

# The Roots Cause of Cross Border Conflict in Gambella Regional State between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer

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## Abstract

Numerous of the world's pastoral societies have a long history of conflicts among themselves those are caused by many intermingling factors happening simultaneously. These uncontrolled cross border fighting resulted in socio-economic deterioration and loss of many lives. The objective of this article is to identify the root causes of the cross border conflicts between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The study is qualitative and purposive type of research. 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 its adjacent regions in South Sudan. The respondents were from affected communities, government officials and development agencies. The conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer started on March 27, 1993 in place called Dualdap in South Sudan. From all sources of conflicts between Nuer and Murle the root causes are the scarcity of resources like grazing land and water pools, livestock raiding, fishing, insults and assaults. They were those fighting's that erupted between ethnic groups in South Sudan those extended to the communities in Gambella of Ethiopia. To alleviate these hostilities the regional governments should form join peace committee that comprise local communities' elders, youths and religious people from communities living in both sides to have join border administration.

**Keywords:** Conflict, cross-border, root causes, pastoralists, tribalism

## 1. Introduction

Many Africa countries are experiencing ethnics-cross-border-conflicts, which impose great social and economic costs. The pastoralists cross border conflict in African context have proved devastating to the socio-economic and development trajectories of entire regions (Bevan, 2007). For instance, the Toposa of Southern Sudan, at various times, in conflict with a number of neighboring groups including the Didinga, Turkana, Dinka, Dassenach and Karimojong sub-clans (ibid). These conflicts are not caused by single issue but by many intermingling factors happening simultaneously such as resources scarcity, widespread poverty, weak government structure in rural areas, and limited participation in economic, political and cultural decision making (Salih, Dietz and Ahmed, 2001; Yohannes, Kassaye and Zerihun, 2005; Bekele, 2008; CARE Somalia, n.d.). The presence of modern weapons, violence related to the practices of heroism, livestock raiding, assault, rape, threats, the marginalization of local institutions, and the demand for justice are the major factors triggering the cross border conflicts among ethnic groups (ibid). Collective effect of drought, scared pasture, scared water, and depleted livestock across east Africa increased pastoralists' movement in search of pasture and water in ways that trigger cross-border conflict (UN-OCHA, 2008). The high trans-boundary conflicts occur where the pressure on available natural resources is extreme (ibid).

Pastoral communities living along the borders of Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda and Kenya are losing their lives from amplified cross-border resource-based armed conflicts (UN-OCHA, 2008). For instance, in Kenya-Uganda border in Koton area 60 Turkana herders were killed in 2005. In September 2008, 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. Around the border of Kenya and Ethiopia, the conflicts between Turkana and Dasenech and Nyagatom were caused by competition over water and pasture, livestock raiding, disagreement about boundary demarcations, deforestation, unfair terms of trade (in livestock and grain), and arms smuggling (Yohannes, Kassaye and Zerihun, 2005). In 2006, the revenge attack by Ethiopian rustlers killed around 77 Kenyan villagers together with 56 school children (UN-OCHA, 2008). 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).

The problem addressed in this article is the root causes of the persistent cross border conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer in Gambella Regional State. In Gambella Regional State (GRAS) of Ethiopia, since the downfall of the Derg regime during 1991, the permissible (acceptable or tolerable) 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). According to Pastoralist Communication Initiative (PCI) (2010) the result of fighting between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer was very bitter and bloody across south-western Sudan (ibid). Due to this fighting, thousands Jikany-Nuer and a smaller number of Anyuak were forced to leave Akobo district of Gambella Regional State under pressure from invading Lou-Nuer moving in from Akobo County of Sudan (ibid). The major cause, as Dereje (2009) indicated, triggering 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.

To Borchgrevink and Sande (2009) the ethnics' conflicts on the Sudanese side increased the tension in Gambella region. The Gambella border with Sudan has not at all been effectively controlled, while cross-border communities and pasture-seeking nomads remain the central cause of the regional conflict (ibid). The border area of Gambella with South Sudan is characterized by weak governance on both sides and this increases the recurrence of a conflict (Hussein, Girma, and Schaafsma, 2006). Therefore, identifying the root causes of the ethnics or pastoralists cross border conflict is of paramount important. This article is aimed to identify the roots cause of the cross border conflict in Gambella Regional, the case of Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer communities.

## 2. Literature Reviews

### 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). Fisher developed a typology that differentiates three main causes of conflict: economic, power and value.

The 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).

### 2.2. Causes of Cross-Border Conflicts in Africa

The sources of pastoralists' conflicts in Africa are considerably more. Most of the times, the pastoral mobility does not respect the national boundaries and borders. This disregard to national boundaries and borders triggers a cross border conflicts that becomes as one of the challenges of pastoralists today (UN-OCHA, 2008). The high trans-boundary conflicts occur where the pressure on available natural resources is intense (ibid). High competition over scarce natural resources, which is exaggerated by environment issues, is among the most pressing causes of current conflicts in Africa (UN-OCHA, 2008). The conflict over use and management of water and grazing areas was among the inter-ethnics conflicts that were identified in North Kenya pastoralist communities (Haro, Doyo and McPeak, 2003). In Afar region in Ethiopia the scarcity of pastoral resources caused by drought, extensive land use by the state and expansion of farming in the high lands are the major factor those explains the eruption and increase of conflicts in the areas (Simpkin, 2005 and Bekele, 2008).

The customary cooperation of fighting enemies communally becomes the basis for widespread inter-ethnic conflict (Yohannes, Kassaye and Zerihun, 2005). Afar clan in Ethiopia has a strong culture of sharing punishments (usually in livestock) and clan solidarity, which is expressed during collective fighting, and information sharing (Bekele, 2008). According to Yohannes, Kassaye and Zerihun (2005) pastoralists in South Omo zone in Ethiopia feel profoundly humiliated if an attack on a family is not revenged. In this area retaliatory acts of killing and looting receive positive reactions and are often rewarded by the community (ibid). According to Arnold and Alden (2007) this tradition of dowry makes the acquisition of cattle more significant in the South Sudan, especially to Nuer society. Thus, those who lack resources resort to other means to fulfill cultural need (Yohannes, Kassaye and Zerihun, 2005).

As to Bekele (2008) the emerging of commercialization of livestock within and across the borders is the factor, which increases the conflict in pastoralist areas. Cattle raiding have long been an important aspect of the socio-economic systems of South Sudan (Arnold and Alden, 2007). The conflict cycle between the Lou Nuer and the Murle in South Sudan was caused by cattle raiding (Africa Report N°154, 2009). The accessibility of pastoralists to weapons in Northern Kenya and northern Uganda has been the main causes of prolonged outbreaks of pastoralist conflict (UN-OCHA, 2008). In Jonglei and Upper Nile states in South Sudan the civilians armed themselves (Arnold and Alden, 2007). Better access to modern conflict technologies contributed to the perpetuation of conflicts in all areas (Yohannes, Kassaye and Zerihun, 2005, Bekele, 2008). Ownership of a firearm and membership in a militia (white Army in South Sudan) greatly facilitated the ability of individuals to undertake cattle raids against their neighbors (Arnold and Alden, 2007). The children abduction is another major cause of the conflict in South Sudan, particularly practiced by Murle ethnic group, in addition to cattle raiding (Africa Report N°154, 2009).

Lack of capacity of the local governments also contributed the cross border conflicts as well. According to UN-OCHA (2008) most local governments lack capacity and capability to prevent cross-border pastoralists' conflict in Africa. Many land use policies do not consider the pastoralist societies and their marginalization

exacerbate the conflict in relation to access to scarce pasture and water resources in Africa (ibid). In the Horn of Africa, national and states authorities have worsen problem through policies that either neglect or undermine traditional governance systems (ibid).

### 3. Methodology

The research type for the study is Qualitative research. As to Hancock (2002) qualitative research deals with explanations of social phenomena and find the answers to the questions like: how opinions and attitudes are formed; why people behave the way they do; how and why cultures have developed in the way they have; how people are affected by the events that go on around them; 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 many different sources of information which comprise interviews, documents, participant observation archival information, direct observation, and physical artifact. This research 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 non-governmental functionaries' 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, Makuay 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, non-governmental functionaries' 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 explanation forms. The data were analyzed, described, discussed and qualified using explanatory means, comparisons, interpretation and logical arguments.

### 4. Results

#### 4.1. Historical Background of the Conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer

The Jikany-Nuer and the Lou-Nuer are from the Nuer tribe. The Jikany-Nuer people live both in Ethiopia and in South Sudan. The Lou-Nuer live in South Sudan and have border with Jikany-Nuer in South Sudan and Jikany-Nuer in Ethiopian as well. Akobo County (zone) of South Sudan is occupied by Lou-Nuer and Akobo district of Ethiopia is occupied by Jikany-Nuer. The Akobo River is the border demarcation of Ethiopia Jikany-Nuer and South Sudan Lou-Nuer. Dereje (2009) pinpointed that the Lou Nuer cross-border incursions date back to 1993. The respondents who participated in the first day of fighting between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer revealed the first fighting erupted on March 27, 1993 in place called Dualdap in South Sudan. The results supported the fighting that started in South Sudan between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer in 1993 expanded to Ethiopian Jikany-Nuer in Akobo district within the same year. The information obtained from the field work revealed, because Lou-Nuer area does not have river and water pool during dry season, every year, they move with their cattle to river side which is occupied by Jikany-Nuer. In 1993 Lou-Nuer under the community leader called Machot Dak moved to river side where they met Jikany-Nuer, the place called Dualdap. Because they left their food items they want to fish to get something to eat as they felt hungry. The respondents explained the Jikany-Nuer did not allow Lou-Nuer people to fish because they have to inform other people. The results supported it is the culture of Nuer when there is fishing pool which is not yet touched they will inform all people around for specific day they will first start fishing in that pool. The Lou-Nuer wait for two days but Jikany-Nuer did not come to inform them when it will be possible to fish. After these days some Lou-Nuer went to river on their will and put their nine fishing nets in the river. When the Jikany-Nuer knew that the Lou-Nuer had put their fishing nets in the river

they came and pulled the nets out. As the Lou-Nuer came to take their nets there the two groups disagreed and the fighting erupted. The respondents explained that was the first incident of fighting between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer in the history. From that fighting up to five people were shot dead from both sides.

The Nuer community believed the fighting between Lou-Nuer and Jikany-Nuer was curse given by Nuer Prophet (*Gok*) called Nguondeng Bong. The time the Prophet gave curse was estimated to be in 1830s by communities members. At this period Nguondeng and his mother were going to Lou-Nuer area leaving Jikany-Nuer area where he was born, because the Jikany-Nuer did not recognize his prophecy power. His mother was from Lou-Nuer. The respondents indicated there was no reason Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer should fight each other if it was not a curse.

The respondents both from Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer explained the prophet Nguondeng and his mother on their way from Jikany-Nuer area and to Lou-Nuer area; they came to river called Dualdap to fish because they were hungry. Nguondeng caught the fish called *leek* (Arowana fish) in Nuer Language. The person called Wuor Kang from Jikany-Nuer took that fish by force. There was no one who helped them neither from Jikany-Nuer nor from Lou-Nuer when their fish was taken and no one gave them something to eat. Because Nguondeng and his mother were so hungry and their fish was taken forcefully he gave curse by saying “*You will finish yourselves for this fish (Bia ro thuuk ken kuic doaa leek eme).*” The conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer was first started with the same type of fish in the same place, Dualdap, in the same river. The Lou-Nuer put their nine fishing nets in the Dualdap River and when Jikany-Nuer saw these fishing nets they brought them out by force. From those nets only single fishing net caught one fish called *Leek* (Arowana fish), the type of fish taken from Nguondeng by force in the same place in late 1830s. This war saw a lot of lives, loss of many properties and massive displacement. One of the respondents estimated the human death to be more than 500 dead people, thousands of livestock loss and thousands of displaced people from both sides. The Nuer people called that fighting, “*Khor Doaa Leek (Arowana Fish War).*”

## 4.2. The Sources of the Cross Border Conflict in Gambella Region between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer

### 4.2.1. Governance Factors

#### Weak policy and governance

The information obtained using interview and focus group discussion supported the weak governance has contribution to the conflict. The respondents from Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer revealed the local governments are weak and unaccountable to the recurrent ethnics’ fighting. The respondents from both sides explained the inability to control the movement of cattle thefts and to act proactively are the problems. The results revealed no rule and regulation set by the government on how the communities could live together to share the scarce resources like fishing pools, grazing land and water. One respondent stated “The communities feel that every natural resource found in the area they occupied is belong to them and they should regulate it use.” The findings also revealed due to lack of capacity the local governments did not try to bring the communities for mediations. The Jikany-Nuer respondents in Makuéy district explained Lou-Nuer would not attack Makuéy district community if the Nuer Zone Government in Nyinenyang did not take their traders’ guns in Nyinenyang town. The conflict aroused after the government in Nuer Zone in Nyinenyang took the arms and ammunitions of Lou-Nuer traders who came to sale their cattle in 2004. As to these respondents claimed the Lou-Nuer tried to pay money in order for the government officials in Nuer Zone to release their guns. The government officials took the money and did not return the guns. The government officials took both the guns and the money given to them as ransoms to release guns. The respondents explained because Lou-Nuer were also in need of cattle they start compensating their guns by robbing the district communities’ cattle. The rationality of Lou-Nuer to raid the communities was that it is their government that took the guns and money. There after two to three months of follow up discussions with local government’s officials in district, the Lou-Nuer came in mass and attacked the community in Makuéy district on July 24, 2004.

Majority of respondents from South Sudan explained sometime the government militias appear to be the part of the problem in that when they caught the raided livestock from the raiders they will not give back to the owners or to the raiders/thefts. The government militias usually take the raided livestock and the owners cannot go anywhere to get justice or to accuse the militias.

The results also supported the governments have no capacity to make barrack around the border. The government officials revealed that the governments are not able to make barrack around the borders and boundaries to control the movement of hooligans. There is no road around the border to move quickly to protect the happening of those attacks. The findings showed there is an attempt in Gambella side as compared to that of South Sudan to control the incursions. The respondents from Jikany-Nuer from Gambella of Ethiopia explained the government is trying it level best to protect the communities from cross border incursions but is not able to protect fully the incursions those the Lou-Nuer are making. The special force was trained to watch the external ethnic groups’ conflicts. The respondents explained the number of this force is not enough to protect rustlers from crossing the border.

The results from the survey questions, which were filled by the governments' officials and non-governmental functionaries' workers, as shown from the table 1 below, indicated 33.96% (18) of respondents agreed the weak policy and governance is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 10 (18.87%) respondents have no comment whether the weak policy and governance is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer, while 25 (47.17%) respondents did not support this.

When we look the responses of Nuer informants separately, 11 (45.83%) respondents agreed the weak policy and governance is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 13 (54.17%) respondents did not support the weak policy and governance is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer.

Table 1. Weak policy and governance as a source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer

Respondent Tribe	Weak Policy and Governance			Total
	Agree	No comment	Disagree	
Nuer	11	0	13	24
Anyuak	5	4	9	18
Murle	2	6	3	11
Total	18	10	25	53

Source: Field survey data

From the findings the local communities and non-governmental functionaries supported the weak policy and governance contributed to the fighting. The majority of respondents from governments disagreed the weak policy and governance contributed to the conflicts.

### Tribalism

The results of interviews and focus group discussions supported the tribalism is the part of the ethnic conflict, especially in South Sudan. The respondents stated the governments' officials of South Sudan are tribal leaders. They explained the government military generals of the South Sudan favor their own side. The generals gave arms and ammunitions to their respective side and even allowed Sudanese People Liberation Army (SPLA) members from their own to give support in fighting. This claim was revealed by those of South Sudan respondents, Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The tribalism was also mentioned by some informants who filled the questionnaire as the source of the conflict as well. The example repeatedly given by respondents was, when Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer were fighting the two SPLA generals, Koang Chuol from Jikany-Nuer and Koang Banypiny from Lou-Nuer, involved in conflict by supporting their own side. Many respondents said during the fighting the General Koang Banypiny said, *"Tomorrow I and Koang Chuol one will be best drink (I ruun hen kone Koang Chuol bi koang kel wac)."* Koang is in Nuer language; means drink (alcoholic drink). This signified they will engage in communities fighting until one general is defeated in fighting.

The evident from the results showed the tribalism in South Sudan has contribution to the cross border conflict in Gambella Region between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The leaders supplied their people with guns which enable them to carry out the incursions within South Sudan and across the border.

### Availability of Arms and Ammunitions

The results supported lack of control of proliferation of arms and ammunitions intensified the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The interviews and the focus group discussions respondents showed the availability of arms and ammunitions increase the frequency of incursions. They indicated due to civil war in Sudan the communities have been saturated with modern weapons. The results showed the proliferation of modern weapons created the so call *"Jiec e boor (White Army)"* in the Nuer ethnic group. The youths are the members of the White Army who carry out the raid in mass. The informants explained the White Army is informal army created by local youth who arms themselves by buying guns with their own cattle. The results showed from age 15 to 50 participate in fighting. The age of more active fighters or members of White Army (*Jiec e boor*) arrange from 15 to 30.

The results obtained using questionnaire, table 2 below, did not support the proliferation of arms and ammunition is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. Only 8 (15.09%) respondents agreed the availability of arms and ammunitions is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 10 (18.87%) respondents have no comment whether the availability of arms and ammunitions is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 35 (66.04%) respondents disagreed with this.

When we look the responses of the Nuer respondents separately, 5 (20.83%) respondent agreed the availability of arms and ammunitions is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 19 (79.17%) respondents disagreed with this. Majority of the informants, governments' officials and non-governmental functionaries, do not see the availability of modern weapons as the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer.

Table 2. Availability of arms and ammunitions as a source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer

Respondent Tribe	Availability of Arms and Ammunitions			Total
	Agree	No Comment	Disagree	
Nuer	5	0	19	24
Anyuak	3	4	11	18
Murle	0	6	5	11
Total	8	10	35	53

Source: Field survey data

The rationality is that the present arms and ammunitions did not cause the conflict, but it worsens it. Majority of the communities do not see the availability of modern weapons is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer but increased the violent.

#### **Lack of Control of Illegal Arms and Ammunitions Merchants**

The results supported there is lack of control of illegal arms and ammunitions merchants. The respondents explained the South Sudan government is not able to control the illegal arms and ammunitions merchants.

The informants from Gambella of Ethiopia explained when such a merchants are cough the government took the arms and ammunitions and put the person to jail for some months. They added even though there is an effort to control the illegal business men of arms and ammunitions in Gambella region of Ethiopia, they are not fully controlled. The respondents explained the availability of arms and ammunitions merchants make the youth to easily access arms and ammunitions to buy. The lack of control of illegal traders of arms and ammunitions increase the availability of arms and ammunitions in the areas.

#### **Lack of Clear Boundaries and Borders**

The results did not support that lack of clear boundaries and borders is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The respondents revealed there are clear boundaries and borders between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The problem always is at dry season. The Lou-Nuer areas do not have river passing through them. At dry season they move to Jikany-Nuer areas where they will get water for themselves and herders. There they come to contact with Jikany-Nuer. The respondents revealed the boundaries and borders are not a part of problem. The Nuer community believed the land occupied first by the community is belong to that community. The community knows the areas which long to other communities. Because of this the respondents revealed the demarcation is not a part of the problem. The respondents explained the Lou-Nuer areas have no river and water pool which can retain water for dry season. Thus, the Lou-Nuer people want to share or to be given other side of the rivers passing through Jikany-Nuer areas forcefully.

The survey questions' results, from the table 3 below, did not support the lack of clear boundaries and borders is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. From the table 8 (15.09%) respondents agreed the lack of clear boundaries and border is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 10 (18.87%) respondents have no comment whether the lack of clear boundaries and border is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer, while 35 (66.04%) respondents did not support this. When we look the responses of the Nuer respondents separately, 5 (20.83%) respondent agreed the lack of clear boundaries and border is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. And the 19 (79.17%) respondents said the lack of clear boundaries and border is not the cause of the conflict.

Table 3. Lack of clear boundaries and border as a source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer

Respondent Tribe	Lack of clear boundaries and borders			Total
	Agree	No Comment	Disagree	
Nuer	5	0	19	24
Anyuak	3	4	11	18
Murle	0	6	5	11
Total	8	10	35	53

Source: Field survey data

#### **4.2.2. Resources Competition and Environmental Factors**

##### **Competition over natural resources (Scarcity of Grazing Land and Water Pools)**

The results supported the scarcity of grazing land and water pools are the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The information obtained using interviews and focus group discussions revealed the scarcity of grazing land and water pools are the major pressing causes of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The respondents both from Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer in South Sudan explained the Lou-Nuer live in

areas where in dry season do not have water for the people and their livestock. The Jikany-Nuer areas have a plenty of rivers and swamps, which the people and their livestock use for drinking for all seasons. The respondents explained the rivers and the swamps contain ample of different type of fishes in all seasons, which both Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer need for food consumption.

As explained by the respondents, during dry season Lou-Nuer move to where they can get water pools for themselves and their livestock and grazing land for their animals in areas occupied by Jikany-Nuer. There always Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer disagree in the way they should share resources, like grazing land, water pools, fishing pools and the grains the Jikany-Nuer cultivate as Lou-Nuer leave their belonging in faraway. The resources management problem creates cumulative negative effect among the communities, Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The scarcity of water pools is the major problem which let the Lou-Nuer community moves to Jikany-Nuer areas. The respondents expressed grazing land is not as such a problem.

The survey questions' results, from the table 4 below, supported the resources scarcity is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. From the table 30 (56.60%) respondents supported the resources scarcity (grazing land and water pools) is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 10 (18.87%) respondents have no comment whether the resources scarcity (grazing land and water pools) is the cause of the conflict or not. The 13 (24.53%) respondents disagreed with this.

When we look the responses of the Nuer respondents separately, 21 (87.50%) respondents supported the resources scarcity (grazing land and water pools) is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer and only 3 (12.50%) respondents disagreed with this.

Table 4. Resources scarcity (grazing land and water pools) as a source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer

Respondent Tribe	Resources Scarcity (Grazing Land and Water Pools)			Total
	Agree	No Comment	Disagree	
Nuer	21	0	3	24
Anyuak	7	4	7	18
Murle	2	6	3	11
Total	30	10	13	53

Source: Field survey data

### Expansion of Agriculture Land

The researcher was interested to know whether there is agriculture investment around the border which squeezed the grazing land. The respondents revealed no agriculture expansion in the areas both in Ethiopia and South Sudan. All informants indicated that this is not a part of their conflict. There is no agriculture investment in the border areas both in Ethiopia and South Sudan, even in areas of Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer in South Sudan that squeezed the grazing land.

### Drought Due to Climatic Change

The results did not supported the drought has contribution to the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The results did not support the drought due to climatic change is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The respondents revealed because of the nonexistence of the river and pond whether there is drought or not always during dry season there is no water exists in the Lou-Nuer areas. The Lou-Nuer areas get water during rainy season. During dry season Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer meet at Gile areas. The respondents explained the drought due to climate change is not a source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. Whether there is drought or not there is no pools in Lou-Nuer areas which can contain huge water for the long dry season. The Lou-Nuer community has to move every year at dry season to follow water, which is of course available in Jikany-Nuer.

### 4.2.3. Socio-cultural factors

#### Insult and Assault

The results supported the insult and assault is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. Among the causes of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer insult and assault were mentioned by key informants in interviews, focus group discussions and those who filled the survey questions. The Lou-Nuer informants explained Jikany-Nuer people always make a false claim to the government that Lou-Nuer took their grains. The government's officials will come and take the cows of Lou-Nuer and hand it over to the Jikany-Nuer person who makes a false claim as compensation for the stolen grains. In fishing pools, went Lou-Nuer person catch big fish the Jikany-Nuer person will take that fish. Because they complained the river is their own and Lou-Nuer cannot take this kind of big fish from this river. The Lou-Nuer person will give fish to avoid quarrelling. The Lou-Nuer respondents explained Jikany-Nuer call Lou-Nuer as "*Ney ti pac paac*," meaning

people just roaming there and here without station. Lou-Nuer people are not happy with this word. The Lou-Nuer respondents added because Lou-Nuer people leave their grains in distant in dry season they face shortage of food. Because of this they need food that can feed the family not the quality one. That food Jikany-Nuer people name it *Manim*. *Manim* is food prepared from sorghum flour grinded with traditional grinding without taking off the bran (outer layer). To Jikany-Nuer this signified Lou-Nuer people eat whatever they get. That is, they are not selective to food. One of the respondents from Lou-Nuer stated:

*If someone from Jikany-Nuer is hurry to go somewhere and there is no time to prepare quality one he/she will say make it as that of Lou-Nuer. The Jikany-Nuer people do not prepare Manim because they have all the grains with them.*

Many other insult words were mentioned by the Lou-Nuer respondents, which more of them I do not want to mention in this paper. The respondents were very free to say what they want to say and they were very honest.

The respondents from Jikany-Nuer were asked if the complaints raised by the Lou-Nuer are true. The respondents from Jikany-Nuer explained in the same ways and many other insult words the Jikany-Nuer use to insult Lou-Nuer and assaults were also revealed. The Jikany-Nuer respondents revealed Jikany-Nuer are tiresome with Lou-Nuer odds activities. The Lou-Nuer are more in number than Jikany-Nuer. When the rainy season comes they go back to their areas. Meanwhile, when they go back they force Jikany-Nuer to help them carry their children who are not big enough to walk that far distance. The Jikany-Nuer respondents complained the Lou-Nuer people are not careful to keep their cattle from grazing cultivated farms. They intrude in the Jikany-Nuer areas without permissions. They are swollen with pride of their number and brave fighting. Any lost cow that enters to their cattle at the time they are going back they take that cow though the owner identifies the cow. One of the Jikany-Nuer respondents stated:

*The fighting erupted because the Lou-Nuer decided to take the other side of the river land from Jikany-Nuer using force. They told Jikany-Nuer to leave other side of the river for them peacefully, if not they would use force. The Jikany-Nuer did not accept this claim, because of this Lou-Nuer weighted war on us.*

The respondents from Lou-Nuer explained Jikany-Nuer people are not willing to let us share the rivers with them which are set there by God. The rivers are not possession of the Jikany-Nuer. They are natural gift and no one can say is his/her own. The accumulation of insults and assaults between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer is the fundamental cause of the conflict between them.

### **Habit of Cooperation/Alliances**

The results supported the habit of forming alliances contribute to the conflict. The respondents explained the communities form alliances with close relatives or friends to help fight enemy. The informants explained the Nuer community has the strong alliance of fighting enemy communal and sharing of punishment. Especially, the blood fault which is paid in livestock is shared among the community members, whether the community is the receiver or payer of the blood fault. Even if the killer does not have any cattle his relatives can pay the blood fault. The respondents revealed though the habit of cooperation is not a cause of the conflict, it sustained the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer.

### **Customs of Revenge and Heroism**

The results supported the customs of revenge and heroism contributed to continuation of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The respondents explained the thing which sustained the conflict among Nuer ethnic group is the revenge. The respondents explained Nuer like to revenge and it is their culture. The respondents explained it is this revenge after revenge that sustained the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. One of the respondents stated, "A person who revenge is a son of man (*gat-wutke*) and a one who does not revenge is a son of woman (*gat-ciek*) in Nuer." The custom of revenge and heroism prolonged the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer.

### **Custom of Dowry**

The results revealed two opposing answers. The respondents from Lou-Nuer explained a wife you marriage with stolen cattle does not bear child. Because is curse to get marriage with steal cattle. Those who raid cattle they do it for consumption propose. Either they use it for buying clothes, food or drinks. For Lou-Nuer respondents the custom of dowry which is paid in cattle has no contribution to the conflict.

Those of Jikany-Nuer indicated that previously it is cultural believed in all Nuer that one cannot get marriage with stolen cattle. But now both Lou-Nuer and Jikany-Nuer do pay dowry with raided livestock. They added that this is the reason the raiding become rampant.

The survey questions' results, from the table 5 below, did not support the custom of dowry which is paid in cattle is the source of the conflict. From the table 5 (24.53%) respondents supported the need of livestock for dowry is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 10 (18.87%) respondents have



no comment whether the need of livestock for dowry is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 30 (56.60%) respondents said the need of livestock for dowry is not the source of the conflict.

When we look to Nuer respondents' responses separately, 8 (33.33%) respondents agreed the need of livestock for dowry is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. And 16 (66.67%) respondents did not support this.

Table 5. Need of livestock for dowry as a source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer

Respondent Tribe	Need of Livestock for Dowry as a Source of Conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer			Total
	Agree	No Comment	Disagree	
Nuer	8	0	16	24
Anyuak	5	4	9	18
Murle	0	6	5	11
Total	13	10	30	53

Source: Field survey data

### Change in Cultural Values

The results supported the change in cultural values have contributed to the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The respondents explained previously the theft is highly condemned by Nuer community. Because of change in cultural values the stealing, especially cattle theft, become braveness.

The focus group discussions made with youth and women revealed that fathers are the people who let the youth or their children to involve in cattle raiding. Because when the boy decided or mother of the boy persuaded him not to go for cattle raiding, when those who went come back with some cattle they raided, they sale some and invite their father and other people with drinks. There the fathers will enjoy the drinks bought with the cattle raided and the father who his son did not go for livestock raiding will start complaining that is because he do not have son. My son is nonsense. If I have a brave son he would bring in cattle like those men sons. The youth and women strongly stated not the children but the fathers who encourage children to do raiding. All women and youth complained they are the fathers who motivate their children to go for raiding.

#### 4.2.4. Socio-Economic Factors

##### Livestock Raiding

The results sustained the livestock raiding is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The interviewees and focus group discussions participants revealed cattle theft is long cause of the problem among Nuer pastoralists. Both Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer respondents explained cattle theft made cumulative effect on the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. During dry season Lou-Nuer move to Jikany-Nuer areas were the can get water and grazing lands. At the end of the season Lou-Nuer move back to their areas. While moving back, some Lou-Nuer take Jikany-Nuer cattle and some Jikany-Nuer also take Lou-Nuer cattle. All respondents indicated the cattle theft, which is now developed to mass raiding is the source of the conflict between these communities. The respondents from Jikany-Nuer explained the Lou-Nuer do not control their cattle thefts. They revealed Lou-Nuer call cattle thieves *Kanyini* (laterally mean robbers). They claimed *Kanyini* are not Lou-Nuer, whereas, they are actually the members of Lou-Nuer community. The Jikany-Nuer community also calls these robbers *Giite-Giiteni*. As to respondents these are the groups those cannot listen to any one. These robbers rob properties and raid cattle. The respondents explained these *Kanyini* and *Giite-Giiteni* always form alliance and carry out raiding in all sides.

The survey questions' results, from the table 6 below, supported the livestock raiding is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. From the table 25 (47.17%) respondents agreed the livestock raiding is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 10 (18.87%) respondents have no comments whether the livestock raiding is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 18 (33.96%) respondents did not support this.

When we look the responses of the Nuer respondents separately, 14 (58.33%) respondents supported the livestock raiding is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. And 10 (41.67%) respondents disagreed with this.

Table 6. Livestock raiding as a source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer

Respondent Tribe	Livestock Raiding as a Source of Conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer			Total
	Agree	No Comment	Disagree	
Nuer	14	0	10	24
Anyuak	7	4	7	18
Murle	4	6	1	11
Total	25	10	18	53

Source: Field survey data

### Widespread Poverty

The results supported the poverty is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The interviewees and focus group discussions participants claimed the poverty now becomes the crucial source of the conflict. The respondents explained because of the fear of enemies, people do not go for farming. They said if you go for farming in the farm unknown person will kill you. Respondents revealed not displaced people alone who do not farm even those who are not displaced do not farm because of fear of enemies. The option is to raid and keep the cattle for milky and/or sale it to buy grains (food items). The respondents stressed that poverty now is thing that push these communities to carry out livestock raiding. One of the elders interviewed from the Jikany-Nuer reminded me three times during our discussion by saying, “My son, do not forget to include in your report that the hunger today is the principal cause of every fighting.”

The governments’ officials and the non-governmental functionaries’ workers survey questions results did not supported the widespread poverty is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. From the table 7 below 13 (24.53%) respondents agreed the widespread poverty is the source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 10 (18.87%) respondents have no comment whether widespread poverty is the source of conflict or not between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 30 (56.60%) respondents did not support this. When we look to responses of Nuer respondents 9 (37.50%) agreed the widespread poverty is the source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 15 (62.50%) respondents said no the widespread poverty is not the source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer.

Table 7. Widespread poverty as a source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer

Respondent Tribe	Widespread Poverty as a Source of Conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer			Total
	Agree	No Comment	Disagree	
Nuer	9	0	15	24
Anyuak	3	4	11	18
Murle	1	6	4	11
Total	13	10	30	53

Source: Field survey data

### Fishing

The findings confirmed the fishing is the cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The respondents indicated that the fighting between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer start in fishing area. In dry season Lou-Nuer leave all food items in their areas, carry only livestock to Jikany-Nuer. In Jikany-Nuer area there are rivers and pools which contain fishes. When Lou-Nuer want to fish the Jikany-Nuer will say no you cannot fish without our concerned.

During dry season the Lou-Nuer moved with their cattle to river side call Dual-Dap River in Jikany-Nuer area. In 1993 the group of Lou-Nuer that came to Dual-Dap was under the community leader called Machot Dak. The respondents explained the Lou-Nuer put their nine fishing nets in the Dual-Dap River. When Jikany-Nuer saw those nets they brought them out by force. From those nets only single fishing net caught one fish called *Leek* (Arowana fish). Because of misunderstanding between the two groups both groups used force and the fighting erupted. It is this fighting that started in the Dual-Dap River devastated many areas in Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer.

### Lack of Infrastructures (Like Roads, Water Schemes, Education and Healthy Institutions)

The respondents revealed in South Sudan there is lack of infrastructures. They explained there is no road in Lou-Nuer and Jikany-Nuer areas. The absences of roads in South Sudan make it difficult to control the movement of raiders. The government cannot move in conflict prone areas to protect its happening. The respondents added there is no water scheme in Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer in South Sudan. The nonexistence of water scheme

constructed by the government increase the movement of ethnic groups that them to come in contact with others. The communities use natural sources of water which limited to some areas during dry season. The respondent also revealed there are no school and healthy institutions in South Sudan, few only found in town or county (zonal) centers. Children do not have access to schools. There is no development in the areas. The respondents indicated because of not presence of schools their children, especially male youth, opt to join White Army (*Jiec e boor*).

The respondents from Ethiopia explained Akobo district (woreda) in Gambella of Ethiopia has no infrastructures, like roads, water schemes, schools and healthy institutions. The rest of the districts in Gambella regions relatively have access to roads, water schemes, schools and healthy institutions. Some institutions, like water schemes, schools and healthy institutions are now left without used in many districts of Gambella region of Ethiopia due to mass displacement caused by cross border conflict. The results supported lack of development contributed to the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer.

#### **Opening of Livestock Market**

The results supported the opening of livestock markets contributed to the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The respondents explained the opening of the livestock market exacerbate the conflict because of less possibility to return the raided cattle. The cattle raiders sell the raided cattle easily because of the availability of the cattle markets. The respondents revealed the Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer rustlers form alliance to help them to move in between and make illegal livestock trading. This opening of livestock market increased the number of raiders and/or livestock thefts and that increased the frequency of raiding, which resulted in fighting.

#### **4.2.5. Demographic Factors**

##### **Population Growth (People and Herders)**

The results did not support the growth of population is among the causes of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The respondents explained they have a plenty of land in which the question of population growth is not a problem. One of the respondents in South Sudan stated:

*The population of the people and herders has reduced due to civil war in Sudan. The South Sudan people have finished themselves and they have been finished by the fighting with the government of Sudan. The livestock have been used up during civil war.*

##### **Illiteracy**

The results supported the illiteracy contributed to the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The respondents explained there is no access to school in South Sudan due to long civil war. The youth, who are fighting, are illiterate, especially Lou-Nuer youth. The respondents from Ethiopia complained it is because their children become school boys that make them not to be able to protect the cross border incursions. The Lou-Nuer children have no options then forming White Army (*Jiec e boor*). The respondents from Gambella of Ethiopia explained the White Army of Jikany-Nuer diminished because their youth become students and busy for their school. The absent of schools in the areas become the part of the problem between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer.

#### **4.2.6. Children Abduction**

The results did not support the children abduction is among the causes of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The respondents rejected children abduction as cause of conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The respondents explained Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer do not abduct children, even during fighting, between themselves. They cannot kill women and children during fighting among themselves.

The survey questions results, from the table 8 below, did not support as well the children abduction is the source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. From the table 11 (20.75%) respondents agreed the child abduction is the source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 10 (18.87%) respondents have no comment whether the child abduction is the source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer or not. And 32 (60.38%) respondents did not support this.

When we see Nuer respondents' responses separately, only 3 (12.50%) respondents agreed the child abduction is the source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. And 21 (87.50%) respondents said the child abduction is not the source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer.

Table 8. Child abduction as a source of conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer

Respondent Tribe	Child Abduction as a Source of Conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer			Total
	Agree	No Comment	Disagree	
Nuer	3	0	21	24
Anyuak	6	4	8	18
Murle	2	6	3	11
Total	11	10	32	53

Source: Field survey data

#### 4.3. The Roots Cause of the Cross Border Conflicts between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer

##### 4.3.1. Competition over Natural Resources (Scarcity of Grazing Land and Water Pools)

The results supported the competition over the scarce resources is one of the root causes of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The Jikany-Nuer areas have a plenty of rivers and swamps, which the people and their livestock use for drinking for all seasons. The existence of the need resources in one side let the other community to come to that areas and share the resource, which of course result in conflict.

The survey questions' results, from the table 9 below, supported the resources scarcity is the root cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. From the table 9 (66.04%) respondents supported the resources scarcity (grazing land, water pools and fishing pools) is the root cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 10 (18.87%) respondents have no comment whether the resources scarcity (grazing land and water pools) is the root cause of the conflict or not between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. Only 8 (15.09%) respondents did not support this.

When we look the Nuer respondents separately, 22 (91.67%) respondents agreed the resources scarcity (grazing land, water pools and fishing pools) is the root cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. And only 2 (8.33%) respondents did not support this.

Table 9. Resources scarcity as a root cause of conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer

Respondent Tribe	Resources Scarcity as a Root Cause of Conflict			Total
	Agree	No Comment	Disagree	
Nuer	22	0	2	24
Anyuak	9	5	4	18
Murle	4	5	2	11
Total	35	10	8	53

Source: Field survey data

##### 4.3.2. Fishing

The findings confirmed the fishing is the root cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The respondents indicated that the fighting between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer start in fishing area. In Jikany-Nuer area there are rivers and pools. The respondents explained the rivers and the swamps contain ample of different type of fishes in all seasons, which both Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer need for food consumption. The respondents from Lou-Nuer explained when Lou-Nuer want to fish the Jikany-Nuer will say is not time to fish in this river or pool while they need something to eat. The Lou-Nuer will think Jikany-Nuer have a plan to fish in this river or pool after they go back. The respondents from Jikany-Nuer also explained that Lou-Nuer lack management of resources, especially fishing rivers and/or pools. As to Jikany-Nuer, because population size of Lou-Nuer is more than that of Jikany-Nuer the Lou-Nuer people believe in their power to share the resources by threat. All the times there is conflict in fishing areas between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer.

##### 4.3.3. Insults and Assaults

The results supported the insult and assault is the root cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. Among the causes of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer insult and assault were mentioned as principal cause of the conflict by key informants. The insult and assault, for instance, such as false claim to the government that Lou-Nuer took the grains, taking the cattle as compensation for false claim, and taking another person fish by force were revealed. Other claims raised using sad words, call Lou-Nuer as "*Ney ti pac paac*," (people just roaming there and here without station) added negative attitude to the communities. The use of force by Lou-Nuer to help carry their children for long distant, taking cattle by force and many more others insults and assaults developed the hostile behavior between the communities. The accumulation of insults and assaults between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer is the fundamental cause of the conflict between them.

#### 4.3.4. Livestock Raiding

The results sustained the livestock raiding is the root source of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. Both Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer respondents explained cattle theft made cumulative effect on the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The informants from Jikany-Nuer revealed Lou-Nuer call cattle thieves *Kaanyini* (laterally mean robbers) and are not Lou-Nuer, whereas, the *Kaanyini* are actually the members of Lou-Nuer community. The Jikany-Nuer also call these robbers *Giite-Giiteni*. As to respondents these are the groups those cannot listen to any one. These robbers rob properties and raid cattle. The respondents explained these *Kaanyini* and *Giite-Giiteni* always form alliance and carry out raiding in all sides.

The survey questions results, from the table 10 below, showed there is no difference between those who supported the livestock raiding is the root cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer and those who did not support. The 21 (39.62%) respondents supported the livestock raiding is the root cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The 10 (18.87%) respondents have no comments. The 22 (41.51%) respondents did not support this.

When we look the responses of the Nuer respondents separately, 12 (50%) respondents agreed the livestock raiding is the root cause of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer and 12 (50%) respondents did not support this.

Table 10. Livestock raiding as a root cause of conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer

Respondent Tribe	Livestock Raiding as a Root Cause of Conflict between Jikany-Nuer & Lou-Nuer			Total
	Agree	No Comment	Disagree	
Nuer	22	0	2	24
Anyuak	9	5	4	18
Murle	4	5	2	11
Total	35	10	8	53

Source: Field survey data

#### 5. Discussions and Conclusion

The respondents fighting between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer first erupted on March 27, 1993 in place called Dualdap in South Sudan. The fighting that started in South Sudan between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer in 1993 expanded to Ethiopian Jikany-Nuer in Akobo district within the same year. The conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer has multi-factors those happen simultaneously. The conflict between these communities is generally caused by competition over scarce resources (the scarcity of grazing land and water pools), fishing, need of livestock to pay for dowry, insults and assaults, and livestock raiding. The conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer has been aggravated by the failure of the governments to provided good governance and policies to administrate the border. From the findings the factors intensifying the conflict between these communities are weak governance, tribalism, proliferation of arms and ammunitions, lack of control of illegal arms and ammunitions merchants, habit of cooperation to form alliance, customs of revenge and heroism, the change in cultural values, widespread poverty, absence of infrastructures, opening of livestock markets and the illiteracy. The study came up with some sources those the communities believed are the root causes between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer. The foremost root causes of the conflict between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer revealed in the study are the competition over the scarce resources (grazing and water sources) and the insult and assault. Other root causes of the conflict between these communities are fishing and livestock stealing.

The cross border conflict in Gambella Regional State between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer has no specific root cause rather than the community is being targeted by Lou-Nuer because they are the same family with Jikany-Nuer in South Sudan. It was the fighting that erupted in South Sudan between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer that extended to Jikany-Nuer in Gambella of Ethiopia. Therefore, root causes of the conflict between the communities in South Sudan can be taken as the root causes of the cross border conflict in Gambella Regional State. If the communities in South Sudan did not fight, there would not be a cross border fighting between Jikany-Nuer and Lou-Nuer.

With this long history of cross border hostilities between ethnic groups, the governments of Ethiopia and Sudan (South Sudan now) did not achieve a remarkable resolution to the conflicts. The governments of Ethiopia and South Sudan have mandate to ensure the security of the people, the provision of the services and development. From the Constitution of Ethiopia article 14 it stated, "Every person has the inviolable and inalienable right to life, the security of person and liberty." Also in the Constitution of South Sudan article 36 sub-article (3) stated, "The security and welfare of the people of South Sudan shall be the primary duty of all levels of government." However, the overall results showed the cross border conflict is growing in scale with raiders well armed with modern weapons. These times ethnic groups' conflicts in Jonglei have taken the world headline.

## 6. Recommendations

Making barrack or deploying army forces around the border to hinder the free movement of hooligans should as quick respond to the conflict and can help to reduce the odds. Because the regions have no capacity to do this, the national governments of Ethiopia and South Sudan should not leave the safeguarding of the border to the regional governments. The central governments have to intervene to ensure the border security and make sure the people are not impaired.

The availability of modern weapons worsens the cross border conflicts in Gambella region. Because of this, disarming the communities can reduce this pervasive raiding and abductions. The national governments should intervene to carry out the compressive disarmament, as it is beyond the capacity of the states, especially for South Sudan.

The regional governments should form join peace committee that comprise local communities' elders, youths and religious people from all communities in both sides to have join border administration. The committee should be given a mandate to decide punishment to rustlers and blood fault payment and report directly to the regions.

For the local governments' officials and communities to be able to transform the conflict, the compressive capacity building have to be given to all relevant people.

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