

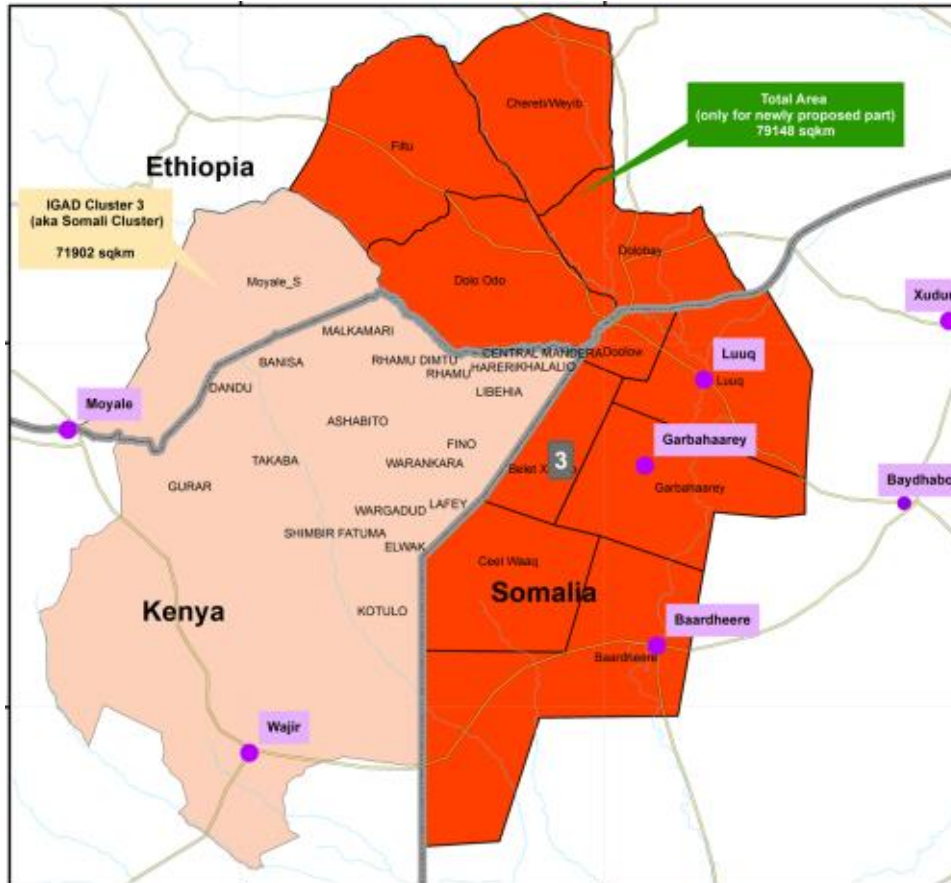
EUROPEAN UNION EMERGENCY TRUST FUND FOR STABILITY  
AND ADDRESSING THE ROOT CAUSES OF IRREGULAR MIGRATION AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN AFRICA  
(EUTF)

CROSS-BORDER ANALYSIS AND MAPPING

Cluster 2: Kenya-Somalia-Ethiopia

August 2016

## Methodology



*Map of the cluster area*

The researchers were able to access Doolow Ado (Ethiopia) and Mandera (Kenya). Due to ongoing government engagement and security issues, the researchers were not able to access Gedo in Somalia. A team of researchers already in Gedo was able to fill in any gaps in the research. Furthermore, the researchers interviewed civil society and NGO officials working in Gedo region of Somalia but based in Mandera.

The researchers were able to meet with the following NGOs: Rural Agency for Community Development and Assistance (RACIDA), Lifeline Gedo, Norwegian Refugee Council, Interpeace, Islamic Relief, Save the Children, World Vision, Medecins Sans Frontieres, Danish Refugee Council and Danish Demining Group.

## General Description of the Context of the Cluster

What is the size, population and ethnic composition of the border area? Specify the exact size and location of the border areas being studied.

### Size and Location

- **Gedo Region, Somalia:** bordered on the East by Bay and Bakool regions, on the West by Mandera County of Kenya, and with Middle Juba to the South and Doolow Ethiopia to the North. The region is made up of six administrative districts, Garbaharey, Baardheere (the capital), Ceel Waaq in the south and Belet Xaawo, Doloow, and Luuq in the north.
- **Mandera County, Kenya:** bordered on the East by Gedo Region of Somalia, on the North by Doolow Woreda of Ethiopia, and on the West and South by Wajir County of Kenya. Mandera County is divided into six constituencies/sub-counties – Mandera West, Mandera East, Mandera South, Mandera North, Banissa, and Lafey. The county covers a total of 26,474 square kilometers of Northeast Kenya.
- **Doolow, Ethiopia:** located in the angle formed by the confluence of the Ganale River with the Dawa River, and bordered to the west by the Woreda of Mubarak, to the northwest by the Woreda of Filtu, to the southeast by Gedo Region of Somalia, on the north and east by Afder Zone, and on the south by Mandera County of Kenya. The Woreda is part of the expansive Somali region of Ethiopia which comprises 350,000 square kilometres in south-east Ethiopia.

### Population

- Gedo Region (Somalia): 328,378<sup>1</sup>
- Mandera County (Kenya): 1,025,000<sup>2</sup>
- Doolow (Ethiopia): 111,511<sup>3</sup>

### Ethnic composition

- **Gedo Region:** Dominated by the Marehan Clan, but also includes Rahanweyn, Ogaden, Harti clans and some Bantu.
- **Mandera County:** Three ethnic Somali clans – the Garre, Murulle, and Degodia – comprise most of the population, with the Garre being the most populous. Other Somali clans that are present in small numbers are referred to as ‘corner tribes’. Non-Somali, mainly highland Kenyans in Mandera County reside primarily in Mandera town and a few other urban settlements and are mostly in the military, police, civil service, or service

---

<sup>1</sup> UNDP 2005 Figures, cited in United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), Gedo Region, Situation Analysis, [http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/GEDO%20Situation%20Analysis\\_October%202012\\_0.pdf](http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/GEDO%20Situation%20Analysis_October%202012_0.pdf)

<sup>2</sup>The census figures for Mandera should not be taken at face value, as they have been a subject of dispute.

<sup>3</sup> Based on the 2007 Census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency (CSA) of Ethiopia.

professions such as health and education. This group lives in Mandera only temporarily, to secure temporary and seasonal employment and typically relocate once their contract is finished. In addition, Al Shabaab-related violence in Mandera has driven away most education and health care professionals, most of whom are non-locals (Kenyan nationals).

- **Doolow Ado:** Majority of the population belong to the Degodia clan, followed by Geremare.

What infrastructure is available on each side of the border? What cross-border infrastructure is available (e.g. roads, shared facilities, etc.)?

### Infrastructure on each side of the border

**Gedo Region:** Gedo region's main airports include Garbaharey and Bardera airports. Neither airport has a paved runway. The paving of the airport, and a dam project at Bardera, were both affected by conflict. Bardera Polytechnic, Gedo's first college, and the University of Gedo are both located in Bardera.

Formal secular education has been in sharp decline over the years. The towns of Garbahaarrey and Luuq and Bardera had education systems up to secondary level, and most of the region's high school graduates attended the Somali National University in Mogadishu. Currently, towns in Gedo which have the largest school enrolments are Bardera, Beledhawo, Garbaharey, El Ade, Luuq, Buurdhuubo, and Doolow, but only Bardera, Garbaharey, Beled Hawo and El Ade have secondary schools. Notably, El Wak and Doolow, which border Kenya and Ethiopia respectively, have the least district level school developments.

**Mandera County:** The County has a total of 1,884.5km of road network. Tarmacking of road has begun within some parts on the town of Mandera, but there is no bitumen surface on the rest of the town and county. The gravel surface covers an approximate length of 494.5 km while earth surface covers an approximate length of 1390 km.<sup>4</sup>The county has neither rail network nor sea/lake ports. The county is served by four functional airstrips in Rhamu, Elwak, Mandera and Takaba. There are four other non-serviceable airstrips in Malkamari, Arabia, Banissa and Lafey.

There are 13 cyber cafes in the county but with the expansion in rural electrification, these numbers are bound to increase. Internet is accessed through mobile phone and computers using modems. There are seven courier service providers and the land lines telephones covers Mandera Town and Elwak Market centre.

There are three banks in the county: two in Mandera town (a branch of the Kenya Commercial Bank, National Bank of Kenya and Equity Bank) and one in Elwak town (Equity Bank). There are five registered SACCOs in the county with a total registration of 100 persons. Only four are active. However, there are no Micro Finance Institutions.

Mandera County has 175 public Primary schools with a total enrolment of 71,506 pupils with 47,451 boys and 24,045 girls and total of 808 teachers with a shortfall of 703 teachers thus giving a teacher pupil ratio of 1:88. The dropout rate is 6.6 per cent. The Primary Education enrolment rate for the county is 42.4 per cent (53.4 per cent boys and 29.8 per cent girls) compared to the Kenyan

---

<sup>4</sup> County Government of Mandera, County Integrated Development Plan, 2013-2017, pg. 9

national rate of 77.2 per cent (76.2 per cent males and 78.3 per cent females). There are 30 mobile schools, eight in Mandera East, seven in Lafey, two in Mandera West, eight in Banissa and five in Mandera North constituencies. There are also a total of 27 low-cost boarding schools which are fully funded by the national government in the county.<sup>5</sup>

There are 32 public secondary schools in the county. The total enrolment is 8,798 (6,592 boys and 2,206 girls) and a total of 264 teachers with a short fall of 200 teachers thus giving a teacher student ratio of 1:33. The Secondary Education enrolment rate is 5.2 per cent (7.6 per cent boys and 2.2 per cent girls) compared to the national rate of 24.0 per cent (22.2 per cent boys and 25.9 per cent girls).<sup>6</sup>

The main source of energy is firewood, which is used by 95.6% of the households for cooking.<sup>7</sup> 43% of the population rely on biomass for lighting while 43.3% on kerosene lamps. Electricity for lighting is available to 0.2% of the people in the county.<sup>8</sup> Mandera East, Mandera North, Mandera South and Mandera West constituency headquarters have electricity supply. New electricity coverage is being extended to Lafey and Banissa constituencies. Only two towns, namely Mandera and Elwak, are supplied with electricity generated by the government using small diesel power plants and distributed within their locality by mini power grids. The limited power supply targets government offices, the commercial buildings and small fraction of the residents within the towns. The mini grids are operated under the National Government's Rural Electrification Programme and managed by the national power utility, Kenya Power and Lighting Company (KPLC). Access to electricity is low in Mandera although the county is endowed with vast, untapped solar and wind energy potential.

**Doolow:** There is no single tarmacked road in this district. There exists a bridge linking the town of Doolow Ado and the town of Doolow in the Gedo region of Somalia. Traditional rafts, reinforced with empty oil drums, are the main form of transport across the River Dawa. A cross-border meeting hall has recently been constructed by Pact-Kenya with funding from USAID, and located in the border town of Suftu (along the Ethiopia-Kenya border across the River Dawa) and this resource is shared by communities traversing the triangle. The main source of energy for the residents is firewood. But in the towns of Doolow and Suftu, privately owned small diesel generators distribute electricity for few hours during the day, mainly to government offices, such as police stations, and a few shops. The government of Ethiopia has plans to dam the Shabelle River for irrigated agriculture and hydro-electric power generation in the Somali Regional State. However, concern exists regarding the possibility of rising communal tensions over new farmland, pastoral clashes with farmers over access to the river, and possible cross-border tensions due to reduced water flow into Somalia.

### **Shared infrastructure**

One of the most notable recent developments in some, though not all, of the study area is the rise of small border towns and settlements, especially on the Kenya-Somalia border. In fact, the cross-border settlement phenomenon is heavily concentrated on the Kenya-Somalia border area, extending only as far as Doolow in Gedo region. Most of the rest of the long Somali-Ethiopian border tends to consist of border towns and settlements only on the Somali side of the border.

---

<sup>5</sup> County Government of Mandera, County Integrated Development Plan, 2013-2017, pg. 25

<sup>6</sup> County Government of Mandera, County Integrated Development Plan, 2013-2017, pg. 26

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> RACIDA, December 2010. *Feasibility Study for Development of Renewable Energy Supply Projects in Mandera County*, pg. 5

More than any other Somali border area, the Mandera Triangle constitutes an integrated cross-border economy (see details below under the sub-heading economic activities and connections). Therefore, the Mandera/Beledhawo/Doolow borders are a critical set of corridors for commerce and livestock sales for the entire region. Local populations also move across the borders for access to social services and markets.

Communities on both sides of the border not only engage in cross-border trade, but also make use of one another's services, including livestock markets, schools, health posts, and airstrips. Over the past 15 years some aid programs have sought to encourage the sharing of cross-border facilities as part of an effort to strengthen local commitments to peace in border zones. For instance, the Transition Initiative for Somalia (TIS) program, operated by Development Alternatives Inc., and the work of PACT in the Kenya border areas have pursued this approach. This approach has been welcomed locally as a number of informal cross-border arrangements, especially on border security and disease surveillance (explained below), have been supported through these mechanisms.

Due to the relatively more developed infrastructure in Mandera County (as detailed above), people tend to move, from Doolow and Gedo, into Kenya so as to access markets, hospitals, and schools. As a result, the town of Mandera has a population density of 988.2 per square kilometre, which is 40.6% higher than the Kenyan national population density of 401.1 per square kilometre.<sup>9</sup> Traders in Gedo and Doolow use banking services available in Mandera County. Also, due to years of increasing inflation, the Somali currency has lost value and has become bulky, making the use of the Kenyan currency and US dollars in the triangle more frequent and acceptable. The residents of the town of Suftu in Doolow (Ethiopia) and Beled Hawa in Gedo Region (Somalia) rely on health services in Mandera County (Kenya) where the services are also deemed to be of better quality. For instance, a cholera outbreak in 2016 at Beledhawo saw an increase of patients from the town into the Mandera County Referral hospital. Somalia citizens also rely on Ethiopian health services. Ethiopian and Somalia nationals are also known to enrol in schools in Mandera County. Hundreds of Ethiopian students and thousands of Somali students are known to cross the border and into Mandera County so as to enrol and study in Kenyan schools. The exact figure of Somali citizens mainly from Beledhawo that attend Kenyan schools in Mandera is not known as most are not legally registered as foreigners.

Mandera County and the woreda of Doolow are mainly separated by the River Dawa which acts as international boundary. Transport across this border is over traditional rafts reinforced with oil drums. The town of Doolow Ado in the Ethiopian woreda of Doolow and the town of Doolow Bay in the Gedo region of Somalia are also separated by River Dawa but here, they are connected by a bridge that was constructed in the 1980's. Water from rivers Dawa and Ganale is widely used for irrigation by residents of the triangle, but this trend is more of a feature of farming in Mandera County. For instance, in Mandera County, where the river runs through a stretch 160 kilometres long, 4,100 hectares are under cultivation, supported by irrigated water from the river. In fact, the potential for irrigation is believed to be between 10,500 to 15,000 hectares. There is more farming along the Kenyan (Mandera side) of the River Dawa than on the Ethiopian side since farmers on the Ethiopian side rely on the River Ganale, one of only two permanent river systems traversing the Somali Region of Ethiopia (the other one is River Shabelle, which flows through the woreda of Kelafo in the Somali region of Ethiopia). Farmers in the woreda of Doolow of Ethiopia, like in the Gedo region of Somalia, are predominantly ethnic Bantu (also known as Bantu Somali). Many are sharecroppers on land owned by wealthier Somali businesspeople.

---

<sup>9</sup> Kenya Interagency Rapid Assessment, April 2014. *Mandera County Baseline Analysis*, pg. 1

The most common method of irrigation widely practiced is canal irrigation, but this method is ineffective as it causes water wastage and soil erosion. More often, when it rains in the Ethiopian highlands, lowland areas in the triangle suffer a series of flooding. For instance, when the eastern Ethiopian highlands receive normal to above normal rains during the Deyr and Gu seasons, the most flood-prone areas in southern Somalia may experience floods. These areas include riverine and agro-pastoral zones along the Shabelle and Juba rivers: Bullo-berde, Jalalaqsi and Jowhar of Middle Shabelle; Afgooye, Balad, Kuntunwaareey Qoryoley and Sablale of Lower Shabelle; Beletweyne of Hiiraan; Afmadow, Badhadhe, and Jilib of Lower Juba; Bu'ale and Saakow, of Middle Juba; Dollow, Luuq and Baardheere of Gedo.<sup>10</sup> It is also important to note that Ethiopia has plans to dam the Shabelle river for irrigated agriculture in Somali Regional State. If this is not properly managed and a wide array of stakeholders involved, it could produce communal tensions over the new farmland, pastoral clashes with farmers over access to the river, and possible cross-border tensions due to reduced water flow into Somalia. Actually for the first time in decades in March 2016 on the Somalia side (downstream) the Shabelle river dried up, and some Somalis blamed it on Ethiopia since the local perception is that diversion of the river, for possible irrigation, has already started in Ethiopia.

The main towns in the cluster are covered by mobile phone networks of Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya but many rural homes and villages do not have network coverage. In the Ethiopia-Somalia border at Doolow, the available and widely used mobile network is Hormuud, provided by the Somalia based Hormuud Telecom while in the towns of Mandera and Suftu on the Ethiopia-Kenya border the widely used mobile phone service provider is Safaricom and Hormuud Telecom. If one is connected to Safaricom, they automatically have access to the mobile money transfer, M-pesa.

### How are resources managed and are there any joint or shared resource management mechanisms?

Despite the fact that communities in this triangle share resources, especially those concentrated in the urban centre of Mandera (as described above), there are no formally existing mechanisms for the management of shared resources. A meeting, held by this research team with officials of ICPALD under the auspices of IGAD suggested that the Kenyan government, in partnership with the County Government of Mandera, is currently devising developmental plans for the exploitation of River Dawa, including increased irrigation, generation of hydro-electric power, and revamping of Malkamari national park. In addition, a series of stakeholder meetings facilitated by IGAD have been held, with the view of coordinating the plans of regional governments i.e. Ethiopian, Kenyan, and Somali governments, regarding the management of River Dawa. However, in all the three meetings held so far, only Ethiopia and Kenya were represented. Ethiopia, an upstream country, which did not have an elaborate developmental plan of its own, has since embarked on putting one together.

In the triangle, there exists informal arrangements around the management of border security and spread of diseases, especially livestock diseases, by locally-based government officials. In particular, there was mention during field research of regular and rotational meetings between Kenyan and Ethiopian security officials (informal meetings which are nonetheless given legal backing by a 1971 Kenya-Ethiopia security treaty). These deal in particular with the security threat presented by Al-Shabaab and the Ogaden National Liberation Front. To support these efforts, a cross-border meeting hall has recently been constructed by Pact-Kenya with funding from USAID,

---

<sup>10</sup> Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), September, 2013. *Humanitarian Needs Overview: Somalia*, pg. 5

and located in the border town of Suftu (see above).

According to a senior government official in Mandera;

*“To foster good relationship and interaction we have separate monthly meetings with the administration and security team from Suftu (Ethiopia) and Balad Hawa (Somalia). For the Ethiopia meeting it is rotational one time held in Mandera town and the other time held in Suftu but for Somalia they come to our side. Once in a while other members like immigration are brought on board whenever there is need....”*

What economic activities are practiced in the border areas? What economic and social connections exist between communities on both sides of the border?

### **Economic activities and connections**

In the Mandera Triangle, there are at least 4 different livelihood systems, which nonetheless do not form clear cut distinctions. These include, pastoralism, agro-pastoralism, formal and informal employment, and trading. Pastoralists pursue livelihoods dominated by livestock rearing; agro-pastoralists pursue a mixed livelihood of both livestock rearing and crop farming; farmers live in settled communities and cultivate crops for food and cash income; urban residents live in towns and earn their living from formal or informal employment. Two other categories of people discussed in this report are traders (and the range of marketing agents involved, especially in livestock trading). There are also significant numbers of IDPs and refugees, mostly dependant on relief food. Since 2011 after the worst drought and famine in six decades and increased Al-Shabaab activities in south-central Somalia, thousands of Somalis from Gedo, Bay and Bakool sought refuge in Ethiopia and today Doolow Addo hosts over 200,000 Somali refugees in five camps. Before 2011 and after the collapse of the Somali state in 1991 refugees used to be hosted in camps around Jijiga, the regional capital of the Ethiopian Somali regional state.

Livestock rearing (pastoralism) is the main economic activity in the triangle. Households heavily rely on camels, goats, sheep and cattle to meet their daily needs. Cattle are not kept in large numbers because of the harsh climatic conditions and lack of sufficient water resources required to maintain substantial herds of cattle. Over the years, the numbers of cattle kept per household have shrunk. Livestock products sold include camel milk, meat, and skins. Although livestock rearing remains the main economic activity in the triangle, there are few agro-pastoralists along the two major rivers, Dawa and Genale. Among the crops grown in the region include maize, cow peas, onions, watermelons, fruit trees, tomatoes, etc. Most of this produce is locally consumed and whenever there is surplus especially for watermelons, which are widely grown, there is a challenge with marketing. The region is a net importer of cereals since what is locally grown cannot meet the demand and most of the cereals are imported through Somalia ports.

There are three official border points along the Kenya-Somalia border, at Beled Hawa, Damasa off Mandera-Arabiya-Fino-Lafey road and at the town of El Wak. The rest of the border between Mandera and Gedo region is porous, and numerous unofficial crossing points exist.

Cross-border trade, including lucrative smuggling, is one of a number of “affordances” created by borders for local communities. The major commercial trade that takes place in the triangle includes consumer goods imported through Mogadishu into Kenya; cattle trade from lower and middle Jubba regions of southern Somalia into Kenya; the cross-border camel trade, which



includes movement of camels from northern Kenya into Somalia and Ethiopia, often for trade to the Gulf states; and the overland trade of khat from Kenya and Ethiopia into Somalia. The towns of Mandera and Doolow Addo heavily rely on goods that are smuggled from Somalia. Recently, this form of cross-border trade has been discouraged by the authorities. For instance, the Kenya-Somalia border is currently officially closed, but commodities continue to find their way into the market. Foodstuffs and household items, including motor vehicles, arrive in Mandera from Somalia, while wheat, beans, natural herbs and cement, mostly arrive in Mandera from Ethiopia. The town of Mandera is also a transit zone for goods destined for Ethiopia from Somalia, such as tea leaves, sugar, and processed products like biscuits, juice and cooking oil. Goods from Mandera that are sent to Somalia include construction materials such as timber, metallic items, steel, iron sheets, paints etc.

These commercial sectors are major pillars of this regional economy and typically involve cross-border business partnerships. As such, they are usually sources of resilience to conflict, as these business partnerships have a vested interest in maintaining peaceful and secure trade arteries. In some cases cross-border trade has been the source of competition and exclusivist claims by one clan. Rival businesspeople have been responsible for fomenting communal conflict in a number of border crossings, including El Wak on the Kenya-Somalia border and further north, on the Somaliland-Djibouti-Ethiopia border areas, where the Afar and Somalis are competing over smuggling routes. Gun smuggling and human smuggling/trafficking are two of the most serious forms of illegal trade across the region's borders. Major smuggling and trafficking routes include Ethiopians into Somalia and Djibouti with the aim of securing passage by boat to Yemen and from there the Gulf or other destinations; and Somalis into Kenya, with the aim of onward travel to South Africa, Europe, or North America. Efforts to crack down on this business have been limited due to weak government capacity and powerful interests profiting from it. Cross-border gun smuggling has long been a lucrative business, and is most active between Somalia and Kenya, but reaching as far as Yemen (as the main source of small arms) and south Sudan and Uganda.

### **Social connections**

The Mandera Triangle is a point of convergence for many Somali clans. Because of the relatively recent (19th century) arrival of most of these clans into the Transjubba area, clan territorial claims are more contentious and disputed than in many other parts of the eastern Horn. This has made the entire area more vulnerable to communal clashes over land and water, a trend exacerbated by heightened group contestation for political power in Mandera County, Kenya, and Gedo region in Somalia. It is important to point out that most of the conflicts in Mandera have also been fought along important border towns (Rhamu and El Wak), through which considerable cross-border camel trade and transit trade crossing from Somalia into Kenya is conducted. For instance, in February 2012, during a conflict between the Garre and Degodia clans, the border town of Rhamu was the scene of fighting that resulted in the burning down of half of the town.<sup>11</sup>

Most, if not all, of the clans in Mandera County have a physical presence (or close clan ties) with clans in both the Gedo region of Somalia, and in Doolow in Ethiopia. For instance, the Garre – the most populous in Mandera – also have a physical presence in the Gedo region of Somalia at El Wak, while the Marehan, who have increased their numbers in Mandera, also dominate the Gedo region of Somalia. The Murule, a major clan in Mandera, with main settlements on the Kenya-Somalia border at El Wak, border the Marehan who mainly reside in the Gedo region of Somalia, while the Degodia, another major clan in Mandera, are the most numerous in and around the Doolow woreda of Ethiopia.

---

<sup>11</sup> Menkhaus, K. 2015. *Conflict Assessment*, pg. 100

These clan dynamics provide much of the context for cross-border relations, including regional trade, but also cross-border conflict, especially conflict over access to local institutions of power. The increasing ambitions of the triangle's most powerful clans, the Garre of Mandera and the Marehan of Gedo, can be termed as the main conflict driver in the triangle in recent years, which has not only caused loss of lives and destruction on property, but has also caused wider displacement and migration of thousands of people.

More than any other clan in the Mandera Triangle, the Marehan, and more recently, Garre, are heavily focused on high stakes political arenas, a fact which has added to local tensions. Advantages accrued to the Marehan during the Siad Barre (himself a Marehan) regime of Somalia (1969-1990), and the fact that there is a larger Marehan elite in the diaspora has increased the clan's power in the regional politics of the 'Mandera triangle'.

During the 2007 general elections, Garre dominance of local politics in Mandera County was bruised when a Degodia candidate won the Mandera Central parliamentary seat during the 2007 elections, a seat that had traditionally been won by the Garre. On the run up to the next elections, the 2013 general-elections, a 21-man Garre Council of Elders was formed in Nairobi to vet and select Garre candidates they would endorse for each elected position. Conflict between the Garre and the Degodia erupted in 2013, and took place across a wider area in the county, as both Degodia and Garre brought in their kinsmen from Gedo region in Somalia, and Doolow in Ethiopia so as to shore up their voting strength in Mandera County.<sup>12</sup> The conflict, in which other clans such as the Murule and Marehan intervened on the side of the Garre and on the side of the Degodia respectively, proceeded until mid-2014, leading to a massive displacement of people, especially to Doolow.

With reference to water resources specifically, what kinds of water management systems are in place, and are there any shared cross border systems or ways in which water management on each side of the border comes into contact with the other side (including in generating conflict)?

Water is a scarce resource in many parts of the triangle. The main water sources are from the two rivers, the Dawa and Genale. Agro-pastoralists who live along the riverine area depend on the river and also on shallow wells dug along the rivers. These shallow wells provide the main source of water. Areas far from the rivers and populated by pastoralists are areas with the highest levels of water scarcity. The main sources of water here are boreholes and individually or communally owned small water catchments areas (water pans). However, the latter dry up during dry seasons. For instance, in the woreda of Doolow, areas with most water points (including ponds and wells) are also the district's most conflict-prone, since these dry up during the dry seasons.<sup>13</sup>

River Dawa, as mentioned above, is a shared resource. Sources indicate that the Kenyan government is developing a master plan for the river, which will involve various developmental projects including hydro-electric power generation. However, a tripartite consultative process under the auspices of IGAD that sought to bring together government representatives from Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia seems to have stalled. So far only three meetings have been held, where representatives from Somalia, an important stakeholder country, did not participate.

---

<sup>12</sup> International Crisis Group, 2015. Kenya's Somali Northeast: Devolution and Security, *Africa Briefing*, No.11

<sup>13</sup> The Strengthening Community Managed Drought Risk Reduction Report, July 2011. Strengthening community managed drought risk reduction in northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia, pg. 19

However, it was mentioned that Ethiopia, which at first did not possess an elaborate development plan for the river, has embarked on developing a plan.

While there has been talk of joint discussions towards the utilization of the River Dawa, especially that between the Kenyan and Ethiopian governments, a number of projects seeking to utilize the river systems are ongoing in the triangle that do not involve transboundary engagements. The general trend is the Ethiopian government's heavy utilisation of the River Genale, and Kenyan government's use of the River Dawa. The other important variation that is important to point out is the exact nature of the use in which these rivers are put under by the two governments. For instance, production of hydroelectricity has been prioritized in the Doolow Woreda of Ethiopia while irrigation has been prioritized in Mandera County of Kenya.

For instance, in Mandera County, where the River Dawa runs through a stretch 160 kilometres long, 4,100 hectares are under cultivation, supported by irrigated water from the river. In fact, the potential for irrigation is believed to be between 10,500 to 15,000 hectares. In this way, one would find that there is more farming along the Kenyan (Mandera side) of the River Dawa than on the Ethiopian side since farmers on the Ethiopian side rely on the River Ganale, one of only two permanent river systems traversing the Somali Region of Ethiopia (the other one is River Shabelle, which flows through the woreda of Kelafo in the Somali region of Ethiopia). The reliance on River Dawa for purposes of irrigation in Mandera could also be explained by the fact that most water sources in Mandera do not, in actual fact, produce water that is suitable for human consumption. Currently, and apart from River Dawa, the residents of Mandera draw water from boreholes.

There are two main hydropower developments in the Genale-Dawa basin in the Doolow Woreda of Ethiopia; the Genale-Dawa 3, and the Genale-Dawa 6.

Given this description of current projects, driven by different national interests and difference in the nature of need across the different parts of the triangle, trans-boundary water management systems have yet to take root, and discussions, such as those under the auspices of IGAD and ICPALD, are an effort towards that direction. These efforts will need to be given more support.

What are the sources of vulnerabilities in the border areas? – e.g. unemployment (how high is unemployment), high numbers of female headed households, limited land or landlessness, population pressure, insecure or irregular access to water, fluctuating food or transport prices, irregular availability of waged labour opportunities, conflict with surrounding communities, etc.

### **Sources of vulnerabilities**

**Vulnerabilities affecting pastoralism:** As mentioned above, livestock are owned by most rural households in the triangle. Camels, cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys are reared for food, for sale, as pack animals, or as draught power for ploughing. There have been reports of declining numbers of livestock numbers in recent years,<sup>14</sup> due to a combination of recurrent droughts, livestock disease, religious or social contributions of animals as *zakaat* or dowry payment, or to assist poorer relatives. Pastoralist wealth is directly correlated with livestock ownership and exchange, but dependence on this source of wealth emerges as a source of vulnerability, given the

---

<sup>14</sup> See for example, Stephen Devereux, April 2006. *Vulnerable livelihoods in Somali region*. Research Report 57, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex

susceptibility of livestock to drought and disease. Livestock are unprotected against disease because of the absence of veterinary services. In addition, due to the porous nature of the borders on the triangle, particularly the Kenya-Somalia border, counterfeit veterinary drugs have been made available and misuse of the drugs by pastoralists is common. Vaccination is irregular as it is currently resource, rather than need based, and the needed capacity is lacking. Also disease surveillance presents a challenge on the part of the government. Owners of livestock are also unprotected against livestock losses because of the absence of insurance mechanisms, except for limited informal risk-pooling and restocking arrangements among clan relatives.

Livestock marketing, mainly across the border with Somalia and into the Gulf states, generates enormous revenues for livestock owners, traders and marketing agents in the Mander Triangle. The informal marketing system is unregulated, but sophisticated. However, sellers have little power in the market – excess supply means that prices are low, droughts reduce the supply and quality of animals offered, and export routes are subject to unpredictable but devastating disruption. The other sources of vulnerability in livestock marketing include conflict; bans on livestock imports by the Gulf States, (sometimes following reported outbreaks of Rift Valley Fever in the Horn, for instance in 1998 and 2000).

**Vulnerabilities affecting farming:** Farming in the Mander Triangle is confined to riverbanks, namely River Dawa and Ganale and the Shebelle/Juba Rivers. As such, and due to overreliance on canal-based irrigation, most farming is “low input, low output”. Yields are low, marketing opportunities are limited – though some farmers are exporting farm produce and other cash crops to Somalia (see above) – and the risk of crop failure in drought years is high. Sharecroppers and landless households in farming communities are especially vulnerable. Food price seasonality is a particular risk for all farming households. Poorer farmers with undiversified incomes are forced to sell some food crops after harvest to raise cash, and to buy food later in the year at much higher prices. With no access to fertiliser, irrigation equipment, input credit or agricultural extension services, the prospects for farmers in the Mander Triangle look unpromising. In this context, and with most available arable land already allocated and under cultivation, it is difficult to see how much more sedentarisation of Somali pastoralists along the banks of major rivers can be achieved.

**Vulnerabilities affecting formal employment:** The population of the Somali Region of Ethiopia, which the woreda of Doolow falls under, is among the poorest of Ethiopia. Data of the 2005 Demographic and Health Survey show that 72% of the inhabitants fall into the lowest wealth quintile. In 2007, the adult literacy rate for men was 15% and for women 12%.<sup>4</sup> Gross school enrolment rates have increased from 33% in 2007/08 to 64% in 2009/10.<sup>15</sup> According to the Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS) 2005/06, the literacy rate in Mander County stood at 24.8 % compared to the Kenyan national rate of 71.4 %. The gross enrolment ratio was 71.5, 16.2 and 0.8 in primary, secondary and tertiary levels respectively for the county, compared to 116.9, 39.9 and 9.8 respectively for Kenyan national rates. The education sector in Gedo region is in worse conditions, with schools concentrated in the region’s capital in Bardera (see above). The figures suggest that formal employment in the triangle is very low.

Education standards in the region are poor, students do not perform well in school, and teacher-student ratio is very low. For instance, while the average teacher-student ratio in Kenya is at 1:25 or 1:30, in Mander it is at 1:120 in primary and 1:60 in secondary schools. The Al-Shabaab threat and the escalation in terror related incidents after Kenya’s troop incursion into Somalia in October 2011 has also had a negative impact on crucial sectors such as education and health care, sectors that are almost entirely dependent on non-local professionals from other parts of Kenya, many

---

<sup>15</sup> Eleanor Jackson, June 2011. *The role of education in livelihoods in the Somali region of Ethiopia, a report for the BRIDGES project*, Tufts University and Feinstein International Centre, pg. 15

have fled the county for their safety. Other sectors that have been heavily affected and reliant on non-locals include the construction industry, masonry, plumbing etc.

In addition, the majority of the population in the triangle are young persons. Due to low performance in schools, more than 80% of high school graduates do not qualify for tertiary and university education and since they cannot go back to pastoralism and would only want to be employed in white colour jobs this results in high rates of unemployment further leading to practices such as drug abuse, joining outlawed groups such as Al-Shabaab. Also so many youths from this region do not have the much needed vocational skills to create jobs for themselves (self-employment).

Although girl child education has improved over the years, it continues to remain a big challenge in the cluster and social-cultural factors are the main contributor. Among the Somali community preference is always given to the boy child when it comes to education especially so when the family is economically poor and has to make choices. Early marriages also lead to high number of girls drop-out. Many girls are married off before they complete basic primary and secondary education. In the last year of primary education examination girl's candidates make up only less than 25% of the candidates sitting for the exams. However beliefs are slowly transforming among the community and many more families are willing to send their daughters to schools. Actually there is strong belief among the people that is gaining momentum; that girls, once educated, better take care of their parents as culturally they have the choice of not contributing to the ir own families if they choose to since their husbands are supposed to provide for the family. There fore when they have a stable and steady job they can support their parents.

Drought and famine is a recurrent phenomenon in the triangle and when it occurs it creates significant strain for the local pastoral-based economy, depleting rangeland and water resources and increasing the risk of disease for livestock. Due to high temperatures (sometimes reach a maximum of 42 degrees Celsius in the region) water pans, the major source of water for pastoralists and their livestock quickly dry up weeks after the rain have stopped and the dry season has set in.

In recent years due to climate change, the frequency, duration and intensity of droughts has increased and now they occur every 2-3 years, different from the past, when the cycle was longer, at times lasting a decade. Consistent droughts and famine have over the years led to poorer pastoralists losing their capacity to maintain a viable herd and finding themselves destitute and desperate and forced to migrate to peri-urban or urban areas where they depend on casual job opportunities and humanitarian assistance.

**What security concerns, if any, need to be considered?**

#### **Clan conflict.**

In Mandera, the county's main clans, the Garre, Degodia and Murule, have been fighting periodically since the 1920s. In the Gedo region of Somalia, factional fighting amongst different groups, and sub-sub clans of the Marehan has been a feature of local politics since the 1990s. In the much more stable and secured Doolow district of Ethiopia, the insurgency by the Ogaden National Liberation Front continued to pose a security risk. At times, conflict spill-overs, especially from Mandera County, affect Doolow, as clan members become embroiled in regional conflicts. Most commonly, however, conflict in the triangle occurs between clans within Mandera and at times, clans on the Kenya–Somalia border. Increased settlement by communities (a combined

result of natural population growth and political mobilization), coupled with the effects of climate change that are forcing communities to move, provides much of the context for clan conflict in the triangle since the 1990s.

Mandera experienced notable levels of peace until the mid-2000s. Gedo had also experienced peace until the late 1990s, when increased in-fighting between groups of the Marehan increased (explained below). Between December 2004 and March 2005, Garre and Murule fighting near the Kenya-Somalia border at El Wak led to the loss of about 90 lives and displaced 30,000 people. The conflict was triggered by unresolved disputes over rangeland and sparked by the attempts of Garre herders to move their livestock into areas they claimed belonged to them, which the Murule resisted, leading to a spiral of attacks and revenge killings that lasted 3 months.<sup>16</sup> News reporting of this conflict, particularly of the last attack on a Garre village that saw the massacre of 22 people, 16 of whom were children, led to national pressure to resolve the conflict. Between April and July 2005, another conflict broke out between the Garre and the Marehan to control the border town of El Wak. Over 90 people died in the fighting and 17,000 people were displaced. El Wak, a previously sleepy town, had gained prominence after a rise in cross-border trade in 1993 between Somalia and Kenya. In 1999, when fighting amongst the Marehan clan in Gedo erupted, the Beled Hawa-Mandera Town trade route fell out of favour and El Wak increased its profile as an important cross-border trade town. The close clan ties between the Garre and Urmidig-Marehan (both of whom had physical presence on both sides of the Kenyan-Somalia border) enabled El Wak's growth as a hub for cross-border trade. El Wak became one of the busiest of border towns that emerged on the Kenya-Somalia border replete with small warehouses of non-perishable goods.<sup>17</sup> In a third and final round of fighting, a unit of Marehan militiamen from the Jubba Valley Authority (JVA) in Kismayo took control of the town leading to 30 deaths. This ended the fight between the Garre and the Marehan to control El Wak. Since then, the Marehan have largely exercised unquestionable authority in El Wak town (which spans both sides on the Kenya-Somalia border) and El Wak district in Somalia.

The most recent clan conflict in the triangle (described above) involved the Garre and Degodia clans. This conflict is linked to political control of the new instruments of state as provided under political devolution. The conflict officially ended in 2014, but the underlying driver of differential access to political office has not been properly addressed. The Internal Displaced Persons camp the town of Rhamu still exists. During this conflict, over 77 casualties and displacement of over 18,000 households were reported.<sup>18</sup>

### **Al-Shabaab violence**

The decision in October 2011 by the Kenyan government to deploy troops in Somalia to wage war against Al-Shabaab had resulted in the group and their sympathizers launching a retaliatory terror campaign in Kenya, especially North-eastern Kenya of which Mandera falls. The group has had no success in launching similar attacks in Ethiopia.

---

<sup>16</sup> Menkhaus, K. 2015. *Conflict Assessment*, pg. 96

<sup>17</sup> This section draws extensively on Menkhaus, K. 2015. *Conflict Assessment: Northern Kenya and Somaliland*, Danish Demining Group

<sup>18</sup> Crisis Group Africa Briefing N°114, Kenya's Somali North East: Devolution and Security, 17 November 2015

In Al Shabaab's recent reorganization in mid-2013 as part of a strategy to wage a wider insurgency in the region, Adan Garar, *Jaysh al-Uusra's* (Al Shabaab military wing) commander in Gedo region began targeting Mandera County. The results of this would be seen beginning late 2014. On November 22, 2014, Al Shabaab members stopped a commuter bus heading to Nairobi from Mandera town along the Kenya-Somalia border and shot dead 28 non-Muslims after forcing the passengers out of the bus and forcing them to recite verses from the Quran.<sup>19</sup> The following week, on 2<sup>nd</sup> December, Al Shabaab members descended on a quarry at Koromey, 15 Km away from Mandera town, and shot dead (others were beheaded) 36 quarry workers, all of whom were Christian Kenyan nationals from up-country Kenya.<sup>20</sup> Al Shabaab spokesperson said that the attacks were in retaliation to 'mosque operations' that had been conducted in Mombasa on Kenya's Coast to flush out Al Shabaab members from a select number of mosques and to Kenyan military operations in Somalia. The Mandera County Governor, Mr. Ali Roba, has himself been a target of Al Shabaab attacks. Four attempts at his life were made between July 16, 2014 and March 13, 2015.<sup>21</sup>

In Mandera, it is clear that Al Shabaab is introducing a new form of ideologically inspired violence, but is also taking advantage of Mandera's usual exposure to events and politics in Somalia through cross-border clan ties and trade (illicit and legal) to embed itself within the local community. Unconfirmed media reports usually state that Al Shabaab personnel easily cross the Kenya-Somalia border by issuing bribes to security officials. There is a perception, that corruption at the border is a common practice, especially in zones of high commercial and human traffic such as El Wak, Rhamu and Beled Hawa.

Threats from Al-Shabaab due to the porous border are highest on the Kenyan side. Ethiopia has been able to firmly secure its border through military presence with its frontier districts with Somalia, which further prevents Al-Shabaab infiltration. In two offensives conducted in 2014 the group has been dislodged from major towns in Gedo like Garbaharey and Luuq districts but continues to have a firm grip of vast rural areas in the region including areas very close to Kenyan border near Mandera. However, Ethiopian AMISOM troops and the Somali allied militias have secured the corridor that connects Beled Hawa to Doolow Bay Somalia. In addition, since the deadly Garissa University college attack that led to the massacre of 148 students, the government has embraced a new Community-led security approach which has had some success in dismantling and disrupting Al-Shabaab cells in Northeastern Kenya. However, villages and towns close to the Somalia border remain vulnerable especially areas along the border, the most vulnerable being the stretch between Mandera and Wajir counties along the Mandera-Arabiya-Lafey- Elwak road. Here, the group constantly crosses from Gedo region to target security forces and civilians.

---

<sup>19</sup> Manase Otsialo and Abdimalik Hajir, November 22, 2014, At least 28 killed in Shabaab attack on Nairobi-bound bus in Mandera, *Daily Nation* < <http://www.nation.co.ke/counties/28-dead-suspected-Al-Shabaab-attack-in-Mandera/-/1107872/2531256/-/ljsywl/-/index.html>>

<sup>20</sup> Mutiga Murithi, December 2, 2014. Al Shabaab militants kill 36 Christian quarry workers in Kenya, *The Guardian* < <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/02/kenya-quarry-massacre-leaves-36-dead-says-red-cross>>

<sup>21</sup> Kennedy Kimanathi, Attacks raise concern on who wants Mandera governor Ali Roba dead, *Daily Nation* < <http://www.nation.co.ke/counties/Mandera-Governor-Ali-Roba-Insecurity/-/1107872/2653818/-/13w0pnm/-/index.html>>

## Specific Context in Terms of Migration and Stability

What are the forms of migration in the area (displacement due to what? Labour migration? Seasonal migration for pastoral grazing or agricultural practices? Resettlement? Migration as a result of environmental change, Etc.

The oldest, and main form of migration or movement in the Mandera triangle is transhumance. In more recent years, transhumance has been heavily impacted by environmental degradation (reducing levels of water resources, charcoal burning, especially in Gedo region). Data is lacking on the number of persons displaced as a result of climate change and environmental degradation, which particularly affects pastoralists, but anecdotal evidence suggests that pastoralists have to move further from traditional grazing areas and for longer periods of time in order to find pasture and water for their livestock. This feature combines with, or is at most times in conflict with a trend of increased settlements and sedentarization in the triangle. In Doolow, clans have been forced to permanently settle in separate zones. This has resulted in a loss of cattle to drought, as immobility limits access to pasture available elsewhere. Transhumance under a changing environment, combines with, or is at times in conflict with, increased settlement, as the arrival of herds of cattle into zones already settled by different clans can cause conflict. However, there is a paucity of data on internal displacements, with most of the available information in the region focused on post-election displacements.<sup>22</sup>

### Labour migration

As mentioned above, non-Somali, mainly highland Kenyans, travel to Mandera town and a few other urban settlements to take up positions in the military, police, civil service, or service professions such as health and education. This is in contrast to the situation in Doolow and Gedo, where the majority of government officials tend to be local people. In addition, this group of non-Somali Kenyans rarely (if at all) settles in Mandera, and typically relocate once their contract is finished. Recent Al Shabaab violence in Mandera has driven away many members of this group, mostly education and health care professionals. In addition, anecdotal evidence suggests that non-Kenyan Somalis (especially those from Somalia) who attend school in Mandera usually do not go back to Somalia due to lack of employment opportunities, and that thousands have over the years integrated into Kenya by irregularly acquiring Kenyan citizenship. Kenyan Somali college graduates, especially those who have close relatives across the border in Ethiopia but cannot find employment in Kenya, have sought and gotten employed in Ethiopia where the existing levels of skills (see above) are lower than in Kenya. However, reports exist of a trend of Kenyans who seek higher college and university education in Ethiopia mainly due to lower university fees and entrance qualifications for courses such as medicine. Last but not least, there is a common trend of Ethiopians from the towns of Suftu and Doolow Ado migrating into Mandera to seek manual labour, especially in Mandera town, where they find more opportunities than in Ethiopia.

Is irregular migration (exit without authorisation, displacement, engagement in smuggling or trafficking networks) going on in this cluster? What information can be gathered about this? Are the numbers and frequency of migration known? Who is migrating? From where to where? Are the moves likely to be temporary or permanent?

---

<sup>22</sup> International Office of Migration, 2015. *Migration in Kenya, a country profile*, Nairobi, pg. 18



## Irregular migration, human smuggling and trafficking

The Mandera triangle both produces and hosts of irregular migrants. The triangle, particularly the access it provides to regional hubs such as Nairobi in Kenya is also a source, transit, and destination country for human smuggling and trafficking. While there is currently limited data, two main routes have been identified: the north-eastern route which transits Mandera-Wajir-Garissa on the Kenya-Somalia border; and the western route between Kenya and Uganda at the Busia-Malaba border point. Irregular migration, whether due to unemployment, displacement caused by natural disasters or elongated conflicts, is the main form of migration in this triangle. For instance, in Mandera, members of the Marehan clan, inhabitants of Gedo region and Beled Hawa, a major town in Gedo that is adjacent to Mandera, have over the years had their numbers in Mandera County rapidly grow, especially after the collapse of the Siad Barre regime in Somalia state in 1991, and even form a significant voting bloc in Mandera County. In this way, citizenship is a contested and volatile source of identity politics in the area. Individuals in Somalia have sought and secured Kenyan citizenship by paying bribes for registration documents, leading to confusion as to who is a “true” Kenyan citizen; while some clans have sought to strengthen their voting numbers or their fighting capacity by importing clan members from across the border; and politicians try to discredit rivals by arguing they are in reality from a neighbouring country.

Smuggling and trafficking is a substantial business in the Mandera triangle, involving movement in multiple directions. In Kenya it is said to have a value of USD 40 million on the black market.<sup>23</sup> Most of the human smuggling and trafficking is driven by Somali out-migration, either across the Gulf of Aden to Yemen, or overland to Kenya, Ethiopia, or Djibouti. In all instances these are transit points for continued journeys to Europe, North America, or Saudi Arabia. Those involved are often well known to the local community and work with a network of associates to facilitate the movement of young people across the region. Because out-migration (and remittances from those who emigrate) is such a powerful component of the local economy, there is little stigma attached to the business, reducing local incentive to cooperate with law enforcement to stop it.

### What are the reasons that people move or migrate?

- Search for pasture and grazing fields
- Displacement caused by natural disasters, especially drought
- Conflict, especially clan conflict
- Forced evictions and political violence
- Search for employment opportunities
- Relocating to join family kin in another part of the triangle

What are the principle causes of instability or conflict? Who are the main sources of instability/tensions that affect people in the area? How do these relate to dynamics across the border?

---

<sup>23</sup> International Office of Migration, 2015. *Migration in Kenya, a country profile*, Nairobi, pg. 16

## Political competition

In the Mandera Triangle, clan identities are a major organizing principle in the social and political life of the population, especially regarding communal claims to land and political representation. It is also important to make note of the malleability of clan identities in the triangle, with specific contexts usually determining what level of clan identity, whether sub-clan, sub-sub-clan or a wider regional identity, becomes salient (this is a common feature of clan infighting within the Marehan in Gedo region). The hardening of clan identities in the triangle dates back to the colonial period, but took on another level of significance in the early 1990s. As mentioned above, inter-clan tensions have been raised by a number of developments, including: (i) political devolution in Kenya since 2013, (ii) Ogaden ascendancy at the expense of Marehan power in the Jubaland administration, under which Gedo falls, and (iii) the ONLF insurgency in Southern Ethiopia. These factors have driven most clan conflicts in the triangle, and caused human displacement. More than any other clan in the Mandera triangle, the Marehan, and more recently, Garre, are heavily focused on high stakes political arenas, a fact which has added to local tensions. Advantages accruing to the Marehan during the Siad Barre (himself a Marehan) regime of Somalia (1969-1990), and the fact of a larger Marehan elite in the diaspora has increased the clan's power in the regional politics of the 'Mandera triangle'. The Garre, the numerically stronger clan in Mandera County, with its links to the Ethiopian government has also increased its firepower, as they have been used by the Ethiopians to control the activities of the Ogaden National Liberation Front on the Ethiopian-Kenya border. Increased Garre power in Mandera County, evidenced by their domination of the newly-established Mandera County Government, has come at the expense of the Degodia clan, who have links with fellow Degodia in the Doolow woreda of Ethiopia. It is these cross-border dimensions of political competition amongst clans that results in conflict with regional implications, causing the displacement of people, with the most recent conflict witnessed in 2012-2014 (explained above).

## Violent Extremism

The main violent extremist organisation in the Mandera triangle is Al Shabaab, which has strong local bases in the Gedo region of Somalia. The presence of Al Shabaab has not only introduced a new form of ideologically inspired violence in the triangle, but has also brought a combined militaristic response from the Somalia National Army (SNA) Kenya Defence Forces (KDF), and the Ethiopian Forces, working under the auspices of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). In addition, and perhaps more worrying, is how this form of ideological violence is sometimes weaved into local political contests. Al Shabaab has had core members and supporters in the area for years, and some are truly committed to the group and its vision. But the group has also had success recruiting supporters for more venal reasons. For individual youth, the group offers the promise of a paying job in one of the poorest areas of the Horn. For clans and sub-clans, tactical affiliation with Al Shabaab has been a useful means of countering a dominant rival. Al Shabaab has successfully exploited local clan and other grievances to this end. At times, both the *guri* and *galti* Marehan have taken turns tactically affiliating with Al Shabaab.<sup>24</sup> Three aspects of this form of identity politics are worth highlighting: (1) affiliation or alliance with Al Shabaab is generally very tactical and reversible across the Mandera triangle; (2) accusations that a clan is "pro-Al Shabaab" – whether true or not -- is a very easy way to harness external (Ethiopian, Kenya, AMISOM, US) support against a local rival; and (3) at least some clashes that appear to be Al Shabaab vs. SNA in

---

<sup>24</sup> Menkhaus, K. 2015. *Conflict Assessment: Northern Kenya and Somaliland*, Danish Demining Group

the area are actually clan clashes dressed up in ideological garb. This has increased local levels of violence, and has been the main cause of instability in the triangle in recent years, causing displacement of people within and beyond the triangle.

### **Recurrent droughts and famine**

As mentioned above, transhumance has been heavily impacted in recent years by environmental degradation. Data is lacking on the number of persons displaced as a result of climate change and environmental degradation, which particularly affects pastoralists, but anecdotal evidence suggests that pastoralists have to move further from traditional grazing areas and for longer periods of time in order to find pasture and water for their livestock. Due to this, conflict has at times occurred between clans that have historically cooperated during difficult periods. This is compounded by the fact that clan settlement in the Mandera triangle has largely been contentious, and has mostly been determined by bare-knuckle politics, where more aggressive, better armed and organized clans push weaker ones out of desirable territory, or in order to dominate the local politics (see above). A conflict between December 2004 and March 2005, between members of the Garre and Murule clans foregrounds this reality. During this conflict near the Kenya-Somalia border at El Wak, 90 lives were lost and 30,000 people were displaced. The conflict was triggered by unresolved disputes over rangeland and sparked by the attempts of Garre herders to move their livestock into areas they claimed belonged to them, after which the Murule resisted, leading to a spiral of attacks and revenge killings that lasted 3 months.<sup>25</sup>

## **Other Actors and Existing Activities**

What responses are already provided by other donors, non-governmental and civil society organisations, IGAD, and partner state governments to address migration, displacement and instability? The team should map who is working in the area, on each side of the border. Any cross border activities should be noted. The activities of each actor should be noted, and a brief summary of what is known about each activity should be provided.

### **Governmental responses**

At the apex, the approach by regional governments, especially by the Government of Kenya and the Government of Ethiopia based in Nairobi and Addis Ababa respectively, has largely been driven by a dominant security imperative. The existence of a number of irredentist/secessionist movements in the area (the on-going activities of the Ogaden National Liberation Front and the Shifta conflict in Kenya in the 1960s) have historically threatened to complicate the needs of these central governments to exercise effective authority in the triangle. The much recent emergence of Al Shabaab and its related introduction of ideologically motivated violence in the triangle further deepens these concerns. In this way, instability (conflict and insecurity), more than migration and displacement, dominates the design of governmental policy responses to the issues affecting the Mandera triangle, responses which have been largely militarized and securitized.

The most well-known governmental responses to the instability affecting the triangle are as follows;

---

<sup>25</sup> Menkhaus, K. 2015. *Conflict Assessment*, pg. 96

- Military presence/membership by both Ethiopian and Kenyan militaries within the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).
- Official border closure, of the Kenya-Somalia border by the Kenyan government.
- Increased military presence in Mandera County around important government offices and government installations.
- Plans by the Kenyan government to put up a number of well-policed border crossings (3-4 of them) along the common border points with Somalia.

However, it is important to note the recent restructuring of Government in Kenya, which introduced devolution of government in 2010, and the incorporation of Gedo region as part of the Jubaland administration based in Kismayo that is largely under the patronage of the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF). Mandera County, the most developed in the triangle, receiving 8.9 billion shillings (\$88 million) in the financial year 2015/2016 from the central government based in Nairobi, the highest allocation after Nairobi and Turkana counties.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, devolution in Kenya has in this way brought to one part of the triangle locally unprecedented levels of government revenue. Devolution might easily be the most significant governmental response towards the drivers of migration, conflict and instability in Mandera (such as unemployment, lack of social amenities and health facilities etc.), but is also a doubled-edged sword, having introduced into the region clan-based conflict as political competition amongst clans over county resources continues to increase.

The Ethiopian government, on the other hand, has over the years implemented policies across its regions that are meant to modernize rural livelihoods and economies. In particular, mechanization of agriculture is the mainstay of the economy in the district of Doolow. In Doolow, government policies meant to deter clan-based conflict over access to pasture and water sources are encouraging sedentarisation and agro-pastoralism, and different clans and sub-clans have been allocated separate territories for grazing. However, this policy has been known to cause loss of cattle as immobility reduces access to pasture and water.

### **NGO responses**

Most NGO responses in the triangle largely fall under two broad categories;

1. Those that focus on resilience, with a focus on climate change and drought, and their impacts on livelihoods, and
2. Those, in recent years, that focus on peace, security (especially border-security) and conflict-resolution.

Most responses largely fall under the first category, probably because they are 'less-political' and hence 'easier to implement', but also perhaps because conflict and extremism have only seen a spike in recent years.

It should also be noted that, as a result of the increased threat posed by Al-Shabaab, international organizations are increasingly finding it hard to operate in the region, especially on the Gedo side but also in Mandera where they prefer to keep a low profile and many times opt to engage small

---

<sup>26</sup>International Crisis Group, 2015. Kenya's Somali Northeast: Devolution and Security. Crisis Group Africa Briefing No. 114

locally-based organizations as implementing partners.

Please consult the stakeholder matrix for a full overview of the different organisations and their interventions present in the Mandera cluster.

### What priorities does IGAD identify for each cluster? What activities might be implemented there?

In the Mandera cluster, IGAD prioritises coordinated cross-border efforts on animal health, trade and natural resources management coordination. IGAD had also been involved in the River Dawa integrated project as it sought to bring together the three stakeholder countries of Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia, in order that they could jointly agree on and identify projects and initiatives linked to the River Dawa (see above for more detail).

IGAD is also prioritising the issue of cross-border coordination for better livestock disease control, disease surveillance and control and the enhancement of livestock trade. A meaningful livestock control initiative is yet to be implemented in the Mandera cluster, although this has been achieved in other areas, such as Karamajong at the border between Kenya and Uganda.

### Please include activities carried out under existing protocols and working arrangements that span national borders, particularly where official cooperation is constrained. Also identify risks and constraints to implementing such activities.

There are no protocols but informal cross-border arrangements in the area of border security exist. For instance, rotational meetings between security officials between Mandera and Doolow are held (see above).

### What activities would you recommend be undertaken in these areas? What additional information may be needed to carry out the activities?

Greater support is needed to promote peace-building activities. The majority of the NGOs and other organisations currently working on issues of security and peace-building are international. For example, Danish Demining Group (DDG) is strongly linked to this sector. There is a deficit of local involvement and local actors, such as Ep-gak or Lifeline Gedo, should be empowered to expand to this area. This is especially relevant as security is becoming a significant aspect of local politics and development in the region. Finally, state institutions and services linked to security remain fragile or non-existent in many parts of the country and significant capacity building of government officials is required.

Due to unrestricted animal movements across international borders, the spread of transboundary diseases is common and cross-border coordination and control are a challenge. According to local authorities, IGAD and other actors need to do more to initiate cross-border meetings and engagements. IGAD had previously developed some form of working relationship, and memoranda of understanding on livestock movement, trade, and coordination of vaccination but this is yet to take effect. Plans are underway through a World Bank pastoral livestock resilience

project to construct a regional laboratory in Mandera that would serve the entire region. If completed, the laboratory would have a regional training institute for animal health and disease control and will go a long way in improving livelihoods and in producing veterinary professionals. What is also needed is raising the capacity of disease surveillance in livestock which is currently very poor. Improved disease surveillance means early detection of diseases and a better response to outbreaks. Joint simultaneous cross-border vaccination campaigns could also help to reduce the risk of disease amongst livestock.

In addition to disease, livestock is also very vulnerable to drought. Drought and famine are a recurrent phenomenon in the triangle and when it occurs it creates significant strain for the local pastoral-based economy, depleting rangeland and water resources and increasing the risk of disease for livestock. In recent years due to climate change, the frequency, duration and intensity of droughts has increased and now they occur every 2-3 years, which differs from previous cycles that would typically last a decade. In this context, interventions should take steps to mitigate against the effects of drought on pastoralists and their livestock, and aim to build their resilience and strengthen livelihoods.

Water is a scarce resource in the Mandera cluster, and many water sources dry up completely during the dry seasons. Agro-pastoralists who live along the riverine area depend on the river for farming. Pastoralists require water as well as pasture for their livestock. Water shortages and pressures, and the associated insecurity and migrations, have led to clashes between clans and groups. Tensions over water could be further exacerbated by development plans associated with the River Dawa, which is a shared resource between Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia. A tripartite consultative process under the auspices of IGAD that sought to bring together government representatives from the three countries seems to have stalled. In this context, integrated water management interventions are required at both a localised and regional level in order to reduce tensions and promote fair and sustainable access to water sources.

Solar potential. All parts of the cluster experience long hours (approximately 11 hours) of sunshine per day. The continuous sunshine in the region which remains highly underutilised has a high potential for developing green and sustainable solar energy. In some parts of the cluster there is also the potential of exploiting wind power.

EU interventions could support existing efforts to enhance local skills and education standards. National Government and Mandera County government are planning to establish a Technical Training Institute and a Teachers Training College. These are designed to build local capacity and reduce heavy reliance on non-local professionals from other parts of Kenya. The projects are in the final stages, and due to be completed by the end of 2016. Some basic facilities have already been put in place and intake for students should start before the end of the year. The EU could support this venture by providing equipment to these two facilities. In addition to improving local skills and education standards, the two institutions would take on a cross border element by also benefitting students from neighbouring countries.

Crop farming is an economic activity that has not been fully embraced in the Mandera cluster, mainly because pastoralists are resistant to diversifying their livelihoods beyond livestock rearing. Those people that do engage in agro-pastoralism face a number of challenges. Most of what they produce is for subsistence or consumed locally and, even when there is surplus, opportunities for marketing are limited. Encouraging and supporting cooperative marketing, which is almost non-existent in the cluster, could significantly help to support small scale farmers. This would ensure a market for products, provide members with better storage facilities, and cut out the 'middle man'. What is also needed in raising the capacity and output of farmers is introducing better methods of irrigation other than canal irrigation, which is commonly practiced in spite of its inefficiencies.

Local farmers extensively use diesel powered pumps to pump water from wells and rivers to water their crops. Another intervention area would be to replace these with solar powered water pumps, which are more cost-effective, easy to use, reliable and require less or no maintenance.

Please provide an assessment of best practice and lessons learned from existing interventions (including what has worked and what has not worked, especially in terms of existing cross-border mechanisms), risks and potential mitigating measures against them.

Successful interventions in the area are those that adopt a cross-border approach. Initiatives that focus on one side of the border risk missing the wider dynamics and interrelationships of people and their social connections, economic activities, resources and movements. A cross-border dynamic is particularly relevant when it comes to interventions that focus on natural resources, and how best to share them, and livestock. Additionally, all interventions should be mindful of the underlying security issues of the area and the potential for inter-clan instability, and therefore adopt a conflict-sensitive approach. Finally, interventions should seek to support already existing mechanisms, especially those informal cross-border arrangements between government officials on either side of the border – for example, around disease surveillance and border security. Working to formalize these arrangements will be important.

## **Bibliography**

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), Gedo Region, Situation Analysis

County Government of Mandera, County Integrated Development Plan, 2013-2017

International Office of Migration, 2015. Migration in Kenya, a country profile, Nairobi

Kenya Interagency Rapid Assessment, April 2014. Mandera County Baseline Analysis

Stephen Deveruex, April 2006. Vulnerable livelihoods in Somali region. Research Report 57, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex

Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), September, 2013. *Humanitarian Needs Overview: Somalia*

International Crisis Group, 2015. Kenya's Somali Northeast: Devolution and Security, *Africa Briefing*, No.11

The Strengthening Community Managed Drought Risk Reduction Report, July 2011. Strengthening community managed drought risk reduction in northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia

Eleanor Jackson, June 2011. *The role of education in livelihoods in the Somali region of Ethiopia, a report for the BRIDGES project*, Tufts University and Feinstein International Centre

The Strengthening Community Managed Drought Risk Reduction Report, July 2011. Strengthening community managed drought risk reduction in northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia

Ken Menkhaus, 2015. *Conflict Assessment: Northern Kenya and Somaliland*, Danish Demining Group