus and peace structures like Cross-Border Peace Commitees.

- 4. Absence of advocacy initiatives to address women insecurity, land use and minority rights protection around the extractives industry within territories of ethnic minorities like the Sakuye with gold rush in Dabel, and the El-Molo with petroleum extractives and wind power plant around Loiyangalani in Marsabit county.
- 5. Initiatives that harmonized peace structures across borders and established joint cross-border peace committees within the Moyale-Moyale cluster has failed to replicate the same in the neighbouring Sololo-Mio, Forole-Dire and Dukana-Dillo-Taltele corridors.
- 6. Need for sufficient and all-inclusive transboundary dialogues to forge understanding and consensus building on land use, rangelands management structures and associated community pacts/declarations.
- 7. Assessment of existing natural Resource User Associations (RUAs) and/or establishment of new ones across the borders and support with knowledge, skills and equipment to foster sustainable resource use and management e.g. Water Resource User Associations (WRUAs), Livestock Marketing Associations (LMAs), Rangelands Management Committees and livestock producer co-operatives including milk, meat and hides and skins value addition groups etc.
- 8. Assessment of the safety, security and access to fundamental rights and freedoms by the most vulnerable ethnic minorities including the El-Molo, Waata/Waayu, Sakuye, Konso and 'Kona' Community and the immigrant populations residing along the border.
- Mapping of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and state authorities in the borderlands that are working on Access to Justice and realization of women's rights including access to legal aid and

assistance by Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) survivors i.e. pro-borno services, preparation of legal/court documents, court filing fees, obtaining P3 forms, witness protection, access to DNA services as well as timely rescue missions against early and forced marriages, rapes and defilements, Female Genital Mutilations (FGM), wife inheritance practices and child labour and trafficking.