ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

MAKING A BORDERLAND GOVERNABLE: THE ETHIOPIA-SOMALILAND FRONTIER

BY

TEZERA TAZEBEW AMARE

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

JUNE 2017

MAKING A BORDERLAND GOVERNABLE: THE ETHIOPIA-SOMALILAND FRONTIER

BY

TEZERA TAZEBEW AMARE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF THE MASTER OF ARTS (M.A.) IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY

ADVISOR

ASNAKE KEFALE (PhD)

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MAKING A BORDERLAND GOVERNABLE: THE ETHIOPIA-SOMALILAND FRONTIER

BY

TEZERA TAZEBEW AMARE

APPROVED BY BOARD OF EXAMINERS

____________________________	____________________	____________________
Advisor	Signature	Date
____________________________	____________________	____________________
External Examiner	Signature	Date
____________________________	____________________	____________________
Internal Examiner	Signature	Date

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

____

Tezera Tazebew

June 2017

Acknowledgements

The successful completion of this study would have not been possible without the incredible support of a number of individuals and institutions. The field research for this study was made possible by the financial support from the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) and the Forum for Social Studies in Addis Ababa. I am deeply grateful to Asnake Kefale (PhD), my thesis supervisor, for his intellectual guidance and encouragement. At the DIIS, I'm greatly indebted to Finn Stepputat, who facilitated the grant and critiqued the chapters at various stages. This study was conducted on the basis of the different works of prominent scholars and authors.To the best of my ability, I have duly acknowledged and referenced all materials used in this work. I want my gratitude to be extended to all of them. Related to this, the interviewees and informants in both Addis Ababa and Jijiga also deserve special thanks. I want also to thank my fellow classmates at the Department of PSIR of Addis Ababa University for all their good words and deeds. Finally and most importantly, thanks to my family, to whom this thesis is dedicated, for everything else under the sun.

Abstract

Governance of frontier economic relations is considered as one of the functions of the Westphalian/Weberian state. Ethiopia had a long history of economic relations in its frontiers. Since the early 1990s, the Ethiopian state began to earnestly entrench its authority in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. This study examined the historical development, prevalent trends and prospects of economic relations and governance thereof in the Ethio-Somaliland frontier, with particular reference to the post-1991 period. The study employed the conceptual framework of frontier governmentality. In terms of research methodology, qualitative approach was employed. In this study, both primary and secondary sources of data were used.Accordingly, key informant interviewing, field research and document analysis were used to collect data. Qualitative method was used asdata analysis technique. The study identified several mechanisms of governance that the Ethiopian state instituted. As the discussion revealed, the institutional mechanisms applied have not yet achieved their purpose of making the borderland governable by the central state. Three elements are identified as impacting the weak institutional performance: lack of infrastructure, resistance by the local community and the fluidity of political status in these borderlands. This study also examined Ethiopia's quest for port utilization in Somaliland as an experiment in the governmentalization of the frontier. Based on the empirical discussions, the study concludes thatestablishment of a centralized and territorial governance of economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands is far from being completed.

Key Words: Economic Governance, Borderland, Frontier Governmentality, Ethiopia-Somaliland.

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables

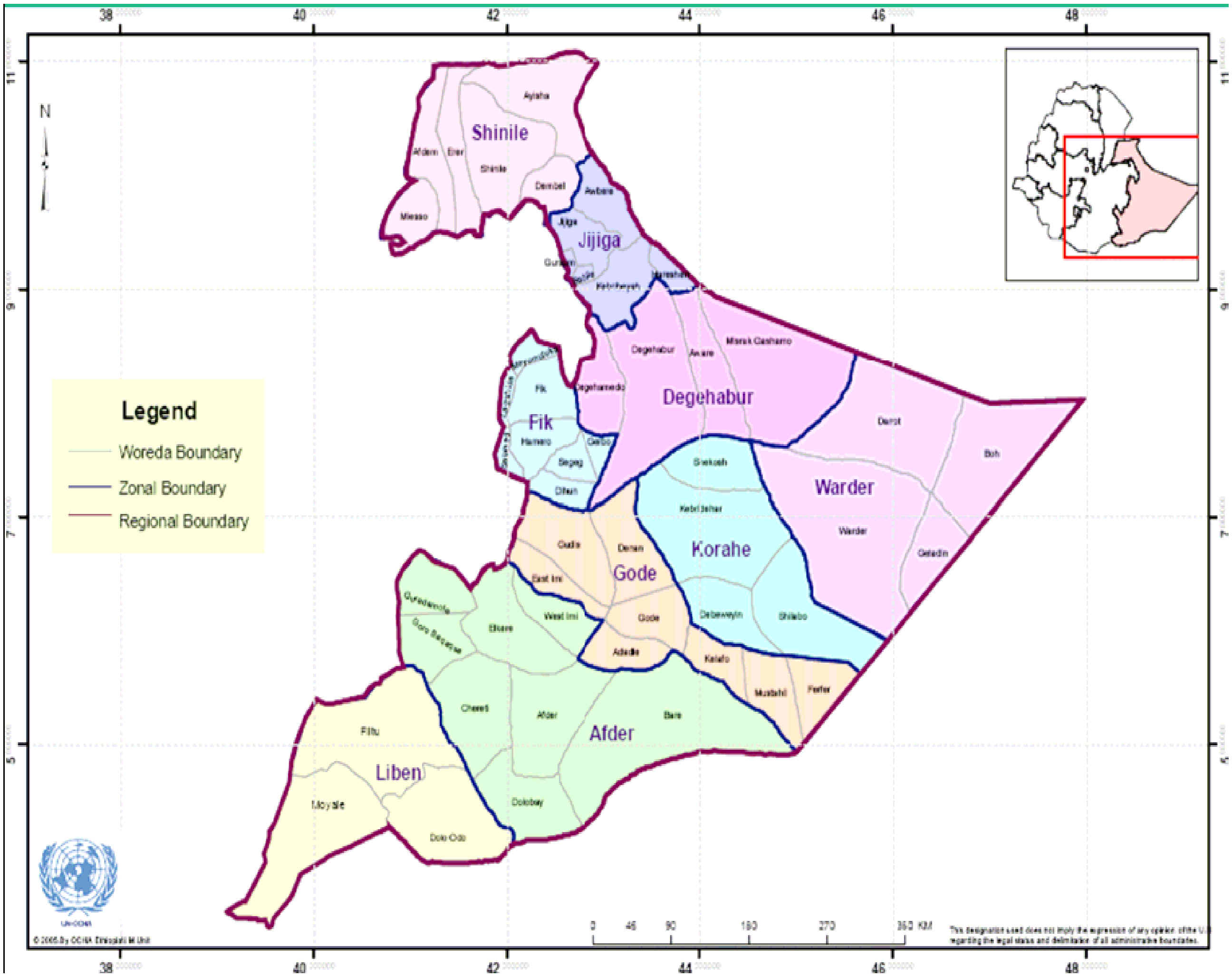
Figures

Tables

Abbreviations

BoLSA	Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs
CBE	Commercial Bank of Ethiopia
DFSS	Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia
EMAA	Ethiopian Maritime Affairs Authority
ERA	Ethiopian Roads Authority
ERCA	Ethiopian Revenues and Customs Authority
ETB	Ethiopian Birr
FCITPTF	Federal Contraband and Illicit Trade Prevention Task-Force
FV	Franco-Valuta
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
HO	Head Office
IOM	International Organization for Migration
JBTC	Joint Border Trade Committee
Kg	Kilogram
Km	Kilometer
MEWIT	Merchandise Wholesale and Import Trade Enterprise.
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MoT	Ministry of Trade
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OETA	Occupied Enemy Territory Administration

ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
SALF	Somali-Abo Liberation Front
SCA	Somaliland Customs Authority
SNM	Somaliland National Movement
SOSAF/SFF	Somali Salvation Front
SRS	Somali Regional State
SYL	Somali Youth League
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN	United Nations
USD	United States Dollar
WSLF	Western Somalia Liberation Front



Map 1:The Somali Regional State in Ethiopia

Source: SRS- Environmental Protection & Energy & Mines Resources Development Agency (2011).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

"In the beginning there were markets," wrote the Nobel-prize winning economist Oliver Williamson (1975: 20). Economic relations are thus enduring features of human life. For any human community, economic relations are at the core of their very survival. Such interactions might occur at different levels including household, firm and national. These inherently entails various forms and modes of governance. The word 'economy' itself reflects this: etymologically, it was derived from the Greek *oikonomia*, meaning governance or management (of a household) (Partridge, 1966: 913).

With the rise of territorial entities, the frontier has emerged as one important space in which economic relations occur. Hence, frontier economic relations dates back to the advent of political territory itself. Throughout history, these relations remained regular phenomena, producing both conflict and cooperation between the parties concerned (Anderson, 1996). The frontier and transfrontier relations always pose a governance challenge. Throughout history, there emerge spontaneous and negotiated economic governance regimes in various parts of the world. The spontaneous norm of reciprocity, for instance, has a fairly long history in transfrontier economic relations, that it became a foundation for modern international relations (Keohane, 1986). In addition, negotiated economic regimes which govern frontier and transfrontier economic relations were also made, ensuring the safety and liberty of traders, establishing trade incentive and protection regimes and banning informal trade in frontier areas (Parker, 2004). The main actors in the world trade at this point were largely European merchant empires, kingdoms, Italian city-states, individuals and groups thereof-such as merchant guilds and retainers, persons in service of their lords (Tilly, 1990; Tracy, 1990; Epstein and Prak, 2008). Authority over territorial spaces was fragmented. This multiplicity of competing authorities governing a single territory has made the ancient and medieval frontier permeable (Zacher, 2001).

In early modern western Europe, the economic relations that the above actors forged has created several new developments including a revival of trade, the growth of cities and the growth of a new middle class. A cumulative effect of these has led to an increase in the despotic power of kings at the expense of the feudal nobility. The expansion of economic relations has also exposed the "crisis of feudalism" (Wallerstein, 1974: 135). As trade and commerce spread over larger areas, the boundaries of many petite feudal principalities acted as barriers to this expansion. It was attempts to curb the evils of feudalism which led to the emergence of European nation-states characterized by centrality and territoriality in the seventeenth century (Wallerstein, 1974; Mann, 1986). The centrality and territoriality of the modern state has rendered the frontier a cultural, political, economic and symbolic importance to the new nations that they attempt to exert exclusive authority over it (Anderson, 1996).

With its rise in the seventeenth century Europe, the absolutist nation-state, *absolutist* in that it have a centralized sovereignty as opposed to parcelized sovereignties which characterize the Middle Ages (Teshale Tibebu, 1990), has become the major constituent unit of the world-economy (Wallerstein, 1974). A characteristic feature of the state is its exclusive authority over a particular space, a territory in which economic transactions occur. Thus, the modern state has also 'economic' sovereignty. The 1648 Peace of Westphalia also reinforces this predominance of sovereign states in the world arena, not less in the economy. As Michael Mann (1988) has noted, state formation in Europe resulted in a greater involvement by state elites in providing military protection for businesses abroad and ensuring the smooth conduct of market transactions, domestically and outside. As part of these, frontier economic transactions, which during the Middle Ages were not centrally governed, were called for an effective, central and unified governance by the state system.

The European sovereign states remained the decisive actors in the world-economy for a couple of centuries. In this period, European states has expanded their spheres of influence in Africa, Asia and Latin America, imposing different regimes of economic governance between their colonies and among the colonized. Among other things, European expansion has led to "the globalization of the nation-state" (Mann, 2012: 1), the acceptance of territorial state with its notion of frontier as the legitimate form of political organization in colonized areas, often with utter disregard for the ethnic and linguistic composition of peoples concerned. This predominance of states lasted unchallenged until the second half of the twentieth century.

In this regard, the African experience of sovereign statehood and territorial governance is uniquely important. The sovereign state system and 'territorial economy' in Africa was bequeathed only by the European colonization that ravaged the African continent since the nineteenth century. While there are some scholars who argue for the 'historicity' of the state in Africa (Bayart, 1992), there is still no conclusive evidence as to the emergence of territorial states in the precolonial Africa (Anderson, 1996). It needs to be noted here that most social formations in precolonial Africa were decentralized, in which authority was not based on control of a defined territory but of people (Herbst, 1989; Herbst, 2000). Hence, the borderlands and interactions there in precolonial Africa were loosely controlled. As such, the origins of territorial statehood and political frontiers in Africa are rooted in colonialism (Asiwaju, 1983).

With the achievement of political independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the post-colonial African state was called onto mobilizing the natural resources and population of their respective countries in the rapid economic growth. Politically, many African countries attempt to install 'modern' institutions, such as parliaments, constitutions, and elections, imitated largely either from French or British models (Dudley, 1984). To these list of modern institutions transplanted to African countries shall be added a defined territory, and with it, sovereign boundaries. By the eve of independence, the territorial state system had steeped well into the colonial structures of African societies. For better or worse, the elites of independent Africa were loath to forgo the state structure and boundaries inherited from erstwhile European colonizers. Indeed, the system was adopted without any major modifications that in the Preamble to the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the new heads of states and governments vowed to "safeguard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of [their] states". This determination to preserve the territorial status-quo was also reiterated in the Cairo Declaration of 1964 (Herbst, 1989; Abraham, 2006; Markakis, 2011).

As part of the development and state formation endeavors of the independent African states, the borderlands began to witness seminal changes. In fact, the immediate post-independence experiments intertwined both development and state-building that an accurate expression would be "developmental nationalism" (Guyot-Réchard, 2013). To forge a common ground between the different ethnic groups that constitute these new states, formation of inclusive identity was pursued almost throughout the continent. This being "the dialectic of the political that the state seeks and must seek to foster the growth of a nation, indeed must posit its potential coming into being" (Friedrich, 1963: 551, cited in Markakis, 2011: 4). The need to extract borderland resources has also made the establishment of administrative apparatuses a categorical imperative. The central state went also in so far as claiming monopoly over violence in frontier areas.

The experiment in sovereign statehood and territorial governance, however, turns out to be futile. In many African countries, the state was unable to perform its Weberian[1] functions and its capacity for social control was very limited, due to both internal and external factors. Hence, Malcolm Anderson (1996: 87; Emphasis added) goes as far as arguing that "[t]he lack of ability to control frontiers and large tracts of territory enclosed by these frontiers means that African countries have not *acquired* sovereign statehood, defined as effective control of territory."

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia and its eastern frontier share some of the essential facets of changing dynamics of sovereignty and frontiers discussed earlier. For a long period, Ethiopia, the largest and most populous of all states in the Horn of Africa, has long had economic relations with the outside world, including its immediate neighbors (Pankhurst, 1961; 1968). The Orientalist imagination of Ethiopian historiography is marked, *inter alia*, by "siege mentality" (Teshale Tibebu, 1995: xviii), which sees its eastern periphery as a place of war and fire, as site of 'Others' representing barbarian lawlessness (Triulzi, 1994; Pankhurst, 1997).

Nevertheless, the eastern borderlands of Ethiopia has played a significant role in the economic relations with the neighboring communities. Thus, the negative imaginations in popular discourse don't reveal much about the real situation of borderlands. As Baud and Schendel (1997) noted, the politico-economic and social dynamics in borderland areas is impacted by "the triangular power relations," the interaction of bordering states, the regional elites and the local people. As in common with other borderlands, then, the eastern borderlands of Ethiopia are affected by the relations that exist between Ethiopia and its neighboring countries. The colonial legacy that European states left has also shaped these borderlands to a significant extent. On the other hand,

[1] Weberian as it is rooted in the ideas of Max Weber (1864-1920), a German academic and writer whose ideas are important as the beginning of modern political sociology. He defines the state as "the human community that, within a defined territory— and the key word here is "territory"— (successfully) claims the *monopoly of legitimate force* for itself". (Weber, 2008: 156).

the local elites and communities are not passive in these exercise. Rather, as Baud and Schendel (1997: 216) noted, there are “various ways in which people have manipulated and circumvented the constructed barriers that result from the territorialization of modern states”.

The borderland interactions has resulted in the transformations and reconfiguration of political orders along with the state itself (Baud and Schendel, 1997). As part and parcel of these reconfiguration, contemporary forms of economic relations and governance in borderlands are now transforming center-periphery and state-society relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands.

The study of frontiers and frontier societies in Ethiopia is not an unexplored terrain (Donham & James, 1986; Pankhurst, 1997). Notwithstanding the existence of important studies on Ethiopian borderlands, economic relations and governance in the Ethiopia-Somaliland frontier seems not to have attracted much attention. Perhaps, the earliest works on the Ethiopia-Somaliland frontier were a set of articles by D. J. Latham Brown (Brown, 1956; Brown, 1961), which focus rather only on the border dispute between Ethiopia and the British Protectorate of Somaliland. Since then, most works on the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands focus on the politics and history of boundary-making and boundary dispute. Recent additions to the story of border creation include Cedric Barnes’ (2010) *The Ethiopian-British Somaliland Boundary*. Much emphasis in the study of these borderlands has also been given to their contested nature between the states and the resultant border disputes, from a legal and geopolitical perspective. However, dynamics in these borderlands are not limited to war and violence. As one observer noted,

> *The history of the Somali-Ethiopian border creation is not simply that of a series of complex and unsuccessful diplomatic attempts to fix the boundary line; it is also that of a progression of political and administrative strategies that aimed to govern the borderland and manage its porosity in light of human mobility and space construction, in spite of or in connection to the international negotiations (Morone, 2015: 94-95).*

Thus, beyond the border issue, the sociopolitical dynamics of refugees in the Ethiopia-Somaliland border regions has been studied by Luca Ciabarri (2008). Recently, the center-periphery approach has emerged as an alternative approach to the study of Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands in the works of John Markakis (2011) and Namhla T. Matshanda (2014). Despite providing a sober and nuanced account of the internal dynamics of center-periphery relations, territoriality and identification in the light of the state-building experiment, John Markakis' *The Last Two Frontiers* and Matshanda's *Centers in the Periphery* didn't address the issue of economic governance of the Ethiopia-Somaliland frontier, and the role of the Somali Regional State and other local elements in this enterprise. Thus, much of the existing literature didn't examine the linkage between economic governance in frontiers and its impact on state building.

The focus of this study, the borderlands between Ethiopia and Somaliland, are one of the geographical spaces where the unfinished evolution of techniques of centralized and decentralized governance is apparent. The borderlands, however, should not be seen as always being passive receivers. Baud and Schendel (1997: 241) has remarked the need in social science research to "ask which social and political impulses originated in borderlands and what effect they had locally as well as beyond the borderland—particularly in relation to state building on both sides of the border". The borderland between the two countries would then be a fertile ground to explore questions related to the linkage between economic multilevel governance in frontier zones and state building.

It is thus the purpose of this study to carefully investigate how the Ethiopian state endeavors to govern the economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands, and how the responses of the local communities reinforces or circumvents such a centralized control. The central argument underpinning this thesis is that the development and existing trend of economic governance in the Ethiopia-Somaliland frontier has impacted consolidation of the Ethiopian state in its eastern periphery. Attempt is thus made to examine how borderland economic relations and the manners in which they are governed (i.e., in the periphery) affect state consolidation (i.e., the center) in their own unique ways. Informed by a theoretical perspective of governmentality (discussed in the next chapter), the study examines how and under what conditions frontier economic relations are governed both formally and informally in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderland, and how they are impacting state building projects in the bordering countries, with particular reference to Ethiopia.

1.3. Objective of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The general objective of this study is to examine the historical development, prevalent trends and prospects of economic relations and governance thereof in the Ethiopia-Somaliland frontier, with particular reference to the post-1991 period.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

In the light of the aforementioned general objective, this study seeks to address the following specific objectives.

1. Explore the historical evolution of economic relations and governance in the Ethiopia-Somaliland frontier;
2. Explain the prevailing trends and developments of trade relations and human mobility, formal and informal, in the borderlands;
3. Explain Ethiopia's vested interests in Somaliland, with special emphasis on port utilization, and its possible impact on frontier governance;
4. Explain the existing institutional approaches and infrastructures of centralized economic governance in frontier economy;
5. Examine local forms of resistance to central state control over the frontier economy;
6. Reflect on the impact of economic governance in the frontiers for state building in Ethiopia, Somaliland and the wider Horn of Africa.

1.4.The Research Questions

Based on the research problem and the aforementioned general and specific objectives, the central question of the study will be: How are economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland frontier governed, and how is state control resisted or evaded by the local communities?

This study attempts at addressing the following specific research questions.

1. How does the economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland frontier evolved?

2. What are the existing trends of trade relations and human mobility in Ethiopia-Somaliland frontier?
3. Why Ethiopia is interested in Somaliland's ports, and how far it impact frontier governance?
4. What are the existing approaches of state control of wealth and people in the borderlands?
5. How does the local community resist and/or circumvent central state control?
6. What impacts can the economic relations and governance thereof play in state building endeavor of Ethiopia?

1.5. Significance of the Study

Governing frontier economic relations is a serious and current global issue. The Horn of Africa has also a peculiar experience of economic governance, not less in the borderlands. This study will have an academic significance in its study of the interplay between economic relations, territorial governance, and state consolidation in the context of limited statehood that characterize most African countries. The study can serve as a basis for further research on the issue of frontier governance. Frontier economic governance is also a public policy issue. Thus, in terms of policy, some argue in favor of a centralized governance of economic relations, while others are against it. Thus, the study will also have policy implications for the Ethiopian government in determining or revisiting its policy orientation towards economic governance in Ethiopia's eastern periphery.

1.6. Research Design and Methodology

1.6.1. Approach of the Study

This study explores and analyzes the historical development, institutional mechanisms and infrastructures and the behavior of the local community in the governance of the frontier economy in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. To properly address the research problem, the study employed qualitative research approach. This is because qualitative approach is important to collect a wide range of data from multiple sources, and provide an interpretive and holistic understanding of the issue under study, both being relevant for a research of this sort (Creswell, 2007).

1.6.2. Methods of Data Collection

The study used multiple sources of data. For collection of primary data, the methods employed in this study were key informant interviewing and a “micro-ethnographic” (Wolcott, 1990) field research. Key informants from among federal officials in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) Ministry of Trade (MoT), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), the Ethiopian Revenues and Customs Authority (ERCA) and the Ethiopian Maritime Affiars Authority (EMMA) were interviewed. Most of the key informant interviews were held before, while some after the field research. Alongside the major data that was gathered in the first round of interviews, they were used to identify the sites in the frontier area to which the field research needs to be conducted. The second round interviews were used as a follow-up to the field research. These key informant interviews were unstructured, for the exact interview questions were contingent upon the nature of particular informants interviewed. Thus, on most cases, I used only *aide memoires*.

Field research in to Jijiga, the capital and the largest city in the Somali Region, and Tog Wajaale, the major border town, was also conducted. Thus, systemic field research was used to assess how several economic transactions are held and how the regimes are implemented by the various actors in the frontier economy. These qualitative field research includes in-depth interviews and field observations.

In-depth interviews with regional officials in the Somali Regional State (SRS) Trade and Transport Bureau, SRS Labour and Social Affairs Bureau, SRS Road Development Agency, Ethiopian Revenue and Customs Authority-Jijiga Branch were conducted. Besides the government officials, local informants and various individuals participating in the informal frontier economy were interviewed. In order to allow room for the interviewees to pursue their topics of particular interest, these interviews were largely unstructured. In addition, personal interviews were also used to augment these unstructured interviews.

Field observations in Tog Wajaale and several major contraband centers inside Jijiga town were conducted. On the strategy of recording employed, I absolutely ruled-out the use of digital recording machine. Instead, I endeavored to create irregular notes and jottings of some key phrases or words whilst in the field and/or sometime later I leave the field scene and during the interview.

A purposeful sampling method was employed throughout the study. To better address the research problem, various “levels of sampling” (Creswell, 2007: 126) were used. At the institutional level, federal and regional bureaus were selected purposely. At the site level, field observations were conducted in purposely selected sites, which include Tog Wajaale, among the border towns, and several contraband markets in Jijiga. The local informants were also purposely selected based on convenience.

The extensive secondary data substantiate the primary data. Secondary data were gathered from public records such as reports, plans, and minutes, books, journal articles, periodicals, and other published and unpublished materials, through qualitative documentary analysis. Access to the public records was gained during the field research.

1.6.3. Data Analysis and Interpretation

The data collected through key-informant interviews, field research and document analysis are largely qualitative. Thus, the study employed qualitative method of data analysis. In analyzing the data, an inductive, recursive and interactive analysis is used to “build … patterns, categories, and themes from the "bottom-up," by organizing the data into increasingly more abstract units of information” (Creswell, 2007: 38).

1.6.4. Ethical Issues

During the field data collection, gaining access to the relatively closed social setting of informal trade was difficult, posing an ethical dilemma. In order to ease this difficulty, I used a combination of both overt and covert roles. Thus, while the field interviews were conducted in an overt basis, a covert route was taken with regard to the field observations. By using a covert field observation, I was able to gain access to the ‘architecture’ of the informal trade in the area from the perspective of the local community. My role was a minimal participant observer. My ‘participation’, however, was limited to occasional buying at the informal markets, which were used as ‘confidence-building’ measures for the informal conversations that dominated the field observations.

Due to the sensitivity of the research issue, there also arouse a need to protect the anonymity of the local informants. To this end, the study employed initials, the first letters of their name.

1.7. Delimitation of the Study

As the main objective of the study is to analyze the governance of economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands as part of the attempt at consolidating the Ethiopian state, the study is limited in its scope to the trends of economic relations and mechanisms of central governance and popular resistance in these borderlands. While the boundary between Ethiopia and Somaliland covers a length 745 km, the study is limited in its spatial scope to what is generally described as "the border heartland", which include the Jijiga Zone of Somali Region. (The geographical description of the study area will be set out in chapter 3). As to the time frame, the coverage of this study is mainly since the 1991 regime change in Ethiopia and Somaliland's declaration of independence.

1.8. Limitations of the Study

While conducting the study was very exciting in general, there were, however, some challenges it faced during the field data collection. The significant constraint in field observations was language. On the field, I usually remain a silent observer, who don't listen to what is being said unless I'm with an informant. The other challenge was the security threat. The town and the region in general are full of men-in-uniforms (interestingly, I don't see even a single woman in uniform!). The borders are no exception to this. They are highly militarized, making the use of recording materials (camera and sound recorders) virtually impossible. Third, requests to interview or permissions for documents were denied at some offices including the Regional Trade and Transport Bureau and the relevant organs of Ethiopian Federal Police (Jijiga Command) and Somali Regional Police Commission

1.9. Structure of the Study

This study is organized in 6 chapters. The first chapter offers a general background to the problem that this research examines. Specifically, it sets out the research problem, the research objectives and questions and the core argument that guides this study. In addition, it gave an outline of the research method in terms of methods and procedures of data collection and data analysis technique employed in the study. The second chapter provides a conceptual framework for the study of the research problem at hand.

The third chapter provides a geographical and historical background to the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. The physical and human geography of the study area is presented, with emphasis on the politics of boundary-creation in the region. To clearly understand the problem under study in its politico-economic context, this chapter also presents the historical evolution of economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands with a *longue durée* perspective.

The fourth chapter examines contemporary trends of economic relations in the borderlands, with particular reference to trade relations and human mobility. Chapter 5 investigates the institutional mechanism of economic governance applied in the area, and the development of infrastructures as augmenting central state control of the economic activities. The 'tactics' that local communities employed to resist such a centralized control are also discussed. The sixth chapter presents an analysis on Ethiopia's quest to utilize the Port of Berbera in Somaliland, and its impact on the entrenchment of state authority into the periphery. The last chapter summarizes the major points discussed in the previous chapters and provides a general conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

FRONTIER GOVERNMENTALITY: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

The key assumption underpinning this thesis is that frontier economic relations and their governance affect state consolidation. To carefully investigate how economic relations and governance thereof in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands developed and how they affect the consolidation of Ethiopian state, there should be a reasoned basis. The attempt in this chapter is to develop a conceptual framework for researching the governance of frontier economy.

As will be noted in the following discussions, frontiers are unique spaces. Frontiers in Africa, which as in the case with much of the non-European world, are creations of the colonial powers, has often been described as different, arbitrary and artificial (Touval, 1966). In reality, however, what is different about frontiers in Africa is not the fact that they are artificial (for all frontiers are essentially artificial and arbitrary!!!), but that they are spaces where the central state elite has a contested authority, where political loyalties are fluid. It is far from disputed that most post-colonial African states have only limited capabilities in territorial governance, not less in the frontiers and over the frontier economy (Anderson, 1996; Wunsch, 2000; Herbst and Mills, 2006). Central state presence, coercive, infrastructural and ideological, has not been much felt in African frontiers. These are places where the temporal and spatial changes of and challenges for the African state are occurring, limiting their authority. It is also often the case that African borderlands are usually the home of insurgent movements, undermining the legitimacy of the state (Clapham, 1996). Thus, while externally, frontiers in Africa has been accorded legitimacy, internally, African states loss effective control of their frontiers (Herbst, 1989; Anderson, 1996). To rectify the absence or abysmal weakness of the central state, new actors “beside or beyond the state” are developing mechanics of economic governance in peripheral frontier territories (Hüsken & Klute, 2010: 108).

These emergent constellations of power aimed at the making of the frontier governable, which Foucault’s governmentality perspective explains. Thus, by drawing on the works of Michel Foucault and Foucauldian scholarship, I endeavor to develop ‘frontier governmentality’ as a guiding framework. In fact, I don't consider it to be the sole method to the study of governance of frontiers. Its merits lie in its descriptive and explanatory potential of the governance of frontier economic relations in the context of limited statehood. That is, the 'what, why and how' of frontier governance can be answered by this framework. In the following sections, a brief discussion on the nature and logic of frontiers and frontier governance in the light of 'Westphalian' notions of state territory and sovereignty will be made. From there, I develop the conceptual framework.

2.2. Territory, Sovereignty and The State

In the beginning there was earth. In modern parlance, this area, in which everything exists, and in which everything has a position or direction, is known as space. And this was without form. Then, the human population began to give it forms. As such, individuals and groups attempt "to affect, influence, or control actions, interactions (of people, things, and relationships), or access by asserting and attempting to enforce control over a specific geographic area" (Sack, 1983: 55). This human behavior is called territoriality. This was more than mere biological drive. It is an element of power relations that human societies develop in the course of history (Mann, 1987; Elden, 2010).

According to Michel Foucault (1972: 68), territory is "no doubt a geographical notion, but it's first of all a juridico-political one: the area controlled by a certain kind of power". As a distinctive mode of spatial organization, territory is thus a significant innovation in human history. Once and long taken for granted as self-evident, territory is now one of the most central and controversial concepts in the social sciences, not less in the International Relations literature (Elden, 2013a; Maier, 2016). Etymologically derived from the Latin '*territorium'*, from *terra*, (meaning earth, land) or *terrace*, the word territory refers to a land around a town, domain, or district (de Vaan, 2008). In its broadest signification, territory refers to a land that is owned or controlled by a particular entity-a band, a government, ruler, military force or religious order. That the word territory have its roots in Latin is a possible indication that there was no idea of "bounded space" in pre-Roman civilizations, and that Rome was the first 'territorial empire' (Mann, 1986).

As a concept, the historical origin of territory can be traced back to the writings of ancient Roman philosophers and historians including Cicero and Livy. Provided with a conceptual framework for territory, the Roman Empire was able to exert its power throughout its territories. Barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire has, however, at last crumbled what was the embryo of territorial governance in the Western Roman Empire. Accordingly, after the fall of Roman Empire, territories were ignored and people weren't committed to them. Thus, in the middle ages, territories continued to be as fragmented as they were before the Roman Empire. In fact, in the eastern Roman Empire, the Byzantine, Constantine, was successful in centrally governing his territories. In France, the rise to power of King Charlemagne has also set out a centralized territorial governance over the "Franks." Charlemagne, however, aspired to also have found a universal monarchy, which the Roman Catholic Church was also attempting to establish. In the whole, however, the dominance of feudalism and the power of the papacy has weakened firm assertion of territorial power during the middle ages. Simply, there were several powers in the land, save a centralized and territorial state.

The term "territory" has attained its modern meaning in English, in the course of the evolution of continental legal, religious, economic and political transformations. The Renaissance has all paved the way. As the Renaissance philosophers, such as Niccolo Machiavelli and Jean Bodin go back in time to ancient Rome, they rediscovered Roman law. The religious dimension of the Renaissance was the Reformation, which, by all accounts, pose severe challenges to the papacy. Most importantly, the Reformation has destroyed the religious unity that characterize medieval Europe, heralding a bloody contest between Catholic and Protestants. This collision has reached its peak with the outbreak of a rebellion in Bohemia in 1618. In an age in which religious differences play a crucial role in the international system, the Bohemian rebellion "spilled over" too much of the European continent to call for outside intervention (Gutmann, 1988). Along with these changes, new technological innovations has also increased territorialization of the world. The rediscovery of Ptolemy's work during the Renaissance has led to improvements in cartography. Important advances of this age include geometry, map-making, navigation and shipbuilding (Elden, 2010). As the 'Age of Exploration' and 'Age of Discovery' achieved remarkable success in widening the spatial horizon of the European world, economic relations in Europe began to take a capitalistic mode, which requires territorialization. Obviously, there are no fixed territories in primitive hunting-gathering, slavery or feudal societies (Mann, 1986).

A cumulative effect of the religious, political and technological changes was the birth and massive expansion of the territorial state. Aided by these changes, the state now *claim* a defined territory in which it controls actions and interactions. Naturally, the state reinforces its control of territory as *counterclaims* began to rise against it. As Michael Mann (1986: 521) observes, territorial centralization is just one means of political power that

> *[s]tates are called forth and intensified when dominant social groups, pursuing their goals, require social regulation over a confined, bounded territory. This is most efficiently achieved by establishing central institutions whose writ radiates outward monopolistically, across the defined territory.*

With the birth of territorial centralization, there comes what Stephen Krasner (1999: 4) calls 'Westphalian sovereignty', the "political organization based on the exclusion of external actors from authority structures within a given territory". Specifically, sovereignty is a result of what Michael Mann (1986: 27) distinguished as "geopolitical diplomacy", the mutual recognition that comes out of the conflictual interrelations of the territorial states. Like territory, sovereignty is one of the most essentially contested concepts in the International Relations literature (Krasner, 1999; Teschke, 1999). Unlike territory, the etymological origin of the word sovereignty is Old French, *souverainete*, from soverain, meaning "authority, rule, and supremacy of power or rank".

Thus, territory essentially signifies "a *particular* and historically limited set of practices and ideas about the relation between place and power" (Elden, 2013b: 7; Emphasis added). In the time-space continuum, territory is a particular category, not a universal one. By definition, then, it is applicable not to all social relations and societies. Similarly, the principle of sovereignty is not an immutable concept (Anderson and Bort, 2001). Granted, beneath the concept of territory lies that of power (Delaney, 2005). But, not always, not necessarily vice versa. Not all power relations are territorial. In his groundbreaking study of the history of power relations in human societies, Michael Mann (1986: 1) notes that "[s]ocieties are constituted of multiple overlapping and intersecting sociospatial networks of power," power emanating from four sources, ideological, economic, military and political, each offering different organizational means of social control. Of these, it is only political power which uses territory as its means. As Stuart Elden (2010) puts it, state territory is of recent origin as a particular technology of power.

Statehood, the condition of being a state, is a result of the monopoly of territory and sovereignty. Following Schlichte, Hagmann and Péclard (2011: 7) note statehood can be broadly understood as "a field of power whose confines are decided upon with means of violence and whose dynamics are marked by the ideal of a coherent, coercive, territorial organization as well as by the practices of social actors".

The process through which a political community achieves statehood is known as state formation. State formation, however, should not be understood as referring to "some magical moment when the state emerges butterfly perfect from its historical chrysalis, state making ends and policy begins in a permanent present" (Boyd and Ngo, 2006: 8). As John Markakis (2011: 9) argues, "state construction is best understood as a dynamic relationship whose end product is negotiated rather than imposed". Hence, statehood is not something to be owned or possessed that it is possible to make distinctions between the haves and the have-nots. It is rather an effect of complex relationships along a continuum.

The continuum is defined by "the ideal of a coherent, coercive, territorial organization" (Hagmann and Péclard, 2011: 7). Against the backdrop of this ideal, there will be a well-consolidated statehood on one end of the continuum, in which domestic sovereignty is asserted, territorial governance is ensured and violence monopolized (Mann, 1986; Tilly, 1990). A consolidated state is capable of making of societal activities in its territory legible for its apparatus and personnel. According to James Scott (1998), underpinning the process of state consolidation was the making of territories and populations "legible". Considered as "a central problem in statecraft", "legibility" is understood as referring the state's endeavors "to arrange the population in ways that simplified the classic state functions of taxation, conscription, and prevention of rebellion" (Scott, 1998: 2). It is "the state's attempt to simplify the society that it governed and to make it more 'understandable' to the state's institutions" (Jones *et al.*, 2004: 25). In contrast, limited statehood refers to "the persistent absence of a monopoly on legitimate force resulting in a government's constricted ability to implement political decisions" (Brozus, 2009: 2).

2.3. Frontiers: Nature and Logic

With the rise of the territorial and sovereign state, there comes physical *limits* to its territory (Baud and Schendel, 1997). The 'territorial' root of the word limit shows this: It is derived from the Latin *limes* via the Old French, *limite*, meaning edge. In its modern usage, limit refers to the furthest point or edge of a place, which must not be passed. Accordingly, the physical limits of the sovereign state began to be known by different names. The first of these was *borders*. According to *Online Etymology Dictionary,* the geopolitical sense of the word border is first indicated in the 1530s, in Scottish. The *Borders* was a name of the district adjoining the boundary between England and Scotland. But, the word was used in different forms and found in old French, German and Frankish.

In its modern sense, *border* is an essentially contested concept. A list of synonyms for the word border, according to *Roget's 21st Century Thesaurus* (Kipfer, 2005: 92) include outermost, edge, margin, borderland, boundary, limit, periphery, or rim. Borders generally refer to the official and/or unofficial lines that separate at least two states (Martinez, 1994a).

In much of the popular and scholarly literature, the borders as limits, as lines of exclusion and separation discourse has been dominant (Howitt, 2001; Kesby, 2007). In this usage, the term *boundary* was employed, referring to the officially sanctioned natural or artificial lines that "divide territories 'on the ground' [and]… set limits that mark social groups off from each other" (Barth, 1999: 17). For instance, in the geographical discourse of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, borders were seen largely as unchanging and static givens, as barriers to the people. Political leaders and diplomats have also been engaged in the making, unmaking and remaking of international boundaries. Writing in 1916, the English geographer Thomas H. Holdich (1916: 424) claimed the early twentieth century to be "an age of boundary making, of partitioning and dividing up territory." The process through which the exact lines of boundaries are decided is known broadly as delimitation. Delimitation was at times accompanied by demarcation, delineating the border using natural divisions or artificial creations (Wiegand, 2008). In France, for instance, the notion of 'natural frontiers' got wider attention since at least the seventeenth century (Sahlins, 1990). Physical terrain has been used to demarcate and delimit state boundaries that their presence was called "practically necessary," for they "destroy the germs of frontier dispute" (Holdich, 1916: 422). Since natural barriers are not available in all instances, the purpose of geography and geographical knowledge in the nineteenth century was to create the best possible artificial barriers (Holdich, 1916). Thus, using "nature" as obstacle and man-made boundary lines, borders has been used as limitations on the movement of people and goods.

The view of borders as constraints has also been seen from a nationalist perspective. In the light of their unfinished unification, Italy and Germany were the fertile grounds for such a thinking. In the nineteenth century, the Italian politician Giuseppe Mazzini called for the correspondence of state and national borders (Anderson, 2010). In the early twentieth century, the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel criticized the conception of borders as rigid boundary lines. Ratzel develops an approach which he labelled as *Lebensraum*, meaning “living-space” allegedly necessary for national existence. This approach, which sees borders as zones of expansion (Cahnman, 1944), has influenced the revision of German borders during the Nazi era along racial lines, which wrought havoc in Eastern and Central Europe (Kruszewski, 1940). The formula was simple: German borders are stretched wherever Germans are living. And, since the Germans were not omnipresence, so the borders will be limited. Hence, even in this formulation borders will still continue to be obstacles.

This notion of borders as obstacles is essentially statist in its nature. It comes as no surprise, then, that the realist school of International Relations, the dominant school in the field, has adopted this view of state borders as constraints (Mahapatra, 2016). Emphasis is given to the state and its territorial sovereignty. Thus, Martinez (1994a: 3) argues that this view of borderlands might be a reflection of the prevalent international system, which was “driven by global tensions and the ideology of rigid national sovereignty”. However, the view of borders as limits has been criticized. These points where a state end are also where another began. Hence, they are as much a beginning as an end (Wiegand, 2008). Hence, regarding borders as limits will be problematic. In this regard, the first useful correction comes from Lucien Febvre, the French historian (Janeczek, 2011).

In the context of borderlands studies, Lucien Febvre’s main contribution lies in popularizing the humanist perspective, which views borders are not just limits but as *frontiers*. Derived from the old French *frontiere* meaning "front, boundary-line of a country," it refers to the borderland, part of a country which faces another, “the region in one nation that is significantly affected by an international border” (Baud and Schendel, 1997: 216). Thus, it is on the threshold, a space which, in the words of Victor Turner (1967), is “betwixt and between”. In this formulation of borders as frontiers, state borders are viewed as fluid, as being in a state of flux, always changing due to the interaction of the bordering states and frontier communities. Rather than imposing constraints, they might be used as resources in order to achieve one’s (individual or group) goals (Dereje Feyissa and Hoehne, 2010). The very logic of frontiers, as “frontline zones of contact” is dynamic (Martinez, 1994a: 3). In distinguishing the term frontier from his use of borders and borderlands, Martinez (1994a: 5) argues the term frontier "denotes an area that is physically distant from the core of the nation; it is a zone of transition, a place where people and institutions are shaped by natural and human forces that are not felt in the heartland".

The *longue-durée* dynamics of frontiers and interactions there is well captured in Oscar Martinez's model of borderlands interaction (Martinez, 1994a; Martinez, 1994b; Baud and Schendel, 1997; Mahapatra, 2016). He identifies four categories of borderlands: alienated, coexistent, interdependent and integrated (Martinez, 1994). The distinction is grounded on the intensity of historical and existing cross-border interactions and the relations between the bordering states (Martinez, 1994). Martinez (1994) argues that alienated borderlands are characterized by practical absence of cross-border contacts and enmity between bordering states, both having a militarized presence. On the other end of the spectrum are integrated borderlands, which are characterized by an intense interaction and amity between the countries, with no physical (and, in the long run, mental) demarcation. Coexistent and interdependent borderlands are on the middle of Martinez's continuum. Coexistent borderlands are characterized by rapprochements and limited contacts between the bordering states, and limited cross-border contacts under the state's shadow. Coexistent borderlands would evolve into an interdependent phase, which is marked by symbiosis of the bordering communities with the state having limited control. Needless to say, these models are not mutually exclusive (Martinez, 1994).

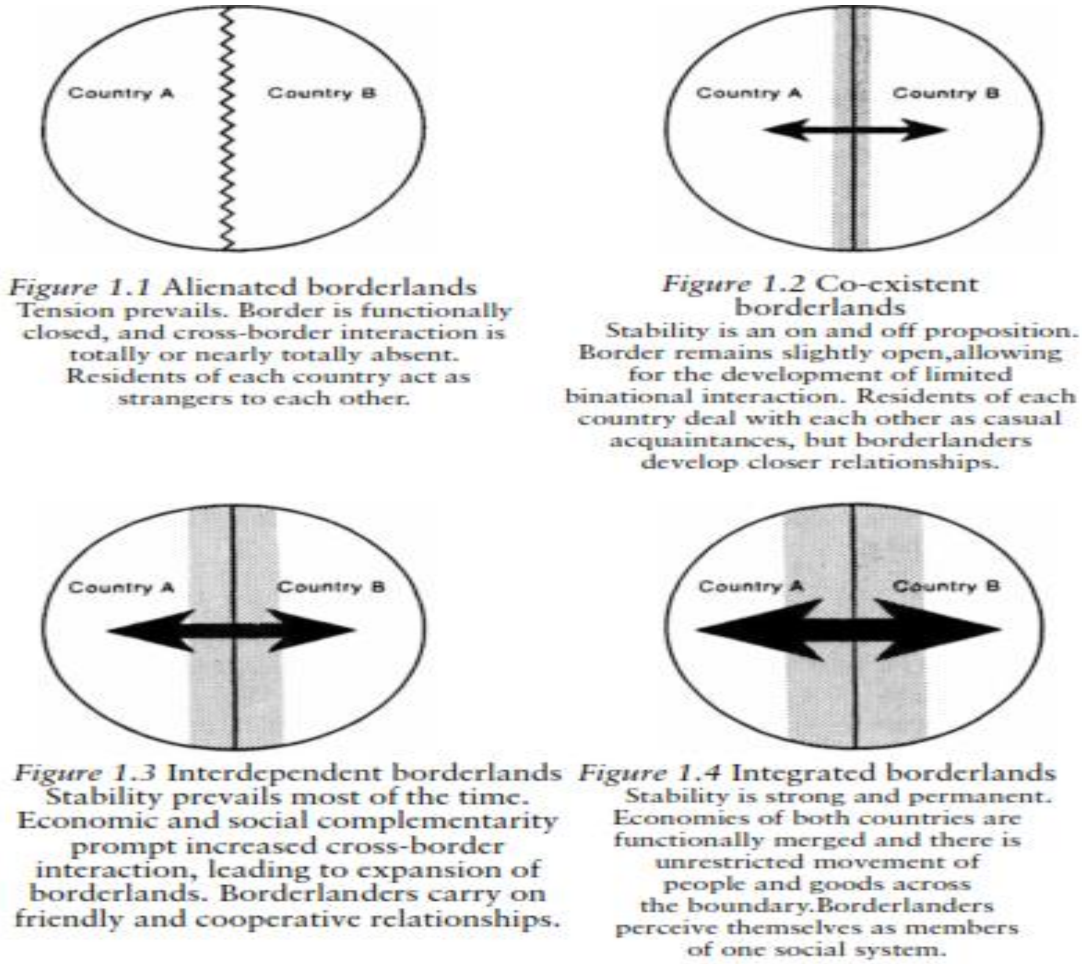


Figure 3.1. Oscar J. Martinez's Model of Borderlands Interaction

(Source: Martinez, 1994b: 3)

2.4. Governance of the Frontier Economy

"No society could, naturally, live for any length of time unless it possessed an economy of some sort," argues Karl Polanyi (2001: 45). Frontier societies are no exception to this. They developed an economic organization that fits their subjective and objective conditions, which include the physical environment and cultural makeup of the inhabitants. That is to say, frontier economic activities are "embedded in social relations" characteristic of the societies (Polanyi, 2001: 60). The economic activities of frontier areas should not, however, be viewed as always being isolated and autarchic. The economic interaction and organization of frontier societies connected different groups of people that a "regional economy" (Cassanelli, 2010: 133) is often formed. While the form and content of economic interaction of these groups considerably vary, usually they are engaged in an exchange economy which involves small-scale production, face-to-face marketing, and prosaic features of livelihoods (Usner, Jr., 1987).

In different parts of the world, the central state played an essential role in the shaping of the frontier economy. The central state expansion, necessitated by several reasons, involve in transforming the frontier economy and its integration with the heartland, for instance, through construction of infrastructure or encouragement of external investment in the borderlands (Cleary, 1993). The integration of frontier economies with the national economy might occur in different stages.

The expansion of central state into frontier areas is understandable in view of the functions expected of it. Normatively, the territorial and sovereign state is expected to entrench itself in every corner of its territories, and govern economic relations throughout (Jones *et al*., 2004). The state makes its presence felt on three levels. First, coercively, the state is expected to have a coercive presence, by way of monopolizing violence and maintaining public order and effective control within its territory (Mann, 1986; Morris, 2012). These are achieved through the judiciary, the military and the police. The state, however, has also benevolent expressions. Thus, secondly, the state is expected to have an autonomous bureaucratic presence, by way of providing public administration and delivery of tangible goods and benefits including education and health services. The bureaucracy is the organizational means through which the state expressed itself as a public goods provider, thereby legitimize and justify its presence. Third, the state is expected to have a higher form of presence in the form of ideology or common border identity (Prokkola, 2009). This is due to the fact that "the people of a border's frontiers are often members of political institutions and informal networks which compete with the state" (Wilson and Donnan, 1998: 10). Here, the state is engaged in a nation-building enterprise, which manifests itself in terms of collective consciousness, but, above all, in citizenship (Sahlins, 1998). It seems appropriate to define the word citizenship here. Citizenship entails membership within a certain political community on an equal basis. Thomas Janoski (1998: 8-11) defined citizenship as "passive and active membership of individuals in a [state] with universalistic rights and obligations at a specified level of equality".

In practice, however, "[m]any states, in different places and different time periods, have asserted a degree of organizational control over a defined territory but have struggled to impose this ideology of rule on the state's people and territory" (Jones, 2007: 4). Needless to say, frontier zones are one of the areas of state territories in which the imposition of territorial rule was contested. Being as they are geographically separated and marginalized, an "'out of sight, out of mind' mentality seemed to prevail" in frontier areas, as the geographer Ronald J. Horvath (1969: 218) noted. First, they are often detached from the center of the state apparatus. Most often than not, these areas are also sparsely populated, with little infrastructures linking them with the center and *vice versa*. This has made deep exploration, and provision of public goods difficult. Second, they are marginalized, politically, economically and socio-culturally. As liminal spaces, they are marked by uncertainty of control and regulation, neglect and utter underdevelopment (Martinez, 1994a).

To address the separation and marginalization of frontiers, and to properly govern economic relations at the frontier, states has been reaching to the frontiers politically, economically and ideologically (Machado *et al*., 2009). Richie Howitt (2001: 235) called these endeavors "frontier developmentalism". Without discussing its meaning in detail, Bérénice Guyot-Réchard (2017: 138) has also used this notion of frontier developmentalism.

Frontier developmentalism aimed at asserting and augmenting control and order through production of knowledge, establishment of institutions, and formation of subjects (Howitt, 2001). First, knowledge about frontiers is produced. In this regard, the role of geography was paramount that it takes "the burden of the discipline" in the integration of frontiers (Howitt, 2001), and endowing them what Edward Said (1978: 55) has called "imaginative geographies". These geographical imaginations are performed by state institutions. Last but not least, frontiersmen and women will be made citizens of the sovereign state. All these are concerned with the entrenchment of state presence in the frontier zones.

However, the fact that frontier areas are fluid has made centralized and territorial economic governance difficult. In these areas, the informal economy is considered more important than the formal. Machado *et al* (2009: 98) argued that "activities operating outside the rule of law (smuggling, drug trafficking, illegal immigration)…are usually accepted as a common trait of frontier zones". The licit but illegal nature of these activities, however, should not be seen as the absence or weakness of the state *per se*. As Abraham and Schendel (2005) has noted, frontier economic transactions must be approached as expressions of power structures that blur the distinction between what is legal/illegal and licit/illicit, as "real zone of indistinction" (Agamben, 1998: 4). Borderlands rightly fit their description of the "third space," where much of the economic activities are informally endorsed by the society but officially prohibited by the state (Abraham and Schendel, 2005: 22). Thus, in the context of frontier governance, the application of the terms licit/illicit and legal/illegal is abandoned in favor the formal and informal distinction. It would be erroneous to regard all the formal activities licit/legal and all the informal activities illicit/illegal. It has been shown that in frontier governance, the formal activities might be illicit, as they might be seen as opportunistic and reactionary. Similarly, the informal activities might indeed be licit as far as the local community is concerned (Abraham and Schendel, 2005; Ghosh, 2011).

In an attempt to clearly explicate the present trends in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands, two types of trading activities and human mobility are distinguished: formal and informal. In Hart's (1973: 68) original distinction between the formal and informal sector, "[t]he key variable is the degree of rationalisation". Based on this, the distinction between formal and informal is grounded essentially on the official or public nature of these activities. Formal trading activities/human mobility are done officially or publicly and are sanctioned or regulated by the state machinery. These are monitored, protected and/or taxed by the government. In contrast, the economic activities/human mobility that are done without being officially sanctioned constitute the informal sector. Thus, informal trade/human mobility specifically constitute those activities not regulated or registered by the government.

To be exact, then, there is no "developmentalism" in the frontiers. This might wrongly suggest that states have uncontested hold over the borderlands that they project their authority vertically. Authority is conceived as having a single source, and flow in an uninterrupted manner. To use the words of Michel Foucault (1978: 88-89), this notion of frontier developmentalism do "not cut off the head of the king". If states fail to project their authority, we are headed to call these areas as "ungoverned territories". It is wrong, however, to consider these places as "off limits" to the society and state, as totally unregulated and uncontrolled.

Rather, we shall strictly approach these endeavors as 'frontier governance'. What, then, is governance? Why frontier governance? And, importantly, what is the role of the state? To begin with, governance means different things for different people and institutions. In its broadest sense, governance might refer to any act or manner of governing. In this paper, governance is understood in its narrower sense as referring to "the various institutionalized modes of social coordination to produce and implement collectively binding rules, or to provide collective goods" (Risse, 2012: 7).

This broad definition includes the works of both state and non-state actors, engaged in making regulatory rules and norms and provision of collective goods (Risse, 2012). The role of non-state actors in frontier governance must be seen in the light of the states' lack of capacity to monopolize regulatory and coercive practices in the borderland. What follows is neither "a revolution against the state, nor…romanticized resistance," (Jones, 2012: 687) but a negotiation and renegotiation between the different actors in frontier governance on what is acceptable and what is not, making borderlands "spaces of refusal" (Jones, 2012). In Reece Jones' (2012: 687; In-text citations in the original are not included) conceptualization, a space of refusal is:

> *[A] zone of contact where sovereign state practices interact with alternative ways of seeing, knowing, and being. [Where] people adopt various means for avoiding the sovereignty regime of the state, even when the traditional response of flight is not available, [including] evading the state apparatus by not paying taxes, transgressing the state's authority by engaging in activities that are prohibited by the state, and refusing to accept the lines and categories drawn by the state to create and practice its power.*

Thus, in the governance of frontier economy, sovereignty is "an effect of performed claims to sovereignty" (Stepputat, 2015: 130). In this regard, state sovereignty has both *de jure* and *de facto* dimensions, that, *de jure*, the state "exercised supreme law-making and law-enforcing authority within a delineated territory and constituted the supreme object of political allegiance" (Kostakopoulou, 2002: 135) but, *de facto*, the state lacks to practice absolute sovereignty over its territory including the borderlands,

The last remark on sovereignty leads us to question the conventional conception of sovereignty. In political theory, the fact that states might in some exceptional circumstances abandon the rules, that they might not follow the expected pattern is far from being contested. For instance, Niccolo Machiavelli has used the word '*accidente'* to refer to anything unforeseen and unexpected that happened to a regime, endangering its supremacy, unity or very survival, in which case a mixed regime is required (Mccormick, 1993). In Marxian thought, the dictatorship of the proletariat is an exceptional state, a transition from the capitalist society to a stateless one (Agamben, 1998: 12).

However, the study of such circumstances is now often associated with the works of Carl Schmitt, a German philosopher and political theorist. The state, according to Schmitt (2007: 19), is "the political status of an organized people in an enclosed territorial unit". The "political" is grounded in a friend-enemy distinction, both within and between states (Schmitt, 2007). Thus defined, sovereign power needs to be monopolized by a single actor. Accordingly, Schmitt's state is detached from and supreme over the society, for it is sovereign. For Schmitt, the defining essence of sovereignty is ability to make exceptions. He began his book *Political Theology* with the following words: "Sovereign is he who decides on the exception" (Schmitt, 2005 [1922]: 5). A decision on the exception, however, presuppose a decision on what is normal, which the sovereign defined and decided. The exception, the suspension of the law, is required for the purpose of safeguarding of the normal, exemplified in the existing judicial order. What is the quintessence of state sovereignty? Schmitt (1922: 13) argues that state sovereignty "must be juristically defined correctly, not as the monopoly to coerce or to rule, but as the monopoly to decide.…." Sovereign is she/he who has the final say in the decisions over the society.

Schmitt's line of thought is quite juridico-legalistic approach in which undue emphasis was accorded to the one and the only sovereign (Schwab, "Introduction", in Schmitt, 2005). What counts as decisions and non-decisions? Schmitt was also dead silent on this issue. But, it is possible, in Schmitt's formulations, to have a clear boundary between what is normal and abnormal, legal and illegal, order and disorder. Schmitt's conceptions might be termed "orderism" (Bittner, 2016), in which law is subservient to order.

This notion of state of exception was much elaborated recently by the Italian philosopher, Giorgio Agamben. In the works of Schmitt, Agamben (1998: 12) argues:

> *The problem of sovereignty was reduced to the question of who within the political order was invested with certain powers, and the very threshold of the political order itself was never called into question. Today, now that the great State structures have entered into a process of dissolution and the emergency has… become the rule, the time is ripe to place*

the problem of the originary [sic] *structure and limits of the form of the State in a new perspective.*

Rather, Agamben (1998: 15) notes that sovereignty is paradoxical in the sense that "the sovereign is, at the same time, outside and inside the juridical order." Should the law be applied in the first place is decided by the sovereign. True, this point has also been made by Schmitt, but he never explains it. This paradox is also reflected in the state of exception. Unlike Schmitt's *orderism*, Agamben notes that state of exception is rested upon the blurring of legal and illegal, normal and abnormal, and order and disorder. "In truth, the state of exception is neither external nor internal to the juridical order, and the problem of defining it concerns precisely a threshold, or a zone of indifference, where inside and outside [of the juridical order] do not exclude each other but rather blur with each other" (Agamben, 2005: 23).

Where does frontier governance lie in the light of Schmittian-Agambenian notion of exceptions? Mark B. Salter (2008: 365) notes that the state border is a unique political space characterized by "a permanent state of exception [which] performs the spatio-legal fiction of territorial sovereign and the sovereign subject in each admission/exclusion decision". "[S]overeign decisionism that is expressed through a bureaucratic governmentality of discretion… [is] the kernel of exception at the border" (Salter, 2008: 369). Thus, even if we consider the frontier as a space of exception *a la* Agamben, it is predicated on an assumption that the state is capable of controlling and make all the decisions needed to make this possible, i.e., they take the having by the King of a head for granted (Salter, 2008).

Let's then turn the face of the sovereign exception: What if the decline of sovereign power, or the presence of competing authorities, or limited statehood gives us an exceptional situation? Or, what if avoidance of decisions, and not making is a manifestation of 'exceptions'? Reece Jones (2012: 693) remarked that "the paradox of the borderlands" is a result of feeble and piecemeal control of the space by state, and transgressions by the state apparatus themselves. These are related to what Francis Fukuyama (2004: 7) has dubbed "state or institutional capacity", which refers to "the strength of state power, or ability of states to plan and execute policies and to enforce laws cleanly and transparently." Granted, not all states are equal in terms of their capacity. The exceptionality of borderlands is also related with what Oscar Martinez (1994a: 10) has called "borderland milieu", which refers to the "unique forces, processes, and characteristics that set borderlands apart from interior zones [which include] transnational interaction, international conflict and accommodation, ethnic conflict and accommodation, and separateness".

Thus, what sort of exceptions are to be expected if the power of the sovereign itself is in question in such areas as borderlands? Drawing on Hagmann and Péclard (2011), I prefer to call these 'negotiated exceptions'. These refers to the suspension of the rules and patterns of the existing order due to the incapability of the actors to have an absolute dominance over others and assert their preferences, and aimed at ensuring governance in a given area. Negotiated exceptions are results of conflicts and negotiations among actors in frontier governance, not the less the central state *per se*.

2.5. Governmentality: Meaning, Pillars and Application to Frontier Governance

As we have seen in the last section, the governance of frontier economy is marked by the reworking of power relations, which the governmentality perspective describes and explains. The concept of governmentality was introduced by Michel Foucault, a French philosopher and historian of ideas. Within the discipline of International Relations, Foucault has both theoretical and empirical contributions. Theoretically, Foucault has contributed much and enormously influenced the theoretical underpinnings of critical theory, post-modernism, post-colonial and feminist theories of International Relations (Didur, 2001; Hanssen, 2004). While he also has influenced empirical studies, one of his most significant legacies remain his imprint on 'Governmentality Studies' (Larner and Walters, 2004; Nadesan, 2008; Biebricher and Vogelmann, 2012).

Governmentality emerged as a problem in Foucault's analysis later in his studies in the late 1970s. Informed by Nietzschean and Marxian heritage, Foucault's earlier works gave emphasis to the centrality of power, which Foucault understood as an omnipresent productive relation, in human relations (Thiele, 1990). Building of the premise that 'power is everywhere' but takes different modes or forms, Foucault sought to examine power relations, which generally involve regulation/domination and exclusion of subjects, in an unorthodox manner. From its beginnings in the study of madness, Foucault's study of power over some decades touches on the institutions of the clinic, and the production of knowledge of in the 'human sciences' and the prison system as creators and producers of power relations (Taylor, 2011).

In Foucault's formulation, the state, which as a "set of institutions of sovereignty" has *happened* for long, is one of the arenas in which such power relations are produced and reproduced (Foucault, 2002: 166). It provides "a scheme of intelligibility for a whole group of already established institutions and realities". Not being the primary source of power itself, since its emergence, the state has garnered different sorts of power subsequently which Foucault refers to sovereign power, disciplinary power and biopower. Sovereign power involves functioning of political power and security over a given territory. It is enforced by rules and regulations through the whole territory. In contrast, disciplinary power is enforced over the bodies of individuals with the aim of ensuring security of the realm. These two sorts of power are related to the question of sovereignty. "The political effectiveness of sovereignty" must be felt in all parts of the territory, wrote Foucault (2002: 29). For him, the traditional problem of sovereignty is political power, the safety of the territory and the sovereign. In contrast, the 'new problem' of sovereignty is the security of the population. This concern over population surface as a discrete preoccupation of the state towards the end of the eighteenth century, leading to the rise of 'biopower'. It is concerned with the control over the life of the population.

These three forms of state power are related to the three forms of state that he identifies, the state of justice that prevail in the Middle Ages the administrative state of the fifteenth century, and the state of government (Foucault, 2002: 144). The state of government, which emerge in the sixteenth century, is the last step in the evolution of state power. Foucault (2002: 326; 341) takes a broad view of government, and argues that it "did not refer only to political structures or to the management of states; rather, it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed…. To govern, in this sense, is to control the possible field of action of others".

The sources and the rise of governmental power should be contextualized. According to Foucault, governmental power emanates from pastoral power. Pastoral power, especially as it exist in pre-Christian and Christian "East," including Assyria, Egypt, Babylon and the Hebrews. This is a caring and deterritorial power. The pastoral power has paved the way for the rise of the modern state due to the transformations, both from within and without. These include mainly (1) pastoral revolts-including the Protestant Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the sixteenth century, (2) social revolts and insurrections-including the Peasants' War in Germany and the disintegration of the Church and Empire, and (3) the insufficiency and inability of feudal structures and frameworks. Built on such precedents, since the sixteenth century, an art of government has begun to emerge, first built on principles of nature and later on the reason of government.

It is in such a manner that Foucault develops his idea of 'governmentality'. He first employed the term to general refers of the 'governmentalization of the state' in the sixteenth century Europe, the rise in preeminence of 'government' over all other types of power. Later, governmentality is used as an art of government, meaning "government rationality". In its second usage, governmentality refers to "an ensemble of power techniques that is used by the state to exercise 'government', or in other words, to discipline and police the population for its own 'well-being' through institutions, bureaucracies, tactics, procedures, knowledge, technologies, etc." (Lagendijk *et al*, 2009: 6). This obviously draws from Foucault's own definition of governmentality as:

> *[T]he ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of…power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge, political economy, and its essential technical means apparatuses of security* (Foucault, 2002: 144).

Three pillars are of particular importance to governmentality: political rationalities, technologies of government and the formation of subjectivities. The exercise of power do always involve a certain type of rationality. Political reason is reflective and specific. Foucault traces the different political rationalities of the modern state since the sixteenth century including the reason of the state as an art of government, theory of police, which broadly refers to "a governmental technology peculiar to the state; domains, techniques, targets where the state intervenes", liberalism and later neo-liberalism. Political rationalities refers to the forms of discourse that are available to be employed in governance with the aim of enhancing the state's capacity and strength. The second pillar is technologies of power, one of the four types of technologies that Foucault identifies, the remaining being technologies of production, of sign systems, and of the self (Foucault, 1988). Technologies of power, according to Foucault (1988: 18), "determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject". The third pillar of governmentality is the construction of subjectivities. Subjectivity is a result of interrelations of knowledge and power in which subjects are made both 'subjects' and objects of power.

Since the late 1970s, the governmentality perspective has been applied to a number of research areas of International Relations including arms control (Mutimer, 2011), human rights and security (Sokhi-Bulley, 2011; Narkunas, 2015) and international cooperation (Tennberg, 2001). Applications of this approach are now so diverse that it became difficult to have a summary of the studies. Frontier governance can be taken as one such domain. In this regard, the historian Benjamin D. Hopkins (2015: 370) coined the term "frontier governmentality". The term has also been used by Pak Nung Wong (2016: 121). In his politico-theological study of the post-colonial state in Africa and Asia, Wong (2016: 121) used frontier governmentality to refer to "the uncertain contact zone between the sprawling post-colonial state and the innermost soul of the post- colonial Asian statesmen, where the carnal ego-self may be honestly examined and renounced". According to Hopkins (2015: 370), frontier governmentality refers to a "constellation of power" which "crystallized understandings of space, sets of administrative practices, and norms of rule". Thus, building on Foucault's definition of governmentality, and Hopkins' notion of frontier governmentality, frontier governmentality in the context of this study refers to *the ensemble of institutions, formal and informal, which shape and are shaped by the differing actors with specific preferences, providing for the governance of frontier areas that fits their nature and logic*.

Some points are in order. First, frontier economic governmentality refers to a scheme of governance (as defined above). Suffice it is here to note that governance is a collective endeavor. Thus, it presupposes the existence of actors. Among others, actors of this sort vary in terms of their nature, level and preferences. A mere presence, however, should be distinguished from being an actor. Actorness requires self-identity and preferences, independent decision-making and capability to further their preferences (Hill and Wallace, 1996). The governance of frontiers is materialized on the ground by use of institutions, which can be broadly understood as "rules and procedures that structure social interaction by constraining and enabling actors' behavior" (Helmke and Levitsky, 2006: 5). These institutions can be formal or informal in their nature. While formal institutions are defined as "rules and procedures that are created, communicated, and enforced through channels that are widely accepted as official" informal institutions "are *socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated, and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels*" (Helmke and Levitsky, 2006: 5; Emphasis in original). Four ways of interaction of formal and informal institutions are identified: complementary, accommodating, substitutive and competing (Helmke and Levitsky, 2006: 13). Complementary interaction is said to exist when the two forms of institutions co-exist together and be compatible, and fill in one another's gap. Accommodating interactions are characterized by *damage-reduction*, in which formal rules are not changed out rightly, but their adverse *effects* are minimized. Competing interactions are defined by their zero-sum game, in which the compliance with formal rules is incompatible with actors' preferences. Substitutive interactions will occur in spaces where formal institutions are ineffective or deemed irrelevant. In *lieu* of formal institutions, informal institutions are the dominant modes of governance in such situations.

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the notions of territory, sovereignty and statehood as inherently 'limit concepts,' manifested in the notion of borders. The view of borders has, however, been changed, that despite their manifest 'rigidification' (Mahapatra, 2016), borders evolved into being frontiers. The view of borders as frontiers provide guidance to this study, since the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands are spaces of contested authority and deterritorial political identity.

The chapter also revealed the unique nature and logic of frontier areas, which made the implementation of territorial governance difficult, if not impossible. The factors for the uniqueness of frontiers are rooted both in the center (due to politico-economic marginalization) and the periphery (sense of separateness and deterritorial/transnational loyalty). Thus, frontier governance is exceptional, the exceptions being negotiated and renegotiated between the differing actors. In this respect, Foucault's concept of governmentality and Hopkins' notion of frontier governmentality describes the manner of frontier governance. Thus, applying such notions to frontier governance would give us 'frontier governmentality'.

Frontier governmentality provides a conceptual basis for studying areas of limited statehood. This conceptual framework of frontier governmentality recognize the exceptional nature of the frontier in the light of the sovereign and territorial statehood that defines 'modern' international relations. Its focus is on how the state is entrenching its authority in these areas. The centralized governance of frontiers is composed of the control of wealth and people and the construction of statist border identifies. But, a number of factors can influence the success of these central governance endeavors. The single most important of these factors is how the local community is resisting such a centralized control, but providing an alternative, or informal, scheme of governance. As such, this framework will inform the empirical discussions in the coming chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ETHIOPIA-SOMALILAND BORDERLANDS: A GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter presented a conceptual approach on frontier governance. In this chapter, a general geographical and historical background to the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderland will be provided. First, the chapter begins by presenting the geographical, demographic and legal setting of the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands, from the perspective of Ethiopia. Among other borderlands of Ethiopia, its border with Somali territories is quite unique in that the borderlanders are almost ethnically and religiously homogeneous, being Somali and Muslim respectively.

The human and physical geography of the borderlands has created a vibrant border community with significant transboundary contacts throughout history. The chapter also investigates the historical development of economic relations in these borderlands. The vibrancy of the politico-economic contacts can be best understood through an emphasis on *la longue durée*.

3.2. Ethiopia-Somaliland: Anatomy of a Borderland

Ethiopia is an ancient country in northeast Africa, also known as the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia, the tenth largest (with an area of 1,104,300 sq. km) and second most populous country in Africa after Nigeria, is located between *3°N-15° N* latitudes and *33° E-48° E* longitudes (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2017a).

Physiographically, Ethiopia includes three regions of widely differing physical characteristics: the north-western highlands and associated lowlands, the south-eastern highlands and associated lowlands, and the Ethiopian Rift Valley (Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, 1972: 37). These are made up of different features of landforms, including uplifted highlands (the highest being Mt. Dejen, now rather wrongly known as Mt. Dashen, c. 4620 meters) and depressions (the lowest is Dallol Depression in the Afar Region, 116 meters below sea level), deep river-cut gorges and fault lines and rifts, and extensive lowlands and plateaus. These physiographic features play significant roles in the social, economic and political development of the country. These landforms are supplanted by enormous potential of water resources, including rivers and lakes. The most famous of Ethiopian rivers is River Abbay, which becomes the Blue Nile in the Sudan, contributing about 86 % of River Nile waters. The country has also dozens of lakes, most of which are clustered in the Rift Valley. The largest and most-known lake is Lake Tana, where the River Abbay sprang. The combination of its location, physiographic features and water resources has made the climate of Ethiopia as a whole free from extremes of heat and cold.

Being as it is the most populous landlocked country in the world, Ethiopia is surrounded by six neighboring countries, Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan (Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, 1999; Clapham, 2006). Each country shares different lengths of Ethiopia's borderlines. Accordingly, Ethiopia had a total land boundary of 5, 925 km length. The longest boundary line exist between Ethiopia and Somalia, with 1, 640 km. South Sudanese and Eritrean boundaries are the second and third longest boundary lines, each with 1,299 km and 1,033 km respectively. The shortest boundary lines are those with Sudan (744 km) and Djibouti (342 km) (CIA, 2017a).

Current international boundaries of Ethiopia are results of nineteenth and early twentieth century international and regional politics (Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, 1972; Hamilton, 1974; Getatchew Haile, 1986). Unlike most of African boundaries, Ethiopian borderlands are characterized by the ethnic diversity of the border community. For instance, in the Ethiopia-Eritrean border, the vast majority of the population is Tigrigna-speaker, while there are also the Afar, the Saho and the Kunama communities overlapping in the border (Abbink, 1998). With a long history that dates back to the earliest period, and a social bond fermented through age-old interactions, the Ethiopia-Sudan and South Sudan borderlands are most ethnically diversified border region, having more than 10 disparate ethnic groups (Fattovich, 1984; Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, 1999).

The eastern borderlands of Ethiopia are one of the historic borderlands in which there were intense border interactions. State-society and society-border relations had always been dynamic in these borderlands. They cover a long swathe of lowland territory, whose boundary run along with that of the Republic of Djibouti and the Somali territories (CIA, 2017a). Historically, these are sites of powerful Muslim sultanates during the Medieval Ages, including Ifat and Adal (Pankhurst, 1997). Today, it is often depicted in the negative as a premier place of violence and chaos (Clapham, 2006).

The region described in this thesis as 'the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderland' lies in the Ogaden plains, which is part of the south-eastern highlands and associated lowlands physiographic zone. In the context of the wider Horn of Africa, this forms part of the Somali Plateau (Clark, 1954). While the south-eastern physiographic zone has some highest parts including Hararghe, Sidama, Arsi, Bale and Somali highlands, it is rather known for the lowlands. Indeed, the major landforms in the peripheries of Ethiopia are often deserts (Clark, 1954; Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, 1972).

Thus, the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands forms part of the Somali National Regional State (SNRS). Formerly known as the Ogaden, the SNRS is one of the nine regional states in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). It borders the Oromia Region in the west and southwest, Dire Dawa City Administration in northwest, the Afar Region in the north, the Republic of Djibouti in northeast, the Republic of Kenya in southwest, the Republic of Somalia in the south and southeast, and Somaliland in the northwest (Asnake Kefale, 2009).

Three out of 11 zones in the Somali Region share a boundary with Somaliland. These are Jijiga, Degehabur and Warder Zones of the Somali Region. Within the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands, what can be termed the 'border heartland' is Jijiga Zone, the region's most populous and largest zone (Central Statistical Authority [CSA], 2007). According to Baud and Schendel (1997:221), the border heartland is one of the geographical zones of the border region "abutting on the border and dominated by its existence…. [Where] social networks are shaped directly by the border, depend on it for their survival, and have no option but to adapt continually to its vagaries". The Jijiga Zone belonged to this zone.

Because of tropical and desert climatic hardships prevalent there, the borderlands are sparsely populated. Its human landscape is characterized by ethnic similarity of the inhabitants, the Somali. The third largest linguistic group in Ethiopia after the Oromo and Amhara, the Somali constitute about 6 percent of the Ethiopian population (CSA, 2007). While the origin of the Somali population is still controversial, there is a consensus that the word "Somali" was first used in Ethiopian literature as early as 1415, in a hymn praising the then King of Ethiopia, Yeshaq (r. 1414-1429) (Lewis, 1955; Davis, 1963; Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, 1964; Lewis, 1966). This doesn't, however, mean that the borderlanders are monolithic. Far from it. The diversity of border people is manifested in their clan affiliations and orientations towards either of the bordering states

(Matshanda, 2014). Their clannishness set aside, a fairly large number of Somalis in the border region consider themselves to be detached from the "heartland" of Ethiopia, represented by Orthodox Christianity and Amharic language (Hagmann and Khalif, 2008). They maintain strong ties with the Somalis across the national borders, than they do with other Ethiopians, a characteristic feature of "transnational borderlanders," who, according to Martinez (1994b: 6) "maintain significant ties with the neighbouring nation;… seek to overcome obstacles that impede such contact and …take advantage of every opportunity to visit, shop, work, study, or live intermittently on the 'other side'."

Economically, the borderlanders mainly practice nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralist mode of life. In anthropological parlance, the nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoral groups of these borderlands can be said to exemplify "tribal" and "peasant" pastoral societies respectively. The major economic activity in the borderlands is, thus, animal husbandry (Lewis, 1955). Pastoralists of the region mainly raised camels, cattle, sheep, and goats. The nature of the pastoral economy prevalent in the region had resulted in a high scale of long-distance transhumance in search of water and grazing land. Market forces operating in the center and the border regions, however, have impacted the economic activities of these borderlands. That the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands are situated in a highly strategic location made them a viable outlet and part of the caravan routes, thereby profoundly transforming frontier exchange relations. Since the twentieth century, peasantization policies of governments had introduced the cultivation of cash crops, mainly sorghum and grain to these borderlands (Lewis, 2002). This has resulted in the growth of internal trade between the nomad and the cultivator, respectively exchanging their produces (Lewis, 1955). The intensive transborder transactions has also made possible the emergence of border towns possible. Notable among the towns along Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands are Tafari Bar, Hart Sheik and Tog Wajaale.

3.3. The Ethiopia-Somaliland Boundary: A Historical Background

To have a clear understanding of the conflict and cooperation dynamics in the borderlands, it is necessary to have "an awareness of the process by which the boundary was determined and the many difficulties that [bordering] countries have encountered in preserving the integrity of the dividing line" (Martinez, 2006: 4).

The Ethiopia-Somaliland boundary was a result of negotiations and agreements between Ethiopia and Britain (on Somaliland's behalf) in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. These negotiations were shadowed by the presence of France and Italy as competing imperial powers in the region. Absent from the list is obviously Somaliland, which didn't exist as a state before 1960. As the late scholar I. M. Lewis (2002: 43) noted, during the colonial partition, the Somali, "despite their sense of cultural identity, did not constitute a single political unit, but a congeries of disunited and often hostile clans which themselves were regularly divided by bitter internecine feuds". Thus, the boundary agreements were "more byproducts of regional power politics rather than a credible effort to establish a meaningful boundary accommodative of the interest of peripheral communities" (Belete Belachew, 2016: 108). The geographic and cultural landscape of Somali territories was disregarded in the establishment of Ethiopia-Somaliland boundary.

British interest over the possession of Somali territories was of a significant importance to the history of Ethiopia-Somaliland boundary delimitation. British penetration of Somali territories in the Horn of Africa began in the second-half of nineteenth century. In fact, Europeans had already established their presence to a limited extent since the fifteenth century. In 1492, Vasco da Gama visited Mogadishu, now the capital city of Somalia. In the sixteenth century war between Christian highlanders and Muslim lowlanders of Ethiopia led to the intervention of Portugal and Ottoman Turkey in to the struggle, each supporting one side (Haberland, 1992).

The first concerted attempts at imperial possession in Somali Coast were made by the British East India Company in the nineteenth century. As early as 1827, during the era of "imperialism of free trade" (Gallagher and Robinson, 1953), the British has signed a treaty of peace and friendship with Somali tribes, ensuring free trade. The Company signed a series of trade agreements with local Somali chiefs in 1840 and 1856. Besides the Company, the (British) Government of India lay its eyes on the Gulf of Aden. Having established a garrison for British Indian troops at the Port of Aden, Yemen, in 1839, the British were in search of supplies of meat, which northern Somaliland could afford (Lewis, 2002). This British interest in Somaliland was threatened when Egypt encroached into the Somali coast. In addition to the desperately needed supply of meat, the British were also concerned over the ports of Berbera and Bulhar, "inasmuch as it is of vital importance to the welfare and comfort of Aden that those ports should continue to be an open mart from whence Aden can obtain, as heretofore, a constant and unrestricted supply of livestock, provisions, and other necessaries" (Moore, 1879). In 1865, the dying Ottoman Empire has ceded the Red Sea towns of Suakin and Massawa to the Egyptian government of Khedive Ismail. Khedive later claimed that his new dominions included the Somali Coast. On the basis of this claim, Egypt controlled Zeila and Berbera in 1869 and annex the Harari Emirate in 1875. These Egyptian endeavors of permanently occupying the Somali Coast had resulted in British objections quite instantly (Moore-Harell, 1997; Lewis, 2002).

Pressured on all sides, the Egyptian control came to an abrupt end in 1884, creating a vacuum. Obsessed with permanently securing the supplies of meat and ensuring the safety of trade routes, the British have entered into various treaties with northern Somali clan chiefs of the Issa, Gadabursi, Habr Awal, Habr Tooljaala, Habr Gerhajis and Warsangali from 1884 to 1886 (Hamilton, 1974). This way the Protectorate of Somaliland was reluctantly created in 1887 (Hamilton, 1974; Lewis, 2002). That its main function was the supply of meat for the troops gave Somaliland a nickname: "Aden's butcher shop" (Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, 1964; Tran, 2012).

Meanwhile, "[e]ncompassed on all sides by the enemies of their religion" (Gibbon, 1825: 157, cited in Teshale Tibebu, 1995), Ethiopians found an impulse for unison and centralization (Lewis, 2002). As European powers are encircling it, Ethiopia under Emperor Menelik II began a massive territorial expansion into its eastern-most regions. In January 1887, Menelik defeated the outgunned and outnumbered Harari army led by Amir Abdullahi and made it, along its surroundings, tributary to the central authority. Harar was put into Menelik's trusted cousin Ras Makonnen (Caulk, 1971; Caulk, 1977; Lewis, 2002). In occupying Harar, Menelik's intention was to "subdue and pacify the route from Shoa up to the sea" (Caulk, 1971: 13).

The late comer in the colonization of Somali East Africa was Italy, which, above all else, has determined the course of events in Somali territories, for better or worse. Having established Eritrea as its first African colony, Italy moved southwardly and established its Protectorate of Italian Somaliland in 1889 (Lewis, 2002). The British befriended the Italians, who could serve as a buffer against France (Bahru Zewde, 2002; Lewis, 2002). France, which constantly tested British claims of territorial possession in northeast Africa (Clifford, 1936; Lewis, 2002), has already established its presence in the Somali coast, what is now Djibouti. Between 1859 and 1885, France signed trade treaties with Somali chiefs in Tajourra, Danakil, Crobad and Issa, who cede territory to France (Lewis, 2002). Based on its alliances with Somalis, French established a territory of French Somaliland in 1888 (Clifford, 1936; Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, 1964). Most importantly, the French connection in Ethiopia was a challenge to British interests in the wider region. France was perhaps the major European power with whom Ethiopia had actually special relations at this time and upon whom Ethiopia was severely reliant for trade and communications with the outside world (Marcus, 1963; Hamilton, 1974).

At this time, it was claimed that Article 17 of the 1889 Treaty of Wuchale, signed between King Menelik of Shoa and Count Pietro Antonelli on May 2, 1889, has made Ethiopia an Italian Protectorate (Rubenson, 1964). In Britain, Her Majesty's Government had recognized Italian rights as Ethiopia's protecting power (Hamilton, 1974). Thus, on March 24, 1891, Britain and Italy reached agreements over their respective boundaries (Lewis, 2002). In 1892, the British began second-round negotiations with the Italians. An Anglo-Italian treaty, *Protocol between Great Britain and Italy respecting the Demarcation of their Respective Spheres of Influence in Eastern Africa*, was signed in Rome on May 5, 1894 (Ravenstein, 1894; Hamilton, 1974). In this Agreement, the boundary between the British and Italian spheres on the frontier of British Protectorate was laid down (Stern, 1936). Similarly, Hamilton (1974: 60) noted that Italy had made an additional Secret Declaration in which it generously "granted the British authorities the right to negotiate directly at Harar and to intervene militarily in the Ogaden on particular temporary and exceptional issues". From 1929-1931, the Anglo-Italian Somaliland boundary was demarcated, which, at any rate, the local population resisted ferociously (Clifford, 1936).

In the early 1890s, Ethiopian formal presence has also been growing. This was attended by looting in different places. By 1893, the Treaty of Wuchale was formally denounced by Ethiopia (Stern, 1936). The British, who used to believe that Italy can set Ethiopia straight, were also becoming highly suspicious of Italian real influence at Menelik's court (Hamilton, 1974). Such events accentuated the need for direct negotiations and the clearer delimitation of the boundary between Ethiopia and the British Protectorate (Hamilton, 1974). In any case, the turning point as far as the boundary-making between Ethiopia and Somaliland concerned was the Battle of Adwa of 1896. That Ethiopia has routed a European power, i.e., Italy, in a military battle made it an independent African power which Europeans had to reckon with directly (Bahru Zewde, 2002; Lewis, 2002). While the significance of Adwa is has been sought in race relations (Bahru Zewde, 2002), or sociocultural imaginings of ‘Ethiopianness’ (Maimire Mennasemay, 1997), that it was a blow to imperial partition was now emphasized, for “it was the first major reversal for the European colonialists who, without consulting the people of Africa, were carving up the continent for themselves” (Paulos Milkias, 2005: 37).

Accordingly, a year later, a British diplomatic mission headed by James R. Rodd, a British diplomat and politician, was dispatched to Ethiopia, “opening the era of direct diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Great Britain” (Marcus, 1963: 132). The major task of the Rodd Mission was negotiation concerning the boundary delimitation between Ethiopia and British Somaliland (Marcus, 1965; Hamilton, 1974). The Menelik-Rodd negotiations were held in Addis Ababa since early May 1897. The *Treaty between Great Britain and Ethiopia (Frontiers of British Protectorate on Somali Coast),* as the treaty was known, was finally signed in Addis Ababa on May 14, 1897 (Clifford, 1936; Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, 1964; Lewis, 2002). Consisting of just six articles, the Treaty ensured free movement of (except for armed bands) individuals and goods via the Zeila-Harar caravan route (Stern, 1936; Ullendorff, 1966). As per Article II of the Treaty, the boundary between Ethiopia and Somaliland was to be determined by an Exchange of Notes between Ras Makonnen and James R. Rodd. Accordingly, in a move that was described as “clever, unusual and dangerous” (Silberman, 1961: 57), Ras Makonnen, then Governor of Harar, was ordered to negotiate the boundary agreement on Menelik’s behalf. In a letter of June 4, 1897, Ras Makonnen “inform [Rodd about]…the boundary of the British Somali Protectorate upon which [they] have agreed” (Ullendorff, 1966: 133). According to this agreement, the British “ceded 13, 500 square miles of Somali territory” (Marcus, 1965: 34). Unique to this agreement was its legalization of transfrontier movement by the borderlanders, the “liberty to cross their frontiers and graze their cattle” (Ullendorff, 1966: 133). The Treaty come into full force on June 28, 1897, as its ratification by the Queen-Empress Victoria was notified by an exchange of notes to Emperor Menelik.

Despite (or because of) the delimitation agreement, the frontier “was not [effectively] administered” by Ethiopia” until the rise to power of Lij Iyyasu (Waterfield, 1956: 55). By 1906, Ras Makonnen of Harar died and Emperor Menelik II died in 1913. Effective Ethiopian control in these borderlands began by Lij Iyyasu, and most importantly by Ras Tafari. Subsequently, clashes between Ethiopian officials and Somali-clans of Ethiopia and British border guards and British-protected Somali tribes rose. In the early twentieth-century, informal border crossings, not less by

Takla-Hawariat Takla-Mariam, then Governor of Jijiga, and border raids mounted on both sides (Hamilton, 1974). Such incidents continued well into the late 1920s that they necessitated the demarcation of the boundary (Hamilton, 1974; Mars'e-Hazan Wolde-Qirqos, 2007 E.C.).

Preparations for the boundary demarcation between Ethiopia and British Somaliland began in 1928. These preparations, however, were brought to a halt as the palace politics in Addis Ababa worsens, as opposition to Ras Tafari's dealings with foreign powers increased (Hamilton, 1974). With the death of Empress Zawditu on April 2, 1930, Ras Tafari became the new Emperor of Ethiopia. As soon as he takes power, the Emperor had reopened negotiations with the British. The Joint Boundary Commission was formally established on early October 1931, and held its first meeting at Berbera on January 8, 1932 (Clifford, 1936; Hamilton, 1974). Long story short, the tedious negotiations were finally completed only in April 1934. On March 28, 1935, a new boundary agreement, *Agreement of the Commission Appointed to Demarcate the Boundary between the British Protectorate and Ethiopia under the Treaty between the United Kingdom and Ethiopia of May 14, 1897*, was signed in Addis Ababa (Clifford, 1936; Hamilton, 1974; Lewis, 2002).

Ironically, as the Commission was working on the delimitation of the boundary between Ethiopia and the British Protectorate, a fateful incident occurred at Walwal, an Ethiopian frontier post, on December 5, 1934 (Potter, 1936; Bahru Zewde, 2002; Lewis, 2002). On that day, a fighting broke out between Ethiopian forces escorting the Boundary Commission and Italian troops present at that point, costing the lives of more than 100 Ethiopians and about 30 on the Italian side. A blame game and then a serious diplomatic gridlock began. Ethiopia and Italy failed to reach an agreement. To secure the alliance of Benito Mussolini in their determination to stop Adolf Hitler, Britain and France mount pressures on Ethiopia to cede territory to Italy (Parker, 1974; Bahru Zewde, 2002; Lewis, 2002).

The incident escalated 'unexpectedly' that even before the ratification of the Boundary Agreement of 28 March 1935, Ethiopia was invaded and later occupied by Fascist Italy. On October 3, 1935 Italy formally invaded Ethiopia, only to face a deadly resistance (Teferi Teklehaimmot, 1969; Bahru Zewde, 2002). A year later on May 5, 1936, Italy, which used internationally banned chemical weapons, had defeated the outnumbered and outgunned Ethiopian army and entered

Addis Ababa (Bahru Zewde, 2002). On 1936, the Italian East Africa, comprising its colonies of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, was declared. With its incorporation of Ethiopia into its new empire, Italy also acquired the title of sovereign boundary that Ethiopia have at the time of its conquest (Steiner, 1936; Hamilton, 1974; Lewis, 2002).

The Italian Occupation lasted for five years, 1936-1941. Major border arrangements during the Occupation include British Somaliland's quest for the modification of Ethiopia-Somaliland boundaries. That the Italian colonial administrators put a strict border control had endangered the water and grazing rights of British-protected Somali clans frustrated the British officials in the Protectorate and in London. A November 1937 Exchange of Notes between Plowman and Cerulli, often known as the *Grazing Rights and Transit Trade Agreement*, ensures the grazing rights of British Protected Somalis and allows Italy a right to develop transit trade traffic through the British Protectorate. As Italy declined the renewal the Agreement, it expired on February 1940. Despite this, the border remained open. These arrangements crippled with the outbreak of the Second World War and Italian entrance on the side of Germany on June 10, 1940 (Hamilton, 1974).

The boundary problem again resurfaced the political atmosphere with the resumption of British rule over the Protectorate in 1941 (Hamilton, 1974). The British seemed to 'repent' for their original sins on Northern Somali tribes, the (alleged) denial of grazing land (this despite the 1897 Treaty) and the withdrawal on the face of Italian assault in 1940. The War, however, was not over at that time, that British had still had essential military needs. Near abroad in French Somaliland, a pro-Fascist regime was still in power. In London, it was thought these factors necessitated the British to have firm control on Ethiopia. To these end, a set of agreements were signed between Ethiopia and Britain. First, the Agreement and Military Convention, which immediately determine the Ethiopia-British post-liberation relations, was signed on January 31, 1942. After a tedious diplomatic maneuvering, the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement was signed on December 19, 1944 (Hamilton, 1974). The Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of November 29, 1954 provides for the withdrawal of British Military Administration from certain areas of Ethiopia bordering on the Somaliland Protectorate known as the Haud and the Reserved Areas and reaffirmed Ethiopia's "full and exclusive sovereignty" over these areas (Hamilton, 1974).

At last, with the independence on 26 June 1960 and unification with (Italian) Somalia on July 1, 1960, the Somaliland boundary ceased to be an international boundary. In fact, the boundary continued to remain as internal regional border between the Northern Regions (as Somaliland became) and the Southern Regions of the new Somali Republic. While there were sporadic clashes related to the internal border, by and large, it remain very stable throughout its existence. In contrast, externally, the boundary disputes grow even bolder. Somalia wants to upend all border agreements. It abrogated the 1897 Ethiopia-British Protectorate Agreement defining the boundary between Ethiopia and the former British Protectorate of Somaliland. And, later, Somalia declared that all colonial agreements will not bind her (Negussay Ayele, 1971).

However, with its secession and declaration of independence in 1991, Somaliland had revived the colonial agreements. Article 2 of the Constitution of Somaliland deals with its territory, which is declared to be “inviolable, and not [to] be trespassed upon”. Accordingly, “[t]he territory of the Republic of Somaliland covers the same area as that of the former Somaliland Protectorate and is located between Latitude 8° to 11’ 30’’ north of the equator and Longitude 42° 45’ to 49’’ East; and consists of the land, islands, and territorial water above and below the surface, the airspace and the continental shelf”. The article, however, begs the question of what constitutes “the former Somaliland Protectorate”. As per the Constitution, the Somaliland - Ethiopia boundary runs for 463 miles, from at the 8° N. 48° E. (the tripoint of Somaliland-Ethiopia-Somalia) to Madaha Jalelo at the tripoint of Somaliland-Ethiopia-Djibouti boundaries[2]. Thus, since its creation the late nineteenth century, the Ethiopia-Somaliland border shifted its status from a colonial frontier, to dissolution, and resurrection as an international boundary in the early 1990s.

3.4. Historical Development of Frontier Economy in the Ethiopia-Somaliland Border: Evolution and Involution.

This section deals with the historical development of economic relations and governance in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. It briefly investigates the early history and later developments in the region up to 1991. To better capture and explain borderland developments, the analysis will

[2] http://www.somalilandlaw.com/somaliland_boundaries.html. Accessed on February 18, 2017.

be based on what Baud and Schendel (1997: 236) called “state time,” analysis of “social change in borderlands [in relation] to the developmental phases of the states concerned”.

3.4.1. Ancient Times (c. 3000 BCE-1270 CE)

It goes without saying that economic relations and interactions in what is now Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands has a long history, as does the origin of the Ethiopian state. This can be partly be attributed to its strategic location and natural environment, which created and necessitated intense interrelations and cultural exchanges. Probably the two most significant aspects of borderlands history in ancient times are related to the Kingdom of Aksum and the Zagwe Kingdom.

The Kingdom of Aksum developed in the northern part of Ethiopia and what is now Eritrea. It has its roots in a well-organized society in the preceding centuries, and has sophisticated state structure and external trade-centered economy. While the Port of Adulis, the principal port of the Aksumite Kingdom, handled the large amount of Aksumite external trade, there were other ports, among them were Avalites, near the Port of Zeila on the Gulf of Aden coast and Malao, modern day Berbera of Somaliland (Pankhurst, 1997: 21).

A combination of internal and external factors, however, has led in late ninth century to the virtual decline of Axum (Tekle-Tsadik Mekouria, 1988). Yet, the fall of Axum didn’t bring an end to Ethiopia’s civilization. The Zagwe Dynasty, which ruled Ethiopia for more than three centuries, emerged as the ruling dynasty of the country in the first half of tenth century under Tekle Haymanot, the first king of this Dynasty (Tekeste Negash, 2006). Throughout the Zagwe years, the use of Zeila as the principal outlet has reached its peak (Tadesse Tamrat, 1984; Tekeste Negash, 2006). The massive use of Zeila was necessitated by the destruction of the Port of Adulis around the late seventh century by the hands of Muslim Arabs (Tekle-Tsadik Mekouria, 1988). Indeed, the rising value of Port of Zeila trade is considered as a crucial factor for the decline of Aksumite power. As the historian Tekeste Negash (2006: 123) has argued:

> *[T]he crucial cause for the decline of Aksum might indeed have been the emergence of a regional power in the proximity of valuable raw materials, and a more secure export outlet via the port of Zayla. The shift of the centre of political gravity appears therefore*

to have been motivated by the need to come closer to the sources of the raw materials essential for existence of long-distance trade, such as gold, ivory and slaves.

3.4.2. The Middle Ages (C. 1270 CE-1855)

Internal power struggles has weakened the integrity of the Zagwe Dynasty, only to fall around 1270 AD. With the fall of the Zagwe Dynasty in 1270, the Solomonic Dynasty, Ethiopia's largest and most powerful dynasty, rose to power (Sergew Hable-Selassie, 1972). The history of Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands in the Medieval Period of Ethiopian history (c-1270-1855) witnessed several developments, both cooperative/peaceful and conflictual.

In terms of cooperation, the period saw the intensification of trade relations in the borderlands. Trade brought together various peoples and developed a sense of economic interdependence. The intense commercial interaction in the borderlands resulted from the fact that Zeila had overtaken the Port of Adulis and Dahlak Islands as a gateway of internal and external trade to the Christian Highland Kingdom. On the footsteps of these trade routes, Islam spread all across the country that it, along with the trade relations, facilitated the emergence of Muslim sultanates/principalities in the southeastern lowlands, which was also one of the crucial developments of this period. Especially, the Zeila trade route was a fertile ground that such trade towns in Arsi, Bale, Berbera, Harar, and Zeila had emerged along this route. The Sultanate of Ifat, which seems to have emerged in the mid-thirteenth century, monopolized the long distance trade route connecting the Port of Zeila and the central Ethiopian interior (Merid Wolde-Aregay, 1971; Pankhurst, 1997). It is also during this period that *khat*'s use is recorded for the first time (Cerulli, 1988).

However, the quest to monopolize the long distance trade routes of the region led to frequent clashes between the rival powers at the center and periphery. To the traditional trade wars was added religious enmity. Thus, constant war over the control of the trade routes along which the long distance trade was conducted remained a feature of the region from about the second-half of the thirteenth century to the second-half of the sixteenth century (Davis, 1964).

In several instances during this period, leaders of the peripheral polities, the most influential being Ifat and Adal, rose in rebellions and waged war on the central authority (Trimingham, 1952; Merid Wolde-Aregay, 1971; Cerulli, 1988; Pankhurst, 1997). Despite being challenged from time to time, central rule over these borderlands, whose major objective was ensuring the security of the caravan routes and the safety of merchants, lasted well throughout the period (Merid Wolde Aregay, 1971).

The conflictual dynamics in these borderlands reach their climax in the sixteenth century. With the rise to power in the Sultanate of Adal of Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, Adal's charismatic leader, the power struggle that dominated Adal came to an end and the Christian-Muslim rivalry resurfaced (Cerulli, 1988). Known by his sympathizers as "the Conqueror" and by his detectors as "*Gragn*", (Davis, 1963) Ahmed first consolidated his grip over the Sultanate. Ahmed's expeditions began in the early 1520s, first against fellow eastern lowland sultanates including Dawaro, Fatagar and Bali and then the Christian highlands. With a series of military defeats by the hands of the Adal army, the hegemony of the Christian Highland Kingdom in the Horn of Africa came to an end in 1529, the year that King Lebna Dengel (r. 1508-1940) and his army suffered a crushing defeat at the Battle of Shimbra Qure (Davis, 1963; Merid Wolde-Aregay, 1971). The Sultanate of Adal established its hegemony over the Horn of Africa, and lasted until 1543. During this period, the borderlands saw a complete integration. In 1543, at the Battle of Weyna Dega, the Adal army was ultimately defeated, and Ahmed was killed, which brought the dominance of the Sultanate of Adal and the integration of the borderlands into an end (Trimingham, 1952).

In fact, the political rivalry continued occasionally even after 1543, that King Gelawdewos (r. 1540-1559), the successor of King Lebna Dengel, made several incursions into Adal, only to be killed and beheaded in 1559 by the army of Adal led by Amir Nur. Otherwise, some semblance of stability prevailed that the Muslims of southeast Ethiopia began even to be recruited as soldiers for the central government and support it at a time when there was a crucial need (Merid Wolde-Aregay, 1971). The wars, however, had already immensely affected the human and material foundations of the borderlands. Drought and famine in Harar and its surroundings followed in 1559 and lasted for three years, further impoverishing the borderlanders (Trimingham, 1952; Merid Wolde-Aregay, 1971). Externally, the population movement of the Afar and Oromo was another factor for the disruption in the borderlands and the trade routes along Zeila, which was Harar's principal source of revenue (Trimingham, 1952; Merid Wolde-Aregay, 1971). The decreasing might of Harar gave the Oromos a passport to freely move eastwards. As the scholar J. S. Trimingham (1952: 95) has noted, the Oromo migration "imperiled [Harar's] commercial link with Zeila and brought upon it a state of economic decline". The destruction of farmlands in the wars between the Harari army and the Oromo, the siege of Harar and epidemics that followed ravaged the Muslim societies in the region. Even worse, internal political troubles crippled the sultanates and the societies. Due to the chaos in the caravan routes, King Sarsa Dengel (r. 1563-1597) has attempted at using an alternative port in the Kingdom of Fung, denying Harar its lifeline (Merid Wolde-Aregay, 1971).

These borderlands began a slow recovery only in the seventeenth century. The Oromo population movement began to subside. As they embark of sedentary lifestyle, the trade routes were revived and the movement of merchants boosted. The Zeila trade route was resurrected that such goods as ivory, wax and slaves began to be massively exported to Harar and beyond. For much of this period, chaos and disorder in the center, caused by power struggle and intense sectarian and Christological controversy, ravaged the country that central control over these lands proved to be ephemeral The people of the frontier came to inhabit a nebulous no-man's land where the Ethiopian central state exercised little control over them. In fact, elites of the periphery might for a while attempt to influence the central authorities (Merid Wolde-Aregay, 1971). "Sometime after 1620," Merid Wolde-Aregay (1971: 526) noted, "the factional strifes between members of the ruling dynasty of imams were renewed with the intensity of previous conflicts. The sultanate was further debilitated by rebellions of independent minded emirs of the nomads around Zayla". The chaotic conditions in Harar and its surroundings were abated around the middle of the century, as Harar became a self-governing city-state under a house originated in Amir Ali Ibn Dawd (r. 1647-1662) (Caulk, 1977).

In the meantime, social relations in the borderlands were improving that they became too close to distinguish. The cultural and ethnic similarity of borderlanders on both sides has made these interaction possible. Intermarriage and exchange were common among the borderlanders. The German anthropologist Eike Haberland (1992: 704) noted that the collective memory that the sixteenth century Christian-Muslim rivalry provided has made the Somali "considered themselves one people with one culture and one religion". These areas began to manifest again great amount of flow of goods and people, on which the livelihood of peoples was based. A major development in this long period of interaction was the reign of King Fasiledes (r. 1632-1667), whose closed-door foreign policy has selectively isolated the country from the rest of the world (Natsoulas, 2003). This move, however, should not posit an image of a 'hermit kingdom'. True, the Christian

(European) countries may have very little to do with Ethiopia during this time, but that doesn't apply to the rest of the world. As Ethiopia closed its doors for European Christians, its relations with the Muslim societies in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden were strengthened (Donzel, 1994; Salvadore, 2012). The policy made the movement of people and goods in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands much easier (Salvadore, 2012).

Since the second-half of the sixteenth century until the colonial conquests of the nineteenth century, a very dynamic and symbiotic interaction characterize the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. A brief interlude in this long period of intensive interaction was the establishment in 1636 of Gondar as the new capital city. This has made the Ethiopia-Sudanese borderlands the most important one strategically, than the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands (Salvadore, 2012). Despite this, Gondar itself was connected to the long distance trade routes in the southeast Ethiopia and the Gondärine population, noble and commoner, was engaged in commercial activities that the central government attempt to monitor the borderlands. In 1642, King Fasiledes sent his embassy and enthusiastically proposed the establishment of a trade route connecting Ethiopia and Yemen, which never came to be realized (Ahmed, 2000; Salvador, 2012).

On the other hand, however, the foundation of a permanent capital has significantly limited the capacity of central government and emboldened provincial governors and a sense of intense regionalism. In the middle ages of Ethiopia, the mobile capitals, which were "in a continual state of motion" (Horvath, 1969: 206), were used as a way of establishing and consolidating state presence. While the relative stability lasted for much of the seventeenth and first-half of the eighteenth century, the latter part of eighteenth century witnessed the political fragmentation at the center, during the period known as the *Zämänä Mäsafent* (1769-1855).

Contrary to Martinez's (1994) assumption that national fragmentation curtails cross-boundary interactions, the *Zamana Masafent* has strengthened borderland interactions. On the one hand, with the absence of a strong central state presence, they forge intense relations. On the other hand, the rise of the Kingdom of Shoa, and its determined quest for European firearms has also put Harar at bay, since it controlled the trade route leading to Shoa (Caulk, 1971). By this time, Zeila was the "the *only point* of communication" (Abir, 1966: 9; Emphasis in original) between Shoa and the southeastern interior. By the middle of nineteenth century, however, the importance of the Zeila trade route was diminishing due to a confluence of factors including the rising prominence of the Tajourra route in French Somaliland, the revival of the Red Sea trade, and the discovery of a shorter "Salt Road" connecting the Kingdom of Shoa and the salt plains of Afar (Abir, 1966).

3.4.3. Modern Times (C. 1855-1991)

Economic interaction in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands took a new turn beginning from the mid-nineteenth century. This was essentially linked to the consolidation of the Ethiopian state and the dynamics of regional and international politics.

The pace of economic interactions was speeded by external factors. Around the mid-nineteenth century, regional politics began to significantly affect the borderlands. The Ottoman Empire and Egypt began to take control of parts of the Somali Coast. As part of this ambition, Egypt occupied the Harari emirate in 1875. The Egyptians wanted to revitalize the commercial activities of Harar. Their presence especially led to improvements in port facilities at Zeila and Berbera (Caulk, 1971; Lewis, 2002). Slave trade was a lucrative business of the age, and the ports served this purpose. Coffee, tobacco, gums, ostrich feathers and safflower was also exported to the coast by Harari merchants. Raids by the neighboring Afar and Oromo, however, disrupt the caravan routes, in response to which the Egyptians used military power. Nevertheless, external conditions led to the termination of Egyptian control of the Somali Coast in 1884 and their evacuation from Harar in May 1885 (Caulk, 1971; Caulk, 1977; Lewis, 2002).

After a couple of years, characterized by decline of commercial activities (due to inept policies of the new Hariri emir and security concerns), in 1887, the Hariri emirate was incorporated to the Ethiopian state (Caulk, 1977; Tibebe Eshete, 1988). The historian Richard Caulk (1977: 385) noted that "Menilek's incorporation of the [emirate] and its surrounding Oromo into the wider economy of his empire, with its busy trade to the Afar and northern Somali coasts, secured the place of Harar town as a major entrepot". And the incorporation payoff for Menelik, as Harar's export and transit trade increased soon that it facilitates state consolidation (Tibebe Eshete, 1988). This and related political and military factors has led to the emergence of such important urban centers as Dire Dawa and Jijiga. The foundation in 1891 of Jijiga, which was "a wilderness, hosting a variety of animals" (Tibebe Eshete, 1988: 210), was of special importance to borderland economic governance. Among other factors, it was Jijiga's "nearness to the coast [that] strengthened its position as a vital check point to regulate the affairs of the frontier" (Tibebe Eshete, 1988: 26), and around 1897 Jijiga became an administrative center. Shortly afterwards, Jijiga rose to become an important commercial center in the Harar-Berbera trade route that its first Governor (1896/7-1914), Abdalla Taha, established the first customs office, from which the central government amassed large amount of money. The Jijiga customs office was later expanded under the governorship of Takla-Hawariat Takla-Mariam (Tibebe Eshete, 1988).

Externally, the European powers began to compete with each other and with Egypt and Ethiopia for control of Somali territories in East Africa (Lewis, 2002). These competition heralded what might be considered as the second period of *alienation* in the modern history of Ethiopia-Somali territories. Each of the European powers have contradictory interests over these territories. Here is I. M. Lewis (2002: 54):

> *Interest was focused mainly on Harar and Zeila. France sought to divert the lucrative trade from Harar to the ports of her new colony. Britain endeavored, within the scope of her limited interests on the Somali Coast, to keep the trade flowing along the ancient caravan route to Zeila in her Protectorate. Italy, in her turn, regarded Harar as part of her Abyssinian protectorate and coveted Zeila, the natural outlet of Harar's trade.*

Major border related developments during this period include skirmishes and open conflicts between the colonial powers themselves and anti-colonial struggles of Somalis (Lewis, 2002). Concerns over grazing land and water often led to imposition of constraints on movement of peoples and goods by Ethiopia and colonial powers. D. D. Laitin and Said S. Samatar (1987: 61, cited in Tripodi, 1999: 361) observed that:

> *the colonising countries drew up boundary lines that mutilated kinship units into bewildered fragments, and when colonial administrations attempted to turn their boundaries into blockades ... this cut off entire clans from their traditional sources of water and/or pasture for their herds*.

The single most important anti-colonial struggle of the Somalis was charismatically led by Sayyid Mohammed Abdille Hassan, which the British stereotypically referred to as the "Mad Mullah" (Lewis, 2002; Slight, 2011). Hassan waged a fierce struggle against Ethiopia and the British since

1899. But, even before these anti-colonial struggles, Hassan has spearheaded a puritanical religious movement at Berbera since 1895, negatively affecting commercial activities there (Hess, 1964; Lewis, 2002; Slight, 2011). Whatever the moral of the nationalist war be, it had undoubtedly brought trade in Jijiga and the British Protectorate to a halt, since caravan routes to the coastal ports were continuously attacked, villages (including Jijiga) raided and trading items looted (Hess, 1964; Hamilton, 1974; Lewis, 2002). Another factor affecting the frontier economy was construction of the French-controlled Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway (completed in 1917), improvements in port facilities there, which undoubtedly diminished the importance of the Harar-Berbera-Zeila trade routes and (Killion, 1992; Bahru Zewde, 2002; Lewis, 2002). During the First World War, British's claim that Hassan was supported by Lij Iyyasu, and with him the invisible hands of Germany and Ottoman Turkey, has made the British furious that they establish a strict border control (Hamilton, 1974; Slight, 2011). With the virtual failure of all major military expeditions to quell the movement, it was only the natural death on 21 December 1920 of Mohammed Abdullah Hassan that the Somali dervish movement came to an end (Lewis, 2002; Slight, 2011).

In the wake of this, a brief period of relative stability in the borderlands followed. The import-export trade, by foreign and local merchants, in the Jijiga-Berbera-Zeila caravan routes increased rapidly. Tibebe Eshete (1988: 73) characterize the commercial developments that Jijiga experienced during this period as "the beginning phase of nascent commercial capitalism". With the exception of occasional turbulence in the border, frontier lawlessness on both sides had also diminished significantly, creating a conducive atmosphere for travelling merchants. The introduction from the borderlanders on the Ethiopian side of sorghum cultivation in western Somaliland has significantly altered the landscape. For much of the interwar period, during which effective central control was entrenched, coexistence was the dominant feature in this area. One factor which encouraged central state presence, not to mention free trade and movement of people, was the development of modern transportation, which include a road connecting Jijiga-Berbera and Harar-Jijiga (completed in 1932) (Tibebe Eshete, 1988; Lewis, 2002).

The situation, however, has ebbed and flowed (Lewis, 2002). Important in this regard was the political crisis following Iyyasu's deposition in 1917. The Somali forces, with whom Iyyasu forged close relations, had come to his rescue, only to be defeated by much more strong forces loyal to

Ras Tafari. The existence of an "atmosphere of sullen distrust and cover hostility" (Lewis, 2002: 102) between the administration of British Protectorate and some of the governors of Jijiga and the people, not less the borderlanders, had affected commerce. In addition, widespread famine occurred sporadically, often diminishing trading activities (Tibebe Eshete, 1988; Lewis, 2002).

The situation in the borderlands was again degenerated in to the stage of alienation with the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. As it was discussed in the previous section, Fascist Italy waged war against Ethiopia in 1935 (Bahru Zewde, 2002; Lewis, 2002). After Ethiopia's defeat, Italy declared its new empire, the Italian East Africa. The new Italian Empire has "brought together Somali clansmen who had hitherto been arbitrarily separated by the Somalia-Ethiopia 'boundary'", I. M. Lewis (2002: 110) noted. So was this perhaps the period in which the Somali borderlands has experienced complete integration, which involves expansion of border and transit trade, encouraged by modern transportation and favorable local policies. Italian colonial authorities have also made arrangements with the authorities in British Somaliland ensuring trade and amicable use of border resources, especially water and pasture (Hamilton, 1974).

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 has, however, changed the situation in the borderlands. Firmly consolidating its imperial outreach in Somali territories under its direct control, Italy conquered and took control of the British Somaliland in early August 1940. The proper conduct of the war has necessitated the colonial administration to have a strong control over trade, which naturally affected borderland interactions. The following year, British forces recover the British Protectorate and took control of Italian Somaliland. At the same time, the British forces helped Ethiopian patriots and liberated the country from the yoke of Italian fascism. On March 17, 1941, Jijiga was occupied by the British, who in April 1941 established what they titled the "Occupied Enemy Territory Administration" (OETA). A set of agreements signed between Ethiopia and the British on January 31, 1942 and December 19, 1944 had significantly affected their borderlands, not to mention encroachments on Ethiopia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Under the 1942 Reserved Area Agreement, the Ogaden and Haud remained under British military administration, presumably for 'strategic' reasons, i.e., necessities aroused of the war effort. Widespread ethnic and inter-clan tensions and mass violence, which the British often condoned, were characteristics of the period. In the economic sphere, with "no border restrictions" and an open frontier, commercial activities were increased during the British period (Tibebe Eshete, 1988:

114). Quite ironically, collection of custom revenue by Ethiopian authorities was disrupted, which proved to be “a crippling blow to the income of the state” (Tibebe Eshete, 1988: 101). Confusion and uncertainty over the future of Somali territories, however, affected the coexistent borderlands (Tibebe Eshete, 1988; Tibebe Eshete, 1994; Bahru Zewde, 2002; Lewis, 2002).

After a decade long interregnum, it was only on November 21, 1949 that the fate of Somali territories was decided. As per Resolution No. 289 of the General Assembly of newly established United Nations (UN), the Italian Trusteeship Administration in Somalia was announced (Negussay Ayele, 1971; Tripodi, 1999; Lewis, 2002). Italy began to effectively administer the Italian Somaliland as a UN Trust Territory on April 1, 1950 (Tripodi, 1999). Meanwhile, the British resumed civilian administration over the Protectorate on April 1948, in which time due attention was given for the reestablishment of trade and maintenance of Berbera (Lewis, 2002). In Ethiopia, British military rule of Jijiga and the Ogaden came to an end on September 1948, in which year it was restored to Ethiopia (Tibebe Eshete, 1988; Lewis, 2002).

Upon their transfer to Ethiopian rule, Jijiga and the Ogaden were put under a military administration in 1949 (Tibebe Eshete, 1994). Since then, the central government took several measures which aimed at strengthening the state apparatus in Jijiga, which include the reorganization of customs offices and the establishment of a Commercial Bank of Ethiopia branch (Tibebe Eshete, 1988).

On the other hand, while the 1950s generally witness a relative tranquility in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands, transactions were marred at times by violent actions and inter-clan rivalries, which are mainly attributed to the issue of grazing and water rights (Lewis, 2002). The disposition of the Haud was also another factor which affect borderland interactions. The Haud was completely disposed to Ethiopian rule in 1954 (Bahru Zewde, 2002; Lewis, 2002). The activities of Somali Youth League (SYL) has also made both Ethiopia and the British Administration nervous that they rushed to establish a strong presence in border areas (Tibebe Eshete, 1994; Barnes, 2007). Grown out of the Somali Youth Club (established on May 13, 1943) in 1947, the SYL turns out to be the most influential and popular party of the period. With its sacrosanct aim of uniting all Somalis, the SYL established its chapters in Jijiga, British Protectorate and Kenya, not to mention their widespread presence throughout Italian Somaliland

(Lewis, 2002; Barnes, 2007). The SYL categorically denounced the presence in Somali territories of Ethiopia, Britain and Italy, that its members and ardent supporters began to manifest their defiant sentiment by disobedience of state laws (Tripodi, 1999; Lewis, 2002). If not for these, however, the general situation in the borderlands at the end of 1959 was characterized by coexistence in light of a bleak recent past and in the face of uncertain future.

On June 26, 1960, the British Protectorate achieved independence from Britain. As outlined in the Trusteeship Agreement and reasserted in a UNGA Resolution of December 1959, the Italian trusteeship came to an end five days later the independence of the Protectorate, on July 1, 1960 (Lewis, 2002). These two colonies were married, "implausibly and unwittingly", to use the words of the late political scientist Samuel Huntington (1991: 3). The unification was rather implausible and unwitting for "there was not more official contact and co-operation between the British and Italian authorities in the two neighboring territories prior to their independence and unification", as the leading Somali observer I. M. Lewis noted (2002: 148). Thus, the Republic of Somalia have come into being.

With the birth of an independent state of Somalia in 1960, the borderland became an alienated battlefield, ushering in what might be called the 'Long Alienation'. From its erstwhile colonial masters, British on the main, Somalia inherited not just territorial disputes, but also an ideology for national expansionism, "Greater Somalia". The unfavorable conditions in the borderland were created due to Somalia's extreme nationalism, manifested, above all else, in its irredentist claims that the Greater Somalia ideology called for. The new state of Somalia began to assert itself geopolitically and claimed the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, the Northern Frontier District of Kenya and Djibouti as Somali territories controlled by aliens. Thus, it was determined, from its very beginning, to 'liberate' these Somali territories, even if this means chaos and violence (Tibebe Eshete, 1994; Bahru Zewde, 2002; Lewis, 2002).

Political disputes began to arise as early as the 1960s. Ethiopia considers Somalia's actions not just simply as a nuisance but as a grave national security threat that it tightens border control (Gebru Tareke, 1996). Somalia's bold claim has led to an armed confrontation over disputed land. In 1963, Ethiopian and Somali forces clashed. The OAU's intervention has led to a determination to resolve the matter through negotiations. Internally, however, the situation has led to the imposition of state of emergency all over the Ogaden 1964. Thus, Jijiga was placed under a military administration, which lasted until 1969 (Tibebe Eshete, 1988). Again in 1977, the so-called 'Ogaden War' erupted between Ethiopia and Somalia, as Somalia invades Ethiopia on July 13, 1977 (Gebru Tareke, 2000). Beyond these ultimate wars, small-scale violence, guerrilla activities, and border skirmishes had emerged as features of everyday life in the Ethiopia-Somalia borderlands. In the mid-1970s, the Siad Barre regime in Somalia had shut the triangular trade axis connecting Arabia, Ethiopia and Somaliland, and closed the Ethiopian border (Ahmed and Green, 1999). These factors has made the borderland a highly militarized and unstable zone, where both states attempt to exert rigid control over the borderland population and activities thereof.

Related to the Somali problem, frontier secessionism emerged in the Ethiopian controlled Somali territory since the early 1970s. According to Tibebe Eshete (1991: 9), the political crisis in the Ogaden had three root causes: foreign influence, "the inability of the Ethiopian government to have full control over the entire area of Ogaden", and inept domestic policies. Secessionist movements has used the borderlands as lines of transition, making the life of borderlanders precarious. The Republic of Somalia has also created and sponsored the Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF) and the Somali-Abo Liberation Front (SALF), which fought for too long the Ethiopian government as "ancillaries of the Somali army" (Gebru Tareke, 2000: 640). It was, however, the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) which emerge as the most ferocious movement in the region. Ethiopia accuses Somalia of harboring these militants and condoning arms smuggling. In fact, mutual intervention on a tit-for-tat is a characteristic feature of the two countries. Somalia, for instance, supported peasant revolts in the Bale Province (1963) in the early 1960s (Gebru Tareke, 1996). In response to Somalia's meddling in its internal affairs and to suppress the revolt, the Ethiopian state "imposed greater restrictions on people's movements across provincial and international boundaries, severely disrupting trade and the rhythm and cycle of pastoral life" (Gebru Tareke, 1996: 125). Similarly, Ethiopia provided support for Somali opposition parties including the Somali Salvation Front (SOSAF/ SFF), the Somali National Movement (SNM) and the Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia (DFSS) (Ododa, 1985).

Inter-clan clashes has also been a common feature in the borderlands. Mostly, these clannish rivalries are caused by cattle rustling and smuggling and disputes over water use (Menkhaus, 2014).

Even in such a circumstance, however, frontier transactions did occur. Border and transit commercial activities had increased and diversified (Tibebe Eshete, 1988). However, it was clandestine activities which increased alarmingly. In fact, informal trading activities are considered as features of borderlands where the border people "have a compelling need to maintain ties with their neighbors" (Martinez, 1994a: 11). Even if the doors for formal transaction were closed, so to speak, those of informal activities were opened. For instance, the 1963 War, and the trade sanction that Ethiopia imposed on Somalia, according to Tibebe Eshete (1988: 134-135), had "disrupted normal trade contact between Jijjiga, Hargeissa and Berbera… [and it] paved the way for the spread of contraband trade in the area". In fact, the informal trade in Jijiga was condoned even by Germame Neway, its one time Governor (1959-September 1960). As Tibebe Eshete (1988: 130-131) noted, Germame wanted to encourage trade in Jijiga, to which end "he gave instructions to customs officers not to confiscate smuggled goods from merchants once they reached the town". And, in certain cases, the Somali merchants, who "acted as the principal agents of the irredentists in the spread of secular political ideas," try to "sell" their political agenda along with such goods as cloths, sugar and gas (Gebru Tareke, 1996: 135).

Dejenu Bedanie, a state investigator to the Bale rebellion and with it Somalia's involvement, had commented: "[w]hat has made it possible for our enemies to enter into the sovereign territory of Ethiopia and then to proselytize religion and to spread political propaganda is the market. It is the market that has enabled the bandits to maintain uninterrupted contacts with these people" (cited in Gebru Tareke, 1996: 135). Visiting Jijiga in 1970, Paul Henze, had also commented on the nearly omnipresence impact of the market (Tibebe Eshete, 1988).

These largely informal commercial activities had also made the penetration of foreign currencies quite easier. In fact, other foreign currencies like the Indian rupee and the East African shilling had long been in circulation in these borderlands. Since the late 1960s, Somali currency had an extensive circulation even in Jijiga and its surroundings. This kind of relationship was creating worries since it might become the basis for a continuing political and economic problem (Tibebe Eshete, 1988).

To counter informal cattle trading, it was proposed as early as 1964 for the government to establish marketing centers along the border and other strategic locations. Despite this, the idea of establishing cattle marketing centers, and later meat processing factories, just lost the momentum in the midst of governmental wrangling (Tibebe Eshete, 1988; Gebru Tareke, 1996). The market center was constructed only in 1974.

In terms of non-commercial interactions, the Ogaden War had already created a flood of refugees, with an estimated Ethiopian 600, 000 refugees in Somalia. In the mid-1970s, drought and famine in northern Somalia and the Haud area of Ogaden has also created a significant mobility of human population across the borderlands. Most importantly, however, the defeat of Somalia in the Ogaden War of 1977-1978 has strengthened opposition to the Barre regime in Mogadishu, which, among others, was expressed by maintaining closer relations with Ethiopian borderlanders. The outbreak in the late 1980s of the Somali Civil War, and the intentional targeting of northern Somalia has led to enormous loss of life, livelihood and displacement (Ododa, 1985; Ahmed and Green, 1999).

The long period of alienation has come to an end in the early 1990s. In 1991, the Somali dictator, Muhammad Siad Barre, was overthrown. Following the collapse of central government in Mogadishu, Somalia descends into civil war between rival warlords. With the outbreak of a Civil War, events, it was argued, marked "the end of Somalia as a state" (Samatar, 2007: n.p). In the meantime, the former British Protectorate of Somaliland declared independence as the Republic of Somaliland (Kaplan, 2008; Lewis, 2008; Balthasar, 2012).

Similarly, events in the early 1990s Ethiopia were not also without effect on the borderlands. The *Derg*, the military junta which ruled Ethiopia for seventeen years, was completely overthrown on May 28, 1991. After a more than decade long armed struggle, Addis Ababa fails to the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) on late May 1991 with almost no resistance (Bahru Zewde, 2002). With the coming to power of the EPRDF, Ethiopia was never to be the same again. Thus, the political economic bedrock of borderland interactions in the post-1991, post-Siad and post-Mengistu period were formed.

3.5. Conclusion

Against the backdrop of the conceptual discussions of the preceding chapter, this chapter presents a geographical and historical background to the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. First, it provided a geographical overview of the borderlands, against the backdrop of Ethiopian political geography.

Second, it deals with the history of boundary-making between Ethiopia and Somaliland. The Ethiopia-Somaliland boundary creation is a result of intense balancing of power at regional and international levels. As in the case with other borderlands, then, the driving force behind border delimitation in this case was power politics.

Finally, the chapter also provides a historical outline of developments in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. The analysis, which was conducted against the backdrop of Martinez's model of borderlands interaction discussed in the previous chapter, shows that the historical development of frontier economy in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands is not an evolutionary process, one of sequential change from alienation, coexistence, and interdependence and to integration at last. Rather, the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands experience progress and regress in the *longue durée* of their history and transborder interactions, defying Martinez's model of borderlands interaction.

Having provided the geographical and historical background to the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands and economic relations there, the next chapter examines contemporary trends of economic relations in these borderlands.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN THE ETHIOPIA-SOMALILAND BORDERLANDS

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapter presented a geographic and historical background to the economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. Centuries of commercial and politico-cultural contact between the two adjacent peoples and areas was a foundation for the intense contemporary relations. These relations have witnessed a rapid development, especially in the last two decades. This chapter aims at providing a descriptive and explanatory account of the contemporary trends of economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. It discusses the trends from two interrelated angles, trade relations and human mobility.

First, these economic relations often take the form of trade. For much of the 1990s, the trade was on a small scale. It was only in the early 2000s that it began to develop dramatically. An indistinguishable part and parcel of the contemporary trade relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands is human mobility. As was indicated in the preceding chapter, human mobility, both voluntary and forced, is a centuries-old phenomenon in these borderlands (Assefaw Bariagaber, 2006; Ciabarri, 2008). In the post-1991 period, intense human mobility continued to be a recurring feature in the Ethiopia-Somaliland frontier, occurring on both formal and informal manner. This chapter examines the contemporary pattern of trade relations and human mobility in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands.

4.2. Trade Relations in the Borderlands: Goods, Markets and Currencies

The focus of this section is on the trade relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. Trade is understood here as broadly referring to the activity of buying, selling, or exchanging goods that occurred in the border areas or between the two countries.

4.2.1. Formal Trade

Formal trade is an important feature of the post-1991 economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. The formal trading activities in these borderlands are specifically the usual foreign trade and the small-scale border trade. The foreign trade involves the export from or import into Ethiopia of goods to/from Somaliland. Foreign trade accounts for a significant part of the contemporary Ethiopia-Somaliland trade relations. Another form of the formal trade in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands is the small-scale border trade. The border trade regulations and implementations thereof are discussed in the following chapter. This section, thus, only seeks to outline the trends of export trade between Ethiopia and Somaliland.

Due to the lack of statistical information specific to Somaliland, it is difficult to have a clear picture about the volume of trade. As far as Ethiopian statistics is concerned, the trade with Somaliland, which Ethiopia didn't recognize, is compiled under Somalia. State collapse in the Somalia proper, however, had brought to a halt its trade relations with Ethiopia. Thus, the Ethiopian data on Somalia indirectly speaks of Somaliland. As Fikru Taddese, a Senior Expert of Bilateral and Regional Integration, Trade Relations and Negotiation at the FDRE Ministry of Trade[3], pointed out, almost 90 % of the data refers to Somaliland. This point was also supported by Wuhib Abdulkerim, Export Team Leader at the Jijiga Branch Office of the ERCA (Personal Communication, Thursday, March 10, 2017), who pointed out that almost all the export items that their procedures was facilitated in the Jijiga Branch are destined for Somaliland. Only a negligible amount goes to Djibouti, to which the Dire Dawa route is much more important. On this note, let's proceed to the presentation of major formal export items from the Jijiga Branch.

Fiscal Year EC	**Major Export Items**	**Item USD**	**General USD**
2001	1. *Khat*	84, 376, 315.00	89, 703, 837.85
	2. Cattle	4, 495, 990.00	

[3] Fikru Taddese. Senior Expert of Bilateral and Regional Integration, Trade Relations and Negotiation at the FDRE Ministry of Trade. *Interview*. Friday, February 24, 2017.

	3. Milk	61, 005.41	
2002	*1. Khat*	142, 579,745.00	160, 056, 711.25
	2. Cattle	13, 670,728.00	
	3. Camel	2, 972, 425.00	
2003	*1. Khat*	162, 696, 105.00	206, 925, 268.14
	2. Cattle	29, 183, 700.00	
	3. Camel	5, 604, 352.00	
2004	*1. Khat*	168, 779, 560.00	234, 305, 509.00
	2. Cattle	43, 681, 860.00	
	3. Potato	11, 935, 693.00	
2005	*1. Khat*	196, 474, 975.00	262, 954, 162.15
	2. Cattle	42, 857, 340.00	
	3. Potato	13, 680, 065.51	
2006	*1. Khat*	215, 725, 885.00	325, 088, 715.00
	2. Cattle	80, 333, 350.00	
	3. Potato	16, 044, 079.00	
2007	*1. Khat*	205, 176, 950.00	260, 730,029.00
	2. Cattle	27, 378, 600.00	
	3. Potato	16, 098, 827.00	

2008	1. *Khat*	195, 539, 725.00	277, 385, 861.5
	2. Cattle	33, 385, 800.00	
	3. Potato	17, 032, 152.69	

Table 4.1: Ethiopian Exports through the Jijiga Branch

Source: Ethiopian Revenue and Custom Authority, Jijiga Branch Office.

As the table above clearly shows, the Ethiopian export trade to Somaliland is enormous and is rapidly growing from year to year. One exception to this general trend is the year 2007, in which the general export revenue declined from 325, 088, 715 USD in 2006 to 260, 730, 029 USD in 2007. According to Wuhib Abdulkerim, this was due to two major factors. First, the crisis in Yemen affected Ethiopian exports to Somaliland ominously, livestock in particular. Somaliland re-exports the Ethiopia-originated livestock to the Gulf countries including Saudi Arabia, Yemen, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Oman (Muhumed, 2016). Yemen, the most impoverished state in the Arabian Peninsula, has long been a major transit route for Somaliland's livestock export to the Gulf. As Yemen descends into chaos following the 2011 Arab Spring, it became difficult for Somaliland to safely access the Yemeni market and the long coast there. For instance, the livestock exports of Somaliland decreased from 3,512,602 in 2012 to 3,166,599 in 2013 (Ministry of National Planning and Development, 2015), which invariably implies decrease in Ethiopia's export to Somaliland.

Second, the 2007 drought, which was said to be the worst that Ethiopia faced in about 50 years, led to the reduction of production of export commodities. The production of *khat* in Ethiopia and its demand in Somaliland had significantly declined. In contrast, the demand in Somaliland for vegetables, potato on the main, increased. This can clearly be seen in the table above. The potato export revenue in 2006 was 16, 044, 079.48 USD for 55, 324, 412 kg net weight potatoes. This revenue grows to 16, 098, 827.00 USD for 55, 513, 198 kg net weight potatoes.

Throughout the years, Ethiopia's leading export item to Somaliland is *khat*. Ethiopia is *the* major exporter of *khat* to Somaliland, where it is estimated that a large portion of its male population (but also a growing number of women) chew *khat* on a daily basis (Hansen, 2013; Jeffrey, 2015). Other dominant export items of Ethiopia to Somaliland include livestock and animal products including cattle, camel and raw camel milk, and vegetables and fruits (mainly tomato and potato). Till this day, a characteristic feature of the Ethiopian export trade to Somaliland is the predominance of agricultural products. Recently, Ethiopia began to export such manufactured goods as Vaseline, shoes and bottles, food and beverages (soft and alcoholic)[4], construction materials and trackers such as cement and loader. Needless to say, the export of manufactured goods are not as important as livestock and its byproducts, as it contributes a negligible share to the total exports and earnings. This is also rooted in the fact that Ethiopia's comparative advantage in its trade relations with Somaliland are found in its agricultural potential, with large size of arable land and source of labor.

As far as the export trade is between Ethiopia and Somaliland concerned, the balance is in favor of Ethiopia[5]. But, with the absence of solid statistics, this can't be corroborated. As to the imported trading goods from Somaliland and their amount and value, it was impossible to garner the statistics[6]. This requires, according Ato Tesfahun, a close examination of all the declarations, not all of which are facilitated at the Jijiga Branch. The procedures on the importation of goods on Franco-Valuta (henceforth FV) basis is discussed in the following chapter.

4.2.2. Informal Trade

In addition to the formal trade, the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands are also characterized by the widespread presence of the informal trade, which takes mainly two forms: contraband and illicit circulation of foreign currencies. Since these borderlands are dubbed the largest contraband doors of Ethiopia[7], the following analysis is solely focused on the contraband business.

The contraband trade refers to the buying and selling of goods that are brought into or taken out of the country informally. Thus, it can have two aspects, import contraband and export contraband.

---

[4] The fact that alcoholic beverages are being formally exported to Somaliland can be attested from the annual reports of the ERCA-Jijiga Branch. For instance, in 2004 EC, 39, 669 net weight alcoholic beverage was exported, with a total revenue of 146, 746 USD. Again in 2005 EC, 42, 786 net weight alcohol was exported, with a revenue of 117, 674 USD.

[5] Fikru Taddese. *Op. cit*.

[6] Tesfahun Mekonnen, Import Case Team Coordinator at the Jijiga Branch Office of the Ethiopian Revenue and Custom Authority (ERCA). *Interview*. Friday, March 10, 2017.

[7] Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. Law Enforcement Coordinator at the Jijiga Branch-ERCA. *Interview*. Tuesday, March 7, 2017.

As far as the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands are concerned, the most significant among these two is import contraband, according to documents obtained from the Jijiga Branch-ERCA.

Cantens *et. al*. (2015: 366) noted that “it is common to say that informal trade is the trade that is not reported in national statistics and that this non-report constitutes a definition of informality”. Despite this, the statistical data on informal trade in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands is compiled by the Jijiga Branch Office of the ERCA. Hence, it is the “knowledge of the state”, as Michel Foucault described statistics (2002: 354). Until very recently, the data on the informal trade in these borderlands was compiled by the Dire Dawa Branch of the ERCA. The major task of the Dire Dawa Branch was considered to be the prevention and control of contraband in the area. Not much attention was given to efficient and effective revenue collection that the Branch is set to collect around 10 million ETB revenue annually[8]. The Jijiga Branch was established following the establishment of the ERCA in July 2008[9]. Within the Branch Office, the Law Enforcement Main Process is mandated with the preparation of the statistics on informal trade. The raw data is collected from around 15 customs control station that are found throughout the Somali Region. Thus, every month the Jijiga Branch Office send to the ERCA Head Office reports of its activities in controlling informal trafficking of goods and import and export contraband in the area of its jurisdiction. These reports of Branch Offices are drafted according to constant formats, so that they can easily be examined at the ERCA Head Office (HO). The information contained in the monthly reports include the type of the confiscated and/or burned contraband goods imported and exported, their measure and quantity, and their estimated general value, which gives finally the total amount. The examination at the HO is a competitive one, in which branch offices’ performance is compared and ranked. The results of these examinations are disseminated either in the Head Office’s monthly pamphlet or its radio/television programs. At the end of the year, the monthly reports of contraband trade will be compiled under the annual report on law enforcement, covering the fiscal year from Hamle 1 to Sene 30. This again will be send to the Head Office[10].

---

[8] Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit.*

[9] Biniyam Tadesse. Border Management Following Higher Officer at ERCA Head Office. *Interview*, February 15, 2017

[10] Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit.*

The following table shows the major import and export contraband items confiscated at several control centers and their estimated value and the general amount of contraband items from 2001 EC.

Fiscal Year EC	Import			Export		
	Major Import Contraband Items	**Item ETB**	**General Import ETB**	**Major Export Contraband Items**	**Item ETB**	**General Export ETB**
2001			12, 869, 439.00			2, 038, 382.88
2002	1. Various cloths	11, 775, 086.00	36, 112, 794.00	1. *Khat*	1, 069, 430.00	2, 770, 934.7
	2. Others	8, 772, 435.00		2. Camel	654, 800.00	
	3. Electronics	6, 164, 900.00		3. Cattle	491, 900.00	
2003	1. Various cloths	14, 427, 832.00	41, 556, 955.00	1. Cattle	592, 500.00	1, 894, 652.25
	2. Others	11, 984, 315.00		2. Goat	273, 792.00	
	3. Electronics	7, 137, 522.00		3. Camel	198, 300.00	
2004			57, 183, 246.00			2, 784, 693.00
2005	1. Cloths	31, 368, 777.00	77, 230, 367.17	1. Bull	2, 484,454.75	7, 738, 634.92
				2. Oxen	1, 587, 875.95	

	2. Others	14, 031, 651.02		3. Sheep	1, 123, 491.50	
	3. Electronics	11, 195, 293.00				
2006	1. Cloths	27, 108, 956.5	67, 977, 107.00	1. Sheep	1, 847, 746.15	6, 851, 146.24
				2. Oxen	1, 120, 240.05	
				3. Goat	980, 417.86	
	2. Electronics	11, 959, 316.00				
	3. Others	10, 433, 540.00				
2007	1. Cloths	30, 886, 324.00	114, 727, 788.9	1. Seeds	69, 222, 430.79	86, 586, 254.02
				2. Cattle	11, 289, 925.67	
				3. Goat	1, 622, 790.8	
	2. Electronics	15, 731, 084.00				
	3. Others	7, 231, 085.00				
2008	1. Cloths	28, 912, 379.00	105, 140, 061.00	*1. Teff*	2, 961, 402	7, 370, 383
				2. Camel	1, 880, 300	
				3. Cattle	1, 516, 525	
	2. Food Related	21, 409, 511.00				
	3. Cars sold on Seizure	17, 862, 295.00				

Table 4.2: Import-Export Contraband Items and Their Value at Jijiga Branch-ERCA, 2001-2008.

Source: Ethiopian Revenue and Custom Authority, Jijiga Branch Office.

According to these official data, the largest informal imports from Somaliland to Ethiopia throughout the years are found to be various cloths, electronics and food related items. The informal imports from Somaliland to Ethiopia are generally characterized by the near-absolute dominance of manufactured and industrial products. As to their estimated value, it is increasing from year to year. The only exceptions are the years 2006 and 2008. The total value of import contraband in 2006 was 67, 977, 107 ETB. This was an 11.98 % decrease from the 2005 figure, 77, 230, 367.17 ETB. This, however, proved to be a superficial decrease. In 2007 EC, the value of import contraband rose significantly to 114, 727, 788.9 ETB. The second year was 2008, in which the amount of import contraband decreased from 114, 727, 788.9 ETB in 2007 to 105, 140, 061.00 ETB. What caused the decrease in 2006 and 2008? According to Gebre-Tsadik Assefa,[11] the decrease in the value of import contraband is attributed to the strengthening of the Regional government's anti-contraband capacity and willingness and commitment to take measures (Personal Communication, March 13, 2017).

In terms of the export contraband, livestock, mainly camel and cattle and *Khat* accounted for the largest share of informal exports from Ethiopia to Somaliland throughout the years. As to their estimated value, it is marked by frequent fluctuation from year to year. These include the years 2003, 2006 and 2008, showing export contraband fluctuates more often than import contraband. The total value of export contraband in 2003 was 1, 894, 652.25 ETB. This was a significant decrease from the 2002 figure, 2, 770, 934.7 ETB. This, again, proved to be a superficial decrease. In 2004 EC, the value of export contraband rose significantly to 2, 784, 693 ETB. In 2006 EC, the value declined from 7, 738, 634.92 ETB in 2005 EC to 6, 851, 146.24 ETB. The third year was 2008, in which the amount of export contraband decreased from 86, 586, 254.02 ETB in 2007 to 7, 370, 383 ETB. What causes the frequent fluctuation in the size of export contraband? According to Wuhib Abdulkerim, the fluctuation is attributed mainly to shifting alliances in the informal economy and the capacity of Federal and Regional oversight (Personal Communication, March 10, 2017). As he noted, there are informal alliances between merchants and regional and federal officials, civil and military, within Ethiopia and across the border. The primary function of these alliances is to circumvent state control to advance individual and collective economic interests. They are responsive to shifting concentration of benefits in the formal and informal export sector.

What is unique in the export statistics is not only that it fluctuates in its size. It is rather the rising share of agricultural products as informal exports to Somaliland. In fact, as in the case with formal foreign trading, in the informal economy, the value of agricultural items is lower than animal and animal-related items and manufactured goods. Thus, the estimated value of these goods might seem too little. In practice, however, it is agricultural products that are oft-traded in the contraband business between Ethiopia and Somaliland. For instance, agricultural products account for just

[11] Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit.*

26.8 % of the estimated value of export contraband from Ethiopia to Somaliland in 2003, while this figure rose to 82.3 % in 2007.

The official statistics, however, don't give us much clue about how the informal trade takes place on the ground, the origin and destination markets of the goods and the participants. These has necessitated interviewing local informants and field observations.

As all the informants have shown, the origin of much of the import contraband items are the border towns, the most important of which is Tog Wajaale. Matshanda (2014) has also shown that the nerve center of the cross-border trade between the two countries is Togwajale. In a sense, Wajaale and Jijiga are the light and the shadow of border trade. Until the early 2000s, the informal trade of these borderlands was based the border town of Hart Sheik. Found 70 km away from Jijiga, Hart Sheik was a vibrant border trade town. Towards the turn-of-this century, however, the major border trade town was moved to Wajaale. According to Xirsi Cabdi,[12] the fate of Hart Sheik was determined by Somaliland traders. When compared to Wajaale's nearness to Hargeisa (92 km) and Berbera (250 km), Hart Sheik is somehow far. The presence of refugee camps (established during the course of the Somali Civil War) in the area has also been a contributing factor for the growth of Hart Sheikh. This, according to Guido Ambroso (2002: 10), has "changed [Hart Sheikh] from a small hamlet of a few huts around a pond to a fully-fledged little town with a flourishing market that became the main centre for informal trade between Berbera port and eastern Ethiopia", only to decline in importance with the closing of the camp and repatriation of refugees there. In about a decade, Wajaale rose from being a place of barrel houses to a vibrant border business center (Matshanda, 2014).

It is important to note here that Wajaale is not a manufacturing or industrial town. Thus, Ethiopian and Somaliland merchants and companies receive goods from importers, formal and informal, in Dubai, the UAE. Accordingly, most of informal trade between the two countries were said to originate from Dubai. The importers ship the goods from Dubai ports to the Port of Berbera[13]. This

[12] Xirsi Cabdi Axmed. Public Transport and Freight Transportation Case Team Coordinator at the ESRS Trade and Transport Bureau. *Interview*. Thursday, March 9, 2017.
[13] RM. Local Resident. *Interview*. Monday, March 13, 2017; AA. Local Resident. *Personal Interview*, March 12, 2017.

can be explained by the fact that the "Somali merchants have been ever using Dubai port as their only international trade center", as Mohamed Farah Abdi (2017), a Somaliland official, remarked.

According to Gebre-Tsadik Assefa, Tog Wajaale covers almost 95 % the import-export contraband trade[14]. Thus, first, the merchants or individual buyers will go to Wajaale with a significant amount of ETB. In Wajaale, there are established brokers of various functions. The presence of brokers in the cross-border livestock trade in the Horn of Africa is also confirmed by Little *et. al.'s* 2015 study. In the informal trade in this particular border town, the least influential brokers-cum-porters are Ethiopians who take the buyers to the places in which the items they want to buy are available[15]. This was proven by my own observations and personal interview with an Ethiopian broker whom I found in the Somaliland side. The most influential brokers, however, are often the Somalilanders themselves. They work as transmitters of the goods. The Ethiopian merchants will go to the respective places of these brokers, and registered their names and the type and amount of goods they want. After the payment of the commission, the brokers in turn facilitate the easy and timely delivery of these goods[16].

In terms of the currency uses, the Ethiopian Birr (ETB) is *the* legal tender in the economic relations, *de jure* in the Ethiopian side and *de facto* in the Somaliland side of the border. However, foreign currencies are also circulated in the borderlands, primarily in Somaliland. The widely circulated foreign currencies are USD, euro and Pound Sterling. Currencies of neighboring countries, such as Somaliland Shilling, Somali Shilling, Kenya Shilling and Djibouti Franc, are also widely circulated in the borderlands and the interior. Often, the currencies fell into the hands of state authorities at Tog Wajaale and Tafari Bar, according to the reports of ERCA-Jijiga Branch.

Related to the use of currency is one point that an interviewee raised: the use of the *Hawala* system to support the contraband trade[17]. According to him, the Hawala system is the backbone of contrabandists. This claim is corroborated by field observations in Jijiga, in which was observed a

---

[14] Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit*.
[15] The prices of goods on the Ethiopian side of the border are much cheaper than on the Somaliland side, which resulted from the different types of goods demanded/supplied dominantly in either side. This was also confirmed by Matshanda (2014). The most usual items that Ethiopian merchants and individuals bought in the Somaliland side are electronics such as mobile phones, television, refrigerators and receiver, new and used cloths, and food-related items such as canned milk and water, Coca Cola, chocolate and juice.
[16] KT. Local Resident. *Interview*. Saturday, March 11, 2017.
[17] RM. *Op. cit.*

stationery and an electronic shops undertaking the money-transfer. There, despite ‘officially’ being a stationary or electronics shop, money-transferring is conducted vibrantly. This money-transfer system is characterized by the male dominance, as service providers and customers. This way the informal money transfer system might have contributed to contraband.

From Wajaale, the goods will often be carried by passengers travelling by minibuses or buses. The minibuses are of choice for they are ubiquitous and fast. In about half and an hour, the minibuses will make to Jijiga. Their destinations are either the Bus Station (*Menaharia*) or the nearby Kidane-Mihret Church. The main reason why the Church site is used is that the minibuses are not allowed in the Bus Station. In the Church site, most goods are unloaded at the late afternoon, beginning from around 12:30 PM to 2: 00 PM. But, at the *Menaharia*, these operation will last well into 4:00 PM.

Finally, from these destinations, the merchants and with them, the contraband goods, will be taken to the warehouses, stores or shops of the individual merchants. At this stage, the Bajaj[18] is the means of choice. Now, the goods are up for grab in the market. There are several contraband markets in Jijiga, especially Kebele 01, 02 and 03. These include Havana, Old Taiwan, New Taiwan, and Old *Menaharia*. Among these, the Old *Menaharia* is the largest contraband market in the town. It replaces *Itan Terra*, once the largest contraband market until the area was given to the Somali diaspora in 2005 EC[19].

These contraband markets are extensively visited by the local population. The extent of trading activities can be seen from the fact that the sidewalks are often crowded with street vendors trading contraband. In contrast, the shops around the area which trade formally imported goods were almost empty much of the time. Obviously, the most determinant factor here is the price, as the informants categorically pointed out. The contraband goods are much cheaper than those formally imported or from the goods that came from Addis Ababa.

[18] The three-wheeler taxis are commonly known in Ethiopia by their Indian brand, Bajaj.
[19] One dissenting point on the reason for the abandonment of Itan Terra was given by KT, who claimed rather that it was a fire accident that destroys the market.

The informal trading activities in these borderlands has its own seasonality. All informants agree that the flow of contraband reaches to its peak in the dry season, from January to May. Particularly, months in which Muslim holidays are celebrated experience a huge amount of contraband inflow.

4.2.2.1. Factors for the Informal Trade

What drives such a huge size of informal trade between Ethiopia and Somaliland? Major local, national and regional factors were raised by informants and can also be discerned from the available literature. Locally, one interviewee noted contraband is deeply intertwined with the psychological makeup of the people so much one might speak of a "culture of contraband" in the area, a culture which rooted in the communal affiliations of the border community (such as language and religious similarity, discussed in the previous chapter) and nearness to the border itself. The political utility of these common attachments is exacerbated by the burden of national history, as neglect and disprivilege by earlier governments still haunts the collective memories of the border community and the wider Ethiopia-Somali population.[20] Similarly, Little *et. al* (2015: 409) remarked that the preeminence of informal trade in Horn of Africa's borderlands is rooted in the fact that these "pastoralist areas are politically marginalized and despite the generation of considerable revenues from these areas, their citizens receive few government services and infrastructure". This also proved the argument discussed in Chapter Two, that *â la* Karl Polanyi (2001: 60), borderland economic relations are embedded in social relations.

Recently, high rate of unemployment and tariffs by Ethiopia are noted to be factors for the informal trade. The importance of economic factors as drivers of contraband in these borderlands is also confirmed by Habtamu Girma and Wubeshet Gezahagn's (2016) study. Also, important are such non-tariff factors as political tension that characterize the Ethiopia-Somalia relations since the latter's independence and infrastructure impediments in the borderlands, which have contributed a great deal to the thriving informal business between the two[21].

In addition of to these local and national factors, there is an 'external' factor singled out as favoring contraband: Somaliland. The lack of a statehood recognition from the international community has

---

[20] Mohammed Aden Ali. Trade Competition and Consumer Protection Team Leader. *Interview*. Monday, March 6, 2017.
[21] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*; Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit*.

"created a contraband-dependent society and government" in our backyard[22]. A more instructive explanation, however, would be the importance of regional economic dynamics that Somalia's collapse unleashed. "While the Somali Republic had failed to reunite the Somali-inhabited territories politically, its collapse promoted the economic integration of the Horn of Africa's Somali residents through the free flow of goods, services, and information", as Hagmann (2005c: 533-534) remarked.

4.2.2.2. The Actors in the Informal Trade

Who participated in the informal trade? Almost all levels of the border community participated in the informal trade between Ethiopia and Somaliland. For the Somali local community, the informal trade between the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands in general is an everyday exercise to wrest a living. As a means of survival, it represented their effort in an economically peripheral environment to take advantage of external market supply and demand in Somaliland (Habtamu Girma and Wubeshet Gezahagn, 2016).

According to one informant[23], who speaks on condition of anonymity, most petty contrabandists in the Jijiga town are women, a point which Habtamu Girma and Wubeshet Gezahagn (2016: 3) also shared. The dominance of women in the informal trade of other developing countries is also asserted by Manjokoto and Ranga (2017).

Why women are more successfully engaged in the contraband business? The dominance of women in the informal sector is an indication of their disempowerment and marginalization. Urban poverty is a harsh reality for women urban dwellers in the Jijiga town, as it does in Ethiopia in general (Emebet Mulugeta, 2008). For instance, in the Havana *Sefer* of Jijiga in particular, there are a number of women traders, most of whom were prostitutes[24]. Thus, contraband is used by some of them as a coping mechanism. Despite this, women traders in the area are often sexually harassed and even raped and by the security forces[25].

---

[22] Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit*.
[23] Anonymous. Local Resident. *Interview*, Saturday, March 11, 2017.
[24] TZ. Local Resident. *Interview*, Saturday, March 11, 2017. .
[25] I'm indebted to Abdiwassa Abdullahi for this remark.

In the meantime, there are also powerful large-scale contraband traders. Thus, the informal trade added to the growth of a local middle class, a sort of local millionaires[26], "economic warlords" (Wedeman, 2003: 13). These powerful businessmen, however, seemed to have collaborated both with the ordinary local populace (often due to clan affiliations and patron-client relations) and state authorities.

Linking the ordinary community and state functionaries, there are also informal networks. In fact, not all informants are in agreement whether the informal trade is often undertaken by ordinary individuals or networks thereof. For instance, Gebre-Tsadik Assefa rules out the presence of any sort of informal trade networks. For him, the contraband is conducted only based on personal initiatives[27]. In contrast, the local informants noted that there are networks, in Wajaale, Jijiga and all the way to Addis Ababa. Consisting of a fairly large number of members, these networks provide security and ease the sharing of information.[28] This networks are often underpinned in clan affiliations and patron-client relations.

The presence of these networks is a clear indication that the regional and federal officials are engaged in the informal trade in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. The officials, either being civil or military, federal or regional, constitute powerful actors. They might, in a sense, be seen as "petty sovereigns" (Butler, 2004: 56), who used state authority to their own personal benefit. As Reece Jones (2012: 691) argued in the context of Bengal borderlands, "the agents of the state often use the claim of sovereign authority to allow themselves to operate outside the regulations and laws of the state". Regionally, for instance, the militia and the regional security forces are engaged in arrangements allowing for informal trade and border crossings in the Ethiopian-Somaliland borderlands. The regional policewomen/men, for instance, are often offered bribes to effectively fulfil their institutional responsibilities.

As one customs official pointed out, however, the informal trade and human mobility in these borderlands is highly, if not unsymmetrically, integrated with the political and economic center in Addis Ababa. He pointed out that the origin and destination (from Somaliland) of contraband is Addis Ababa. This is the paradox of law enforcement, as the official pondered. Government

25 RM. *Op. cit;* KT. *Op. cit*.
27 Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit.*
28 RM. *Op. cit.*

officials themselves, assumed to enforce the anti-contraband law impartially, are engaged in illicit currency circulation, tax evasion and contraband, from Tog Wajaale to Addis Ababa.

Nevertheless, the unequal integration of the borderland with the center is not just the work of state officials. Informal economic activities in Addis Ababa have linkages with the informal economy. Individual traders often imported contraband goods from Somaliland without taxation and duty and brought them into Addis Ababa. These goods are put for sale, either on the streets or the shops, at a price lower than the usual market price.

Thus, the actors in the informal trade in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands span from the local poor who struggles to win her/his daily bread to those at the high echelons of regional and federal governments.

4.3. Human Mobility in the Borderlands

4.3.1. Formal Human Mobility

In the last two decades or so, human mobility in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands has intensified. Border crossings of this sort are daily features of the area. I attempted to show the intensity of the cross border engagements by using a data on public and fright transportation from Jijiga to the three border towns, Awbarre, Hart Sheik and Tog Wajaale.

The largest public and fright transportation is from Jijiga to Tog Wajaale. The road distance between Jijiga to Tog Wajaale is 65 km. According to Xirsi Cabdi Axmed,[29] around 120 cars conduct transportation per day. The mostly used cars in this route are Toyota Coaster (nearly 40) and minibuses (nearly 80), which have the capacity of taking around 25 and 11 passengers respectively. By this account, around 3760 individuals will move daily from Jijiga to Wajaale and from Wajaale to Jijiga.

The majority of these border crossings are trade-induced, in which ordinary citizens from Jijiga and nearby places such as Harar and Dire Dawa, cross the border to buy different goods of their choice including food and electronics items. In the minibus which took me to Tog Wajaale, there were, for instance, ordinary residences of Jijiga and two students from Dire Dawa University.

[29]Xirsi Cabdi Axmed. *Op. cit.*

Most, though by no means all, of these crossings occur in the context of the small-scale border trade, which provides for cross-border trading activities in some selected areas (discussed in the next chapter).

The second border town which experience a fairly small number of border crossings is Hart Sheik. Not more than 5 Coasters went to this town. This gives us a number of 125 as the possible number of individuals who travel to Hart Sheik daily. Similar to Wajaale, the majority of these travels are trade induced, in which the trade in goat has a dominant share.

The third border town is Awbarre. Also known as Tafari Bar, Awbarre is the oldest border town with a more than 200 years of history. The road distance between Jijiga to Awbarre is 70 km. Around 15 *kachamale*, 15 *dayna* and 4 Coaster travel to Awbarre per day. That means around 415 individuals travel from Jijiga to Awbarre and vice versa. This is a fairly large number of crossing, when compared to Hart Sheik. Basically, this is a result of the presence of two refugee camps in the town, Awbarre and Sheder Refugee camps (more on the refugee issue in the next chapter). Thus, in contrast to Wajaale and Hart Sheik, much of border crossings in Awbarre are of informal category.

While the transport pricing is determined by the Regional Transport Bureau, a pricing strategy with a very low level of public acceptability, the transport services are privately owned by several 'owners' associations'. These sort of organizations began their work around 1996 EC. Owners' Associations of a telling name in this area include *YeAfrica Kend*, *Andnet*, *Kinfe-Rufael*, *Misrak*, *Haromaya*, *Hawi Gudna*, *Yegna and Gadda*. These associations must at least have 15 cars. They are classified into three classes: level 1, level 2 and level 3. Level 1 associations are of the highest status, with the cars of latest models (Model 2010) numbering from 15-100. Included in this level are *Kinfe Rufael, Andnet and YeAfrica Kend*. The second stage, level 2, is the minimum class, with cars of the 2003 model and numbering from 15-150. *Misrak and Gadda* are included in this stage. The third and the lowest level consist of cars of the 2000 model and numbering from 15-200. *Hawi Gudna, Haromaya and Yegna* are part of this level.

The regular human mobility of individuals, however, is limited due to intensified border control and management regimes. The border is open for twelve hours only, from 12:00 AM Local Time (LT) to 12: 00 PM LT. At 12:00 PM, the Ethiopia-Somaliland border route will be closed for public transport cars. Private vehicles and loaded business trucks, for example, those importing and exporting *Khat*, are allowed to use the road. Otherwise, the authorities doesn't permit anyone else to cross the point. This is justified on security threat, especially concerns with gun smuggling. In addition, there is an immigration office, controlling the movement of people across the border. Cumbersome customs regulations are also applied on the flow of goods.

4.3.2. Informal Human Mobility

In addition to the formal border crossings, the borderlands are also a site for informal mobility of individuals. In fact, one can rightly say that informal mobility is the dominant form of human mobility in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. While there is still no clear or universally accepted definition of informal migration, it broadly refers to "[m]ovement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries" (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2004: 34).

Informal migration in these borderlands occur in different forms. The notable form is temporary labor migration. This is part of everyday life, in which Ethiopians often went to the Somaliland side of the border to work as porters. Frontier and itinerant workers[30] of Ethiopian origin are ubiquitous in Somaliland, usually with no passport and visa[31].

In addition, there are also family visits and visits to relatives across the border by Ethiopian Somalis and Somalilanders. That the typical Somali family is extended needs no more emphasis (Lewis, 2002). Communal affiliation is highly praised in the whole region. Yet, the boundary politics of the past has caused the dislocation of families and sub-/clans from their traditional homes or villages. Thus, currently, half the members of a typical Somali family might live in the Ethiopian side and the remaining in Somaliland. This has obviously created a large number of visits to family and relatives. For instance, residents in Tafari Bar are said to maintain close contacts with relatives who live in Borama, a border town in Somaliland. The language and ancestral (closeness of Tafari Bar, the two refugee camps there and Borama created intense cross-

[30] According to *The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families*, frontier worker is "[a] migrant worker who retains his or her habitual residence in a neighbouring State to which he or she normally returns every day or at least once a week" (IOM, 2004: 26). While, itinerant worker is defined as "[a]migrant worker who, having his or her habitual residence in one State, has to travel to another State or States for short periods, owing to the nature of his or her occupation".

[31] Xirsi Cabdi Axmed. *Op. cit.*

border relations (Ciabarri, 2008). Tafari Bar and Borama are an exclusively Gadabursi-inhabited towns[32].

Third, the refugees in Awbarre and Sheder Refugee camps maintain close links with their relatives across the border. While Ethiopia didn't allow an out-of-camp policy for the refugees it hosts, there are exceptional cases, such as health, that refugees might be allowed to leave their camp temporarily. Despite what the law says, however, the Somali refugees are also involved in several economic undertakings, which categorically necessitate informal border crossings. This point is also confirmed by Ambroso (2002: 12; Emphasis added), who pointed out that "the proximity of the two camps with the main areas of origin in Somaliland made it very easy for the refugees to commute and trade across the border: they could literally be *refugees by day and returnees by night*".

The two remaining forms of informal mobility in the area are smuggling and trafficking in person. The *UN Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air* (supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000) defines smuggling as "the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the informal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident" (IOM, 2004: 60). Whereas, according to *the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*, trafficking in persons is understood to include "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation" (IOM, 2004: 65).

While there are also a significant number of men, most informants agree those who are smuggled and trafficked along the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands are mostly young women. These women originated on the main from Amhara, Oromia (Arsi) and Tigray regions. For the whole journey, these women might pay around 10,000-15,000 ETB[33]. This, however, is not concurred by an

[32] Xirsi Cabdi Axmed. *Op. cit*.
[33] Anonymous. *Op. cit.*

empirical study. A study by Buzuayew Hailu *et al.* (2017), found out that of 7211 informal migrants put under control by Harari Regional Police from February- July 2014, only 1038 (i.e., 14.4%) are female. The study noted that the majority of informal migrants in Eastern Ethiopia or who used the routes there are found in their young adulthood (20-39 years old).

The major actors involved in the informal migration business are brokers, coordinators, service providers and public officials. Especially the brokers are the backbone of the informal migration network. Buzuayew Hailu *et al*. (2017) has identified three types of brokers as local, transit and desert brokers. The local brokers are those who live in the places of origin of the migrants. They are members of their respective local community, with a major role of recruiting and delivering migrants. Transit brokers are play an intermediary role and live in such major towns as Addis Ababa, Harar, Jijiga, Tog Wajaale and Hart Sheik. Intelligence sharing on the conduct of law enforcement officials is also their major task. The desert brokers are those who live either in Ethiopia and/or immediate neighboring countries, with a network of overseas traffickers. The brokers are also assisted by several coordinators, who often proved to be very rich individuals.

Local service providers in Jijiga town are also part of this huge network. Important among these are Bajaj drivers and grocery/hotel owners. The main task of Bajaj drivers is bringing the migrants from Harar *Kella*, the entry point of Jijiga, to the hotel/pension affiliated with their respective network. The brokers and their secretive Bajaj drivers will wait for the migrants around a place known as "*Selasa Menged*".

After entering to Jijiga, the migrants will stay in a secure hotel or pension until the time permits their 'safe' transfer to the border towns. From Jijiga, the migrants will be taken to the border towns. Their movement often occurs at night, in which the minibuses are employed. The significant route here again is Tog Wajaale. This is a route for a significant share of informal migration of Ethiopians to Somaliland. Note that there is an 'Amhara Sefer' in Hargeisa, in which are found around 3000-4000 Ethiopians. In fact, not all these migrants are formally allowed into the country, but the Ethiopian Consulate there has the knowledge of this. The majority of these migrant workers are women, estimated around 90 %, these women originally came from different places but on the main from Amhara, Tigray and Oromia regions. In Wajaale, there are Somaliland and Arab brokers, who take them to several Arab countries, mainly to Saudi Arabia. The second important route is that of Awbarre. In terms of informal human mobility, the role of Hart Sheik is quite minimal. The main reason that limit Hart Sheikh's importance in this business is poor quality of the road linking Jijiga and Hart Sheik[34].

Behind the curtain, there is also the involvement of corrupted government officials. These include the Militia, the regional Police, soldiers and the border officials. Without the presence of corrupt members of the regional and federal police force, the migration would not have been a vibrant business (Buzuayew Hailu *et al*., 2017). For instance, in the move from Jijiga to the border towns, the police officials request around 2000 ETB per minibus.

4.4. Conclusion

It was discussed in the conceptual chapter of this thesis that frontiers have their own economic relations, deeply entrenched in the unique settings of the area and at different levels of integration with the 'heartland' economy. In this chapter, attempt has been made to present a descriptive and explanatory account of the prevailing trends of trade relations and human mobility, formal and informal, in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands, with particular reference to the post-1991 period.

The present chapter also addresses the multiple "forms and layers of porosity" (Ghosh, 2011: 49) that gave the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands their distinctive nature as zones of intense contact. It shows that cross-border interactions, either in the form of trade or human mobility continue to be an integral feature of everyday life in these borderlands. The high level of economic exchange is facilitated by the cultural-linguistic similarity of the border communities and the amicable political relations between Ethiopia and Somaliland in the post-1991 period. In Martinez's typology of borderlands (discussed in Chapter Two), the post-1991 Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands could rightly be considered as interdependent borderlands.

Having surveyed the contemporary aspects of economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands, the next chapter examines the institutional mechanisms that the Ethiopian government put in place to centrally control these economic activities. The chapter also seeks to discuss the development of infrastructures as instruments augmenting state control in these

[34] Xirsi Cabdi. *Op. cit.*

borderlands. This will be followed by a discussion on the dynamics of ‘everyday resistance’ to state control that the local community employed.

CHAPTER FIVE

GOVERNANCE OF THE FRONTIER ECONOMY

5.1. Introduction

The preceding chapter discussed the contemporary trends of economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands with the objective of setting the ground for discussions on dynamics of control and resistance in the area. This chapter seeks to examine the institutional mechanisms of state control, the development of 'infrastructural power', and dynamics of 'everyday resistance' in the area.

First, it discusses the mechanisms of controlling the flow of goods and people in the borderlands. Traditionally, projecting authority in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands has always been a demanding endeavor to the Ethiopian state apparatuses (Clapham, 2006). Recently, however, Ethiopia had attempted to exert its full authority and control borderland economic activities. The development of new procedures, regulations and infrastructures is part of the general trend of governmentalization of the frontier. Bilateral engagement with the Republic of Somaliland is also one of the more recent attempts aimed at promoting and controlling the border economic relations.

Beyond these state actors, the governance of Ethiopia-Somaliland frontier has also witnessed the rise of important sub-state actors. In Ethiopia, following the regime change in 1991, ethnic-based federal arrangement was announced, creating nine regional states The (Ethiopia) Somali Regional State is one of the regional states created as per the Constitution of the FDRE (Asnake Kefale, 2009). While the Constitution clearly stipulates that the governance of cross-border relations is the mandate of federal government, the regional state in Jijiga has also its own vested interests in the governance of economic relations with neighboring Somali territories (with their eye in revenue generation and maintenance of border security (Eid, 2014 ; Little *et. al*, 2015).

Second, the chapter identifies some of the mechanisms of 'everyday resistance' to state control in the borderlands. Needless to say, the efforts at centrally governing the frontier economy has rendered some activities illegal and criminal. However, not all the transactions are centrally governed by the federal government and the Somali Region. The Somali territories in the Horn are generally known for the existence of "pastoralist landscapes," "the socially and naturally (co-) created contexts that frame the perceived and physical extents of practices and experiences of pastoral societies in their societies" (Frachetti, 2008: 22). The nature of their economic activity, coupled with the cultural ties that bind them, has made the predominantly pastoralist population along the frontier resist state authority (Healy, 2011). The clans and sub-clans which make up the Somali nation are also active participants in the economic governance, often creating and coordinating practices of 'everyday resistance'. Central state rules are "circumvented or violated" (Martinez, 1994a: 23) as long as they adversely affect the interests of borderlanders.

5.2. Controlling Wealth and People in the Frontier Economy

In this sub-section, an interpretive discussion of the formal institutions (i.e., rules and procedures) of economic governance will be held. In the conceptual chapter of this thesis (Chapter Two), the distinction between formal and informal institutions of governance was made. Suffice it is here to remark that formal institutions refers to the official rules enabling or constraining actors' behavior.

Basically, five institutional mechanisms, 'carrots and sticks', which the government used to formalize the frontier economy in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands are discussed below. These are rules concerning the border trade and the FV regulations, technical cooperation, domestic and international, the anti-contraband task-force and command post and the militia. No doubt, there are several mechanisms that are not addressed here, such as the conventional customs offices and use of cash registers (Eid, 2014; Little *et. al*, 2015).

5.2.1. Small-Scale Border Trade

Border trade refers to "a type of commercial activity through which persons or business persons residing at [border] areas undertake their commercial activities through bilateral agreements or unilateral decisions of the countries sharing border with Ethiopia pursuant to the border trade directive issued by the Ministry [of Trade], including crossing the border of the country" (FDRE, 2016).

The border trade regulations, according to Mohammed Aden Ali[35], are put forward in order to mitigate the negative consequences that the anti-contraband activities might bring upon the livelihood of the border communities. Lack of infrastructures was also considered as an important factor for the initiation of the procedures. As in the case with other peripheral regions of Ethiopia, the Somali Region is marked by the low-level of penetration of modern transport and communication services (Asnake Kefale, 2009). Various border trade regimes are applicable to different parts of the country, but they focused mainly on the borderlands with Sudan, Djibouti, Kenya and Somalia. For instance, a bilateral border trade agreement was signed between Ethiopia and Sudan on May 2, 2001 in Addis Ababa. The *Border Trade Protocol between the Government of the FDRE and the Government of the Republic of the Sudan*, as the agreement is formally known, is based on the earlier Trade Agreement of March 6, 2000 between the two. This Protocol defines the 90 km radius between the border of Ethiopia and the Sudan as a border trade area. As far as the Ethiopia-Djiboutian border trade is concerned, the relevant bilateral arrangement is the *Border Trade Protocol between the Government of the FDRE and the Government of the Republic off Djibouti*, signed on February 7, 2015 in the Djibouti City. The Protocol established a Joint Border Trade Committee (JBTC).

As far as the border trade between Ethiopia and Somaliland is concerned, it is governed by unilateral regulations that Ethiopia put in place. The first relevant law concerning the border trade between Ethiopia and Somaliland is the Ministry of Trade and Industry Regulation No. 1/1995, effective from January 1, 2003 on. After seven years, this Regulation was amended due to international and national changes. The Regulation in force currently is Regulation No. 1/2002, effective from November 11, 2009.

As per this Regulation, 10 km radius of the Ethiopian border is considered as the border trade area. Only Ethiopian nationals with a border trade license are permitted to engage in the border trade. The registration and amendment of the border trade license is conducted in the regional Trade Bureau. The value of goods exported or imported by a border trader between Ethiopia and Somalia is 20, 000 ETB per month. It is the responsibility of the Regional Trade Bureau to estimate the value of tradable export items. And, in terms of travel frequency, only two trips are allowed in a

[35] Mohammed Aden Ali. Trade Competition and Consumer Protection Team Leader. *Interview*. Monday, March 6, 2017.

month. As far as the tradable items are concerned, only commodities and live animals including cattle, goat and camel are permissible for import and export through the border trade. The border trade is to be conducted only via the customs checkpoints. The merchants with formal border trade license will go to the nearby checkpoint. There, an inspection of their trade license and their goods will be made by officials. If found in good form, they will be allowed to cross into the Somaliland border. But, their licenses are to stay at the checkpoint, only to be returned after their arrival and inspection and taxation of imported goods (Eid, 2014).

Surprisingly, the small-scale border trade is a predominantly barter economy, exchange of goods for other goods rather than using money. On paper, no currency is allowed in the conduct of the small-scale border trade[36]. The practical application of this rule, however, might be justifiably doubted. In any sense, its novelty lies in its recognition of barter, which is often thought to be "one peculiar to archaic or 'primitive' economies" (Humphrey and Hugh-Jones, 1992: 5; cited in Pankhurst, 2007: 156). This point also seems to confirm Pankhurst's (2007: 156) argument that the barter economy in Ethiopia "has persisted in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, in spite of the monétisation of the economy".

As far as the implementation of this Regulation is concerned, the informants categorically agree that it is not well-implemented as expected[37]. There are several challenges that constrain the smooth implementation of these procedures. First, it is the insignificant amount of trade value that the Regulation allowed. There is a widespread public grievance over this, as one regional trade official pointed out[38]. For instance, a camel used to cost around 5000 ETB at a time when the Regulation was announced. Currently, however, it costs around 20, 000 ETB, making the practical application of the Regulation difficult. As Said Ali, the Trade Control Expert at the Bureau,[39] noted, the Trade Bureau has sent a series of letters for the Revenue and Customs Branch Office, requesting amendments on the trade value. The ERCA-Jijiga Branch, however, paid a deaf ear. And, now, as the formal mechanism is seen as an ineffective, the trade value allowed quite informally is 60, 000 ETB.

---

[36] Wondwossen Mekuria. Trade Expert at the SRS Trade Bureau. *Interview*, Thursday, March 9, 2017.
[37] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*; Said Ali. Trade Control Expert at the SRS Trade Bureau. *Interview*. Tuesday, March 7, 2017; Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit*. Biniyam Tadesse. *Op. cit*.
[38] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*.
[39] Said Ali. *Op. cit.*

Second, it is the existence of less border checkpoints, which exacerbate the problems that the porous border might naturally create. According to Gebre-Tsadik Assefa, currently there are four import-export customs checkpoints. These are found in Tog Wajaale, Awbarre, Dubdub and Ferfer (in Godey Zone). But, these customs checkpoints simply can't manage the border trade of significant intensity. Often, a long line of traffic, both of traders and their animals, is a common feature these custom checkpoints. This obviously to the dismay of the merchants.

Third, it is the existence of informal business networks between the pastoral traders and contraband traders. This has created a suspicion on the part of government custom officials that the Regulation is indeed 'hijacked'. The border traders often complained inequality, mistreatment and harassment by the customs authorities, making them to resort to informal routs to transport their goods[40]. These are generally rooted in the "huge information gap and misconception within the community and district administrations …about the real nature of the [small-scale border] trade", as Eid (2014: 10) remarked.

Fourth, the fact that Somaliland has not yet get a *de jure* state recognition has affected the implementation of border trade rules. The lack of state recognition has made the negotiation of bilateral trade treaty more difficult than what it would have been. For instance, in the Ethiopia-Djibouti borderlands, the two adjoining jurisdictions are recognized, which makes the negotiation of the trade treaty possible and the renegotiations to expand the tradable goods and value easier[41].

5.2.2. Franco-Valuta Regulations

The combination of the above discussed factors led the traders resorting to the use of other alternatives[42]. The border community often takes recourse to other distributors of food stuffs including Merchandise Wholesale & Import Trade Enterprise (MEWIT), the state-owned wholesale company. Until recently, MEWIT is engaged in a wholesale and retail supply of sugar and oil in the Somali Region. While the cooking oil is imported from different parts of the world, the sugar is domestically produced by the Fincha and Metahara sugar factories. MEWIT ceased its distribution of cooking oil in the Somali Region recently. The task of distributing oil in the Somali

[40] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*.
[41] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*.; Said Ali. *Op. cit*.
[42] Said Ali. *Op. cit*.

Region is now dominated by Hamaressa Edible Oil Share Company. Based in Harar, the company manufactures and distributes refined edible oil products.

Recourse to the informal routes has also been taken by some. Most importantly, however, the border community take recourse to the FV procedures[43]. This section seeks to discuss the regulations and implementation concerning the FV procedures. According to the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia (CBE), FV license (permit) is a "license issued to importers of goods on which no foreign exchange is payable".

The importation of goods and commodities on FV basis means that the state have to forgo the import duty and tax, one of its major sources of revenue. So, why FV is allowed to the Somali region? How it does conceptually figures into the frontier governmentality framework? The application of FV in the frontier governance is uniquely important in that it constitute an exception to the rules/procedures applicable at the national level. In fact, the national FV regulation went into several revisions (in 1996 and 2003) since its promulgation in 1992 (FDRE, 1996; FDRE, 2003). In Ethiopia, as does in other countries, the importation of goods on FV is allowed mainly to foreign diplomats and investors.

The first regulation concerning the FV procedures in the Ethiopian borderlands was Regulation No. 28/2002. It allows the import of food items without any tax or duty to the Somali Region. This regulation was repealed by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development [MoFED] Regulation No. 40/2007. The general problem that the Regulation aimed to tackle is the scarcity of basic food items and traditional cloths prevalent in the border regions of Ethiopia, not just the Somali Region. Four causes of this special treatment of border areas are singled out. First, it is lack of road infrastructure. There are no sufficient main trunk road or link roads in the border regions. Related to this, the second factor was the lack of effective economic linkage with the center, creating insufficient supply. The border areas don't easily access basic tradable goods from the Ethiopian 'heartland'. Third, there are concerns over contraband and its effects on health and well-being of the border communities. Fourth, it is the intention of incentivizing formal import-export

[43] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*; Said Ali. *Op. cit*.

trade and discouraging contraband and informal trade that lead to the making of the new Regulation (MoFED, 2007 EC).

Accordingly, the Ministry allowed the import of basic and scarce food items and ‘traditional’ cloths to the border community. The list of these foods and ethnic garments was annexed to the Regulation. For instance, the six food items allowed are rice, pasta, macaroni, sugar, food oil and floor. The ‘traditional cloths’ are those routinely used in the lowland (and Muslim) regions of Ethiopia. These include cane, knickers and petticoats, men’s blouses and belts, Muslim topper, towel, *jalebia*, apron and the like. Two of the single most important innovations of this Regulation are the inclusion of the traditional cloths to the allowed items and the widening of its sphere of implementation. Beyond the Somali Region, the new Regulation now covers the Afar and some zones of the Oromia Region including Borena, Bale, Guji and East Harar Zones and Moyale Woreda. But, the Somali Region still remains the widely covered area under this Regulation, which includes the zonal towns and their surroundings of Degehabur, Fiq, Gode, Korahe, Werder, Jijiga, Shinile, Liben and Afder (MoFED, 2007 EC).

As per the Regulation, the import of the allowed goods is conducted by traders. These traders are those registered by the MoT or those selected by the respective Trade Bureaus of Afar, Oromia and Somali Regions. Three merchants or cooperatives are selected for each border area. These merchants are to use a single transport line from the ports of origin to the places of destination. The amount, quantity and type of the would-be-imported goods is also determined by the respective Regional Trade Bureaus. The Regulation strictly prohibits the transfer to other parts of the region or the country or extra-uses of the imported goods. It is the responsibility of the regional Trade Bureaus to hold the merchants/cooperatives accountable and take action on the transgressors. The ERCA HO at Addis Ababa assesses the workings of the regional trade bureaus and regional branch Revenue and Custom offices. These assessments are conducted two times per year (MoFED, 2007 EC).

It is not quite clear on what objective grounds the selection of the three merchants or cooperatives is conducted. The Regional Trade Bureau selected three merchants for each zone/Woreda on

Tahsas 6, 2007 EC. (December 15, 2014)[44]. However, in a letter written to the ERCA Jijiga, Dire Dawa and Moyale Branch Offices by the Ethiopian Somali Regional State, Trade and Transport Bureau and signed by Ato Mommed Osman on 9/5/2009 EC, the Trade and Transport Bureau notified that it took action on all zonal importers selected as of 6/04/2007 EC and replace them by new ones, all of which are now cooperatives. Mommed Osman declined to comment on the reason for the dismissal of the merchants. But, Said Ali explained to me that it was misuse of their right by transferring the imported goods to regions and areas not covered by the Regulation that lead to their dismissal. And, in the letter, the earlier zonal importers are accused of using the FV procedures contrary to its intention and to unjust enrichment of themselves. Accordingly, three cooperatives are selected for each respective zone. For instance, for the import of food items into the Fafan Zone, Gureyzka, Karamara and Melkeka Orphanage Cooperatives are selected. And, for the import of traditional cloths, Iftin Import and Export, Dulkebo and Qaballe Orphanage Cooperatives are selected.

The amount of imported food items for each zone/Woreda is determined by the Trade Bureau on the basis of the number of population. Thus, a Quota system is applied for each of the nine zones. The largest quota, for instance, is allowed to Fafan Zone, which is formerly known as Jijiga Zone. To Fafan Zone, with an estimated population number of 1, 190, 794 (CSA, 2007), is allowed per month 24, 045 quintal of rice, 14, 425 quintal of floor, 14, 425 cartons of pasta, 72, 135 *jerrycans* of oil, 24, 045 quintal of sugar and 4809 cartons of macaroni. The smallest quota is allocated for Warder Zone, which currently is known as Doollo. With an estimated population number of 306, 488 (CSA, 2007), Doollo Zone is allowed 7984 q of rice, 6387 q of floor, 31, 936 cartons of pasta, 23, 952 *jerrycans* of oil, 7984 q of sugar and 15, 968 cartons of macaroni, according to documents from the Regional Trade Bureau.

Coming to FV implementation in the Somali Region, there is a categorical agreement that its public acceptance is less than optimal. Little *et al.* (2015) noted that, this is due to the unintended consequences of the regulation, as it created a hike in food prices. However, the minimal acceptance should be sought in the procedures of implementation. As noted above, the selection criteria is quite subjective. The whole process was secretive. However, these regulations has

[44] My request to have a copy of this letter was declined by Mommed Osman Mommed, Trade Promotion and Research Case Team Coordinator at the SRS Trade and Transport Bureau.

“effectively created local monopolies” (Little *et. al*., 2015). It is here, then, that the ‘magic’ of political clientelism comes to the fore. Political clientelism is understood here as broadly referring "a more or less personalized, affective, and reciprocal relations relationship between actors, or sets of actors, commanding unequal resources and involving mutually beneficial transactions” (Lemarchand and Legg, 1972: 151).

The clientelistic networks, however, didn’t dilute the clan affiliations prevalent in the area. As one interviewee explained, the fact that the Ogadeni clan has dominated the current regional government means that in practice they are more favored than businessmen of other clans or cooperatives dominated by other rival clans[45]. Similarly, the businessmen use bribery, personal connections, or some other means to attempt to influence policy decisions and gain rents in import licenses.

The importance of clientele and clan networks lies in the fact that despite the less favorable attitude of ordinary citizens towards the FV rules, as the table below clearly shows, the total amount of revenue that the government loss on the FV basis is increasing from year to year. This is a clearly indication of the widespread use of the FV procedures in the borderlands is indeed the work of informal networks. The following table shows the loss to state revenue from the six food items and traditional cloths imported from abroad on FV basis, and their entry procedures was facilitated at the Jijiga Branch of the ERCA.

Fiscal Year in EC	***Revenue Loss on FV Basis* (ETB)**	***Total Revenue Loss (ETB)***	***Percentage of FV Loss***
2011-08-07_2012-08-07	433, 598, 847.26	461, 694, 789.78	93.9 %
2012-08-07_2013-08-07	609, 996, 579.23	660, 312, 001.08	92.3 %
2013-08-07_2014-08-07	939, 413, 748.24	973, 947, 538.38	96.4 %

[45] RM. *Op. cit*.

2014-08-07_2015-08-07	1, 545, 297, 494.42	1, 660, 460, 088.35	93.0 %
2015-08-05_2016-08-06	2, 154, 040, 359.92	2, 253, 332, 416.30	95.5 %
2016-08-07_2016-12-29*	691, 957, 251.66	759, 465, 025.35	91.1 %

Table 5.1: Total Revenue Forgone from the Jijiga Branch-ERCA.

Source: Ethiopian Revenue and Custom Authority, Jijiga Branch Office.

**NB: The 2016 figure shows only a six-month performance.*

5.2.3. Technical/Cross-border Cooperation

According to the IOM (2004: 64), technical cooperation' is defined as a coordinated action which involves "[t]he sharing of information and expertise on a given subject usually focused on public sector functions (e.g. development of legislation and procedures, assistance with the design and implementation of infrastructure, or technological enhancement". This mechanism is currently used specifically in the governance of human mobility and trade relations in and across the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands[46].

The cooperation is found both at home and abroad. At home, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) regarding informal human mobility is being drafted. The MoU is being negotiated since January 2009 EC between and expected to be signed by the Bureau of Labour and Social Affiars (BoLSA) of the respective regions, representing the Administration of the Somali Regional State, Harari Regional State and Eastern Oromia Zone of the Oromia Region the Labour and Social Affiars Agency of Dire Dawa City Administration. Expected to last till the end of the Growth and Transformation Plan II (GTP II), the Draft MoU aims at addressing the problem of human trafficking. As per the Draft MoU, these areas of Eastern Ethiopia are among the major places of transit and command centers for smuggling and human trafficking in the country. Thus, the major objective of the MoU is controlling informal human migration in all its forms in and/or linking Somali, Harari, Oromia and Dire Dawa. To the proper fulfillment of the objective and goals, the

[46] Nuriye Abdulahi. Employment Service and Labour Administration Core Process at the Somali Regional State BoLSA. *Interview*. Monday, March 13, 2017.

Draft MoU envisage the establishment of a Joint Committee of Neighbouring Regions and a Technical Committee. It also provides for the exchange of information and expertise and an evaluation mechanism assessing the performance of all stakeholders as per their respective powers and functions. The stakeholders with specific functions assigned to them by the Draft include the Regional Women's and Children Affairs Bureau, the Regional Police Commission, the Regional Justice, Security and Legal Affiars Bureau, the Regional Mass Media Agency and Regional Technical and Vocational Education and Training Agency (Draft MoU, 2017).

In terms of cross-border cooperation, the Ethiopian government is working in collaboration with the Government of Somaliland[47]. In addition, the Somali Region have had a vital interest in fostering positive cross-border relations with Somaliland. Thus, the Region exercises what James W. Scott (2000: 146) described in the context of Germany's states transboundary activity as "quasi-diplomatic roles".

In fact, as Nuriye Abdulahi pointed out, there is no positive law or any treaty that provides for a bilateral cooperation between Ethiopia and Somaliland in terms of controlling human mobility in the borderlands. But, even under such a condition, there is a clear manifestation of cooperation based solely on *bona fide*. Especially, they are engaged in the administrative detention and transfer of informal migrants who happened to have violated immigration laws and regulations applicable in the respective boundaries. Bilateral forums of discussion and sensitization workshops focused on human trafficking and smuggling have also been held in Wajaale and Hart Sheikh between the Somali Region and Somaliland. These discussions aimed at fully extracting the best practices of each party in terms of tackling the issue at hand and thereby building their capacity. In a Consultative Meeting held in 2012, Ethiopia and Somaliland reached an agreement to establish a Joint Committee comprising of local officials at zonal and Woreda level and traditional leaders (Agreed Minutes, 2012).

In terms of cross-border cooperation in economic governance, Ethiopia had established a trade office and a consulate in Hargeisa, Somaliland's capital (Duale and Ahmed, 2014), signed several

[47] Nuriye Abdulahi. *Op. cit.*

agreements aimed at promoting their relations, economically and politically, with implications for the frontier political economy.

Regarding customs administration, for instance, Ethiopia proposed a 'Memorandum of Understanding on Mutual Administrative Assistance' in the 2012 Joint Consultative Meeting. This aims at combating informal trade on these borderlands (Agreed Minutes, 2012). Similarly, a Draft Bilateral Border Trade Protocol was presented by Ethiopia, which didn't come to a realization till this time. In the meantime, the mutual assistance agreement was signed between the ERCA and the Somaliland Customs Authority (SCA) in 2013. As per Proclamation No. 587/2008, the ERCA has the power to "enter into contracts and international agreements regarding tax and customs administrations" (FDRE, 2008, Article 6/16). Officially known as the 'Memorandum of Understanding on Mutual Administrative Assistance' between the ERCA and the SCA on Establishing the Customs Bilateral Agreement, the Agreement provides for, *inter alia*, a joint cooperation in combating contraband, smuggling and tax evasion in their respective borderlands. In terms of mutual assistance, it was provided for capacity building, exchange of information on import, export and transit goods and intelligence sharing on prevention of smuggling and trafficking of goods along the border.

As it has been pointed out in the previous chapter, the restrictive tariff and duty regimes of Ethiopia are one of the major factors favoring informal trade over formal businesses[48]. Due to this, the recent negotiations between Ethiopia and the Government of Somaliland (GoS) come to include an idea 'special tariffs' by Ethiopia[49]. The draft "Customs Transit Protocol Agreement between the SCA and the Ethiopian Revenue and Custom Authority" comes to include provisions related to these 'special tariffs'.

5.2.4. Anti-Contraband Task-Force

One of the federal government's official positions is that contraband and informal trading activities are challenges for rapid growth and good governance. In particular, these activities are singled out by the government as diminishing the rate of return for domestic and foreign trade and investment, limiting state's capacity by draining a valuable source of foreign exchange and taxation, creating

[48] KT. *Op. cit.*
[49] Fikru Taddesse. *Op. cit.*

artificial scarcity of goods (which in turn led to inflation) and supporting what it considers to be 'anti-peace and anti-development' forces as lucrative source of revenue (Federal Contraband and Illicit Trade Prevention Task-Force [FCITPTF], 2009 EC).

These are the government's key justifications for its use of 'sticks' to tackle the contraband problem. Thus, a Federal anti-contraband task force and command post were formed around 2006 EC. These are preceded by similar sorts of organizations. For instance, Colonel Gobezay Desta, the Manager-General of ERCA-Jijiga Branch Office, explained that there already was a Command Post functioning in the Somali Region. It was concerned with addressing the security threats including anti-terror and arms trade activities[50].

The now-functioning anti-contraband Federal Task-Force and Command Post were established by the personal initiative of Prime Minister Haile-Mariam Dessalegn. There are no federal legislations, either in the form proclamations, regulations or directives, providing for these organizations[51]. This doesn't mean, however, that these institutions are informal. As it was discussed in the conceptual chapter, procedures that are made, communicated, and implemented via conduits that are generally recognized as official are said to constitute formal institutions. The day-to-day activities of the Task-Force and the Command Post fit this description of formal institutions.

The Federal Task-Force is convened by the Cabinet Affairs Minister from the Office of the Prime Minister and the Director-General of ERCA. Its members include Ministers of Trade, of Federal and Pastoral Affairs, of Industry, of Foreign Affairs, of Mining, Petroleum and Natural Gas, of Agriculture and Natural Resources, of Animals and Fish Resource, Federal Attorney-General, Governor of the National Bank of Ethiopia, General-Commissioners of the Federal Police Commission and Addis Ababa Police Commission and the like (FCITPTF, 2009 EC).

Under the Task-Force, an Anti-Contraband Command Post was established. This Command Post is convened by the Deputy Director of the Law Enforcement Process at the ERCA HO and the

---

[50] Col. Gobezay Desta. Manager-General of ERCA-Jijiga Branch Office. *Interview*. Friday, March 10, 2017.

[51] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*; Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit*.

State-Minister of the Ministry of Trade. Most of its members are the State Ministers and vice governors/directors of the above mentioned Ministries and federal agencies (FCITPTF, 2009 EC).

These federal structures are cascaded to all lower levels of government. The replica of the Task-Force and the Command Post are thus found in all regions, Zones and Woredas, city and sub-city administrations[52]. The Somali Region is no an exception. In its functions, the Regional Task-Force supplements the Regional Security Council. The Regional Task-Force is convened by Head of the Regional Government and Manager of the Regional Trade Bureau. Its members include managers of such regional offices as the Revenue and Custom Authority, the Justice Bureau, the Agriculture and Pastoral Bureau, the Administration and Security Affiars Bureau, the Militia Affiars Secretariat and the Commissioner of the Regional Police. The membership of the Regional Task-Force includes representatives of the Federal government, such as the representatives of the Ministry of Defense, the Federal Police, the National Intelligence and Security and ERCA. Another feature of the Regional Task-Force is the dominance of the military and the paramilitary, as opposed to civil officials. Under the Task-Force, a Regional Anti-Contraband Command Post was also established. It is headed respectively by the Deputy Head of the Regional Government and the Manager of the Somali Region Administration and Security Affairs Bureau. And, its members include the Vice Managers of some of the members of the Task-Force (FCITPTF, 2009 EC).

The powers and functions of the Federal Task-Force include the formulation and implementation of the general policy, strategic plan, regulations and procedures of the anti-contraband and anti-illicit financial circulation activities, overseeing and assisting the implementation of these plans by regional governments and providing for a cooperative work with neighbouring countries and holding all responsible government offices accountable. Under the Task-Force, the Command Post is tasked with formulation of detailed plans that best advances effective and efficient implementation and overseeing its implementation and addressing the hurdles of import-export trade (FCITPTF, 2009 EC).

Regarding its activities so far, Col. Gobezay, who is also the Secretary-General of the anti-contraband Task-Force and the Command Post in the Somali Region, noted that they have been

[52] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*; Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit*.

working together with the Regional government and proved to be successful[53]. However, in 2009 EC, no major meetings has been held due to the severe drought that afflict the region and other parts of the country.

5.2.5. The Militia

Undoubtedly, the prevention of informal trading activities and circulation of foreign currencies proved to be a rather challenging task for the Ethiopian state authorities. Thus, the deployment of the people's militia is taken as another institutional mechanism of responding to contraband and illicit trading activities in the Somali Region. In everyday parlance, the militia refers to a group of people who are armed and trained as soldiers, but are not part of the permanent army. In fact, they can be called to join the army if needed. And, in many countries, the number of state-supporting militias is growing rapidly, which "constitutes not just a deregulation of military force, but an active delegation of the state's coercive hegemony and a partial suspension of the state's sovereignty" (Salmon, 2006: 20).

The militia structure is not a constitutionally-founded one in Ethiopia. Neither the Constitution of the FDRE nor the Constitution of the Somali Regional State mentions even the term militia. In fact, Article 47(2.6) of the Regional Constitution stipulate that the Regional government maintain its own police force for maintenance of regional peace and security, but not a militia. And, again, there is no proclamation or regulation providing for the establishment of the militia in the post-1991 Ethiopia. Nevertheless, its origins precede the promulgation of the Constitution itself, and it is still found in the lower levels of government. It was the *Derg* regime, which first established the People's Militia as per Proclamation No. 71/1975. The people's militia was first designed to "safeguard the Revolution" (Clapham, 1988). With the downfall of the *Derg*, the Militia organization was abandoned by the incumbent government.

What caused the use of such an informal institution by the state? As Mohammed Aden Ali explained to me, failures of the anti-contraband initiatives of the Federal government has led to the reconstitution of the militia in these endeavors. The failings of the federal government, according to him, are on three grounds: fund, logistics and transport and incentive[54]. Federal

[53] Col. Gobezay Desta. *Op. cit*.
[54] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*.

initiatives were short of sufficient funds and logistics. Above all, members of the federal apparatus were called for lacking in morale. The federal security forces were in shambles as they lack the moral support of local communities. Despite maintaining a significant military presence in major towns and some strategic villages, the large swath of the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands are conspicuously out of government sight and military control due of infrastructural limitations. To rectify this, the government generally "attempt at fashioning administration to local circumstances" (Hopkins, 2015: 369), as part of which it heavily relies on locally recruited militia. This also plays well into dominant discourse of 'decentralization and local governance' in the post-1991 period, the broadcast of power through local institutions.

Thus, currently, the government use the militia as an instrument of centralized governance. The militia allegedly works jointly with the Federal Police, the Regional Police and ERCA. Most members of the local militia are former members of the ONLF. All the militia are required to undergo a basic training on the Constitution of the FDRE and the general state of development in which the country is found. At first, the mandate was to secure the Region by engaging in counter-insurgency activities. Now, this has widened to carrying out anti-contraband and illicit financial circulation activities and enforcing the decisions of state authorities. According to Mohammed Aden Ali[55], there are many hot spots where the militia are conducting its activities including Jijiga town and its surroundings, Tog Wajaale and the larger Fafan and Jarar Zones of the Region (Cisman Mahamed, Personal Communication, May 20, 2017).

The organizational structure of the militia is found at the regional, zonal, *Woreda* and *Kebele* levels. At the Regional level, there is the Administration and Security Affairs Bureau of the Region. All security offices the lower tiers of government are accountable to this Regional Bureau. Surprisingly and out of these organizational structure, the Regional Trade Bureau have also its own militia structure, that it was reported that the '*Kilil* 5 Trade Bureau Militias' took a large amount of import contraband, with estimated value of 253, 939.00 in October 2009 EC and 747, 860.00 in December 2009 EC, according to reports of the ERCA-Jijiga Branch.

Yet, the record of the militia performance so far is very poor. In fighting against contraband, the militia achieved very little. It is rather the Federal Police in Jijiga and Tog Wajaale, the Regional

[55] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit.*

Special Police ('*liyu'*) and the ERCA Control Centers in Wajaale, who achieved more in controlling contraband (Cisman Mahamed, Personal Communication, May 20, 2017). What makes the militia ineffective in controlling contraband? One explanation for this seems to be the adaptation of the militia members to the local community[56]. In fact, the militia are themselves members of the local community, with strong bonds of clan and religious affiliation. The federal security forces doesn't stay at a single check post for more than four consecutive months,

The regional forces, in contrast, despite even being transferred from one place to another, would be more adaptable. And, the militia are no exception to this adaptation syndrome. Change in the placement of the militias aimed at sitting the state "above society" (Hansen and Stepputat 2001, 15). As Oskar Verkaaik (2001: 348) remarked in the Pakistani context,

> *It is of some importance to see that the reification of the state can be reached only by separating the state from society, and that this separation is a discursive or imaginary practice. Concretely, state functionaries are seldom, if ever, not part of society. They may belong to a particular ethnic community or an income group, they are men or women, and so on; yet they derive their power from the negation of their social identities and the claim that they, as state functionaries, stand outside or above society, act impartially, and are not directed by any prejudice or self-interest.*

In their activities, the militia in Somali Region has not yet been able to 'stand outside or above' their own society, and effectively help the central state to control the everyday activities. And, when the militias see, they see rather (for want of a better expression) like Nasreddin[57], not like a state. In the conceptual chapter, it was noted that in the frontiers, there might arise 'alternative ways of seeing' as an act of resistance. By seeing like Nasreddin, the militia circumvent state control from within.

Still, another explanation is the disorganization, if not the misorganization, of the militia structure in general. The decentralized nature of militia structure has led to the creation of multiple lines of

---

[56] Wuhib Abdulahi. *Op. cit.*

[57] Nasreddin (1274-1356) was a mystical-poet and a Sufi saint, famous for his fables. In one of his popular fables, 'There is more Light here', he shows the difficulty of seeing. The story goes that someone saw Nasreddin searching for something on the ground. What have you lost, Mulla?' he asked. 'My key,' said the Mulla. So they both went down on their knees and looked for it. After a time the other man asked: 'Where exactly did you drop it? 'In my own house.' 'Then why are you looking here?' 'There is lighter here than inside my own house'(Shah, 1983: 9).

command and conflicting strategies, leading to ineffective and inefficient performance in the fight against contraband.

5.3. Technologies of Government: Augmenting Control through Infrastructural Power

This section briefly explores the attempt by the Ethiopian government of augmenting its control in the eastern borderlands through the development of infrastructures. This can well be understood through Michael Mann's seminal studies on the history and theory of power. Mann (1984; 1986) distinguishes two dimensions of state power as despotic and infrastructural. The key variable here is the relation between the state (in the form of elites) and the society. Accordingly, despotic power refers to "the range of actions which the elite is empowered to undertake without routine, institutionalised negotiation with civil society groups … power by the state elite itself *over* civil society" (Mann, 1984: 188; 190; Emphasis in original). In contrast, infrastructural power refers to "the capacity of the state to actually penetrate civil society, and to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm… the power of the state to penetrate and centrally co-ordinate the activities of civil society through its own infrastructure" (Mann, 1984: 189-190). Mann (1984: 192) argues that the development of infrastructural state power is conducted through "some logistical techniques" in the long-term. These include division of power, developments in literacy and coinage and the "[r]apidity of communication of messages and of transport of people and resources through improved roads, ships, telegraphy, etc." (Mann, 1984: 192).

In the context of the Somali Region, Tobias Hagmann (2005a: 450) rightly noted that the poor record of decentralization is "a cause and an effect of the lack of tangible progress in infrastructure development during the past decade". This being as it may, the lack of infrastructure has limited even a centralized governance, not less of the economic activities in the borderlands.

State authorities both at the federal and regional levels recognize that the development of infrastructures is a categorical imperative for an effective governance of the economic relations in these borderlands. Needless to say, weaknesses in infrastructure has led to a limited state presence in the frontier. Importantly, these consequently led to high transport costs, which in turn has favored informal trade in the borderlands. The panacea to this demanding challenge was considered to be the development of modern infrastructures, roads in particular. Thus, the development of roads is used as a crucial mechanism of addressing the problem of state presence and it now augments infrastructural power of the Ethiopian state[58].

Road-building enterprises in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands began by the mid-twentieth century. The first attempts were made during the brief Italian Occupation. Before this, nothing but dirt track ran between these borderlands. The long-distance travel were conducted along the dusty desert routes, either on foot or such animals as camels or donkeys (Pankhurst, 1965; Baker, 1974; Tibebe Eshete, 1988). The development of roads has led to several consequences, intended and unintended. Social relationships, for instance, were transformed. The road infrastructure has also markedly impacted the economic activities of the borderlands, facilitating easy transfer of people and commodities and improving market access. Most importantly, however, the roads were used to help state entrench its military authority. Efforts to build, fund and maintain roads were used to make the centralized and territorial governance of the frontier areas effective. By the turn of this century, the primitive routes were transformed into a network of roads connecting the major towns in the interior with the border towns, Awbarre, Hart Sheikh and Wajaale.

The national road-building policies in the 1990s and early 2000s emphasize the restoration and completion of the ravaged road networks (Ibrahim Worku, 2011). In the Somali Region particularly, no new constructions were made, as the maintenance of security and stability remained the overriding interest of both federal and regional governments. Major developments in infrastructure began to take place over the past 10 years or so[59]. Accordingly, road coverage and accessibility have been massively increased. Roads are proved to be the dominant modes of transportation throughout the Region. And, this is in line with the national figures (Ibrahim Worku, 2011).

The present federal and regional road network in the borderlands consisted of 92 km long and 7m width unpaved/gravel level and 134 km long of paved/asphalt level with 9m width[60]. The asphalt road links Jijiga-Wajaale (64 km) and Jijiga-Kebri Beyah (70 km). The unpaved road links Jijiga-Awbarre (70 km) and Kebri Beyah-Hart Sheik (22 km). Thus, classification of road network in the

[58] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*; Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit*. Cabdilaahi Maxamed Cabdi. Deputy Manager at the ESRS Road Authority. Interview. Wednesday, May 17, 2017.
[59] Cabdilaahi Maxamed Cabdi. *Op. cit*.
[60] Ahmed Nur Omar. Planning and Directorate Director. *Interview*, Wednesday, May 17, 2017.

borderlands includes asphalt, gravel and community roads. As shown in figure 5.1, the red lines show the asphalt, the light blue indicate the gravel and the green lines depict community/earth roads. The problem of community roads lies in their seasonality, i.e., they are dry-weather tracks.

On community roads, these are rural and urban Kebele/Woreda roads, which are the dominant types of roads in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands.[61] According to a study by the ERA (2008; cited in Ibrahim Worku, 2011: 12), the community roads are constructed under the 'food for work' scheme, in which food ration usually from the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) operating in the Region is distributed in exchange for labor. Important in this regard is that "community roads are not well accounted and managed by either the federal or regional road administration", as Ibrahim Worku (2011: 12) clearly stated.

In terms of the institutional setting of roads development, both the Federal and Regional governments are engaged in the governance of road infrastructures. The Federal Government is represented by the Ethiopian Roads Authority (ERA). While its institutional roots goes back to the founding of the Imperial Highway Authority (IHA) by the Imperial Government of Ethiopia (Bahru Zewde, 2002; Ibrahim Worku, 2011), the ERA was reestablished on June 5, 1997. As per Proclamation No. 80/1997, the ERA, which is accountable to the Prime Minister, is tasked with the development and administration of road networks and assets (FDRE, 1997a). As far as its activities in the Somali Region and the border areas are concerned, it is tasked with the development of roads linking various zones and zones with the international boundary.

At the Regional level, there is the Somali Regional State Road Authority, an autonomous regional authority established in 2002. The administration of rural roads, which is assigned by the Federal government to the Regions, is undertaken by the Ethiopian Somali Regional State Rural Roads Authority (RRA), established in September 1992 EC (1999 GC). The objective of the RRA is the development and administration of rural roads through popular participation. The Regional RRA is currently mandated with strengthening the capacity of rural roads through continual construction and maintenance, effective regulation and encouragement of the private sector. The development

[61] Cabdilaahi Maxamed Cabdi. *Op. cit.*

of Woreda-Woreda and Kebele-Woreda roads is mandated to these organizations. In fact, in Kebele-Woreda roads, the respective Woredas have also their own say[62].

On the whole, the massive road development and maintenance in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands has obviously increased the presence of state. In spite of the expansion of "roads, more roads and always roads" (Weber, 1976: 195), there are still challenges. The road sector in these areas is marked by contests and conflicts over funding, spending and other engineering issues, inefficient management and poor road conditions[63]. The Regional Administration demanded that the Federal Government pay for roads that they could not afford. In fact, Cabdilaahi Maxamed Cabdi, Deputy Manager at the ESRS Road Authority, noted that the construction of roads "is beyond the capacity of the Region"[64].Whereas, the federal authorities want the Region to pay for the construction of roads through taxation. The necessity of "adequate and sustainable flow of fund" has led the Federal Government to establish a 'second-generation'[65] Road Fund on March 6, 1997 (FDRE, 1997b). As per Proclamation No. 66/1997, the core objective of the Road Fund is financing of road maintenance and safety measures, through funds collected from several sources including government budget, and various fines and fees from road users. The Road Fund is accountable to the Ministry of Transport.

---

[62] Cabdilaahi Maxamed Cabdi. *Op. cit*.
[63] Ahmed Nur Omar. Op. cit; Cabdilaahi Maxamed Cabdi. *Op. cit*.
[64] Cabdilaahi Maxamed Cabdi. *Op. cit.*
[65] According to Gwilliam and Kumar (2003:114), "second-generation" road funds are designed to be autonomous agencies that-directed primarily by road users-have the power to raise and allocate revenue for road maintenance".

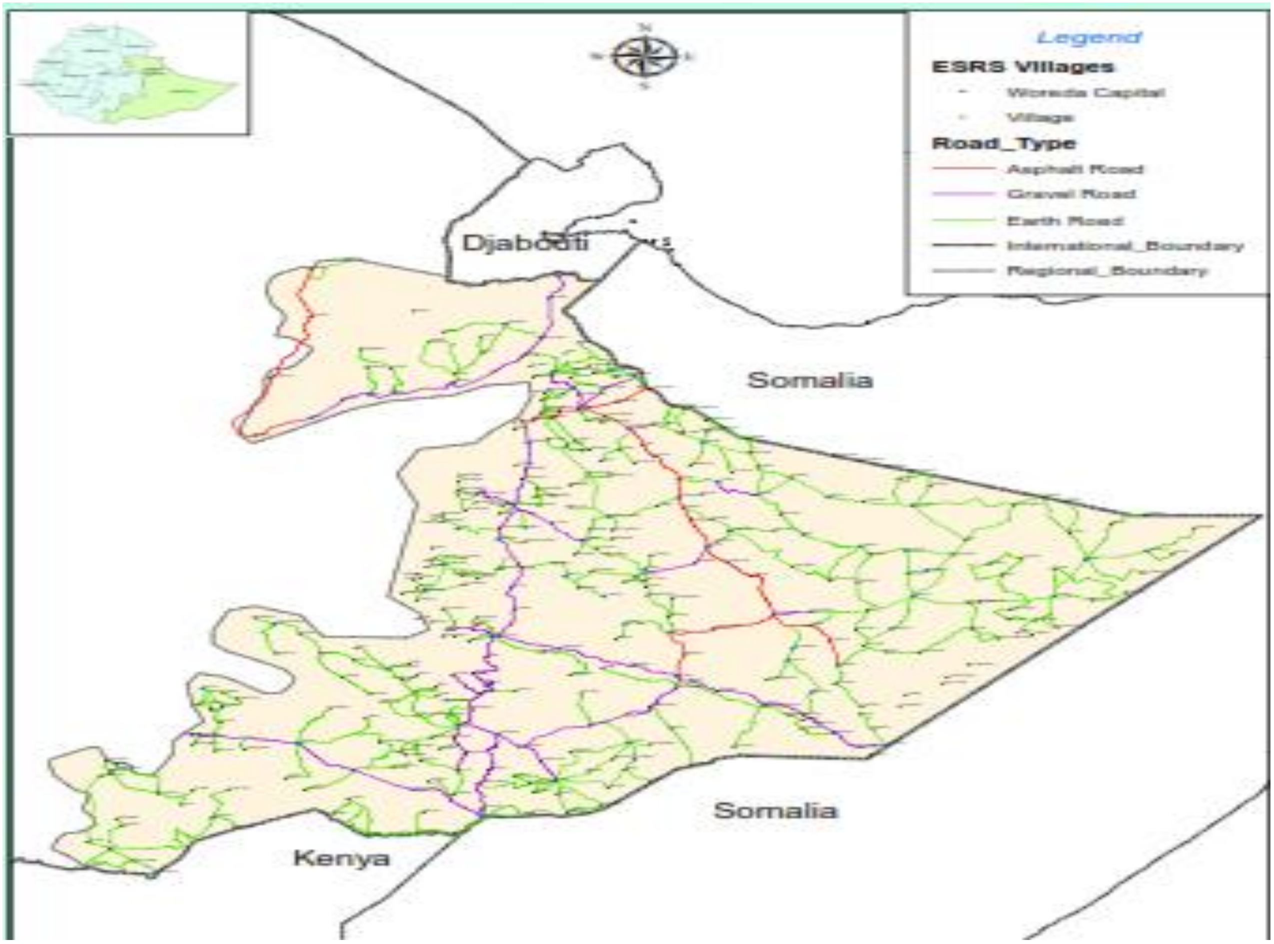


Figure 5.1: Ethiopian Somali Regional State, Road Network Map

Source: SRS BoFED

The question of where the roads should go was also a controversial issue in almost all road construction projects, community roads in particular. Lack of integrated and coordinated designing of road development projects has defined the relationship between Federal and Regional road Agencies.

5.4. Resisting State Control: Local Forms of Resistance and Regulation

Tobias Hagmann (2005b: 512) rightly observed that "[h]istorically, attempts to tax the predominantly mobile pastoralists and more recently to stop cross-border 'contraband' trade with neighbouring Somaliland and Somalia have frustrated Somali-Ethiopians". These attempts to 'centrally and territorially' govern the economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands have met with strong resistance from the community. The responses of the local population in the border areas and the wider border heartland to the state authority vary from place to place and from time to time. As was seen above, the informal but licit activities, contraband and smuggling on the main, represent the resistance of the local population. This is despite all the government rhetoric on ‘popular mobilization’ to support its endeavors of preventing and eliminating contraband, tax evasion and illicit financial circulation in the Region.

Below discussed are varieties of resistance mechanisms and modes practiced by ordinary citizens in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. It is, however, important to note here that these mechanisms don’t stop resisting and circumventing state controls. Underwritten in mutual trust, kinship and patron-client relations, they provide alternative means of regulations. Writing about the livestock export trade in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands, Abdurehman Eid (2014: 5) noted that the export trade “is sustained through intricate social networks that cross geo-political boundaries, whereby the interior rangelands are linked to the ports through a series of clan based corridors”.

5.4.1. *Corruption: Can we do Without It?*

The first means of resisting state authority is a widespread presence of corruption. In the conceptual chapter, it was pointed out that frontier economic relations are embedded within social relations. This is true in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. Corruption in the economic governance of these borderlands is “a common and routine element of the functioning of the administrative and para-administrative apparatus, from top to bottom”, as Sardan’s (1999: 28) second thesis on the moral economy of corruption in Africa have it. It manifests itself primarily through the forms of tender and concession fraud, nepotism, favoritism, lack of accountability and bribes to petty state functionaries (Eid, 2014). [66]. By these mechanisms, the state apparatuses are made vulnerable either to incoherent actions or inactions in such areas as economic decision-making, tax administration, control of informal migration and anti-contraband activities[67]. For instance, in the checkpoints, there is a widespread use of bribes. One interviewee had pointed out that the policewomen/men themselves have their own intermediary brokers, who facilitate the bribes. And, the ordinary citizens perceive that bribes are necessary for effective fulfillment of institutional responsibilities

[66] Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit*; TZ. *Op. cit*; Anonymous. *Op. cit*.
[67] Eskander Melka. Contraband Control Team Higher Officer at the ERCA Head Office. *Interview*. Wednesday, February 15, 2017.

by the state apparatus. The amount of the bribe vary in terms of the contraband good. The bribes are collected from the individual merchants based on their goods and are paid by the driver.[68] The bribes are said to be of large amount that the police officers become "very rich in a short period"[69]. Similarly, bribes are also paid for the smuggling and trafficking of persons.

The relation between state apparatuses and the business is Janus-faced. On the one hand, it is characterized by "the bottom-up rent seeking of powerful groups that overwhelm the ability of the state to contain and channel their demands", as Kang (2004: 16) pointed out in Chinese context. The private business sector in the Region is so strong that the weak and ineffective state authorities are compelled to give concession.

Under the present conditions, the private sector is also highly engaged in rent-seeking undertakings, rather than competitive activities, to won concessions, make profit and get the most out of their dealings.[70] And, the regional cadres manipulate regulations and create rents for themselves or for private interests. For the political elites, authority is a resource to be capitalized upon in negotiations. Granted, these negotiations are often underpinned by clan politics.

On the other hand, there is a close link between the social forces and groups, clans and religious orders on the main, and the state apparatuses that prop up corrupt acts. Political elites in the Region are able to "mobilise institutional authority and coercive power in mutually constitutive ways in the pursuit of their entrepreneurial goals", to quote what Andrew Sanchez (2015: 70) observed in the context of political corruption in India.

Related to the eminent influence of informal relations between the private and public sectors is the prevalent climate of neo-patrimonial clientelism, which "undermines and partly deforms the functions of supposedly legal-rational state institutions" (Hagmann, 2005b:516). One manifestation of this is the role of communal leaders in the economic governance. For instance, one interviewee has pointed out the existence of local elders who work as source and transmitters of information between the businessmen and security forces. They found out the doings of the security forces for the businessmen. The elders are highly-esteemed in their locality, and have

[68] TZ. *Op. cit*.
[69] Anonymous. *Op. cit.*
[70] Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit*.

contractual relations with the businessmen. For their role as interlocutors, the elders are paid a commission of various percent by the traders[71]. 'Negotiations' between the state functionaries, the local community and the private businesspersons are thus ubiquitous.

5.4.2. Informal Use of Formal Institutions: The Case of Trade Licenses and Banks

The second mechanism of resistance is the abuse of formal institutions themselves. One major formal institution 'abused' by the local community in the Region and specifically the borderlands is formal trade licenses[72]. As per the Commercial Code of Ethiopia (1960) and the Commercial Registration and Licensing Proclamation No. 980/2016, any person, physical and juridical, who wants to engage in a commercial activity in the country, needs to be registered and licensed, either by the Federal MoT or regional trade bureaus.

As far as the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands are concerned, formal trade licenses are used by some as a cover for the trade in contraband items. The high prevalence of informal trading activities in Jijiga and throughout the Region has put the formal traders at risk. This arose the need to balance the tax, the house rent, the labour salary and other costs that the formal trading activities incur[73].

Needless to say, the engagement in informal trade also involves its own risks, including confiscation and criminal prosecution. This can well be convincingly explained by the insights of prospect theory, a theory about decision-making under uncertainty first developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s by psychologists Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky. In Kahneman and Tversky's formulations (1979) any involvement in the any business, formal and informal, implies a trade-off between two uncertain prospects. In this context, a Type I prospect involves being surpassed by informal traders. A Type II prospect involves criminal persecution. To formulate an appropriate decision requires balancing these two risks, given their relative likelihoods.

Thus, the 'win-win' mechanism of resisting state authorities is found to be the abuse of formal trade licenses. Often merchants in the town got hold of the license from the Regional Trade Bureau and pay the annual taxes due from them, thereby eliminating any prospect of prosecution over not

---

[71] RM. *Op. cit.*
[72] KT. *Op. cit*.
[73] KT. *Op. cit*.

having a valid business license. But, the items they trade might not necessarily be formally imported goods. This is often manifested in the electronics shops and shops at the so-called *Addisu Taiwan (*The New Taiwan). *Addisu Taiwan* is an important market place in the town, where much of the shops were built by the regional government itself.[74] Related to this is also the low penetration of cash registers in the Region. It is a rare case to see the use of cash registers in the shops, as one interviewee pointed out.[75]

The second important formal institution 'abused' as a resistance to state control are the banks. Needless to mention, the banking industry of Ethiopia is growing rapidly, and the Somali Region is no exception. Branches of the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia and several other private banks are found throughout the Region, no less in Tog Wajaale. And, the establishment of such modern financial services is used as part of government's endeavor to formalize the informal sector in the area (Little *et. al*., 2015).

As part of their commercial undertakings, the banks in Jijiga and the border towns of the Somali Region are engaged in money transfer activities. This still despite the existence of alternative outlets for money transfer. In fact, these networks predate the coming to the area of modern banking system. It is conventionally assumed that informal money transfer systems are frequented "where formal banking is too expensive, heavily-regulated, or simply absent" (*The Economist*). As one interviewee pointed out, informal money transfer system is prevalent in the region so much so that the formal money transfer companies are co-opting this 'institution'.[76]

How does the banks work with the informal institution? The formal banks obtain foreign currency abroad, often in Dubai or Hargeissa, and make payments to their customers in Jijiga and Wajaale. The growing number of Ethiopian Somali diaspora has also increased the use of these networks as a way of getting around the foreign exchange controls. The banks would take foreign exchange from Ethiopian migrant workers overseas and 'lend' it to the contraband merchants of commendable credit histories, and who in turn used the money to buy goods to import into Ethiopia; with the proceeds from their sales, the merchants will pay out to their lending banks, added a certain percent of interest. The interest is often more than the national standard. And,

[74] RM. *Op. cit.*
[75] KT. *Op. cit*.
[76] RM. *Op. cit*.

throughout these processes, the banks and the individual customers are both escaping exchange controls and government taxation.

5.4.3. Disuse of Technology and Infrastructures

That infrastructural and technological improvements has had their own impact on the long-history of state formation was already pointed out (Branch, 2011). While they were greeted often with deep suspicion, or at least ambiguous acceptance by the state apparatus, developments in infrastructure has played a significant role in the centralization of power by the hands of the state and penetration thereof in the frontier areas. Infrastructural improvements, however, has also provided opportunities for ordinary citizens. Thus, much emphasis on the relation between technology and resistance to state authorities is given to the use of technology as an instrument of resistance. And, this is no without reason. Fareed Zakaria (2011) noted that in most *coups d'état* and insurrections in the twentieth century, attempt is usually made to take control of radio stations, so that suppressed ideas and/or programs could be disseminated easily. The 2010/11 Arab Spring is just one recent example on how technologies (in this case the Internet) offer a podium to transmit dissident opinion and mobilize the populace in a wider distance and in low cost (Diamond, 2010; Fielder, 2012).

Nonetheless, in the economic governance in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands, it is rather the disuse of technology and infrastructures that is often used to resist state authority. One instance is the use of 'desert roads', rather than the asphalt, in the contraband business[77]. That the asphalt roads construction is used to augment and deepen state control in the borderlands and the wider region needs no more emphasis. But, the ordinary citizens cease to use the asphalt in order to escape the state authorities, the Federal and Regional Police and customs officials, who stay along the main asphalt highway. Instead, the traders, backed by clan and religious affiliations of their compatriots, go along the dirt and gravel road in the rural areas.[78] For a while, camels and donkeys are employed in these routes, which will be replaced by modern cars after some way.[79] This way of resistance has been used until the last three years, as the interviewee explained to me. Habtamu

[77] KT. *Op. cit*.
[78] KT. *Op. cit.*
[79] RM. *Op. cit.*

Girma and Wubeshet Gezahagn (2016) has also noted that smuggling in the desert roads is a feature of what they described as large-scale smuggling in the borderlands.

Even while using the asphalt, a unique mechanism of resistance is now used, especially by women traders. I want to call this method "tactical pedestrianism". In Certeau's (1984) conceptual distinction of strategies and tactics, in which the key variable is rational calculation. Broadly speaking, strategy refers to "the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships" which aimed at proper management of matters in the best interest of the respective institutions, which in this case is the state (Certeau, 1984: 35). In contrast, tactics refers to everyday activities in which ordinary citizens "constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into 'opportunities'" (Certeau, 1984: xix). Thus, the tactical pedestrianism practiced by the local community in these borderlands is tactical in the sense that it is related to what the borderlanders done often and continuously to resist the statist strategies of central governance. And, it involves pedestrianism for the passengers with contraband goods will flow out of their respective buses/minibuses before reaching to the checkpoints. They will walk on foot until they pass the checkpoints, for the pedestrians are not checked in. The mini/buses often wait for them some length far away from the customs and checkpoints. If not, the traders will take another mini/bus to Jijiga. This way the ordinary citizens circumscribe the control of state authorities.

The second case of disuse of technologies is massive and intentional disconnections of telecommunications technologies, such as phones and the Internet. These technologies has played a powerful role in transmitting and sharing information on contraband activities and forwarding urgent orders. That the Ethiopian telecommunications industry is still under state monopoly (by way of Ethio Telecom) has significantly increased the capacity of the state (*The Economist*, 2013). The popular perception in Jijiga is that these technologies are in fact the machines of the state that empower its control capacity. Thus, what is seen as a mechanism of getting away from the control via the media is hanging up on the state: disconnecting. Whenever contraband items are being imported to or exported from Ethiopia, the telephone and mobile phone signals will be cut off from the regional branch of Ethio Telecom in Jijiga. This way the contrabandists and their accomplices keep a tight rein on the state's efforts to centrally govern and control the economic activities[80].

[80] RM. *Op. cit*.

5.4.4. *The 'Hidden Transcript' of Refugees*

Another way of resisting state control is the claim to have a refugee status or its abuse. In common parlance, a refugee refers to someone who has been forced to leave or unable to return to their country of origin, especially due to persecution or during a human-made or natural disasters.

Ethiopia has a very long history of hosting refugees from neighbouring states and countries as far away as Armenia. In fact, Ethiopia signed the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (July 28, 1951) and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (January 31, 1967) on November 10, 1969. Regionally, it is also a party to the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problem in Africa (September 10, 1969). Despite this, it was not until 2004 that Ethiopia formulates a national refugee policy. The policy was made in the form of proclamation, Refugee Proclamation No. 409/2004.

According to official figures given by the Ethiopian government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2017) in March 2017, Ethiopia hosted around 829, 925 people with refugee status, thus making Ethiopia one of the most refugee-hosting nations in Africa. The vast majority of them are South Sudanese (366, 198), Somali (246, 742) and Eritrean (168, 447) (UNHCR, 2017).

As pointed out earlier, Ethiopia used an encampment policy, in which refugees are not allowed to leave their camps or reside outside them. In terms of the centralized control of the border crossings, then, the refugee camps "represented the last stage of the history of the frontier region" (Ciabarri, 2008: 77). Currently, there are six refugee settlements in the Somali Region, two of which, the Awbarre and Sheder Camps, being situated in Tafari Ber, along the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. As of February 2017, there are 11, 814 registered Somali refugee population in Awbarre Camp. In Sheder Camp, the figure is 10, 849 (UNHCR, 2017).

These camps are characterized by very poor conditions in terms of provisions of food, water and sanitation and shelter. The food security and assistance in the camps is undertaken by the Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA), the World Food Programme (WFP) and the International Rescue Committee (IRC). The assistance is, however, insufficient for the refugee sustenance that led to informal economic activities by refugees. These activities are often tolerated by the government, which again employed the ‘not seeing’ technique. Thus, to take advantage of this opportunity, the ordinary Ethiopian-Somalis would claim a refugee status and get registered in the camps (Cisman Mahamed, Personal Communication, May 20, 2017).

There are various aspects of the informal refugee economic engagement in the area including the use of goods provided in the form of in-kind-donations and the resale of rationed food outside the camps (Ciabarri, 2008). The smuggling of tax- and duty-free goods from Somaliland and selling it at relatively cheap prices to the refugees within the camps or the local community in nearby areas is a widespread phenomenon. As Jina Krause-Vilmar (2010) has noted, the chronic economic difficulties that the Somali refugees faced in the camps also “pushed into working in the informal economy where the risk of exploitation and abuse is far greater”. Most young women work as domestic servants in the refugee camps or nearby settlements.

The refugee engagement in economic activities, however, is not just limited to the camps and the ‘border’. While the Refugee Proclamation provides for a mandatory residence in camps and outlaws an out of-camp policy, the phenomenon of urban refugee has dramatically increased since at least the early 2000s. It is not the intention of this study to examine what really caused the discrepancy between the law and practice. Suffice it is here to note that there is a shift from the *de jure* restrictive state policy to a *de facto* open-door refugee policy. And, at least, for the Eritrean refugees, an out-of-camp policy was formally adopted (Alebachew Kemisso, 2016).

As part of this general trend, more than 180, 000 unregistered Somali refugees lived in and around Addis Ababa. This has led to the informal local integration of the refugees with the host community. It is important to note that the majority of these Somali urban refugees are settled in Bole Michael neighborhood of Addis Ababa, known by some as the “little Mogadishu”. Outside of Addis Ababa, Somali refugees are also found in other major cities including Jijiga, Harar, Dire Dawa and Adama (Alebachew Kemisso, 2016).

But how do they live exactly there? Needless to say, the refugees are desperate about earning a livelihood and sustaining themselves and their families. Thus, the Somali urban refugees in Addis Ababa are highly engaged in diverse economic activities, mostly informal. Accordingly, they usually try to hide their refugee status or nationality. The informal trade activities involve small-scale trade in used and new cloths along the streets and the trade in electronics. Often, some members of Somali urban refuges import contraband goods without taxation and duty and brought them into Addis Ababa. Without paying tax, these goods are put for sale, either on the streets or the shops, at a price lower than the usual market price, distorting the market and putting the formal traders out of the business. Emerging areas of refugee business also include guest houses and retail trade, in which the Somali refugees run these businesses behind the curtain. Most often, the entrepreneurial capital is founded on remittances from the Somali diaspora abroad (Alebachew Kemisso, 2016).

In addition, some of the Somali urban refugees are part of the clandestine transnational networks smuggling and trafficking in persons and the 'black market' circulating foreign currencies. These networks are often rooted in family and clan relations that define Somali social structure. This despite the parallel existence of patron-client relationships. And, the borderlands are included in the web of such networks.

The Somali refugees' involvement in the informal trade linking the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands and the Ethiopian 'heartland' including Addis Ababa "is really nothing more than a survival technique when no job opportunity or source of income in the formal economy exists", as Campbell (2009: 403) pointed out in the context of urban refugees in Nairobi, Kenya. This engagement is has been made possible by the employment of a tactic of invisibility and anonymity, for refugees in Ethiopia (as does several countries in the world) have no right to work in the formal sector. Thus, it represented what James Scott described as "hidden transcripts". According to Scott (1990: 4), hidden transcripts refers to "discourse that takes place "offstage," beyond direct observation by powerholders. …derivative in the sense that it consists of those offstage speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or inflect what appears in the public transcript". The 'public transcripts' of the refugees are obviously those of alienation and abject helplessness, that the refugees adopt a strong deference for the hosting 'state'. And, since the state has no a physical presence, the deference and respect will be accorded to its personifications, such as the refugee administration officials and the police. Nonetheless, 'offstage', the refugees are as vibrant as Ethiopian citizens that at least refugee camps along the border "became much like a Somali town, or indeed, actually became one" (Ciabarri, 2008: 79).

5.5. The Making of Frontier Subjects: From Frontiersmen/women to Citizens?

It was noted in Chapter Two that one pillar of governmentality is the construction of subjectivities, as a result of interrelations of knowledge and power in which individuals are made both 'subjects' and objects of power. And, in preceding sections of the present chapter, a discussion on the institutions of economic governance and resistance thereto was made. The effectiveness of state's attempts are directly impacted, for better or worse, by the level of different forms of belonging, participation and commitment to the 'public good'. And, these are underwritten in the 'modern' institution of citizenship, rooted in the nature of 'Weberian' statehood itself.

The Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands has long been characterized by an utter absence or abysmal weakness of citizenship. For some, this is the legacy of the forceful 'incorporation' or 'occupation' of the Somali-inhabited area into the Ethiopian 'Empire' (Tibebe Eshete, 1994b). The socio-political form of identity that symbolizes Ethiopia was monarchical (Markakis, 1974). The country's monarchical system was characterized by submissiveness and hierarchical relationship between individuals, rather than equal, autonomous and active participation which is typical of citizenship. Before this, the borderlands were populated by frontiersmen, whose identity is formed only by mere fact of being domiciled in the frontier areas. The state-building processes that continued well under the successive regimes of Emperor Haile Selassie I and the *Derg* has also produced a region of subjects rather than citizens (Markakis, 2011). These processes were characterized by massive use of violence, "a recurrent mode of governing the frontier adopted by successive Ethiopian central rulers" (Hagmann, 2014b: 726).

Seen from the borderlanders' perspective, the other factor that underlies the absence of Ethiopian citizenship was that in the borderlands it was kinship and clan that matters most. Thus, the borderlanders even today, tend to say that "I am of this/that clan". The 'informal' practice of dual nationality that marks especially the Gadabursi clan in the colonial period was also one manifestation that the notion of citizenship in a territorial state can be circumvented. John Drysdale (1964: 82, cited in Barnes, 2013: 125) puts this dilemma as early as 1964: "[A]s a clan aligned itself with one government, and then with the other, shifting according to the expediency of the moment, each government would be provoked into action to preserve its dignity, and would intensify the competitive struggle for the nationality of the clan in question". To these was also added the birth of the Somali Republic in 1960, has declared all ethnic Somalis its citizens (Asnake Kefale, 2009; Matshanda, 2014).

As far as the borderland Somali communities are concerned, citizenship was not a well-understood, well-practiced, and well-appreciated idea and institution. As my four informants argued, the turning point in the entrenchment of Ethiopian national citizenship in the borderlands come only with the 1991 regime change[81]. The regime change ushered a period in which the EPRDF-led government attempted to restructure the Ethiopian state and society along ethnic lines. This new restructuring policy is premised on decentralization. It is also a period in which the EPRDF applied its ideology (ideologies?) to the pressing problem of 'national question' (Asnake Kefale, 2009). And, according to Mohammed Aden Ali, these policy has changed the borderland Somali community "from 'subjects' to 'citizens'". [82] For him, that both federal and regional governments are taking sharp measures to methodically expunge 'subject mentality', so much so that the borderlanders are now "learning legality, and even Ethiopianness".

Reflecting on the measures that the government used and factors which facilitate the endeavor to win the hearts and minds of the border community, the interviewees identified three major points. First, it was the decentralization schemes in general, under which local tiers of government exercised political, administrative and fiscal powers given to them by the Regional Constitution. The creation of local government structures has promoted popular participation and enabled to the state apparatus to absorb into the local culture. This has made borderland governance responsive to local needs and open to local initiatives[83].

Second, it is the establishment of bureaucratic state presence (discussed in Chapter Two) in the form of infrastructures that changed the dynamics of loyalty. Especially, since the last five years or so, such developments as in rural road, water provision, health institutions, education and veterinary hospitals are entering into the border landscape. This has positively changed the perception of Ethiopian Somalis, for in a comparison with their Somali neighbors in near abroad, they found themselves in a good position. Third, it is the impact of the mass media, especially the Ethiopian Somali Television (ESTV). ESTV is now changing the narratives and discourses in and

[81] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*; Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit*.
[82] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*.
[83] Mohammed Aden Ali. *Op. cit*; Gebre-Tsadik Assefa. *Op. cit*.

about the Somali Region, Mohammed argues. All these factors has made the borderlanders Ethiopian citizens, a people whose allegation is now to the Ethiopian state. Since then, Mohammed claimed, there are no significant changes in citizenship and permanent residence of Ethiopian Somalis in other parts of the Somali East Africa.

That the members of border community are "learning to be Ethiopians" is also reiterated by another interviewee, but with another explanation[84]. The transformation from 'frontiersmen/women' to 'Ethiopian citizens' was affected more by the regional dynamics. The regional elite in the borderlands doesn't constitute a monolithic entity. There are rival "local political networks" (Baud and Schendel, 1997: 226). Since the early 1990s, the central state attempted to cooperate with the regional elite in imposing its authority in the border regions. The ONLF, then major regional party in the area, joined the Transitional Government of Ethiopia in 1991. In 1992, the ONLF won local elections in the region, and ruled until 1995. Disagreements between the central state and regional elite led to the ousting of ONLF from the Transitional Government, disrupting the power structure and making the borderlands unsettled. In 1994, the Ethiopia Somali Democratic League was formed and replace the ONLF as EPRDF's partner in the Somali Region, only to be dissolved in 1998. Since 1998, the Ogaden-dominated Ethiopian Somali Peoples' Democratic Party (ESPDP) remained the regional elite governing the region. According to Nuriye, it was only since the assumption of power by the ESPDP in general and the incumbent regional president, Abdi Mohamoud Omar. When the ESPDP came to office, the Region was in turmoil, Mohammed claimed. And, one notable reason for the instability was lack of a sense of Ethiopian citizenship. The regional government has effectively changed the nomenclature of the Regional State as provided in Article 47 (1) of the Constitution of the FDRE and Article 1 of the Regional Constitution, to the "Ethiopia-Somali Regional State". This shift was used since then as an instrument of "inculcating 'Ethiopianness' "[85].

These narratives are no, however, corroborated by scholarly works (Asnake Kefale, 2009; Matshanda, 2014). In his study on federalism and ethnic conflict in the post-1991 Ethiopia, Asnake Kefale (2009) argues that the ethno-federal arrangement, which is grounded on essential difference between certain groups, curtails the advance of all-embracing civic citizenship. Beyond ethnic

[84] Nuriye Abdulahi. *Op. cit*.
[85] Nuriye Abdulahi. *Op. cit.*

federalism, absence of democratic culture in Ethiopia has prevented the emergence of citizenship in Ethiopia. Asnake Kefale (2009: 276) argued that “the building of an overarching Ethiopian citizenship is essentially a question of democratising state society relationships and entrenching and implementing the same human and democratic rights applicable to every individual wherever he/she is within the country”.

In contrast, Matshanda’s (2014) analysis focused on the external factor. She noted “that the Somali identity has a notable cross-border element whose affordances are often used fully by local populations” (2014: 280). The possibility of using the border and borderlands as resources in the Horn of Africa was also emphasized by Dereje and Hoehne (2010). In the context of post-1991 political landscape, the local Somali population used the presence of Somaliland. Especially, the Issa Somalis. Most residents of the borderlands consider Ethiopian Ogaden and Somaliland to be part of the wider Somali world. This view comes to a direct conflict with the quest for territorial statehood in the Horn of Africa.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter examines the governance of economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. The governance of these borderlands can rightly be seen as the litmus test for capacity of Ethiopian state. The economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands discussed in the previous chapter are governed by the Federal government and the Somali Regional State. But, the governance of the frontier economy has proved to be contentious and arduous, as the local community forged ‘everyday resistance’.

It is clear that the nature of the frontier itself and its past has made a centralized and territorial governance of the economic relations difficult for the Ethiopian state. In order to respond to these difficulties, the government has created and made use of several institutional mechanisms, developed infrastructures and endeavor to transform the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderland ‘frontiersmen’ to ‘Ethiopian’ citizens.

The institutional mechanisms of governance include small-scale and FV regulations, the anti-contraband command post and the militia, and technical cooperation, both at home and abroad. The practical implication of border trade and FV regulations is nothing but formalizing the informal sector, making ‘legible’ border activities that the central state is unable or unwilling (due to political considerations) to exert control over. Two of the remaining institutions discussed above, i.e., the anti-contraband task-force or the Militia, are limited in their capacity. Similarly, technical cooperation is itself dependent on other factors, which sometimes go beyond the power of the Ethiopian state itself. Still important, however, these are not called to utilize the full capacity at their disposal. One pertinent point that comes out here is that in certain exceptional circumstance, it is not just “seeing like a state” (Scott, 1998) that marks the entrenchment of state power, but, ‘not seeing like a state’. Thus, the border trade and the FV should rather be seen as the state’s attempt at rationalizing the frontier economy in a manner that fits a centralized control of wealth.

It is also clear that the governance ambitions of the government are faced with resistance, manipulation and circumvention by the local and borderland Somalis. Various mechanisms of resistance are used including corruption, ‘informalizing the formal’ institutions, disuse of infrastructures and abusing the ‘refugee’ status. Based on the conceptual discussions in Chapter Two, the relationship between the institutional mechanisms of state control and ‘tactics’ of everyday resistance by the local community is characterized by accommodation. The accommodative relations emerge out of the local community’s incapacity to escape from the state. Unable to be delivered, they rather reduce the damage that formal institutional mechanisms brought.

Having examined these, the next chapter examines the impact of Ethiopia’s quest for utilizing ports in Somaliland on rendering the Ethiopian-Somaliland frontier governable. The chapter also seeks to examine the geopolitical factors that affect the governmentalization of these borderlands.

CHAPTER SIX

ANY PORT IN A STORM?[86] ETHIOPIA'S QUEST FOR UTILIZING PORTS IN SOMALILAND

6.1. Introduction

The previous chapter examined the governance of economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands. This chapter is rightly a sequel, only its emphasis being more on the 'external' domain. The present chapter is informed by the argument discussed in length in the conceptual chapter that "the state played an essential role in the shaping of the frontier economy". The central state's expansion, necessitated by several reasons, led to the transformation of the frontier economy and its integration with the heartland, through construction of infrastructure or encouragement of external investment in the borderlands.

This chapter will explain Ethiopia's attempt at utilizing the Port of Berbera and the dynamics that surround this quest. Necessitated by several reasons, Ethiopia's quest for utilizing the Berbera Port as an alternative can impact on the governance and generally, the establishment of effective state control in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands.

The governance of economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands has come to be affected by the regional setting in the Horn of Africa. One feature of this is the need by Ethiopia of an outlet to the sea via Somaliland. Historically, access to the sea has long been viewed as directly impacting the governance of border regions, by augmenting state control over the respective borderlands Whenever Ethiopia has access to the sea via a certain point, the expansion of state apparatuses into these areas would be highly plausible (Dombrowski, 1985; Pankhurst, 1997).

Also important regarding Ethiopia's access to the sea was the impact of regional and international developments. In this regard, the historian Samuel Negash (2016: 257) has noted that "from the Ottoman views on Zeila since the 1650s, to the construction of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway

[86] An expression meaning that you should take whatever help you can when you are in trouble, even if it has some disadvantages.

in the beginning of the 20th century, the issue of the Ethiopian access to the sea has crystallized several regional and international stakes for a long time". Thus, domestic forces and political developments, regional geopolitics and international 'systemic' factors come into full play in influencing Ethiopia's access to the sea, thereby the governance of the frontier economy.

6.2. Dependence on Djibouti: The Historical Context

It is a historic irony that Djibouti, the smallest state in the Horn of Africa, has by the end of the twentieth century become the sole outlet to the sea for Ethiopia, the most populous and second largest in the region. Ethiopia's dependence on Djibouti as its main and later sole 'vent', however, was a historical product of three crucial events since at least the nineteenth century. Without going further, dependence is used here to refer simply to any "external reliance on other actors" for securing a set of interests (Caporaso, 1978: 1).

First, it was geopolitics of the region as manifested by colonial and imperial rivalries between great powers that laid the foundations. Beginning from the sixteenth-century Portuguese-Ottoman Turkey rivalry over domination in the Red Sea coast, Ethiopia's access to the sea was directly impacted by regional and international developments (Abir, 1980; Dombrowski, 1985; d'Alos-Moner, 2012). And, its dependence on Djibouti is no an exception to this fact. Important in this regard was the nineteenth and early-twentieth century rivalries between the British, France and Italy. Italian penetration and later control over what was northern part of Ethiopia, which they dubbed Eritrea, has denied Ethiopia access to the Red Sea ports (Dombrowski, 1985; Alemseged Abbay, 2006). And, in the latter period of the century, the Red Sea become a "problem zone", as the diplomatic historian Belete Belachew described it[87]. In contrast, access to the Indian Ocean routes was made attractive by deliberate policies of rival European powers. The January 29-30, 1896 agreement between Ethiopia and France made Djibouti Ethiopia's "official outlet for commerce" (Dombrowski, 1985: 63). France attempted to make the Port of Djibouti remain Ethiopia's vent, especially by constructing the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway[88]. To counter French

[87] Belete Belachew. Diplomatic historian and author. *Interview*. Thursday, May 11, 2017.
[88] In Ethiopia, French's quest coincided with the rising role of concessions as instruments of European capitalist penetration into the post-Adwa Ethiopia. Bahru Zewde (2022: 100) remarked that the concessions "were often viewed by Europeans as a sure means of making accessible to themselves the reputedly rich resources of the country that Adwa had denied them".

penetration into Ethiopia, the British also attempt to make the Zeila Corridor in its British Protectorate Ethiopia's outlet (Hamilton, 1974; Dombrowski, 1985).

Second, it was the wider Eritrean factor, from secessionism to an outright 'border' war. With the secession of Eritrea (*de facto* as of 1991 and *de jure* as of 1993), Ethiopia became the world's largest landlocked state (Clapham, 2006). It is important to note here that Ethiopia's use of Eritrean ports, Assab and Massawa on the main, continued well after 1991. For instance, by 1994/1995, the Port of Assab handled 73 % of Ethiopia's imports and 51.7 % of exports, while Djibouti 0.8 % of imports and 3.2 % of exports (Helen Berhane, 2015). Ethiopia's use of these ports was based on and regulated by the *Transit and Ports Services Agreement between the Transitional Government of Ethiopia and the Government of the State of Eritrea, of September 27, 1993,* only to be rendered void by the outbreak of the war (RIAA, 2005).

In the end, the outbreak of the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea in 1998 became the straw that broke the camel's back. It has made the use of Djiboutian ports a categorical imperative for Ethiopia. In explaining the economic effects of the conflict, Jon Abbink (1998: 553) remarked that during the war, "Eritrea held back all goods in the port of Asseb destined for Ethiopia, to a value of tens of millions of dollars, and Ethiopia diverted all its shipping for Massawa and Asseb to Djibouti port, and threatened to block other ships from docking in the Eritrean ports". Thus, to be exact, it was in the wake of the Ethiopia-Eritrean War that Ethiopia began using the Port of Djibouti as its sole sea outlet.

Most importantly, however, it was the naïve policy choice of the present regime that makes the absolute dependence on Djibouti inevitable. Ethiopia "was officially rendered landlocked by a dubious and ignominious decision of the government in power and its international backers", one commentator argued (Eidmon Tesfaye, 2015). The regime did not have much sensitivity to grasp the implications of absence of coastline for the Ethiopian state. Thus, the weakness of this policy is rooted in its vilified assumption of the importance of access to the sea, and not by the absolute lack of the former. With the help of the hindsight, it was quite possible that Ethiopia would have asserted its access to the sea via the Port of Assab, either during the secession or the negotiations following the 1998-2000 war. Rather, Meles Zenawi's government was rightly seen as too conciliatory towards Eritrea. This has finally deprived Ethiopia any chance of control over the Red Sea ports providing access to the sea (Abebe Teklehaimanot, 2007).

6.3. Responding to Dependence: Ethiopia's Policy Choices

"The value of an access to the sea often becomes most apparent, when a country does not have one", as Franz Dombrowski (1985: 55) noted. A combination of internal (both in Ethiopia and Djibouti) and regional factors has made the continuing use of the port of Djibouti problematic for Ethiopia. Internally, Ethiopia's demand for import-export is growing rapidly. Nowadays, the Port of Djibouti provides traffic for nearly 98 % of Ethiopian external trade (Yohannes Anberbir, 2016). As the volume of Ethiopia's imports and exports increased continually, the Port began to be highly congested and incapable to accommodate this growing demand. This has created outcry from among transporters and importers, not to mention the government itself[89].

In Djibouti, there is poor logistics and management in port utilization. The country has also been accused of lacking a political commitment to work on a mutually beneficial basis[90]. In terms of prices, for instance, Djibouti port utilization is becoming highly expensive, often due of Djibouti's unilateral decisions[91]. Conversely, there is a growing anxiety over what many Djiboutian perceive as Ethiopia's heavy-handed position on Djibouti. This relations is seen as propping up the Issa-dominated regime of Djibouti, that there is now an armed insurgency by the Afar, who form about 35 % of the total population there. In order to quell this, the government sought to counterbalance its dependence on Ethiopia's transit trade and protective umbrella. In fact, around $1.5 billion, i.e., 70 % of the annual revenue of Djiboutian government is collected from Ethiopia's port utilization there (Schemm, 2015). To this end, Djibouti, which is simultaneously "distressed, yet confident" (Tekeste Negash, 2008) in its relation with Ethiopia, has fostered relations with Arab countries in near abroad.

Importantly, however, Djibouti has made itself a site for geopolitical competition by allowing the establishment of more than six military bases by such diverse countries as France and the US and China and Japan (Tesfaye Tadesse, 2016). Found along a strategic location linking the Red Sea

---

[89] Mengistu Alehegn. Import Goods Transit Logistics Higher Officer, EMMA. *Interview*. Wednesday, May 10, 2017.
[90] Mengistu Alehegn. *Op. cit*. Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit*; Temesgen Yihunie. Logistics Coordination and Monitoring Directorate Director, EMMA. *Interview*. Wednesday, May 10, 2017.
[91] Mengistu Alehegn. *Op. cit*. Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit*; Temesgen Yihunie. *Op. cit*.

and the Gulf of Aden, Djibouti serves as a route for shipments to and from the Horn of African interior, the Middle East, Asia and Europe (CIA, 2017b). This, according to Tesfaye Tadesse (2016), a retired navy commander, poses an imminent threat to Ethiopian national security and its interests.

The Ethiopian government soon realized that they had to break out of their dependence on Djibouti. What were the policy choices which were proposed by the government and concerned citizens, both at home and abroad, to address these challenges? Three policy proposals can be identified, and for sake of clarity, I distinguish them as minimalist, maximalist and minimax strategies.

The minimalist strategy regarded the improvement of port and logistics facilities in Djibouti and the development of dry ports in the Ethiopian interior as the viable solution to mitigate the negative impacts of dependence on Djibouti's ports. The Ethiopian government's policy is more or less a minimalist one, in that it doesn't challenge the status quo. Significant for such efforts was the construction of railway and a highway, which aimed at improving transport efficiency in the Addis Ababa-Djibouti Corridor. The new Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway, inaugurated on October 6, 2016, stretches 756 km and connects the Ethiopian capital well into the Port of Djibouti (Yohannes Anberbir, 2016). The Ethiopian government is also constructing a new road linking the Port of Tadjoura, expected to be of use in potash exports. The Ethiopian Maritime Affairs Authority (EMMA) is also now engaged in a project titled 'the Ethiopian Trade Logistics Project, with the objective of enhancing "the performance of the Ethiopia-Djibouti corridor through improvements in operational capacity, efficiency and range of logistics services at the *Modjo* Dry Port" (EMMA, 2016: 1; Emphasis in original).

The maximalist proposals are perhaps the most controversial choices. These include the reclaiming of the Port of Assab or reunification with Eritrea (Yacob Haile-Mariam, 2003 EC; Samuel Negash, 2016), and the integration of Djibouti. The idea of political integration of Ethiopia and Djibouti was on the air for some time[92], so that Djibouti would become one regional state under the federal system. For the proponents of this school, the precedent was already made by the UN's decision

[92] In a speech 2015, Ismaïl Omar Guelleh, President of Djibouti, remarked that "protocols and formalities aside – a call to further action in our quest to meeting the perennial demands of our two peoples for an ever closer cooperation, an even greater economic and social union and, who knows, an even closer political integration that simply logically follows from our belief in and dedication to fulfilling our historic common destiny". *The Reporter*, February 14, 2015.

in 1952 to federate Eritrea with Ethiopia, partly grounded on ensuring Ethiopia's access to the sea (Dombrowski, 1985; Tekeste Negash, 1997). Short of integration, Tesfaye Tadesse (2016), argued that Ethiopia "should have a military presence in [Djibouti] to defend [its] national interest at the highest level in the event of international crisis in the area".

With these choices deemed unviable and erratic (wanting too much and too little) by the government officials and independent analysts, ports in neighbouring countries has come to be considered as 'minimax' alternatives, diversifying Ethiopia's access to the sea. One of these was the Port of Berbera in Somaliland. Granted, Ethiopia's utilization of the Somaliland ports or attempt thereof is not a post-1991 phenomenon. By the early nineteenth century, Berbera has established a significant trade relation with the Ethiopian interior (Pankhurst, 1965). One of the principal purposes of Ras Tafari's visit to European capitals in 1924 was "to find a sea-port…and access to the sea" (Haile Selassie, 1999: 38). By the late 1920s, he also initiated a somber endeavor to gain access to the sea via Zeila (Hamilton, 1974; Samuel Negash, 2016), which latter remained dormant as Eritrea became part of Ethiopia. But, it was only with a very changing political and economic dynamics that Somaliland's ports began to be regarded as viable alternatives.

6.4. Somaliland as an Alternative: Actors and Factors

A breakaway region in northwestern Somalia, the Republic of Somaliland is a *de facto* 'state', unrecognized by the international community. In spite of this, Somaliland has ties with other sovereign states (Pegg, 1997). Along the long Gulf of Aden coast, Somaliland enjoyed the presence of a port city: Berbera. A centuries-old port town, Berbera, was established in its present condition 1968.

Ethiopia's attempt to utilize the Port of Berbera should be seen against the backdrop of its general policy orientation on Somaliland. And, the contemporary Ethiopian policy on Somaliland is characterized by uncertainties. The government's official foreign policy strategy is still grounded on engagement with Somaliland short of recognition[93]. Somaliland's declaration of independence on May 18, 1991 has created a situation of unprecedented complexity for Ethiopian foreign policy.

[93] Firekal Bekele. Somaliland Desk Officer, FDRE Ministry of Foreign Affiars. *Interview*. Wednesday, May 10, 2017.

Ethiopia had a significant involvement in the Somali Civil War (1988-1991). During this, the Somali National Movement (SNM, created in 1981), the main guerrilla group fighting against the Siad Barre regime in Mogadishu, was given military bases in Ethiopia. As Somaliland declared its independence, Ethiopia denied the new Somali entity *de jure* recognition of sovereign statehood. Ethiopia's position on the recognition of Somaliland was dictated by concerns over values and interests. It don't want to infringe on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Somalia, which the AU holds dearly. Most importantly, however, Ethiopia fears that recognition of Somaliland would backfire, to the detriment of its security and economic interests in the Horn of Africa and the Arab world.

Meanwhile, Ethiopia had effectively entered into diplomatic relations with Somaliland, that a senior Somaliland official dubbed their bilateral relations a "strategic partnership" (Igeh, 2016). Ethiopia and Somaliland become friendly neighbors and allies in national security, which play favorably for their negotiations. As Eggers (2007: 213) rightly observed, "Ethiopia has gone the furthest of all states in its unofficial recognition of Somaliland by entering into bilateral agreements for cooperation in various arenas".

In the context of political developments (domestic and regional) in the post-1991 period, the idea of utilization by Ethiopia of Somaliland ports began to appear since the early 2000s (*Addis Fortune*, 2016). By 2003, a pre-feasibility study of the regional transport sector in the Berbera Corridor was commissioned by the European Commission's Delegation in Kenya. Despite this, the study's recommendations for the development of the corridor infrastructures remained unimplemented (Delegation of European Commission in Kenya, 2003; *Addis Fortune*, May 14, 2016). It was not, however, until the early 2010s that the Ethiopian government began a vigorous effort to utilize these ports.

As there were a number of factors for the choice of ports of Somaliland as a viable alternative, the first and foremost of which was its nearness to Addis Ababa[94]. The Port of Berbera is 937 km east of Addis Ababa, making it the second nearest port to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital and largest city (*Addis Fortune*, May 17, 2016).

[94] Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit*; Temesgen Yihunie. *Op. cit*.

The question should not be, however, ‘why Somaliland?’ But ‘why in 2010, and not in 2003?’ Here, the proximity in itself doesn’t seem a convincing argumentation. It may be true that its nearness bring the Berbera Port into the consideration of the Ethiopian government as an alternative. The fact remains, however, that Berbera in 2010 was as near to Addis Ababa as it was in 2003 or so, the time at which the government inadvertently disregarded the proposals and recommendations. Thus, we should seek another explanation elsewhere.

Though the government has had interests on utilizing the Berbera Port, it was what might be described as ‘the Mogadishu factor’[95]. Somalia tried at least rhetorically to assert its control over the Port of Berbera, and viewed any engagement, let alone recognition, with Somaliland as a violation of its sovereignty. The Ethiopian government has been faced with the problem of breaking whatever resistance there comes from Somalia. It is also important to note that the attacks by Somali pirates and the general insecurity of the Indian Ocean trade routes has been attributed to Ethiopia’s lack of interest on Berbera Port[96]. Mention must be made also of the importance of geopolitical factors.

[95] Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit*.
[96] Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit*.

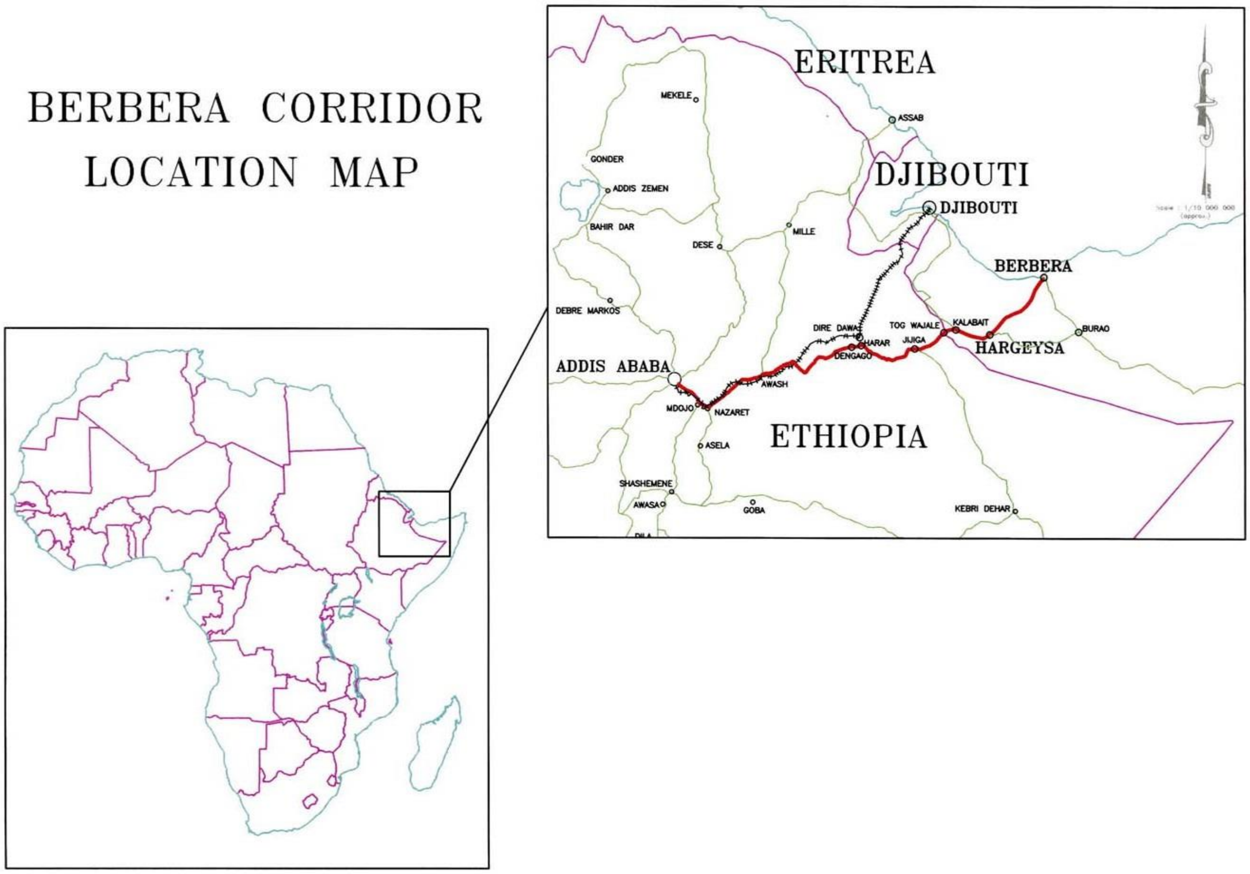


Figure 6.1: Berbera Corridor Location Map

(Source: Delegation of European Commission in Kenya, 2003)

6.4.1. Ethiopia-Somaliland Negotiations for Port Utilization

The government's much-awaited decision to make a break with past Ethiopian policy on Berbera port utilization comes only in 2010[97]. The Ethiopian Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) I (2010-2015) apportioned 30 % of Ethiopia's import/export cargoes to be handled along the Berbera Corridor. This was not, however, implemented. Thus, the GTP II, covering the period from 2015/2016-2019/2020, provides again for an increased utilization of the Port of Berbera to Ethiopia's external trade. Weak transport and logistics system is singled out as a serious challenge for the growth of the export sector. Thus, under the GTP II, it was planned to increase the share of

[97] Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit.*

the Berbera Corridor to 30 % of Ethiopia's external trade (National Planning Commission, 2016: 177). Currently, the Berbera Port handles only 2 % of Ethiopia's trade.

To this end, negotiations between Ethiopia and Somaliland began to be held since 2012. Most of these were senior officials' consultative and ministerial meetings. In the Ethiopia- Somaliland Joint Ministerial Meeting, held on 2007 and 2009 in Addis Ababa, an 'Agreed Minutes of Understanding on the Use & Development of Berbera Corridor for Handling Ethiopian Cargo' was signed. As per the Agreed Minutes, a Joint Technical Committee was established. The conduct of this Ministerial Meeting, however, was denounced by Somalia.

As the Ministerial Meetings come to an abrupt end, they were replaced by senior officials' consultative meeting. The first 'Ethiopia-Somaliland Senior Officials Consultative Meeting' was held from November 30 –December 1, 2012 in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia. The ground for Ethiopia's port utilization was first laid by the 2005 EC Customs Transit Agreement, signed between Ethiopia and Somaliland on May 28, 2005. The Agreement, however, has never been effectively implemented.

Again, the 4th-Ethiopia-Somaliland senior officials' consultative meeting was held on February 27-28, 2016, in Berbera, Somaliland. On the meeting, port and port related issues were on top of the agenda. Underlining the ineffective implementation of the 2005 Port Service Agreement, the Meeting moved to a consideration of a draft Revised Port Service Agreement. In fact, already in 2015, Ethiopia has proposed for a comprehensive revision of the earlier Agreement, which has gone into a stall. To this end, a Joint Technical Committee (JTC) was established. The JTC was tasked with finalizing the revision of the Port Service Agreement.

The significant innovation in this meeting comes with the draft 'Customs Transit Transport and Port Utilization Agreement', on which both sides deliberated and agreed on its basic necessity. A decision was also reached to set up a Joint Operation Committee (JOC). The JOC is composed of the representative institutions of both sides. The Ethiopian side is represented by Maritime Affairs Authority, Ethiopian Shipping and Logistics Services Enterprise (ESLSE), Road Authority, Customs Authority and Ministry of Finance and Economic Cooperation. The JOC, mandated with the task of drafting and implementing the Terms of Reference (TOR) for all port related issues, conducted its first meeting on March 14, 2016 in Addis Ababa.

After several rounds of negotiations, the "Bilateral Agreement between the Government of the FDRE and the Government of Somaliland for the Utilization of Port of Berbera and Services to Cargoes in Transit" was signed in Bishoftu, Ethiopia, on March 31, 2016. Now known simply as the "Bishoftu Agreement", the Agreement had granted rights and privileges to Ethiopia and cargoes thereto or therefrom. According to the Agreement, the Port of Berbera shall serve Ethiopia as a transit port for goods originating from and destined for Ethiopia free of taxes and customs duties. In accordance with the specific port regulations of Somaliland, the Port of Berbera gives priority to Ethiopian transit cargo. It was also provided in the Agreement that the parties shall take all the necessary measures to guarantee the fast forwarding of traffic and avoid unjustified delays to the flow of goods through their territories[98].

Unique to its nature and logic, it was the EMMA on the Ethiopian side, and not the Government of Ethiopia or its Ministries of Transport or Foreign Affairs, which signed the agreement. And, the Agreement is not also ratified by the Parliament. Article 9(4) of the Constitution of the FDRE provides that "all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land". And, since the Bishoftu Agreement is not ratified, one can rightly argue that it is not part of the Ethiopian law[99]. In fact, on its entry into force, the Bishoftu Agreement contains this illuminating provision (: "This Agreement shall enter into force upon *signature* by duly authorized representative of each Party" (Article 38, Emphasis added).

In accordance with Article 32 of the Bishoftu Agreement, a Joint Operational Committee (JOC) was established. The "Terms of Reference for the Establishment of Joint Operational Committee for the Berbera Port Utilization and Transit Facilitation" was signed along with the Agreement. Composed of representatives of responsible authorities of Ethiopia and Somaliland, the new JOC has the objective of following up and regulating all matters pertaining to the Agreement. Its general duties and responsibilities include the development and initiation of legal and institutional frameworks and coordination of the activities of several stakeholders aimed at efficient and effective implementation of the Agreement.

[98]*The Utilization of the Port of Berbera and Services to Cargoes in Transit Bilateral Agreement between the Government of the FDRE and the Government of Somaliland*. March 31, 2016.
[99] Abebe Tefera. Policy Research and Legal Affiars Directorate Director, EMMA. *Interview*. Wednesday, May 10, 2017.

The fact that these negotiations were and still continued to be held 'behind the curtain' has made an analysis of policy design and execution impossible. It is, however, clear that there are several stakeholders that took part throughout all these negotiations. These include government offices such as the Ministry of Transport, the EMAA, the ESLSE, Federal Transport Authority, the ERCA, the National Bank of Ethiopia, the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, the MoT, and the MoFA[100]. Most of these federal agencies are accountable to the Ministry of Transport itself. The EMAA, for instance, is responsible to "direct and coordinate the efforts of the respective Government bodies to minimize the transit time of import and export goods; analyze and solve problems arising from the use of sea ports and negotiate on such matters" (Article 6/2, FDRE, 2007). And, among other things, the ESLSE, the state-monopoly re-established in 2011, is also tasked with "the development, management and operation of ports" (Article 5/5, FDRE, 2011).

While their lobbying power is insignificant, there are private business groups such as the Ethiopian Freight Forwarders and Shipping Agent Association (EFFSAA) and the Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce and Sectoral Associations indirectly having a stake and want to have their own say in the ongoing negotiations and wider port policies[101]. In terms of port and freight shipping services, for instance, the EMMA has approved 83 agents as being competent to operate in Ethiopia. While it was difficult to map out the activities of these agents individually, it is possible to see how the EFFSAA, a national association of professional logisticians established in 1997 EC, has been lobbying for the improvements and changes of policies in the freight forwarding and shipping sector of Ethiopia. And, these groups have long been complaining about the expensiveness of Djibouti port services and pressuring the government to pursue an alternative port[102].

On the whole, the port negotiations are said to be conducted in a win-win manner[103]. There are no outlandish positions and demands from both sides. It was long feared that Somaliland might be determined to require *de jure* recognition from Ethiopia before it allows the later to use its ports. The port, from the perspective of Somaliland, constitute an important resource. In the context of

[100] Mengistu Alehegn. *Op. Cit*; Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit.*
[101] Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit*; Temesgen Yihunie. *Op. cit*.
[102] Belete Belachew. *Op. cit.*
[103] Temesgen Yihunie. *Op. cit*.

negotiated statehood framework, Hagmann and Péclard (2011: 8) understood resources as “the material bases of collective action; [including] tangible and intangible assets”.

Nevertheless, the fact that the Government of Somaliland needs to “to preserve the delicate balance”[104] between recognition and beneficial relations with Ethiopia. Surely, it always wants political recognition. But, it also understated that maintaining good relations short of official recognition with Ethiopia is a categorical imperative for Somaliland’s survival and functioning. Thus, no such a demand has been put forward by Somaliland in the port negotiations[105].

6.4.2. Implementing the Terms of the Agreements

Nonetheless, almost seven years after Ethiopia officially began to pursue port utilization in Somaliland, in particular, nearly a year after the signing of the Port Agreement between Ethiopia and Somaliland, the quest is still far from being successfully realized, with very limited results in Ethiopia’s utilization of the Berbera Port and the development of the Corridor[106]. As much as there has been a growing influence from the ‘external’ factors discussed below, the internal ground is not yet fertile for an effective implementation of the agreements. According to Firekal Bekele, Somaliland Desk Officer at MoFA, the hurdles that affect the implementation are attributed categorically to Somaliland, arguing that “we have done everything we can in our capacity”. These include issues related to banking and insurance, the absence of bilateral trade agreements, logistical and management problems in port facilities. Somaliland lacks strong financial institutions. It financial sector is rather dominated by money-transfer companies.

Mr. Temesgen Yihunie, Logistics Coordination and Monitoring Directorate Director at the EMMA, also concurs to these points. In terms of port facilities and installation, he specifically noted that the Berbera harbor is capable only of the general cargo berth capacity of 3 ships, insignificant when compared to Djibouti’s 25-30 ships capacity[107]. Thus, the weak cargo handling capacity for cargo operation in Berbera Port requires heavy investment for reconstruction and rehabilitation.

[104] Belete Belachew. *Op. cit.*
[105] Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit.*
[106] Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit*.
[107] Temesgen Yihunie. *Op. cit*.

The dearth of well-equipped infrastructures is also pointed out as one significant factor for the limited results. This despite the Bishoftu Agreement's provision that "the construction and reconstruction of the major routes of the network shall be done by [Ethiopia and Somaliland] in the framework of their national program or in the framework of bilateral agreements" (Article 26). In this regard, the deteriorated quality of the road connecting Berbera-Wajaale and with Addis Ababa has negatively affected the development of the Berbera transit corridor along the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands[108]. In fact, the road from Jijiga to Tog Wajaale is paved asphalt, extending 65 km. However, the Italian-constructed Wajaale-Berbera road is found in very poor conditions[109].

The physical difficulties in the Berbera Corridor are partly attributed to the lack of finance. The establishment of a Joint Road Fund, provided for by the Bishoftu Agreement (Article 27), has not yet come to a realization. The Government of Somaliland (GoS) often complained that Ethiopia's is not cooperating with it in the construction of the Berbera-Wajaale transit corridor. Two alternatives were proposed. The first was for the GoS to bid, and the contract be given to an Ethiopian public enterprise. The second was for Ethiopia help Somaliland secure an international loan, with Ethiopia being put up as 'collateral'[110]. However, all these attempts failed because Ethiopia was not willing to accept the terms. The GoS turned its face to the UAE, which it says will spend $ 250 million to build a highway between Berbera and Ethiopia and upgrade Berbera's Russian-built airport (Patinkin, 2017).

Most of these are rooted in the fact that Somaliland didn't have a *de jure* recognition[111]. As Finn Stepputat (Personal Communication, November 9, 2016) noted, "in the case of Somaliland, the lack of international recognition … delimit what state institutions can do since the state has limited access to credits (for infrastructure development for trade, for example) and insurance of foreign investment".

Most importantly, however, the difference between Ethiopia and Somaliland lies not in their international status of being recognized or not, but their capabilities. Obviously, recognition by the international community is of help for states for it renders control over a defined territory and

[108] Belete Belachew. *Op. cit;* Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit*; Temesgen Yihunie. *Op. cit*.
[109] Temesgen Yihunie. *Op. cit.*
[110] Abebe Tefera. *Op. cit*.
[111] Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit*; Temesgen Yihunie. *Op. cit.*

population legitimate (Hammer, 2007). However, it is necessary to note that recognition and state capacity don't have a causal relationship, in a sense that recognition causes state capacity or vice versa. Notwithstanding the importance of formal recognition of states and governments, "non-recognised states *exist* and *operate* as do other states in the international system despite the lack of formal recognition even when they meet all the necessary criteria for statehood," as Leonard M. (2007: 32; Emphasis added) puts it. Thus, in the language of social research, the correlation between state recognition and capacity doesn't imply causation. In terms of their capabilities, therefore, both Ethiopia and Somaliland have only limited capacities in centrally governing their borderlands.

6.5. The Geopolitical Factors: Present and Future

The port utilization negotiations are dominated by the impact of diverse external factors. And, these factors will also continue to affect the successful implementation of the various agreements. In this regard, the Port of Berbera is becoming a site for a militarized geopolitical contest between the countries of Horn of Africa and the Middle East, especially Saudi Arabia, Egypt and UAE. The UAE has established a military base at the Port of Berbera on February 12, 2017. The UAE's move come as Turkey moves to establish a base in Somalia. Egypt, with its eye wide open to see what Ethiopia is doing on the Nile, requested a base at Berbera for the use of the Egyptian Navy. A Somaliland diplomat has also claimed that Egypt wants to surround the landlocked Ethiopia and make easy the infiltration of anti-government fighters possible via the Somaliland borderlands. In spite of this, Ethiopia still lacks a grand strategy to deal with emerging geopolitical issues (*Addis Fortune*, May 03, 2016).

Economically, the geopolitical maneuvers were also clearly manifested in the Government of Somaliland's decision to give a concession to develop the Port of Berbera, the French operator Bollore Africa Logistics (BAL), and not just the neighbouring Arab countries were scrambling to obtain the concession. It was only after "dilly-dallying" for years (*Indian Ocean Newsletter*, 2016), that the Somaliland Government, led by its President Ahmed Mohammed Mohamoud (also known as Silanyo), that the thirty-year concession to run the Port was finally awarded to the Dubai Ports World (DPW) on September 5, 2016 (*Addis Fortune*, May 17, 2016).

While the coming of the DP World wet Ethiopia's appetite in utilizing the Berbera Port, there is one country which wants keep its operations at bay: Djibouti[112]. It is important to recall here that DP's success in winning these concessions was facilitated by a Djiboutian dissident Abdurahiman Boreh *(Addis Fortune*, May 14, 2016). The DP World has also adopted the Berbera Port by cancelling its earlier 30-year concession with the Government of Djibouti to develop and manage the Doraleh Container Terminal (DCT). Djibouti viewed the Port of Berbera utilization as directly challenging its interests, enabling Ethiopia to bypass its ports. This despite Ethiopia's claim that it "will use alternative ports without affecting the benefits of other ports" (*Addis Fortune*, February 07, 2015). Thus, at least implicitly, Djibouti opposes the negotiations, thereby, affecting Somaliland's bargaining power (Saleyman Hajji Jama, 2016).

To effectively manipulate DP's coming to achieve its best interest, Ethiopia has requested a trilateral assessment of the issue among Ethiopia, Somaliland and the DP World itself. While these negotiations are still under way, Ethiopia has now formally requested a 30 % share in the management of the Berbera Port.[113]

In the near abroad, there is Somalia[114]. The former President of Somalia, Hassen Sheikh Mohamud, forcefully remarked that the investment and development of Berbera is a clear violation of Somalia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. On February 8, 2017, Somalia elects a new president, Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed, also known as Farmajo. Viewed as a progressive by many of his countrymen, Farmajo is dreaded as being "a populist and nationalist politician", signaling a resurgence (*Addis Fortune*, May 08, 2017). While Farmajo is expected to rather focus on pressing domestic agendas, asserting Somalia's control over Somaliland will also be of a priority in his foreign policy. Somalia has accused the UAE for violating international law by establishing unlawful contacts with what it regarded as its rightful region, which the Somaliland Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Sa'ad Ali Shire dismissed as ridiculous (Mahmoud Qodah, 2017).

None of my informants take Iran as a concern for the implementation of the Agreement, which might be found rather erroneous. The evident presence of the UAE in the Horn of Africa, Eritrea

[112] Firekal Bekele. Op. cit; Temesgen Yihunie.
[113] Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit*; Temesgen Yihunie. *Op. cit*.
[114] Firekal Bekele. *Op. cit*; Temesgen Yihunie. *Op. cit.*

and Somaliland in particular, can significantly alter the geopolitical landscape of the region. The UAE is second most important member state of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Established on May 26, 1981, the GCC is now composed of six member-states: Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the UAE. It has been dubbed "the most reactive and potent alliance of Sunni Arab countries" (Reder, 2017). And, there is one country which has been following these developments with increasing concern: Iran. Being "a Persian nation among Arabs and Turks, a Shiite state among Sunnis" (Vaez, 2017), Iran's foreign policy conduct has long been impacted by the threat, actual and perceived, for its national identity and security. Giving a substantial support to what is regarded as the 'internationally-recognized' government of mainland Somalia might a weapon of choice for Iran to weaken UAE's influence in the Horn of Africa. In fact, pressured by Saudi Arabia, Somalia cut diplomatic ties with Iran in 2016 (Vatanka, 2016). But, if Tehran succeeds in mobilizing Mogadishu to reclaim Somaliland and undo the Port Agreement, the prospect of effective port utilization would be jeopardized. These factors are capable of bringing fundamental changes in the region, not less in the effective implementation of the port utilization agreements between Ethiopia and Somaliland.

6.6. Conclusion

This chapter briefly examines Ethiopia's attempt at utilizing the Berbera Port in Somaliland since the early 2010s. Ethiopia's quest generally resonates with the notion of frontier governmentality in eastern Ethiopian periphery. It is at odds with the model of a Westphalian international relations in that Ethiopia's attempt to foster relations with Somaliland is contrary to the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity (of Somalia). The only difference from the governance of the frontier economy being the external presence and influence of 'extra-territorial' factors-regional and geopolitical.

In view of determining and transforming the nature of frontier economy in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands, however, Ethiopia's pursuit to utilize Berbera as an alternative has only made little headway in unleashing new politico-economic forces in the borderlands. These limited results are caused by a set of factors, both internal and regional.

Additionally, the prospect of proper development of the Berbera Corridor is at stake. The success or failure of Berbera Port's efficient and effective improvement will be determined by the dynamics of actors with their own specific preferences, local, national and regional/geopolitical.

CONCLUSION

Governance of economic relations in the frontier areas has got both theoretical and political attention. This study focused on the governance of economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands, and its impact on the consolidation of state authority in Ethiopia's eastern periphery. As it was provided in the introductory chapter, the guiding research question was, how are economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland frontier governed, and how is state control resisted or evaded by the local communities?

To properly examine the process of governmentalization of the frontier economic relations, this study employed a qualitative methodology. The study argues that the manner in which the economic relations are governed is directly shaped by the exceptional nature and logic of the frontiers in general and the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands in particular. In order to discover the exceptionality of frontier governance in the study area, data was collected through key informant interviews, field research in Jijiga and Tog Wajaale, field observations and personal communications.

The study employed the conceptual framework of frontier governmentality, which helps to elucidate the life of the state in the periphery. The framework is grounded on the assumption that the post-colonial state in Africa has limited capacity. Governance in the context of limited statehood can best be described and explained by this approach, as it was discussed in chapter 2.

The thesis considered 1991 as a watershed, it was in 1991 that Ethiopia's incumbent regime (the EPRDF) came to power and Somaliland declared its independence from Somalia. Since then, the Ethiopian state had been earnestly working to make its presence more visible in the borderlands, in a manner which directly affects the conduct of economic relations in these areas.

Accordingly, it was found that the economic activities in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands are increasing enormously since the early 1990s, as it was discussed in chapter 4. The amicable relations that exist between Ethiopia and Somaliland facilitate these intense contacts. According to Martinez's model of borderlands interactions discussed in chapter 2, the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands in the post-1991 period could rightly be described as interdependent.

As discussed in chapter 5, the federal government introduced new mechanisms of economic governance since 1991. Underpinning the adoption of these new mechanisms was the belief that implementing certain institutional mechanisms and regulations in the borderlands would led to the making of these borderlands centrally governable by the state.

The study came to the conclusion that these frontier governance regimes are exceptional. The exceptionality lies in that the central state attempt to install regulations that take into consideration the uniqueness of these areas, by 'not seeing' like a state and by making some exceptions from national rules. In light of the existing literature, this is an important addition of this thesis. The exceptionality is usually sought usually in terms of the use of violence and the lack of rights of people at the frontiers (Korf *et. al*, 2013).

However, the post-1991 period has also witnessed the continuing use of violence, albeit in a convulsed manner. Thus, the study confirms the presence of massive violence in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands (Hagmann, 2014b). As it was discussed in chapter five, the establishment of anti-contraband command post and the use of the militia are manifestations of the use of political 'stick' by the state in the borderlands. As far as the militia activities are concerned, however, the establishment of a coercive presence by the Ethiopian state was circumvented from within, demonstrating the difficulty, in frontier governance, of sitting the state above and beyond the society in exercising its sovereignty.

On the implementation of institutional mechanisms of economic governance, however, the thesis discovered that these institutional mechanisms didn't achieve their intended objectives. This can be attested from one of the study's findings that as in the case of borderlands of other African countries, the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands are characterized by the pervasiveness of informal trade relations and human mobility across the border. Hence, there is a wide gulf between the objectives and achieved results of the institutional mechanisms, which can be explained by lack of proper infrastructure, resistance by the local community and fluid status and changing relationship of Ethiopian-Somalis to the central government and to 'Ethiopianness'

In terms of the development of infrastructural power of the Ethiopian state in the borderlands, it was observed in chapter 5 that many changes have happened in the last two decades or so, in particular during the past ten years. The improvement of road networks in the area was affected by institutional structures and resource allocation. Most importantly, the infrastructural penetration is not always seen as benevolent by the local community. In fact, the state's infrastructural power lacked a societal support in these borderlands.

As it was discussed in chapter 2, how the peripheries experience and respond to the center has its own implications for the center (Matshanda, 2014). In the frontiers, 'everyday resistance' to state authority and control is a recurrent feature. As the discussion in chapter 5 revealed, the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands are no exception to this. In these borderlands, centralized and territorial state control over the frontier economy is resisted by the local community and rules circumvented. The resistance takes different forms including corruption, informal use of formal institutions, disuse of technology and infrastructures and abuse of the refugee status.

Third, it was the weakness of Ethiopian citizenship that curtails the effective performance of the institutional mechanisms of economic governance. The weakness of citizenship as an institution can be explained by the historical peripherality and demographical factors (similarity of language and religion), internal dynamics (ethnic federalism and absence of democratic culture) and external ones. Thus, the thesis finds that Ethiopian citizenship is an underdeveloped institution in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands.

The governmentalization of these borderlands has also been affected by dynamics in the 'external' domain. Thus, in chapter five, cross-border cooperation with Somaliland in the governance of trade relations and human mobility was discussed. In chapter six, Ethiopia's attempt at utilizing the Port of Berbera in Somaliland was also discussed. On the whole, the mutual interests of Ethiopia and Somaliland provided a fertile ground for cooperation. And, should Ethiopia and Somaliland eventually establish efficient port utilization, this would be a positive force for the integration of these borderlands with the Ethiopian 'heartland'. But, in the absence of institutions, it is improbable that these interests will bore fruits in the foreseeable future.

The major conclusion that comes out here is that the establishment of a centralized and territorial governance of economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands is far from being completed. The study also demonstrated that "new methods of power…that go beyond the state and its apparatus" (Foucault, 1978: 89) are present in the governance of frontier economy. Based on the empirical discussions presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6, the Ethiopian state, as in the case with many other African countries, has not yet able to achieve a capacity for central control in its borderlands. This echoes John Markakis' (2011: 355) insightful conclusion that "the project [of state-building in Ethiopia's peripheries] is far from completion and its end cannot be predicted". The empirical departure of this thesis is that the completion of the project of state-building, which also involve making frontier economic activities legible, would only come through negotiations and renegotiations between different actors.

In the context of economic relations in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands, sovereignty and statehood are negotiated and renegotiated between the multiple actors, both state and non-state. The ethno-federal arrangement that Ethiopia introduced has also led to the multiplication of centers of power along and beyond the state. The conceptual framework adopted in this study, frontier governmentality, underscores the difficulty of centralized governance of frontiers, but it also sees the possibility that these areas would not be ungoverned spaces as some have argued.

Finally, some thoughts on the impact of economic governance in the frontiers for state-building in Ethiopia, Somaliland and the wider Horn of Africa. The post-colonial experiment in general and the post-1991 attempts at building a Westphalian/Weberian state in the Horn of Africa has not come to realization till today. Essential in this regard is the fact that the Westphalian/Weberian model of state developed in a Western context, as it was discussed in the introductory chapter. It doesn't thoroughly deal with the adverse impacts that fall on the society's quest for a just life. This trend should led to a critical reassessment of the viability of the state-or at least the Weberian state, in African frontiers.

References

Abbink, John. (1998). Briefing: The Eritrean-Ethiopian Border Dispute, *African Affairs*, Vol. 97, No. 389, pp. 551-565.

Abdi, Mohamed Farah. (2017). "UAE Military Base in Berbera Boosts International Trade, Somaliland-Ethiopia's Relations", *The Reporter*, February 18, 2017.

Abdussamad H Ahmad. (2000). Muslims of Gondar 1864-1941, *Annales d'Ethiopie*. Vol. 16, pp. 161-172.

Abebe Teklehaimanot. (2007). Ethiopia's Sovereign Right of Access to the Sea under International Law. Unpublished MA Thesis. The University of Georgia, Athens: Georgia.

Abir, Mordechai. (1966). Salt, Trade and Politics in Ethiopia in the "Zämänä Mäsafent", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 1-10.

Abir, Mordechai. (1980). Ethiopia and the Red Sea: The Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim-European Rivalry in the Region. London: Free Cass.

Abraham, Garth. (2006). "Africa and Its Boundaries: A Legal Overview: From Colonialism to the African Union". In Christopher Clapham, Jeffrey Herbst and Greg Mills. (Eds), *Big African States* (Pp. 273-290). Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Agamben, Giorgio. (1998). Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Agamben, Giorgio. (2005). State of Exception. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Agreed Minutes of the Ethiopia-Somaliland Senior Officials' Consultative Meeting from November 30 –December 1st, 2012 in Dire Dawa.

Ahmed, Ismail I. and Reginald Herbold Green. (1999). The Heritage of War and State Collapse in Somalia and Somaliland: Local-Level Effects, External Interventions and Reconstruction, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 113-127.

Ahmed, Ismail I. and Reginald Herbold Green. (1999). The Heritage of War and State Collapse in Somalia and Somaliland: Local-Level Effects, External Interventions and Reconstruction, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 113-127.

Alebachew Kemisso. (2016). Integration and Identity among Refugee Children in Ethiopia: Dilemmas of Eritrean and Somali Students in Selected Primary Schools of Addis Ababa. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. Addis Ababa University, Center for Comparative Education and Policy Studies, Addis Ababa.

Alemseged Abbay. (2006). The Assumption of "A-Colony-Equals-To-A-Nation" and the Political Accident of Eritrea, *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l 'Oriente*, Anno 61, No. 2, pp. 159-188.

Ambroso, Guido. (2002). Pastoral Society and Transnational Refugees: Population Movements in Somaliland and Eastern Ethiopia, 1988 – 2000. (New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper No. 65). Geneva: UNHCR.

Anderson, Malcolm. (1996). Frontiers: Territory and State-Formation in the Modern World. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Anderson, Malcolm and Eberhard Bort. (2001). The Frontiers of the European Union. Hampshire: Palgrave

Anderson, Malcolm. (2010). Researching European Frontiers, *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3-4, pp. 232-250.

Anonymous. (2016). "Dubai Opens Door for Ethiopia in Somaliland", *Addis Fortune*, May 17, 2016.

Anonymous. (2017). "Egypt's Meddling in Ethiopia's Backyard", *Addis Fortune*, May 03, 2016.

Anonymous. (2017). "Ethiopia Distributes its Cargo Among Neighbouring Countries' Ports", *Addis Fortune*, February 07, 2015.

Anonymous. (2017). "At Last, Briefly in Addis Ababa", *Addis Fortune*, May 08, 2017.

Anonymous. (2016). “Dubai Operator Secures Deal Over Berbera Port”, *Addis Fortune*, May 14, 2016.

Anonymous. (2017). “Ships Loaded with Food Aid to Ethiopia and Waiting at the Port of Djibouti to be Diverted to the Port of Berbera and Sudan”, *Somaliland Nation News*. Available at http://www.slnnews.com/2016/04/somalilandships-loaded-with-food-aid-to-ethiopia-and-waiting-at-the-port-of-djibouti-to-be-diverted-to-the-port-of-berbera-and-sudan/. Accessed on April 12, 2017.

Anonymous. (2017). “Telecoms in Ethiopia: Out of Reach”, *The Economist*, August 24, 2013.

Asiwaju, A.I. (1983). The Concept of Frontier in the Setting of States in Pre-colonial Africa, *Présence Africaine,* No. 127/128, pp. pp. 43-49.

Asnake Kefale. (2009). Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia: A Comparative Study of the Somali and Benishangul-Gumuz Regions. Unpublished PhD. Thesis. Leiden University, Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Leiden.

Assefaw Bariagaber. (2006). Conflict and the Refugee Experience: Flight, Exile, and Repatriation in the Horn of Africa. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Baker, J. (1974). Developments in Ethiopia's Road System, *Geography*, Vol. 59, No. 2, pp. 150-154.

Balthasar, Dominik. (2012). State-Making in Somalia and Somaliland: Understanding War, Nationalism and State Trajectories as Processes of Institutional and Socio-Cognitive Standardization. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. London School of Economics and Political Science, London.

Barnes, Cedric. (2007). The Somali Youth League, Ethiopian Somalis and the Greater Somalia Idea, c.1946–48, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vo. 1, No. 2, pp. 277-291.

Barnes, Cedric. (2010) “The Ethiopian-British Somaliland Boundary.” In Dereje Feyissa and Markus Virgil Hoehne. (Eds.), *Borders and Borderlands as Resources in the Horn of Africa* (Pp. 122-131). Woodbridge: James Currey.

Barth, Fredrik. (1999). "Boundaries and Connections". In Anthony P. Cohen. (Ed), *Signifying Identities: Anthropological Perspectives on Boundaries and Contested Values*. (Pp. 17-36). London: Routledge.

Baud, Michiel and Willem van Schendel. (1997). Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands, *Journal of World History*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 211-242.

Bayart, Jean-François. (1992). The Historicity of African Societies, *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 46, No. 1, pp. 55-79.

Belete Belachew. (2016). Setit-Humera: A Blister on Ethio–Sudanese Boundary Disputation, *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 107-122.

Biebricher, Thomas and Frieder Vogelmann. (2012). Governmentality and State Theory: Reinventing the Reinvented Wheel? *Theory & Event*, Vol. 15, Issue 3, pp.

Bittner, Jochen. (2016). "The New Ideology of the New Cold War", *The New York Times*, August 1, 2016. Available on http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/02/opinion/the-new-ideology-of-the-new-cold-war.html?_r=0. Accessed on December 10, 2016.

Boyd, Richard and Tak-Wing Ngo. (2006). "Reconnecting the State to the Dynamics of Its Making". In Richard Boyd and Tak-Wing Ngo. (Eds.), *State Making in Asia*. (Pp. 1-30). London: Routledge.

Branch, Jordan. (2011). Mapping the Sovereign State: Technology, Authority, and Systemic Change, *International Organization*, Vol. 65, No. 1, pp. 1-36.

Brown, D. J. Latham. (1956). The Ethiopia-Somaliland Frontier Dispute, *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 245-264.

Brown, D. J. Latham. (1961). Recent Developments in the Ethiopia-Somaliland Frontier Dispute, *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp.167-178.

Brozus, Lars. (2009). Statehood and Governance: Conceptual Clarifications and Empirical Evidence. Paper prepared for International Political Science Association's 21st World Congress of Political Science, July 12-16, 2009, Santiago de Chile.

Butler, Judith. (2004). Precarious Life. New York: Verso.

Buzuayew Hailu, Bisrat Kassahun, Habtamu Atlaw and Tingrtu G/Tsadiq. (2017). Human Trafficking in Eastern Ethiopia: Navigating the Causes, Nature and Routes. Paper Presented at a Workshop on Irregular Migration in the Somali Region of Ethiopia, March 14, 2017. Jijiga: Ethiopia.

Cahnman, Werner J. (1944). The Concept of Raum and the Theory of Regionalism, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 9, No. 5, pp. 455-462.

Campbell, Elizabeth H. (2006). Urban Refugees in Nairobi: Problems of Protection, Mechanisms of Survival, and Possibilities for Integration, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 396-413.

Cantens, Thomas, Robert Ireland & Gaël Raballand. (2015). Introduction: Borders, Informality, International Trade and Customs, *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 365-380,

Caporaso, James. (1978). Introduction to the Special Issue of *International Organization* on Dependence and Dependency in the Global System, *International Organization*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 1-12.

Cassanelli, Lee. (2010). "The Opportunistic Economics of the Kenya-Somali Borderland in Historical Perspective". In In Dereje Feyissa and Markus Virgil Hoehne. (Eds.), *Borders and Borderlands as Resources in the Horn of Africa*. (Pp. 133-150). Woodbridge: James Currey.

Caulk, Richard. A. (1977). Harär Town and Its Neighbours in the Nineteenth Century, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 369-386.

Caulk, Richard A. (1971). The Occupation of Harar: January 1887, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 1-20.

Certeau, Michel de. (1984). The Practice of Everyday Life. (Translated by Steven Rendall). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Cerulli, Enrico. (1988). "Ethiopia's Relations with the Muslim world". In M. El Fasi. (Ed.), *UNESCO General History of Africa, Vol. III: Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*. . (Pp. 575-585). Paris: UNESCO

Central Intelligence Agency. (2017a). *Ethiopia*. In The World Factbook. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/et.html. Accessed on March 5, 2017.

Central Intelligence Agency. (2017b). "Djibouti". In *The World Factbook*. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/dj.html. Accessed on March 5, 2017.

Central Statistical Authority. (2007). The 2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Results for Somali Region. Addis Ababa: CSA.

Ciabarri, Luca. (2008). Productivity of Refugee Camps: Social and Political Dynamics from the Somaliland-Ethiopia Border (1988-2001), *Africa Spectrum*, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 67-90.

Clapham, Christopher. (1988). Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clapham, Christopher. (1996). Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clapham, Christopher. (2006). "Ethiopia". In Christopher Clapham, Jeffrey Herbst and Greg Mills. (Eds), *Big African States*. (Pp. 17-38). Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Clark, J. Desmond. (1954). The Prehistoric Cultures of the Horn of Africa: An Analysis of the Stone Age Cultural and Climatic Succession in the Somalilands and Eastern Parts of Abyssinia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cleary, David. (1993). After the Frontier: Problems with Political Economy in the Modern Brazilian Amazon, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 331-349.

Clifford, E. H. M. (1936). The British Somaliland-Ethiopia Boundary, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 87, No. 4, pp. 289-302.

Commercial Bank of Ethiopia. (2017). 'Franco Valuta license'. Available at http://www.combanketh.et/InternationalBanking/TradeService.aspx. Accessed on April 27, 2017.

Creswell, John. (2007). Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches. (2^{nd} Edn.) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

D'Alos-Moner, Andreu Martinez. (2012). Conquistadores, Mercenaries, and Missionaries: The Failed Portuguese Dominion of the Red Sea, *Northeast African Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 1-28.

Davis, Asa J. (1964). The 16th Century Jihad In Ethiopia and the Impact on Its Culture: Part Ii: Implicit Factors Behind the Movement, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 113-128.

Davis, Asa J. (1963). The Sixteenth Century Jihād In Ethiopia and the Impact on Its Culture (Part One), *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 567-592.

Delaney, David. (2005). Territory: A Short Introduction. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Delegation of European Commission (EC) in Kenya. (2003). Pre-Feasibility Study on the Regional Transport Sector in the Berbera Corridor. Nairobi: Delegation of EC in Nairobi.

Dereje Feyissa and Markus V. Hoehne. (2010). "State Borders and Borderlands as Resources: An Analytical Framework." In Dereje and Hoehne. (Eds.), *Borders and Borderlands as Resources in the Horn of Africa*. (Pp. 1-26). Woodbridge: James Currey.

Diamond, Larry. (2010). Liberation Technology, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 21, No.3, pp. 69-83.

Didur, Jill. (2001). “Michel Foucault”. In John C. Hawley. (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Postcolonial Studies*. (Pp. 186-190). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Dombrowski, Franz. (1985). Ethiopia’s Access to the Sea. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Donham, Donald and Wendy James, The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology. Oxford: James Currey.

Donzel, Emeri Van. (1994). “Foreign Relations during the Reign of King Fasiladas (1632-1667).” In Bahru Zewde, Richard Pankhurst and Taddese Beyene. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Vol. I*. Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

Draft Memorandum of Understanding between Somali National Regional State, Harari National Regional State, Dire Dawa City Administration and Eastern Oromia National Regional State [sic], to Prevent Illegal Human Migration. January, 2017. Jijiga.

Duale, Mohamed Abdilahi and Saeed Mohamed Ahmed. (2014). *Re-Examining Somaliland’s Relations with Neighboring States.* Available at http://www.pambazuka.org/global-south/re-examining-somaliland%E2%80%99s-relations-neighboring-states. Accessed on October 10, 2016.

Dudley, Billy J. (1984). “Decolonisation and the Problems of Independence”. Michael Crowder. (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa, Vol. 8: From c. 1940 to c. 1975*. (Pp. 52-94). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eggers, Alison K. (2007). When is a State a State? The Case for Recognition of Somaliland, *Boston College International & Comparative Law Review, Vol.* 30, Issue 1, pp. 211-222.

Eid, Abdurehman. (2014). Jostling for Trade: The Politics of Livestock Marketing on the Ethiopia - Somaliland Border. (Future Agricultures Working Paper 075). Brighton: Future Agricultures, Institute of Development Studies

Eidmon Tesfaye. (2015). “Why Getting Assab Port Back Matters to Ethiopia”, *Addis Fortune*, January 11, 2015.

Elden, Stuart. (2010). Land, Terrain, Territory, *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 34, No. 6, pp. 799–817.

Elden, Stuart. (2013a). How Should We Do the History of Territory? *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 5-20.

Elden, Stuart. (2013b). The Birth of Territory. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Emebet Mulugeta. (2008). Urban Poverty in Ethiopia: The Economic and Social Adaptations of Women. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press.

Epstein, S. R. and Maarten Prak. (2008). "Introduction: Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy, 1400–1800." In Epstein and Pak (Eds.), *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy, 1400–1800*. (Pp. 1-24). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eritrea-Ethiopia Claims Commission-Final Award: Ports-Ethiopia's Claim 6. Reports of International Arbitral Awards (RIAA), Vol. XXVI, pp. 489-503. December 19, 2005. New York: United Nations.

Fattovich, Rodolfo. (1984). Remarks on the Peopling of the Northern Ethiopian Sudanese Borderland In Ancient Historical Times, *Rivista degli studi Orientali*, Vol. 58, Fasc. 1/4, pp. 85-106.

FDRE. (1996). *Importation of Machinery and Goods on Franco-Valuta Basis Council of Ministers Regulations No, 8/1996.*

FDRE. (1997a). *Ethiopian Roads Authority Re-establishment Proclamation No. 80.1997*.

FDRE. (1997b). *Road Fund Establishment Proclamation No. 66/1997*.

FDRE. (2003). *The Revised Regulation on the Importation of Goods on Franco- Valuta Basis Council of Ministers Regulation No 88/2003.*

FDRE. (2004). *Refugee Proclamation No. 409/2004*.

FDRE. (2007). *Maritime Sector Administration Proclamation No. 549/2007*.

FDRE. (2011). *Ethiopian Shipping and Logistics Services Enterprise Establishment Council of Ministers Regulation No. 255/2011.*

FDRE. (2016). *Commercial Registration and Licensing Proclamation No. 980/2016*.

Federal Contraband and Illicit Trade Prevention Task-Force. (2009 EC). *Ye 2009 Bejet Amet Ager Akef Ye Contraband ena Ye Hege-wote Neged Mekelakel Gebre-Hayel Ekid* [The 2009 Annual Plan of the National Contraband and Illicit Trade Prevention Task-Force]. Addis Ababa.

Fielder, James Douglas. (2012). Dissent in Digital: The Internet and Dissent in Authoritarian States. Unpublished PhD. Thesis. University of Iowa.

Foucault, Michel. (1972). Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Writings, 1972-1977. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel. (1988). Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault. London: Tavistock.

Foucault, Michel. (2002). Security, Territory, Population: Lectures At the Collège De France, 1977-78. New York: Palgrave.

Frachetti, Michael D. (2008). Pastoralist Landscapes and Social Interaction in Bronze Age Eurasia. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fukuyama, Francis. (2004). State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st-Century. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Gallagher, John and Ronald Robinson. (1953). The Imperialism of Free Trade, *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 1-15.

Gebru Tareke. (1996). Ethiopia: Power and Protest: Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press.

Gebru Tareke. (2000). The Ethiopia-Somalia War of 1977 Revisited, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 635-667.

Getatchew Haile. (1986). The Unity and Territorial Integrity of Ethiopia, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 465-487.

Ghosh, Sahana. (2011). Cross-Border Activities in Everyday Life: The Bengal Borderland, *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 49-60.

Gutmann, Myron P. (1988). The Origins of the Thirty Years' War, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 749-770.

Guyot-Réchard, Bérénice. (2013) Nation-Building or State-Making? India's North-East Frontier and the Ambiguities of Nehruvian Developmentalism, 1950–1959, *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 22-37.

Guyot-Réchard, Bérénice. (2017). Shadow States: India, China and the Himalayas, 1910-1962. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gwilliam, Ken and Ajay Kumar. (2003). How Effective Are Second-Generation Road Funds? A Preliminary Appraisal, *The World Bank Research Observer*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 113-128.

Haberland, Eike. (1992). “The Horn of Africa”. In B. A. Ogot. (Ed.), *UNESCO General History of Africa, Vol. V: Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. (Pp. 703-749). Paris: UNESCO.

Habtamu Girma and Wubeshet Gezahagn. (2016). An Inquiry into the Nature, Causes and Effects of Contraband: Case of Ethio-Somaliland Border Corridor, *International Affairs and Global Strategy*, Vol.45, pp. 1-10.

Hagmann, Tobias. (2005a). Challenges of Decentralisation in Ethiopia's Somali Region, *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 32, No. 104/105, pp. 449-455.

Hagmann, Tobias. (2005b). Beyond Clannishness and Colonialism: Understanding Political Disorder in Ethiopia's Somali Region, 1991-2004, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 509-536.

Hagmann, Tobias. (2005c). From State Collapse to Duty-Free Shop: Somalia's Path to Modernity, *African Affairs*, Vol. 104, No. 416, pp. 525-535.

Hagmann, Tobias, and Mohamud Hussein Khalif. (2008). State and Politics in Ethiopia's Somali Region since 1991," *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies*: Vol. 6, Article 6.

Hagmann, Tobias and Didier Péclard. (2011). "Negotiating Statehood: Dynamics of Power and Domination in Africa". In Tobias Hagmann and Didier Péclard. (Ed.), *Negotiating Statehood Dynamics of Power and Domination in Africa*. (Pp. 1-23). Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hagmann, Tobias. (2014a). Talking Peace in the Ogaden: The search for an End to Conflict in the Somali Regional State in Ethiopia. London: Rift Valley Institute.

Hagmann, Tobias. (2014b). Punishing the Periphery: Legacies of State Repression in the Ethiopian Ogaden, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 725-739.

Haile Selassie. (1999). My Life and Ethiopia's Progress, 1892-1937, Vol. 1. (Translated by Edward Ullendorff). Chicago, IL: Research Associates School Times Publications.

Hamilton, David N. (1974). Ethiopia's Frontiers: The Boundary Agreements and Their Demarcation, 1896-1956. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Oxford, Trinity College, Oxford.

Hammer, Leonard M. (2007). A Foucauldian Approach to International Law: Descriptive Thoughts for Normative Issues. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Hansen, Thomas B. and Finn Stepputat. (2001). "Introduction: States of imagination". In Thomas Hansen and Finn Stepputat. (Eds), *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State*. (Pp. 1-38). Durham: Duke University Press.

Hansen, Peter. (2013). *Khat*, Governance and Political Identity among Diaspora Returnees to Somaliland, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. 143-159.

Hanssen, Beatrice. (2004). “Critical Theory and Poststructuralism: Habermas and Foucault”. In Fred Rush. (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Critical Theory*. (Pp. 280-309). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hart, Keith. (1973). Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 61-89.

Healy, Sally. (2011). Hostage to Conflict: Prospects for Building Regional Economic Cooperation in the Horn of Africa. London: Chatham House.

Helen Berhane. (2015). The Impact of Empty Running Trucks on Economy and Environment: A Case Study on the Addis Ababa- Djibouti Corridor. Unpublished MA Thesis. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University.

Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky. (2006). “Introduction”. In Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky. (Eds.), *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America.* (Pp. 1-30). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Herbst, Jeffrey. (1989). The Creation and Maintenance of National Boundaries in Africa, *International Organization*, Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 673-692.

Herbst, Jeffrey. (2000). States and power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Herbst, Jeffrey and Greg Mills. (2006). “Africa’s Big States: An Introductory Overview”. In Christopher Clapham, Jeffrey Herbst and Greg Mills. (Eds), *Big African States*. (Pp. 1-15). Johannesburg: Wits University Press.).

Hess, Robert L. (1964). The 'Mad Mullah' and Northern Somalia, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 415-433.

Hill, Christopher and William Wallace. (1996). “Introduction: Actors and Actions”. In Christopher Hill (Ed.), *Actors in Europe’s Foreign Policy*. (Pp. 1-18). London: Routledge.

Holdich, Thomas H. (1916). Geographical Problems in Boundary Making, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 6, pp. 421-436.

Hopkins, Benjamin D. (2015). The Frontier Crimes Regulation and Frontier Governmentality, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 74, No. 2, pp. 369–389.

Horvath, Ronald J. (1969). The Wandering Capitals of Ethiopia, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 205-219.

Howitt, Richie. (2001). Frontiers, Borders, Edges: Liminal Challenges to the Hegemony of Exclusion, *Australian Geographical Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 233-245.

Huntington, Samuel P. (1991). The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Hüsken, Thomas and Georg Klute. (2010). Emerging Forms of Power in Two African Borderlands: A Theoretical and Empirical Research Outline, *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 107-121.

Ibrahim Worku. (2011). Road Sector Development and Economic Growth in Ethiopia. (EDRI Working Paper 4). Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Development Research Institute.

International Organization for Migration. (2004). Glossary on Migration. Geneva: IOM.

Igeh, Hussein Adan. (2016). “Keynote Speech of Somaliland’s Minister of Trade and Investment, at the 4th Somaliland-Ethiopian Top Officials Consultative Meeting , 27 February 2016, Berbera City”.

Jama, Saleyman Hajji. (2016). “Somaliland: Why Djibouti Always Against to Berbera Port” (sic), *Somaliland Nation News*. Available at http://www.slnnews.com/2016/05/somalilandwhy-djibouti-always-against-to-berbera-port/. Accessed on May 9, 2017.

Janeczek, Andrzej. (2011). Frontiers and Borderlands in Medieval Europe: Introductory Remarks, *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae*, Vol. 16, pp. 5-14.

Janoski, Thomas. (1998). Citizenship and Civil Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jeffrey, James. (2015). "Somaliland Abuzz from Ethiopia's *Khat* Convoys", *Al-Jazeera*, April 21, 2015. Available on http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2015/03/somaliland-abuzz-ethiopia-khat-convoys-150325100843701.html. Accessed on March 17, 2017.

Jones, Martin, Rhys Jones and Michael Woods. (2004). An Introduction to Political Geography: Space, Place and Politics. London: Routledge.

Jones, Reece. (2012). Spaces of Refusal: Rethinking Sovereign Power and Resistance at the Border, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 102, No. 3, pp. 685-699.

Jones, Rhys. (2007). People/States/Territories: The Political Geographies of British State Transformation. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Kahneman, Daniel and Amos Tversky. (1979). Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision under Risk, *Econometrica*, Vol. 47, No. 2, pp. 263-292.

Kang, David C. (2004). Crony Capitalism: Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kaplan, Seth. (2008). The Remarkable Story of Somaliland, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 143-157.

Keohane, Robert O. (1986). Reciprocity in International Relations, *International Organization*, Vol. 40, No. 1, pp. 1-27.

Kesby, Alison. (2007). The Shifting and Multiple Border and International Law, *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 101-119.

Killion, Tom C. (1992). Railroad Workers and the Ethiopian Imperial State: The Politics of Workers' Organization on the Franco-Ethiopian Railroad, 1919-1959, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 583-605.

Kipfer, Barbara Ann. (2005). Roget's 21st Century Thesaurus. (Third Edn.). New York: Delta.

Korf, Benedikt, Tobias Hagmann and Martin Doevenspeck. (2013). "Geographies of Violence and Sovereignty: The African Frontier Revisited". In Benedikt Korf and Timothy Raeymaekers. (Eds.), *Violence on the Margins: States, Conflict and Borderlands*. (Pp. 29-54). Hampshire: Palgrave.

Kostakopoulou, Dora. (2002). Floating Sovereignty: A Pathology or a Necessary Means of State Evolution? *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 135-156.

Krasner, Stephen. (1999). Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Krause-Vilmar, Jina. (2010). *Struggling to Make a Living in Ethiopia: Surviving in the Informal Economy*. Available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jina-krausevilmar/struggling-to-make- a-livi_b_643366.html. Accessed on April 20, 2017.

Kruszewski, Charles. (1940). International Affairs: Germany's Lebensraum, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 34, No. 5, pp. 964-975.

Lagendijk, Arnoud, Bas Arts and Henk van Houtum. (2009). "Shifts in Governmentality, Territoriality and Governance: An Introduction". In Bas Arts, Arnoud Lagendijk and Henk van Houtum. (Eds.), *The Disoriented State: Shifts in Governmentality, Territoriality and Governance*. (Pp. 1-12). Springer.

Lemarchand, Rene and Keith Legg. (1972). Political Clientelism and Development: A Preliminary Analysis, *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 149-178.

Larner, Wendy and William Walters. (Eds.). (2004). Global Governmentality: Governing International Spaces. London: Routledge.

Lewis, Herbert S. (1966). The Origins of the Galla and Somali, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 27-46.

Lewis, Ioan M. (1955). Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho. London: International African Institute.

Lewis, Ioan. M. (2002). A Modern History of the Somali: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa. (Fourth Edn.). Oxford: James Currey.

Lewis, Ioan M. (2008). Understanding Somalia and Somaliland: Culture, History, Society. New York: Columbia University Press.

Little, Peter D., Waktole Tiki & Dejene Negassa Debsu. (2015). Formal or Informal, Legal or Illegal: The Ambiguous Nature of Cross-border Livestock Trade in the Horn of Africa, *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 405-421.

Machado, Lia O., André R. Novaes and Licio do R. Monteiro. (2009). Building Walls, Breaking Barriers: Territory, Integration and the Rule of Law in Frontier Zones, *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 97-114.

Mahapatra, Debidatta Aurobinda. (2016). From Alienation to Co-existence and Beyond: Examining the Evolution of the Borderland in Kashmir, *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. No. , pp. 1-15.

Maier, Charles S. (2016). Once Within Borders: Territories of Power, Wealth, and Belonging since 1500. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.

Maimire Mennasemay. (1997). Adwa: A Dialogue between the Past and the Present, *Northeast African Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 43-89.

Manjokoto, Caroline & Dick Ranga. (2017). Opportunities and Challenges Faced by Women Involved in Informal Cross-border Trade in the City of Mutare during a Prolonged Economic Crisis in Zimbabwe, *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 25-39.

Mann, Michael. (1984). The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results, *European Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 185-213.

Mann, Michael. (1986). The Sources of Social Power, Vol. I: A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mann, Michael. (1988). States, War and Capitalism: Studies in Political Sociology. Oxford: Blackwell. Press.

Mann, Michael. (2012). The Sources of Social Power, Vol. III: Global Empires and Revolution, 1890–1945. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marcus, Harold G. (1963). A Background to Direct British Diplomatic Involvement in Ethiopia, 1894-1896, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 121-132.

Marcus, Harold G. (1965). The Rodd Mission of 1897, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 25-35.

Markakis, John. (1974). Ethiopia: Anatomy of a Traditional Polity. Addis Ababa: Oxford University Press.

Markakis, John. (1979). Garrison Socialism: The Case of Ethiopia, *MERIP Reports*, No. 79, pp. 3-17.

Markakis, John. (2011). Ethiopia: The Last Two Frontiers. New York: James Currey.

Mars'e-Hazan Wolde-Qirqos. (2007). Ye Ethiopia ena Ye Engeliz Somaliland yewosen Mekalel Tariq. (Amharic). [A History of Boundary Demarcation between Ethiopia and British Somaliland]. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press.

Martinez, Oscar J. (1994a). Border People: Life and Society in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Martinez, Oscar J. (1994b). "The Dynamics of Border Interaction: New Approaches to Border Analysis." In Clive H. Schofield. (Ed.), *Global Boundaries*. (Pp. 1-15). London: Routledge

Martinez, Oscar J. (2006). Troublesome Border. (Revised Edn.). Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Matshanda, Namhla Thando. (2014). Centres in the Periphery: Negotiating Territoriality and Identification in Harar and Jijiga from 1942. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. The University of Edinburgh.

Mccormick, John P. (1993). Addressing the Political Exception: Machiavelli's "Accidents" and the Mixed Regime, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 4, pp. 888-900.

Menkhaus, Ken (2014) Calm between the Storms? Patterns of Political Violence in Somalia, 1950–1980, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 558-572.

Merid Wolde Aregay. (1971). Southern Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom, 1508-1708: With Special Reference to the Galla Migrations and Their Consequences. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

Mesfin Wolde-Mariam. (1964). The Background of the Ethio-Somalian Boundary Dispute, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 189-219.

Mesfin Wolde-Mariam. (1972). An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University

Mesfin Wolde-Mariam. (1999). The Horn of Africa: Conflict and Poverty. Addis Abeba: Commercial Printing Press.

Ministry of Finance and Economic Development [MoFED]. (2007 EC). Franco-Valuta Regulation No. 40/2007. Addis Ababa: Ethiopia.

Ministry of National Planning and Development of Somaliland. (2015*). Somaliland Statistical Bulletin*, Vol. 17, Issue 5. Hargeissa: Somaliland Ministry of National Planning and Development.

Ministry of Transport-EMMA. (2016). An Environmental and Social Impact Assessment of a Proposed Trade Logistics Hub at Modjo, Ethiopia. Addis Ababa: EMMA.

Moore, A W. (1879). 'Egyptian Claims to Sovereignty over the Somali Coast.' [7v] (14/62), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/18/B3, in *Qatar Digital Library* http://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100035841288.0x00000f [accessed 25 January 2017]

Moore-Harell, Alice. (1997). 1877-1880: Three Years of Sudanese Domination in the Somali Coast, *Northeast African Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 29-49.

Morone, Antonio M. (2015). The Unsettled Southern Ethiopian-Somali Boundary on the Eve of Decolonization: Political Confrontation and Human Interactions in the Ogaadeen Borderland, *Northeast African Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2015, pp. 93–116.

Morris, Christopher W. (2012). State Coercion and Force, *Social Philosophy and Policy*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 28-49.

Muhumed, Muhumed Mohamed. (2016). Somaliland Trade, Exports and Imports: An Overview, *Developing Country Studies*, Vol.6, No.8, 2016, pp. 138-143.

Mutimer, David. (2011). From Arms Control to Denuclearization: Governmentality and the Abolitionist Desire, *Journal Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 32, Issue 1, pp. 57-75.

Nadesan, Majia Holmer. (2008). Governmentality, Biopower, and Everyday Life. London: Routledge.

Narkunas, J. Paul. (2015). Human Rights and States of Emergency: Humanitarians and Governmentality, *Journal Culture, Theory and Critique*, Vol. 56, Issue 2, pp. 208-227

National Planning Commission. (NPC) (2016). FDRE Growth and Transformation Plan II (GTP II), 2015/16-2019/20. NPC: Addis Ababa.

Natsoulas, Theodore. (2003). A Failure of Early French Expansionism in Africa: The French-Jesuit Effort in Ethiopia at the Turn of the 18th Century, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 5-18.

Negussay Ayele. (1971). The 1952-1959 Ethio-Italian Boundary Negotiations: an Exercise in Diplomatic Futility, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 127-148.

Ododa, Harry. (1985). Somalia's Domestic Politics and Foreign Relations since the Ogaden War of 1977-78, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 285-297.

Online Etymology Dictionary. Available at http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=border. Accessed on December 2, 2016.

Pankhurst, Richard. (1961). An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia from Early Times to 1800. London.

Pankhurst, Richard. (1965). The Trade of the Gulf of Aden Ports of Africa in the Nineteeth and Early Twentieth Centuries, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 36-81.

Pankhurst, Richard. (1968). Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1935. Addis Ababa.

Pankhurst, Richard. (1997). The Ethiopian Borderlands: Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press.

Pankhurst, Alula. (2007). The Logic of Barter in Ethiopian History and its Resilience in Contemporary Society: Case Studies in the Exchange of Food, Clothing and Household Goods, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 40, No. ½, pp. 155-179.

Parker, R. A. C. (1974). Great Britain, France and the Ethiopian Crisis 1935-1936, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 351, pp. 293-332.

Parker, Geoffrey (2004). Sovereign City: The City-State-Ancient and Modern. London: Reaktion Books.

Partridge, Eric. (1966). Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English (4th Ed.). London: Routledge.

Patinkin, Jason. (2017). "Testing the Waters: Somaliland Dives into the International Arena", *The Messenger*, April 3, 2017. Available at https://messengerafrica.com/2017/04/03/testing-the-waters-somaliland-dives-into-the-international-arena/. Accessed on May 12, 2017.

Paulos Milkias. (2005). “The Battle of Adwa: The Historic Victory of Ethiopia over European Colonialism”. In Paulos Milkias & Getachew Metaferia. (Eds.), *The Battle of Adwa: Reflections on Ethiopia's Historic Victory against European Colonialism*. (Pp. 37-85). New York: Algora.

Polanyi, Karl. (2001). The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Potter, Pitman B. (1936). The Wal Wal Arbitration, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 27-44.

Prokkola, Eeva-Kaisa. (2009). Unfixing Borderland Identity: Border Performances and Narratives in the Construction of Self, *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 21-38.

Qodah, Mahmoud. (2017). “Somaliland: “Farmajo is the President of Somalia, Not Somaliland”-Foreign Minister”, *Somaliland Monitor*. Available at http://somalilandmonitor.net/somaliland-farmajo-is-the-president-of-somalia-and-not-somaliland-foreign-minister/10997/, Accessed on May 9, 2017.

Reder, Jultan. (2017). “The Peninsula Shield Force: The Gulf Cooperation Council's Vestigial Organ”, *International Policy Digest*. Available at https://intpolicydigest.org/2017/05/08/peninsula-shield-force-gulf-cooperation-council-s-vestigial-organ/. Accessed on May 9, 2017.

Risse, Thomas. (2012). Governance Configurations in Areas of Limited Statehood: Actors, Modes, Institutions, and Resources. SFB-Governance Working Paper Series, No. 32, Research Center (SFB) 700, Berlin, March 2012.

Rubenson, Sven. (1964). The Protectorate Paragraph of the Wichale Treaty, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 243-283.

Sack, Robert D. (1983). Human Territoriality: A Theory, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 73, No. 1, pp. 55-74.

Sahlins, Peter. (1990). Natural Frontiers Revisited: France's Boundaries since the Seventeenth Century, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 95, No. 5, pp. 1423-1451.

Sahlins, Peter. (1998). "State Formation and National Identity in the Catalan Borderlands during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries". ". In Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan. (Eds.), *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*. (Pp. 31-61). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Said, Edward W. (1978). Orientalism. New York: Vintage Books.

Salter, Mark B. (2008). When the Exception Becomes the Rule: Borders, Sovereignty, and Citizenship, *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 365-380.

Salmon, Jago. (2006). The Formation and Organisation of Irregular Armed Forces in Sudan (1985-2001) and Lebanon (1975-1991). Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. University of Berlin, Humboldt.

Salvador, Matteo. (2012). Muslim Partners, Catholic Foes: The Selective Isolation of Gondärine Ethiopia, *Northeast African Studies,* Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 51–72.

Samatar, Said S. (2007). The Islamic Courts and Ethiopia's Intervention in Somali: Redemption or Adventurism? A Public Lecture Delivered at Chatham House. London, April 25, 2007.

Samuel Negash. (2016). "Ethiopia's Elusive Quest for an Outlet to the Sea: The Case of the Haud-Zeila Exchange from the 1920s to the 1950s". In Eloi Ficquet, Ahmed Hassen and Thomas Osmond. (Eds.), *Movements in Ethiopia, Ethiopia in Movement: Proceedings of the 18th International Conference on Ethiopian Studies, Volume 1*". (Pp. 257-271). Los Angeles, CA: Tsehai Publishers.

Sanchez, Andrew. (2015)."Criminal Entrepreneurship: A Political Economy of Corruption and Organised crime in India". In Paul M. Heywood. (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Political Corruption*. (Pp. 67-76). London: Routledge.

Sardan, J. P. Olivier de. (1999). A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa? *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 37, No. 1 (Mar., 1999), pp. 25-52.

Schemm, Paul. (2015). "How a Breakaway Region of Somalia Hopes to Build a New Country", *The Washington Post*, December 26, 2015.

Schendel, Willem van and Itty Abraham. (2005). "Introduction: The Making of Illicitness." In Schendel and Abraham. (Eds.), *Illicit Flows and Criminal Things: States, Borders, and the Other Side of Globalization*. (Pp. 1-37). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Schmitt, Carl. (2005). Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Schmitt, Carl. (2007). The Concept of the Political. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Scott, James C. (1990). Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Scott, James C. (1998). Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Scott, James Wesley. (2000). Transboundary Cooperation on Germany's Borders: Strategic Regionalism through Multilevel Governance, *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 143-167.

Sergew Hable-Selassie. (1972). Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270. Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University Press.

Shah, Idries. (1983). The Exploits of the Incomparable Mulla Nasrudin. London: Octagon Press.

Silberman, Leo. (1961). Why the Haud Was Ceded, *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, Vol. 2, Cahier 5, pp. 37-83.

Slight, John P. (2011). British and Somali Views of Muhammad Abdullah Hassan's *Jihad*, 1899–1920, *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies*, Vol. 10, Article 7, pp. 16-35.

Sokhi-Bulley, Bal. (2011). Government(ality) by Experts: Human Rights as Governance, *Law and Critique*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 251-271.

SRS- Environmental Protection & Energy & Mines Resources Development Agency. (2011). Climate Change: Impacts, Vulnerabilities & Adaptation Strategies in Somali Region: Regional Program of Plan to Adapt to Climate Change. Jijiga: SRS.

Steiner, H. Arthur. (1936). The Government of Italian East Africa, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 30, No. 5, pp. 884-902.

Stepputat, Finn. (2015). Formations of Sovereignty at the Frontier of the Modern State, *Conflict and Society: Advances in Research* 1 (2015), pp. 129–143.

Stern, W. B. (1936). The Treaty Background of the Italo-Ethiopian Dispute, *The American Journal of International Law,* Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 189-203.

Tadesse Tamrat. (1984). "The Horn of Africa: The Solomonids in Ethiopia and the States of the Horn of Africa". In D. T. Niane. (Ed.*), UNESCO General History of Africa, Vol. IV: Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*. (Pp. 423-454). Paris: UNESCO.

Taylor, Dianna. (Ed.). (2011). Michel Foucault: Key Concepts. Durham: Acumen.

Teferi Teklehaimmot. (1969). Why Ethiopia Lost: An Analysis of the Factors that Led to the Ethiopian Defeat in the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935-36. Unpublished MA Thesis. Kansas State University, Department of History, Manhattan.

Tekeste Negash. (1997). Eritrea and Ethiopia: The Federal Experience. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Tekeste Negash. (2006). The Zagwe Period and the Zenith of Urban Culture in Ethiopia, Ca. 930-1270 AD, *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente*, Anno 61, No. 1, pp. 120-137.

Tekeste Negash. (2008). Distressed, yet Confident, Ethiopia Enters the Third Millennium, *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 1-21.

Tekle-Tsadik Mekouria. (1988). "Christian Aksum" In G. Mokhtar. (Ed.), *UNESCO General History of Africa, Vol. II: Ancient Civilizations of Africa*. (Pp. 401-422). Paris: UNESCO.

Tennberg, Monica. (2001). Arctic Environmental Cooperation: A Study in Governmentality. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Teschke, Benno Gerhard. (1999). The Making of the Westphalian State-System: Social Property Relations, Geopolitics and the Myth of 1648. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. London School of Economics and Political Science, London

Tesfaye Tadesse. (2016). "The Importance of Instituting Ethiopia's Navy and Military in Djibouti", *The Reporter*, December 31, 2016.

Teshale Tibebu. (1990). On the Question of Feudalism, Absolutism, and the Bourgeois Revolution, *Review*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 49-152.

Teshale Tibebu. (1995). The Making of Modern Ethiopia, 1896-1974. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press.

The Imperial Government of Ethiopia. (1960). *Commercial Code of the Empire of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa.

Thiele, Leslie Paul. (1990). The Agony of Politics: The Nietzschean Roots of Foucault's Thought, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 84, No. 3, pp. 907-925.

Tibebe Eshete. (1988). A History of Jijjiga Town, 1891-1974. Unpublished MA Thesis. Addis Ababa University, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa.

Tibebe Eshete. (1994a). "The British Administration in the Ogaden and Its Legacy: Challenges and Responses". In Bahru Zewde, Richard Pankhurst and Taddese Beyene. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Vol. I*. (Pp. 323-338). Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

Tibebe Eshete. (1994b). Towards a History of the Incorporation of the Ogaden: 1887–1935, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. pp. 69–87.

Tilly, Charles. (1990). Coercion, Capital, and European States. AD 990-1990. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.

Touval, Saadia. (1966). Africa's Frontiers: Reactions to a Colonial Legacy, *International Affairs*, Vol. 42, No.4, pp. 641-654.

Tracy, James D. (1990). "Introduction." In James D. Tracy (Eds.), *The Rise Of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade In The Early Modern World, 1350-1750*. (Pp. 1-13). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tran, Mark. (2012). "Berbera Port and Pastoralism Prove Livestock's Worth in Somaliland", *The Guardian*, July 27, 2012. Available at https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2012/jul/27/berbera-port-pastoralism-livestock-somaliland. Accessed on March 17, 2017.

Trimingham, J. Spencer. (1952). Islam in Ethiopia. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tripodi, Paolo. (1999). Back to the Horn: Italian Administration and Somalia's Troubled Independence, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2/3, pp. 359-380.

Triulzi, Alessandro. (1994). "Frontier History in Ethiopia: Western Wallagga: The Making of a Frontier Society". In Bahru Zewde, Richard Pankhurst and Taddese Beyene. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Vol. I*. (Pp. 339-350). Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

Turner, Victor W. (1967). "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*." In Victor Turner. (Ed.), *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. (Pp. 93-111). Ithaca: Cornell University of Press.

Ullendorff, Edward. (1966). The 1897 Treaty between Great Britain and Ethiopia, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Vol. 22, pp. 116-134.

UNHCR. (2017). Ethiopia Factsheet. March, 2017.

United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2017). Awbarre Refugee Camp; http://data.unhcr.org/horn-of-africa/settlement.php?id=13&country=65&region=11;

United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2017). Sheder Refugee Camp; http://data.unhcr.org/horn-of-africa/settlement.php?id=15&country=65&region=11. Accessed on April 12, 2017.

Usner, Jr, Daniel H. (1987). The Frontier Exchange Economy of the Lower Mississippi Valley in the Eighteenth Century, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp. 165-192.

Vaan, Michiel de. (2008). Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages. Leiden: Brill.

Vaez, Ali. (2017). "Trump Can't Deal with Iran If He Doesn't Understand It", *Foreign Policy*, February 23, 2017. Available on http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/02/23/trump-cant-deal-with-iran-if-he-doesnt-understand-it/. Accessed on May 11, 2017.

Vatanka, Alex. (2016). "Iran's Awkward Diplomacy in Africa", *The National Interest*, March 23, 2016. Available on http://nationalinterest.org/feature/irans-awkward-diplomacy-africa-15571?page=show. Accessed on May 11, 2017.

Verkaaik, Oskar. (2001). "The Captive State: Corruption, Intelligence Agencies, and Ethnicity in Pakistan". In Thomas Hansen and Finn Stepputat. (Eds), *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State*. (Pp. 345-364). Durham: Duke University Press.

Wagner, Ewald. (1991). The Genealogy of the later Walashma' Sultans of Adal and Harar, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 141, No. 2, pp. 376-386.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. (1974). The Modern World-System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century. New York: Academic Press.

Waterfield, Gordon. (1956). Trouble in the Horn of Africa? The British Somali Case, *International Affairs*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 52-60.

Weber, Eugene. (1976). Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Weber, Max. (2008). Max Weber's Complete Writings on Academic and Political Vocations. (Translation by Gordon C. Wells). New York: Algora.

Wedeman, Andrew H. (2003). From Mao to Market: Rent Seeking, Local Protectionism, and Marketization in China. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wiegand, Krista E. (2008). "Borders." In William A. Darity Jr. (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.* (2nd Edn.), Vol. 1, pp. 354-355. Detroit: Cengage Learning.

Williamson, Oliver E. (1975). Markets and Hierarchies: Analysis and Antitrust Implications. New York: Free Press.

Wilson, Thomas M. and Hastings Donnan. (1998). "Nation, State and Identity at International Borders". In Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan. (Eds.), *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*. (Pp. 1-30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wolcott, Harry. F. (1990). Making a Study "More Ethnographic", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 44 –72.

Wong, Pak Nung. (2016). Discerning the Powers in Post-Colonial Africa and Asia: A Treatise on Christian Statecraft. Singapore: Springer.

Wunsch, James S. (2000). Refounding the African State and Local Self-Governance: The Neglected Foundation, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 487-509.

Yacob Haile-Mariam. (2003 EC). "Assab Yeman Nat? Ye Ethiopia Yebahir Ber Tiyake" [Amharic] ("*For Whom Does Assab Belong? Ethiopia's Claim for a Sea Outlet*"). Addis Ababa: Self-Published.

Yohannes Anberbir. (2016). "Ethiopia, Djibouti Launch Electric Power", *The Reporter*, October 8, 2016.

Zacher, Mark W. (2001). The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force, *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 2, pp. 215-250.

Zakaria, Fareed. (2011). “Why There’s No Turning Back in the Middle East”, *Time*, February 17, 2011.

Appendices

1. Checklist for the Field Research

No.	*Planned Activities*	*Date*	*Issues Raised*	*Remark*
	Preparations			
1	Trip to Jijiga	March 5, 2017		
2	Hiring interpreter	March 5-6, 2017		
3	Identify regional offices	March 7-8 2017		
	Starting field research			
4	Request for interviews and access to documents.			
4.1	Ethiopian Revenue and Customs Authority-Jijiga Branch	March 6-10, 2017	Formal export and import trade, Franco Valuta, Illegal trade	Major primary documents, two formal interviews, and three personal interviews
4.2	Somali Regional State (SRS) Trade and Transport Bureau	March 6-8, 2016	Formal export and import trade, Franco Valuta, Border trade, Illegal trade, regular human mobility,	Three interviews and review of some primary documents; some documents denied
4.3	SRS Roads Development Authority		Development of road infrastructures	Two Interviews
4.4	SRS Investment Bureau	March 8-9, 2017	Border investment	One interview
4.5	SRS Labour and Social Affairs Bureau	March 9-	Irregular human mobility in the borderlands	
4.6	Somali Regional Police Commission	March 7-8, 2016	Contraband; Illicit finance	Request denied
4.7	Ethiopian Federal Police, relevant organs			Request denied
5	Identify local informants and individuals			
5.1	Ato Mustefa Abdulahi Haji Mohammed, Investor.	March 8-9, 2017		Declined
5.2	AA, local shopkeeper	March 12, 2017		Personal Interview

5.3	KT. Bajaj chuffer	March 11, 2017		Successful
5.4	TZ.	March 11, 2017		Successful
5.4	Anonymous Contrabandist (in front of Mubarak Business Center)	March 11, 2017		Declined
5.5	Anonymous Bajaj chuffer	March 11, 2017		Successful
6	Field Observations			
6.1	First visit to the major border town, *Wajaale*.	March 6, 2017		Successful
6.2	Second visit to Wajaale.			
6.3	Observing a contraband market	March 11 and 12, 2017		Successful

2. List of Informants/Interviewees

No.	Name	Organization	Date
1	Mr. Yeshaq	FDRE Ministry of Trade	Wednesday, December 14, 2016
2	Mr. Nemomsa Mergo	ERCA Head Office (HO)	Wednesday, February 15, 2017
3	Mr. Tsegaye Gebre-Hiwot	ERCA HO	February 15, 2017
4	Mr. Andualem Adamu	ERCA HO	February 15, 2017
5	Mr. Biniyam Tadesse	ERCA HO	February 15, 2017
6	Mr. Kide Berhane	ERCA HO	February 15, 2017
7	Mr. Eskender Melka	ERCA HO	February 15, 2017
8	Mr. Fikru Tadesse	Ministry of Trade	Friday, February 24, 2017
9	Mr. Mohammed Aden Ali	SRS Trade Bureau	Monday, March 6, 2017
10	Mr. Wondwossen Mekuria	SRS Trade Bureau	Thursday, March 9, 2017
11	Mr. Gebre-Tsadik Assefa	ERCA Jijiga Branch	Tuesday, March 7, 2017
12	Mr. Said Ali	SRS Trade Bureau	Tuesday, March 7, 2017
13	Mr. Xirsi Cabdi Axmed	SRS Transport Bureau	Thursday, March 9, 2017
14	Mr. Wuhib Abdulkerim	ERCA Jijiga Branch	Friday, March 10, 2017
15	Mr. Tesfahun Mekonnen	ERCA Jijiga Branch	Friday, March 10, 2017
16	Col. Gobezay Desta	ERCA Jijiga Branch	Friday, March 10, 2017
17	Mr. Nuriye Abdulahi	SRS BoLSA	Monday, March 13, 2017
18	Miss Firekal Bekele	MoFA	Wednesday, May 10, 2017
19	Mr. Mengistu Alehegn	EMMA	Wednesday, May 10, 2017
20	Mr. Abebe Tefera	EMMA	Wednesday, May 10, 2017.
21	Mr. Temesgen Yihunie	EMMA	Wednesday, May 10, 2017
22	Mr. Ahmed Nur Omar	Somali Road Authority	Wednesday, May 17, 2017
23	Mr. Cabdilaahi Maxamed Cabdi	Somali Road Authority	Wednesday, May 17, 2017
24	RM	Local Resident	Monday, March 13, 2017
25	Anonymous	Local Resident	Saturday, March 11, 2017
26	TZ	Local Resident	Saturday, March 11, 2017
27	KT	Local Resident	Saturday, March 11, 2017
28	Anonymous	Wajaale Resident-broker	Monday, March 7, 2017

3. Some Photos

Photo 1: A view of the Somaliland side of the border town, *Tog Wajaale*

Photo 2: A view of *Itan Terra*.

Photo 3: The Current Border Line between Ethiopia and Somaliland