

# Cross Border Conflict in Gambella Regional State (from 1991 to 2011): The Impacts of the Cross Border Conflicts in Gambella Regional State

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## Abstract

Many Africans are experiencing ethnics-cross-border-conflicts which impose great social and economic costs. The objective of this article is to identify the impacts of the cross border conflicts in Gambella Regional State and its adjacent States in South Sudan. This study is more of qualitative research type. Both secondary and primary data were collected using questionnaire, interview, focus groups discussion and documents analysis. The study was conducted in Gambella region of Ethiopia and in Jonglei state of South Sudan. The respondents were from affected communities (elders, elites, religious people, women, and youth) of Nuer, Anyuak and Murle, governments' officials and non-governmental functionaries' workers. The sample size was 401. The focus group discussions participants were select systematically and the rest informants were taken purposively. The motivation factors of the cross border conflicts are to obtain additional livestock, to enable payment for marriage as dowry, buying food items and clothes, to get honor to community, and to get economic benefits, up to 50 cows for child abduction. The cross border incursions have destructively affected the lives and economic development of the people around this border. The conflicts have resulted in socio-economic deterioration of farmers and pastoralists and weakening the proper functioning of local government, which in turns put the existence of good governance and leadership under question. These incursions resulted in displacement of many people, innumerable human death, cattle raided, innocent children abducted, food insecurity and dependency on food aid.

**Keywords:** Conflict, cross-border conflict, Impact

## 1. Introduction

Many of the world's pastoral communities have a long history of conflict among themselves that, even potentially, extend to the state (Bevan, 2007). While less attention has been paid to pastoral communities, pastoralism provides around 10 percent of global meat production and supporting around 200 million households (ibid).

Many Africans are experiencing ethnics-cross-border-conflicts which impose great social and economic costs. These conflicts are not caused by single issue but by many intermingling factors happening simultaneously such depleted livestock, limited pasture and water and cumulative effect of drought across east Africa increased pastoralists' movement in search of pasture and water in ways that trigger cross-border conflict (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2008). The nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralists in entire West and Central Africa move within and across countries in search of pasture and water for their herds and there they come in contact with settled crop farmers which result in conflict (Shettima and Tar June 2008).

The impact of cross-border conflicts is much more profound. According Yohannes, Kassaye and Zerihun (2005) and Bekele (2008) the internal and cross-border ethnic conflicts resulted in deterioration of various forms of assets that constitute the capability of pastoral households like loss of human lives, destruction or theft of property (cattle looting) and forceful trespassing on others' territories for pastures and water access. They also indicated that the conflicts resulted in overgrazing and land degradation; spread of livestock diseases; displace people; tension in schools and absenteeism; non access to market and trade opportunities and food insecurity and dependency on food aid.

In Gambella Regional State (GRAS) of Ethiopia, since the downfall of the Derg regime during 1991, the permissible peace has not prevailed (Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC, 2009:74). The ethnic groups pressures have repeatedly risen over into bloodshed that has left hundreds dead and thousands homeless (ibid). These recurring cattle raidings have cost the lives of many people, loss of thousands of cattle and massive displacement of people internally (IDP) (Dereje, 2009). Therefore, the problem to be addressed in this article is the impacts of the cross border conflicts in Gambella Regional State and its adjacent States in South Sudan.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Conflict is a visible sign of human energy; it is evidence of human urgency; it is the result of competitive striving for the same goals, rights, and resources (Augsburger, 1992). Wherever there are scarce resources, different levels of power, divided functions in society, competition for a limited supply of goods, valued roles,

status, or power as an end in itself, conflict will occur there (ibid). Traditional cultures see conflict as communal concern; the group has ownership of the conflict and context and resolution processes are culturally prescribed (Augsburger, 1992). As to Fisher (2000) nearly all conflicts are not of a pure type, but involve a combination of sources. The more causes that are involved, the more severe and intractable the conflict usually is (ibid).

As to Modernization and Economic-interest Theories conceive conflict as the struggle for resources and opportunities that are valued in common (Horowitz, 2000). On contrary, the Theory of Cultural Pluralism conceives ethnic conflict as the clash of incompatible values (ibid). Modernization and economic-interest perspectives are useful in highlighting the role of elites in conflict whereas cultural pluralists neglect the role of elites, particularly elites with convergent goals and aspirations (ibid).

## **2.2. Impact of Cross-Border Conflicts in Africa**

Many documents illustrate more incidents and the lethality of cross-border conflicts in Africa. The pastoral mobility usually doesn't respect the national boundaries and borders and this trigger armed cross-border conflict (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2008). Pastoralists living along the borders of Sudan, Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda are losing their lives from increased cross-border resource-based armed conflicts (ibid). For instance, in Kenya-Uganda border in Koton area 60 Turkana herders were killed in 2005. In August 2007 and in August 2008, the Ugandan army bombed over 5,000 Turkana pastoralists in Koton in a move to flush them out of this area. Pokots in Kenya have mounted two successive raids in South Turkana district which saw over 70 people killed and over 2,800 head of cattle stolen. In Turkana district 15 pastoralists were killed in police clashed with cattle rustlers who crossed into northern Kenya in August 2008. Up to 500 pastoralists have lost their lives from clashes in the Kenya and Sudan border. In August 2008 around 19 pastoralists were killed in Turkana north District in clashes between local herders and rustlers from Southern Sudan (ibid). The governments of Sudan, Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda are blamed for turning a blind eye as thousands of their pastoral populations living along the borders die from increased cross-border resources and armed based conflicts (ibid).

Ethiopia is prone to this type of border conflicts at its peripheries as well. According to Bekele (2008) the scarcity of resources and environmental degradation caused by prolonged drought; the gradual decline of pastoral resource-base due to confiscation of land by the state; and competition over the rangelands exacerbated the conflict between Afar and Issa-Somalia (Amibera) the mid-1990s, Afar and Karrayyu-Oromo (Awash-Fentale), Afar and Amhara and Afar and Wello-Oromo (Semu-Robi). In 2006, the revenge attack by Ethiopian rustlers killed around 77 Kenyan villagers together with 56 school children (UN-OCHA, 2008). In 1970s, the conflict between Afar-Ethiopia and Issa-Somalia pastoralists resulted in war between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1977/78 (Bekele, 2008).

In Ethiopian and northern Kenya border, in 2006 a revenge attack by Ethiopian rustlers killed at least 77 Kenyan villagers including 56 school children (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2008). Ethiopian pastoralist died in northern Kenya as a result of cattle rustling activities in April 2008 (ibid). The August 2008 killing brought to death of 42 pastoralists (cattle-rustling related attacks) in Turkana district which also neighbors strife torn of southern Sudan and north-eastern Uganda (ibid). The pastoralists' conflict in South Sudan had displaced over 100,000 people from their homes (USAID, 2010). The conflict increased the burden of hosting the internal displaced people (IDP) population and most areas of Jonglei state are highly food insecure (ibid). High tensions in shared grazing areas are likely to cause fighting and potentially deny grazing to some livestock, thus affecting milk availability (ibid). The same applies to fish because some grazing areas also serve as fishing grounds (ibid). In South Sudan the conflict displaced 350,000 people and causing 2500 deaths in 2009 (ibid). Conflicts in Jonglei State in South Sudan escalated during January to March 2009 and continued through the year, affecting the Akobo district (woreda) of Ethiopia's Gambella, displacing 24000 people (ibid). Clashes between the Lou-Nuer and the Murle in Akobo and Pibor counties in South Sudan have resulted in more than 1,000 casualties in Jonglei and some 750 dead in 2009 (Africa Report N°154, 2009).

Sometimes the conflicts caused by nomadic pastoralist activities can escalate into border conflict between nations in Africa. In 1970s the conflict between Afar-Ethiopia and Issa-Somalia pastoralists resulted in war between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1977/78 (Bekele, 2008). The conflicts between Tubu, Arab and Fulbe herders over wells resulted in the civil wars in Niger and Chad (Shettima and Tar, 2008:178). Also the 1983 war between Nigeria and Chad was caused by conflict between fishermen of the two countries (ibid). Likewise, the conflicts over natural resources between herders, farmers and fisher people escalated into border conflict between Senegal and Mauritania (ibid).

The internal and cross-border ethnic conflicts resulted in loss of human lives, destruction or theft of property (cattle looting) and forceful trespassing on others' territories for pastures and water access (Yohannes, Kassaye and Zerihun, 2005 and Bekele, 2008). It result in overgrazing and land degradation; spread of livestock diseases; displace people; tension in schools and absenteeism; non access to market and trade opportunities; deterioration of social capital; asset diversion; and food insecurity and dependency on food aid (ibid).

Table 1: Impact of pastoral violence (May-August 2006)

Country	No. Incidents	No. Deaths	% Cross-border incidents
Ethiopia	16	21	87%
Kenya	11	31	26%
Uganda	117	147	5%
Total	144	199	39.33%

Sources: The Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) (Bevan, 2007)

### 3. Methodology/Design

The research type for the study is Qualitative research. As to Hancock (2002) qualitative research is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena and seeks to answer questions about: why people behave the way they do; how opinions and attitudes are formed; how people are affected by the events that go on around them; how and why cultures have developed in the way they have; and the differences between social groups. Basing on the objectives, from the different types of qualitative researches explanatory method were used. Among the classes of explanatory research studies (case study and historical research methods); the case study method were used for this study. According to O'Sullivan, Rassel and Berner (2003) case study is the combination of several different sources of information which include documents, archival information, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artifact. The study employed descriptive research, to report what has happened or what is happening (Kothari, 1996) around Gambella Regional State border.

The types of data are qualitative data. Both the primary and the secondary data were collected. The methods of data collection involved focus group discussion, interview and questionnaire to procure primary data directly from respondents. The secondary data were collected from the existing relevant published and unpublished documents including books, magazines, journals, newspapers, reports and electronic source.

The data were collected from the affected communities (elders, elites, religious people, women, and youth), government officials and development agencies relevant to the study. The sample size was 401. The questionnaires were filled by 53 respondents from Nuer, Anyuak and Murle ethnic groups. The respondents were governments' officials and NGOs workers. The 168 individuals from Nuer (Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer), Anyuak and Murle were interviewed including 5 elders from the displaced community from Upper Nile State of South Sudan to Gambella Region of Ethiopia. Up to 18 focus group discussions which involving 180 individuals were done from Gog, Makukey and Akobo districts of Gambella, displaced Jikany-Nuer from Upper Nile to Gambella and Akobo district of Jonglei, one for youth and another for women focus group discussions were conducted. The purposive sampling and snowball method were used. The purposive sampling was used to take the zones and the districts with high frequency of cross border incursions and to ensure the inclusion of all ethnic groups affected by this type of conflict.

In order to get information from the groups, the respondents were stratified as governments' officials, NGOs' workers, elites, elders, youth (both young men and women), women and religious people. The age of youth ranges from 15 to 35 depend on the context of groups under study. This is the group that is active in carry out incursion and raiding. The elites and elders were taken purposively and snowball method was used.

The data gathered, being primary and/or secondary, were analyzed and presented in different forms. The data were reduced into meaningful accounts. The data were analyzed, described, discussed, coded and qualified using explanatory means, comparisons, interpretation, SPSS and logical arguments.

### 4. Impacts of the Cross Border Conflicts in Gambella Regional State

The section discussion in detail the impacts of the cross border conflict in Gambella Regional State of Ethiopia and its adjacent States in South Sudan. The section is divided in to two. The first one focuses on the motivation factors (positive Impacts) of the cross border conflicts to see if there is some benefits drawn from fighting. The second sub-section is on the disadvantages (negative impacts) of the cross border conflicts in this region.

#### 4.1. The Motivation Factors (Positive Impacts) of the Cross Border Conflict in Gambella Regional State

##### 4.1.1. Obtain Additional Cattle

The results supported the motivation factor that leads to fighting between ethnic groups along the border of Gambella Regional State is to obtain additional livestock. All respondents revealed the foremost motivation factor to go for fighting is to get something from there. The need of cattle is of paramount important, especially for young men, in this border. The respondents explained Nuer and Murle the need cattle more as their living depend much on cattle. Dereje (2009) mentioned the triggering of the conflict is the cattle raiding, which is an old tradition grown in scale and brutality, with raiders often well-armed around Gambella and South Sudan border.

The survey questions' results supported the desire to obtain additional livestock is what motivated the raiders to raid cattle. From the table 2 below, 48 (90.57%) respondents supported the desire to obtain additional livestock is what motivated the raiders to raid. And the 5 (9.43%) respondents did not support this.

Table 2. To get economic benefits is reason why people do cattle raiding

Respondent Tribe	To Get Economic Benefits		Total
	Agree	Disagree	
Nuer	22	2	24
Anyuak	16	2	18
Murle	10	1	11
Total	48	5	53

Source: field survey data

#### 4.1.2. Payment for Marriage (Dowry)

The results supported the motivation to go for cattle raiding is to get cattle to pay for marriage as dowry. The majority of respondents revealed this cross border conflict is carryout by people who hope to get cattle to pay for dowry. The payment for marriage is inflated that youth men who their fathers have no enough cattle to pay for marriage as dowry choose to raid cattle.

The respondents from Lou-Nuer revealed they do not raid cattle to get marriage. Because the raided cattle are curse cattle when one get marriage by paying them as dowry the wife will not bear children. They indicated this is cultural believed and it is true.

The Jikany-Nuer respondents explained before one cannot give a stolen cow as dowry. The elders form Jikany-Nuer stressed now thing as change that curse does not work anymore for this generation. All Jikany-Nuer respondents revealed that the people are now getting marriage with stolen cattle. For them the increase of dowry pay in cattle increase cattle raiding with is carryout in mass and this result in very day fighting.

The results from the survey questions, from the table 3 below, supported the need of cattle for dowry is what motivated raiders to raid livestock. The 35 (66.04%) respondents supported to enable payment of dowry for marriage motivated raiders to raid livestock. And the 18 (33.96%) respondents said the need for cattle to pay for marriage as dowry is not a motivating factor.

Table 3. To enable dowry is reason why people do cattle raiding

Respondent Tribe	To Enable Dowry		Total
	Agree	Disagree	
Nuer	18	6	24
Anyuak	10	8	18
Murle	7	4	11
Total	35	18	53

Source: field survey data

#### 4.1.3. To Gain Heroism

The result did not supported to gain heroism is what motivated revengers to revenge. The participants of interviews and focus group discussions explained it is the feeling of humiliation that let these ethnic groups in fight to sustain their fight. The people go for revenge after revenge to feel the same thing. The respondents revealed it is feeling of dishonor of a community that led revengers to revenge.

The results of the survey questions, from table 4 below, showed 13 (24.53%) respondents supported to gain heroism is what motivated revengers to revenge. And the 40 (75.47%) respondents did not support gaining heroism is what motivated revengers to revenge.

Table 4. To gain heroism is motivation factor of the cross border conflict

Respondent Tribe	To Gain Heroism		Total
	Agree	Disagree	
Nuer	6	18	24
Anyuak	2	16	18
Murle	5	6	11
Total	13	40	53

Source: field survey data

#### 4.1.4. Get Honor to Community

The results supported the need to get honor to one own community is what motivated the raiders and revengers to invade others communities villages. The respondents from these communities explained the one who bring something from outside to the village is highly appreciated and honor by his own community.

The survey questions' results supported to get honor to the community is what motivated those who raid cattle and revenge. From the table 5 below, 33 (62.26%) respondents supported to get honor to one's community is motivated those who carry out the revenge. And the 20 (37.74%) respondents did not support this.

Table 5. Get honor to community is the motivation for going for revenge

Respondent Tribe	Get Honor to Community		Total
	Agree	Disagree	
Nuer	13	11	24
Anyuak	10	8	18
Murle	10	1	11
Total	33	20	53

Source: field survey data

#### 4.1.5. Benefits Get from Children Abduction

The results supported the children abduction has economic benefits. The respondents explained the abducted children are either sale to other people who need child, especially for Murle community, or keep as own child. The respondents from South Sudan indicated the Murle sale children with cows ranging from 30 to 50 cows regardless of their sex.

The respondents from Gambella of Ethiopia explained Murle sale the abducted child with cattle up to 100. The respondents from Anyuak and Nuer revealed the children and women abduction is practice by Murle. The Murle people abduct children because they sale them within to one who do not have child. The Murle respondents explained all communities, Nuer, Anyuak and Murle, do abduct children and women. The Nuer and Anyuak respondents explained they abduct children and women for revenge and they do not sale the abducted child and woman. They explained the keep them as their own.

The survey questions' results showed there is no much difference between those who supported the people abduct children to increase their population. The table 6 below showed 28 (52.83%) respondents supported increasing the population is a reason people involve in children abduction. The 25 (47.17%) respondents did not support this.

Table 6. To increase the population is reason why people involve in children abduction

Respondent Tribe	To Increase the Population		Total
	Agree	Disagree	
Nuer	14	10	24
Anyuak	8	10	18
Murle	6	5	11
Total	28	25	53

Source: field survey data

The results did not support the reason why the people abduction children is because they cannot bear their own children. But the majority of the Murle informants supported this. The table 7 below showed 22 (41.51%) respondents supported the people abduct children because they cannot bear their own children. The 31 (58.49%) respondents did not support the people abduction children because they cannot bear their own children.

Table 7. Not able to bear own child is reason why people involve in children abduction

Respondent Tribe	Not Able to Bear Own Child		Total
	Agree	Disagree	
Nuer	9	15	24
Anyuak	4	14	18
Murle	9	2	11
Total	22	31	53

Source: field survey data

The survey questions' results showed there is no much difference between those who supported to replace the abducted child is the reason why people abduct children and those who did not support. The table 8 below showed 30 (56.60%) respondents supported to replace the abducted child is a reason why people involve in children abduction. The 23 (43.40%) respondents said to replace the abducted child is not a reason why people involve in children abduction.

Table 8. To replace the abducted child is reason why people involve in children abduction

Respondent Tribe	To Replace the Abducted Child		Total
	Agree	Disagree	
Nuer	14	10	24
Anyuak	7	11	18
Murle	9	2	11
Total	30	23	53

Source: field survey data

The survey questions' results showed there is no much difference between those who supported the reason why the people abduct children is to have helping hand. The table 9 below showed 25 (47.17%) respondents supported to have helping hand to tribe is a reason why people involve in children abduction. The 28 (52.83) respondents did not support this.

Table 9. As a helping hand to tribe is reason why people involve in children abduction

Respondent Tribe	As a Helping Hand to Tribe		Total
	Agree	Disagree	
Nuer	9	15	24
Anyuak	13	5	18
Murle	3	8	11
Total	25	28	53

Source: field survey data

## 4.2. The Disadvantages (Negative Impacts) of the Cross Border Conflict in Gambella Regional State

### 4.2.1. Loss of Life and Cattle

The results supported the loss of life and cattle is the negative impacts of the cross border conflicts. The respondents revealed a lot of loss of life had been incurred. Many livestock had been lost. All ethnic groups encountered a lot of death from all incursions. A lot of livestock were looted, many villages were burn down and lot properties were lost. The many respondents from Lou-Nuer and Jikany-Nuer said the wars between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer had resulted in death of around 500 from both sides.

In the side of Ethiopia many infrastructures like schools, healthy institutions, water schemes and agricultural institutions (veterinary clinics and farmers' training centers) were left out and remain unused. Respondents explained many people from all communities, Nuer, Anyuak and Murle, become homeless because of the combats. The respondents complained in Gambella Region more than 50 children were abducted by Murle ethnic group starting from 1991 up to 2013.

The results of survey questions supported the loss of life and livestock have been incurred in these cross border incursions. From the table 10 below, 49 (92.45%) respondents supported the cross border incursions had caused loss of human life and of the livestock. And only 4 (8.55%) respondents did not support this.

Table 59: Loss of life and cattle as disadvantage of the cross border conflict

Respondent Tribe	Loss of Life and Cattle		Total
	Agree	Disagree	
Nuer	22	2	24
Anyuak	16	2	18
Murle	11	0	11
Total	49	4	53

Source: field survey data

From the documents review the information revealed these regular invasions have resulted in tremendous socio-economic costs to people living around the Gambella Regional State border. Though there is no much recorded on incident starting from 1991 to 2011 some organization tried to document some incursions. The information showed in January 2002 the armed invasion by the Lou-Nuer from South Sudan led to burning of all Cie Nyejani villages and raided the whole area and burnt Matar, the capital town of Wanthoa district (Hussein, Girm and Schaafsma, 2006).

The Western Gambella Bethel Synod Report (n.d.) showed in Adura Burnyang village of Jikow district of Gambella, the Murle consecutively attacked on December 23, 2006. In these attacks 12 persons were killed and 9 were wounded, most of the victims being children, and 250 heads of cattle were taken away (ibid). On January 16, 2007, the Murle attacked the community living in Kuachthiang village of Jikow district, killed 4 and wounded 5 people and 2,750 heads of cattle and more than 50 goats were taken away (ibid). The Murle similarly invaded Tiel village of Itang district of Gambella on February 13, 2007 in which 2 persons were killed, 2 wounded and about 2500 heads of cattle were taken away (ibid). Murle attacked Bilimkuon village of Lare district on March 2, 2007 in which 7 persons were killed, 17 wounded and over 3, 936 heads of cattle were taken away (ibid). As to NRC (2007:22), in 2007 the Murle cross-border cattle rustlings incursions, on Ethiopian Jikany-Nuer and Anyuak in Akobo woreda, killed and wounded dozens of people and also burnt their belongings and huts (ibid).

The documents analysis showed, from 26 May to 19 June 2011 Murle from South Sudan made several attacks at different places in Gambella Region (Gambella Regional State Security & Administration Affairs Bureau report, 2011). They attacked Ileya and Puldeng villages (kebeles) in Itang district, Koy and Majuch villages in Dima district, Ojalo village in Jor district, Tolo village in Gong district, Bilrut in Wanthoa district, people of Aperwang and Abuk villages in Akobo on the way to Jor district, Luel village in Jikow district and teachers on their way

from Tergol town of Akobo district to school in one of the village. All these incidents caused the death of 29 persons and 44 wounded including women, children and teachers. Five children were abducted and 2364 cattle and 240 sheep and goats were taken away.

#### 4.2.2. Displacement

The results supported the cross border fighting had caused displacement of the communities. The respondents from all ethnic groups indicated there is mass displacement in all sides. The fighting between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer had displaced many people from their home. For instance, in Ethiopia side the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer had displaced Jikany-Nuer in Ethiopia from Akobo district (all 17 Kebeles/Bumas in Akobo of Gambella are displaced). Only few people live in Tergol town of Akobo of Gambella Region. The conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer caused displacement in Wanthoa and Makuey districts. In Makuey district more than 11 Kebeles and Whanthoa district more than 5 Kebeles (Burebiey, Malou, Buyamach, Kuanylou, Muon and other Kebeles) are displaced.

The conflict between Nuer and Murle caused displacement in Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer as well. The Murle also are displaced from their home. Many Kebeles people from Ethiopia are displaced to South Sudan by Lou-Nuer and Murle, especially the Jikany-Nuer community. Many Lou-Nuer leave South Sudan to Ethiopia due to war between them and Murle. Murle also leave many villages and move back to distance place due to war between Lou-Nuer and them.

In Akobo county of South Sudan many people have been displaced. Buurmah district is totally displaced. All the district people from all Bumas including the government offices are displaced. The many people districts like Bielkeer, Dengjock, Alali, and Walgak are displaced from bumas or kebeles and resided in center of the Payams. Many areas in Murle also are left out due to fighting and the county/zonal administrative town, Pibor was burnt down by Lou-Nuer in 2012.

Respondents from Gog district of Gambella explained the Murle people displaced nine villages' communities from their homes. The villages those had been left because of Murle attacks are Burbole, Ter-nythali, Kudbudi, Ablen, Afuw, Badkut, Athera, Agaa and Lau. From other parts of Anyuak zone/county more than 5 Kebeles'/Bumas' communities are displaced by recurring external invasions. Some institutions, like water schemes, schools and healthy institutions are now left without use due to cross border conflict displacement in many districts of Gambella region of Ethiopia. One of the respondents from Makuey district in Gambella stated:

The water schemes, schools and healthy institutions which the government constructed for us are left unused. The water schemes left are now used by hooligans. Where there are water pumps are where the raiders use as their base in the bush to carry out the incursions.

The survey questions' results supported displacement is the negative impact of the cross border conflicts. From the table 11 below, showed 39 (73.58%) respondents supported the cross border attacks resulted in displacement. And the 14 (26.42%) respondents did not support this.

Table 11. Displacement as disadvantage of the cross border conflict

Respondent Tribe	Displacement		Total
	Agree	Disagree	
Nuer	20	4	24
Anyuak	10	8	18
Murle	9	2	11
Total	39	14	53

Source: field survey data

The documents showed incursions have resulted in great displacement to people living around the Gambella Regional State border. From the information, in January 2002 the armed invasion by the Lou-Nuer from Sudan led to the displacement of over 12,000 Nuer from Akobo district (Hussein, Girm and Schaafsma, 2006). In Jiokaw district of the Gambella the attack made by Lou-Nuer of Sudan in 2004 displaced up to 17 kebeles (more than 250 families) (ibid). The incursions of several thousands of Lou-Nuer and Murle tribes from South Sudan into Ethiopia in February 2004, March 2005 and again from March to May 2006 have displaced roughly 12,000 Jikany-Nuer; even regional and local authorities in the district were displaced (ibid). The findings revealed the invasions made by the Lou-Nuer and the Murle communities from southern Sudan have caused displacement of Jikany-Nuer. The displaced Jikany-Nuer in turn displaced Anyuak and the displaced Anyuak again displaced Majang tribe (ibid).

From 2006 the Murle cattle raiders in South Sudan affected both Lou-Nuer and Jikany-Nuer by reaching deep into Ethiopian territory (PCI, 2010). Western Gambella Bethel Synod Report (n.d.) showed on January 16, 2007, the Murle attacked the community living in Kuachthiang village of Jiokaw district, which displaced all the villages' people to Dualkuar across the Baro River at the side of South Sudan. In 2007 the Murle cross-border cattle rustlings incursions, on Gambella Jikany-Nuer and Anyuak in Akobo district displaced over 12,000

persons from eight villages (NRC, 2007:22)). In 2009 conflicts in Jonglei State in South Sudan affected the Akobo district of Gambella, displacing 24,000 people (USAID, 2010).

The documents also revealed from 26 May to 19 June 2011 Murle from South Sudan displaced up to 200,000 Lou-Nuer populations from Jonglie State of South Sudan. This population of Lou-Nuer are forced to cross the border to Gambella Region in Wanthoa district with around 500,000 their own cattle, 200,000 cattle they took away from Murle and 350,000 of their own sheep and goats (Gambella Regional State Security & Administration Affairs Bureau report, 2011). The Lou-Nuer from South Sudan occupied the whole area of Akobo district of Gambella region. In 2011 they started expanding to Wathoa woreda of Gambella Region and occupied some Kebeles (villages). Up to the time of data collection, beginning of 2014, most of the Jikany-Nuer who have cattle fled to the South Sudan across the river.

#### 4.2.3. Food Insecurity

The results supported the cross border incursions caused food insecurity to the communities. The respondents revealed that the poverty become rapt in the areas. Because many had left their home they are not farming. Even those who have got agriculture land they cannot farm because of fear of enemy. As to the respondents one person cannot go to farm alone less he/she will get kill or abduct if woman. The respondents from South Sudan also explained the conflict limited the flow of food items as there is no free movements of boats transport the goods. As to respondents in South Sudan conflict resulted in inflated prices of main food items. For people largely depend on pastoralism, the food insecurity affected them because of loss of livestock.

Because of widespread poverty sickness affects many people. From interview made with elders from Akobo of Ethiopia one person stated, "Because of lack of food people are not able to bear child, being man and/or woman."

The results of survey questions supported the cross border conflicts resulted in poverty. From the table 12 below, 41 (77.36%) respondents supported the cross border conflicts resulted in food insecurity. And the 12 (22.64%) respondents did not support this.

Table 12. Food insecurity as disadvantage of the cross border conflict

Respondent Tribe	Food Insecurity		Total
	Agree	Disagree	
Nuer	19	5	24
Anyuak	13	5	18
Murle	9	2	11
Total	41	12	53

Source: field survey data

Though there is no much documents which supported the existence of poverty with statistical data, the USAID (2010) revealed the conflict had huge negative effects on food security. In 2009 more than 100,000 people because of the displacement did not cultivate their farms during cropping season and that resulted in food insecure condition in that year.

Table 13. Impacts of the Cross Border Conflict in Gambella

Years	Death	Wounded	Abducted children	Raided cattle	Goats and Sheep	Displaced	Remark
2002						12,000	In Gambella side
2004						250 families	In Gambella side
2005 to 2006	12	9		250		12,000	In Gambella side
2007	13	24		9,186	50	12,000	In Gambella side
2009						24,000	In Gambella side
2011	29	44	5	2364	240		In Gambella side
2011				200,000		200,000	In South Sudan to Gambella
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>211,800</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>260,000 plus 250 families</b>	

Source: Western Gambella Bethel Synod Report (n.d.); Hussein, Girm and Schaafsma, 2006; NRC, 2007; USAID, 2010 and Gambella Regional State Security & Administration Affairs Bureau report, 2011

## 5. Conclusion

To sum up, the impacts of the cross border conflicts has proven two opposite results. There are people who draw benefits and those incur vast loss from it. Though is deadly, it is clear that the raiders get some economic benefits from these cross border conflicts. The raiders are motivated to obtain additional livestock by invading other communities' villages. The raided livestock enable payment for marriage as dowry, buying food items and



clothes. Though the communities are not fighting and revenging to gain heroism, it is clear that they fight and revenge for the need to get honor to one's own community and feeling of humiliation. For these communities it is humiliation to the communities if the retaliation action is not taken. The one who takes revenge and/or raid other communities' villages get honor to his community. It is the feeling of humiliation that let these ethnic groups in fight to endure their fight.

The other motivation factor for invaders is the benefits obtain from the abducted children. Even though it is unlawful and unacceptable to trade human being, the abducted child has economic benefits, more than 50 cows. This is particular painful activity is attributed to the Murle communities. The abducted children are sold to other people who need child in Murle community. The abducted children are also kept as own children and considered as members of that communities to have helping hand. Though all these ethnic groups practice these, the Nuer and the Murle communities are especially known for this practice, keeping abducted child as their own child. Although the Nuer and Anyuak respondents did not supported the people abduct children because they cannot bear their own children, the majority of the Murle informants supported it has contribution. Another reason for children abduction is to revenge and to replace the abducted child.

These cross border conflicts also have tremendous negative impacts which could over balance the gains the invaders are drawing from the cross border incursions. There is great loss of life and of livestock that could outweigh the benefits the hooligans are eager to get. The cross border conflicts resulted in mass displacement of the communities and food insecurity. Because of the cross border conflicts, the poverty become rapt in the areas and creates the dependence on food reliefs.

The cross border incursions have destructively affected the lives and economic development of the people around this border. The conflicts have resulted in socio-economic deterioration of farmers and pastoralists and weakening the proper functioning of local government, which in turns put the existence of good governance and leadership under question. These incursions resulted in displacement of many people, innumerable human death, cattle raided, innocent children abducted, food insecurity and dependency on food aid. Nuer and Anyuak living around this border are deprived of freedom to work properly, to educate their children and live in peace.

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