

Trans-border Security Threats in the Horn of Africa and Their Security Implications in Ethiopia

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ABSTRACT

The Horn of Africa sub-region where Ethiopia is a constituent part has been a hotbed of crises with local and global dimensions. What is worse, the region has been facing threats from what is termed as new security challenges: small arms circulation, illegal migration, cattle rustling, child abduction, terrorism, human and drug trafficking, illegal migration, cyber-crimes, maritime piracy, small arms proliferation etc. With the use of secondary sources such as peer-reviewed journals, books, magazines, official documents such as reports, proclamations, as well as policy and strategy papers, and publications issued by government as well as nongovernment organizations on the subject, and in-depth or unstructured interviews with key informants, the study investigated that the Horn of Africa in general and Ethiopia in particular have faced the brunt of transnational security. First, Ethiopia has been receiving a massive influx of refugees. Secondly, trans-border child abduction is a security threat to communities and ethnic groups living in the south western part of Ethiopia. In addition, the Horn plays as a source, transit and a destination for victims of trafficking and smuggling. Thirdly, pastoral conflict mainly cattle rustling in the region resulted in heavy loss of human life, property; displacements of large segments of the communities, and disruption of socio-economic activities and livelihoods. Moreover, trafficking and circulation of small arms in the hands of cattle rustlers, refugees, migrant smugglers and traffickers has adverse security impacts by prolonging conflicts, promoting crime and armed violence and slowing down the development of social and economic stability.

Keywords: Hoern of Africa, Secuirty Complex, Security Dynamics, trans-boarder Security threats

INTRODUCTION

The Horn of Africa sub-region of which Ethiopia is a part has been noted for the prevalence of violence marked by rebel activities, military coups, ethnic and racial insurgencies, human rights violations, drugs and arms trafficking, state collapse, and currently terrorism. This has induced scholars to label the region as an extension of the Middle East hotspot (Mukwaya, 2004). During the Cold War, the situation was more acute as neighboring counties were engaged in support for each other's insurgent groups, which were receiving from superpowers ideological and material support. As a result of this, the region has been marked by the prevalence of proxy wars that destabilized neighboring governments. There incidents in this regard. For example, in the 1970s and the 1980s Ethiopia had a tit-for-tat relationship with Sudan and Somalia. It has supported the insurgency of Sudan's People's Liberation

Movement (SPLM/A), in Sudan, of Somali

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Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) and of the Somali National Movement (SNM) in the form of military training, and refuge/safe haven. In response, Sudan and Somalia have helped rebel groups inside Ethiopia, such as Eritrea's Liberation Front (ELF), Eritrea's People's Liberation Front (EPLF), Tigrinya's People's Liberation Front (TPLF), Oromo's Liberation Front (OLF) and Ogaden's National Liberation Front (ONLF) (Cliffe, 1999). In the wake of the Cold War, the region continued to suffer from external power involvement. It soon turned out to capture the attention of the West due to the rise of radical Islam and terrorism. Because of this, the region has become the world's 'soft underbelly' for global terrorism creating conducive situations that terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda, and Al-Shabaab exploit to perpetrate their attacks.

The Horn has a concentration of many clusters of distinct, but related, conflicts including the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia (the most deadly conflict in the region); the cluster of conflicts centered on Somalia; tensions between the new

state of South Sudan and its northern neighbor; conflicts within southern Sudan; conflicts within northern Sudan; intra-Ethiopian conflicts; and the low-intensity conflicts concerning armed cattle-raiding clustered in the frontier zones at the nexus of the Kenyan, Ugandan, Ethiopian, and Sudanese borders (Kidane, 2013).

On top of the afore-mentioned security challenges, the Horn has endured what Aning (2007) termed as 'new security challenges'. Although they are security threats affecting the globe, they are nourished and intensified in the Horn of Africa by the 'traditional' sources of security threats. The region has been buffeted by one or the other of such security threats: border conflicts, piracy, clan and tribal clashes, small arms trafficking, transboundary inter communal resource conflicts, terrorism, illegal mining, money laundering and corruption, cyber-crime, environmental and climate change issue, drought and famine as well as refugee crisis (Aning, 2007). Against this background, this paper assesses the security dynamics of the Horn with the view to investigating the adverse security impacts of transnational security threats in the region in general and in Ethiopia in particular.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In the period preceding globalization, the main security challenges threatening world peace and security stemmed from territorial disputes and ideological confrontations (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010). In the aftermath of the Cold War, the nature and magnitude of security issues dramatically changed- the world has witnessed the emergence of new security issues- the phenomena of trans-national or trans-border crimes having the capacity to threaten global peace and security. In fact, no country of the world is spared of this phenomenon (Ering, 2011). In this regard, the Horn of Africa has been buffeted by what Aning (2007) termed as 'new security challenges'. In various literature, it is hardly possible to get an agreed upon definition for transnational threat. interchangeably used with transnational challenge, non-traditional threat, emerging threat, and transregional challenge. Transnational security threats comprise a host of phenomena that are interconnected, borderless, or cross-border nature that can be cast in a negative light (as a threat, such as terrorism), a neutral light (as an issue or challenge, such as refugee flows), or a positive light (as an opportunity, such as migration) (McQuaid, Faber, and Gold, (2017).

Trans-border security threats transcend the traditional conception of security based on 'high

politics' and 'low politics', or nor are they conceived based on considerations of sovereignty, domestic politics and international politics, and balance of power as emphasized by traditional political theories such as realism. Instead, transnational security threats are conceived as going beyond the boundaries of the nation-states and are inextricably interconnected through processes of globalization. In the words of Burgess (2007: p. 1)"No one state can manage the array of threats to its own security, nor can anyone state manage the threats to the security of its neighbors both inside and outside of its region." This implies that such security threats are better managed by a concerted effort by several states as individual states alone cannot overcome such threats and maintain security through traditional foreign policy and military tools. In a word, despite the absence of consensus over the meaning of such threats, they constitute emerging challenges to security affecting the Horn of Africa (Mulugeta, n.d; De Waal, 2017).

A review of recent literature on the security dynamics of the Horn of Africa shows the region is considered as 'security complex' constituting "a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another"(Berouk, 2010, pp.1-2). However, not all states of the Horn are equally affected by the prevailing security dynamics; all of them suffer from the varying forms of political violence and fatalities. According to Williams (2011, p.3),

Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda have had roughly equal numbers of state-based armed conflicts, but significantly more than the region's other states. Non-state armed conflicts in the Horn have been concentrated in Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan, with the latter two states experiencing over two-thirds of all related fatalities. Sudan and Uganda have witnessed, by far, the most deadly campaigns of one-sided violence over this period.

The trajectory of state formation is considered to have contributed to the incessant conflict-ridden security dynamics in the region. The region has been "so raven with secessionist, irredentist, regional, ethnic, and ideological conflicts combined with straightforward power struggles ..." (Weis, 2009, p.64). The states in the region have been challenged in their territorial integrity the recent illustration of which is the secession of Eritrea in 1993 and Southern Sudan. There are also dozens of armed insurgent groups fighting with the aspiration

of creating new states of their own by carving the existing states.

The changing political dynamics of the Horn elucidated above begs the question of what explains the vulnerability of the region to such myriad conflict patterns. In this regard, Williams (2011, p.19) maintains that the root cause of political crises particularly military conflicts lies in the absence of inclusive governance structures in the region. All countries have governments that are authoritarian, heavily militarized and have contributed to high levels of political marginalization and economic inequalities. On his part, Weber (2012) contends that boundaries of most states in the region have symbolic meanings and thus serve as a triggering factor for conflicts. In some literature, however, the geopolitical interests and the geostrategic location of Horn of Africa has been taken as a critical factor that made the region vulnerable to foreign interferences that worsen domestic security situations. This was more profound during the Cold War in the course of which the region became the playground of the Superpowers, which were engaged in proxy wars. This was responsible for the creation of what is termed as "Cold War Orphans," which refers to the states in the Horn that "imploded because they could not manage existing fault lines held in check by super-power support" (Ncube and Jones, 2015, p.5).

In the final analysis, the role of Diaspora should not be overlooked. Diasporas originating from the Horn of Africa are all too active in terms of retaining salient symbolic ties with their respective home countries, and engaging in homeland politics. First, they are products of raging conflicts and repressions in their respective countries and this has engrained in them traumatic memories. Such 'conflict-generated diasporas' have the tendency to maintain salient symbolic ties to the homeland and are often mobilized and engaged in homeland politics (Lyons, 2009). Secondly, Diasporas play a significant role in the region's web of conflicts. For example, as Williams (2011, p.33) ascertains "the regime in Eritrea, for example, continues to rely upon such remittances and maintains an incredible stranglehold over its diaspora" by levying "diaspora tax" on diaspora remittances, only to fuel the machinery of oppression and its engagement in proxy war against Ethiopia and its support for terrorist groups and other warring groups in other countries. Due to this, Eritrea has earned various descriptions as African 'garrison state' and the 'pariah North Korea of Africa' (Mehari, 2017:19).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study is aimed at investigating the vulnerability of the Horn of Africa in general and Ethiopia in particular to trans-border security threats. To this end, it employs qualitative research approach whose data collection and analysis techniques involve describing and contextualizing the problem in view of sub-regional political dynamics. The principal sources of data are secondary sources such as peer-reviewed journals, books, magazines, official documents such as reports, proclamations, as well as policy and strategy papers, and publications issued by government as well as non-government organizations on the subject. Moreover, in-depth or unstructured interviews were employed with four key informants (two of them from Addis Ababa University and the other two from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia) with the use of an interview guide containing unstructured/openended questions that address the theme of the research. These key informants were deliberately selected based on the criteria of level of experience and expertise as well as engagement to the issue under discussion. In consideration of ethical standards, they were informed about the purpose and theme of the study so as to get their consent for interview, and all data collected thereof are used for only this research and are kept with great confidentiality.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Child Abduction

Trans-border child abduction is a security threat to communities and ethnic groups living in the south western part of Ethiopia. In the long border that Ethiopia shares with South Sudan, cross-border raids are frequent and ubiquitous (McCallum, 2017). These raids involve in most instances assaults between two or more ethnic groups on both sides of the border for cattle rustling or child abduction. But the raid that happened on April 14, 2016 was unprecedented in terms of its brutality. Nine villages in Gambella region of Ethiopia were attacked by the Murle ethnic group of South Sudan, in which 208 people were killed and more than 200 children were abducted in less than an hour (South Sudan News Agency, April 9, 2017). All victims were from Nuer ethnic group of Gambella region in Ethiopia, which has been infested with more than 245, 000 refugees fleeing a raging conflict in Southern Sudan, and has already faced security challenges arising from refugee crisis. As South Sudan News Agency reported on 9 April 2017,

Cross- border abductions of Ethiopian children [has] been an ongoing issue. Nine Ethiopian villages were attacked by Murles from South Sudan, searching for young children ranging from the ages of 0-12 years old have been stolen from their homes, classrooms, and from their Ethiopian wonderful Ethiopian lives.

In the aftermath of the cross-border raid, the Ethiopian government crossed into the territories of Southern Sudan in April 2016 in pursuit of the perpetrators. As a result, 93 of those children abducted by Murles were returned in less than a month, whereas the whereabouts of those 70 children is still unknownⁱⁱ.Although cattle rustling and child abduction is prevalent among several ethnic groups along this border, it is one ethnic group-Murle that are always accused of perpetrating it. Most of such raids are staged by this ethnic group for various motives. The first claim is that the Murle developed child abducting practices as revenge against other neighboring groups for various grievances. As Moore (2017, p.2) reported "it is a calculation of malicious acts committed by the South Sudanese tribe Murles. They abduct our children as if they are their own and inflict each seeking parent with emotional and psychological pain."

Secondly, they engage in a deliberate child kidnapping as a source of cattle. If it is a boy who is abducted he would be assimilated into and grow up with their culture, and once grown-up participate in cattle looting; but if it is a girl who is abducted, it is a blessing as it brings cattle in the form of a bride. As Mossa (2014, p.60) explicated,

[A]n abducted child will be raised as Murle and integrated to the Murle culture. When he (if he is a boy) is ready for marriage, he will be sent to the community where he was abducted to rustle cattle. The girl will be given to someone else in the community when she became young, thus bring cattle to the family.

The third reason why they abduct children from other communities is that they are afflicted by low fertility rate due to sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) (McCallum, 2015, and Mossa, 2014). Because of this, they are inclined to abduct children and adapt them to their culture.

Human Trafficking and Migrant Smuggling

Although Migration and mobility are global events, they are more severe in the Horn where human trafficking and migrant smuggling has been an expanding threat affecting the livelihoods of ordinary people, endangering the social and moral

fabric of communities, and undermining state security (IOM, 2015). It is estimated that the volume of Ethiopians leaving the country has increased rapidly. For example, According to the Ethiopian Embassy in South Africa, between 45,000- 50,000 Ethiopians were living in South Africa in 2008/09, of which 95% had entered the country irregularly (Elias, 2016).

There are three migrant routes in the region through which migrants use as a way through their destinations. The first is the eastern route where Djibouti serves as a transit point. Via this route, in 2013 alone 80,000 Ethiopian, Somali, and Eritrean migrants trekked through Djibouti illegally in their quest to arrive at destinations in the Middle East or Europe. Due to their illegal migration, most refugees and migrants have faced life threatening circumstances not least forced labor, domestic servitude, sex trafficking and extortion, and removal of body organs among others en route or upon arrival (IOM, 2015).

In the second route, Ethiopian, Somali, and Sudanese migrants cross several areas from Sudan to Egypt to reach Europe. In this route, migrants encounter harsh conditions especially in Libya. Due to widespread abuses by armed groups, smugglers, traffickers and organized criminal groups in Libya as well as systematic exploitation, lawlessness and armed conflicts victims of mixed migration risk crossing the Mediterranean Sea. It is remembered that 28 Ethiopian migrants were slaughtered in Libya by ISIS cold bloodedly while they were in transition to Europe (Human Rights Watch, 2015). Moreover, it came as a shocking incident to hear the news of some African migrants being sold as slaves at auctions markets in Libya. As reported by Newsweek on 28 November 2017in the Libyan capital of Tripoli, "an auction was witnessed for a man whose price rose from 500 dollars to \$650."

In the third route Kenya is used as a center of transit for migrants from the Horn mainly Somalia and Ethiopia through Kenya to South Africa as their final destination. This route, which is the most expensive for migrants, involves smugglers that are adept at helping migrants get travel or refugee status through fraudulent ways (RMMS, 2013).

Whatever is the reason for their migration, migrants have been victims of various forms of insecurity not least forced labor, domestic servitude, sex trafficking and extortion, and removal of body organs among others en route or upon arrival. The following excerpt captures the harsh condition of insecurity that illegal migrants face during their illegal crossing into their destination or final transit:

There was a woman with an infant of six to eight months old. The baby was crying and the smuggler told the women to shut the baby up. The women replied: I have nothing to give to him, not even water. Where can I get some water? The smuggler took the baby and threw him into the sea, saying now he can drink water (RMMS, 2013, p.40).

This is not to mention the initial payment they are deceived/duped into paying to the smugglers. Upon arrival in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states, surviving migrants are bound to encounter situations contrary to their expectations. There are instances of denial of salaries by employers, arbitrary detention by police, sexual violence, torture and killing, and deportations, to mention a few (Elias, 2016).

Refugee Crises

Due to its strategic location the intersection of the Great Lakes Region and Horn of Africa conflict systems, Ethiopia has been receiving a massive influx of refugees that originate from Eritrea, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Djibouti. However, currently, refugees originating from Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Eritrea outweigh those from other countries (Marchand, Reinold, & Silva, 2017). What is more, as a result of the continued violence and civil war in Southern Sudan, Ethiopia continued being infested with refugees. Between December 2013 and October 2014, nearly half million South Sudanese flowed into neighboring countries of including Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda and Sudan. Ethiopia received the highest number of the refugees- 245,000 refugees in its Gambella region; this influx of refugees almost matches the size of the 300,000 strong host communities of Gambella region (International Rescue Committee, 2014). There is also influx of refugees into Ethiopia from Eritrea. At the end of January 2015, the size of the refugees reached 126,363 in three refugee camps: Shire refugee camps (Shimelba, Mai Aini, Hitsats and AdiHarush) Tigray Region and in Aysaita and Barahle refugee camps and within host community in Erebti, AyneDeeb and Dalol in Afar Region with a number of urban refugees in Addis Ababa and Mekelleⁱⁱⁱ.

Refugees are among the most vulnerable sections of the world population. They are subjected to forced labor, sexual exploitation, organ harvesting, and other crimes. They also fall into the hands of human traffickers. As refugees, they are also victims of violations of basic rights such as freedom of movement, religion and expression, and risk being killed during their crossing borders or transiting into other territories iv . Besides, host communities face consequences; the influx of refugees has both positive and negative political, economic and socio-cultural impacts. Positively, the presence of refugees means that market is boosted in the host community, and there is funding of development projects by international aid organizations (Berry, 2008). However, refugees are a source of concern for host communities for economic, social, environmental, and political security issues. One of the concerns is that refugees have a demographic externality; they upset the existing ethnic balance in the host countries where refugees have ethnic ties. It at times causes or exacerbates ethnic conflict. For example in Gambella Region of Ethiopia, the influx of refugees brought about ethnic conflict between the Anuak and the Nuer ethnic groups as the former has felt marginalized by the mass influx of the latter into the Gambella region from southern Sudan. The two ethnic groups fought violent conflicts on many occasions (Dereje, 2014).

Regarding the issue of security, the influx of refugees from neighboring countries has the risk of sparking conflicts because in the midst of the refugees come also foreign fighters, arms and ideologies that contribute to violence. This is the case with Somali refugees in Ethiopia who have been supporting or hiding the Ogden National Liberationist Front (ONLF) (Gleditsch and Salehyan 2006). In return, Ethiopia has been raiding Dadaab refugee camp, with the purpose of hunting combatants.

In a renewed conflict in January 2016 between Anuak and Nuer ethnic groups in Gambella region of Ethiopia, many people were killed. This led to the intensification of security measures around refugee camps such as higher police presence in town, revision at check points, restriction on UN staff travel and accompanying travels. This is compounded by the fact that "Nuer refugees from South Sudan started life with Ethiopian Nuers and some Nuer political elites are using the refugees to gain political advantage by issuing Ethiopian ID cards to Nuer refugees" (Dereje, 2014). This dual citizenship status means that the refugees claim equal rights to job opportunities and other basic services thereby aggravating the existing precarious situation.

Cattle Rustling

The Horn of Africa is home to the largest aggregation of traditional livestock, which is the mainstay of the lives of millions of people in the

region mainly in Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, and South Sudan being a source of milk and meat as well wealth and prestige (Amutabi, 2012). However, there is a situation of insecurity in the region in general and in pastoral areas in particular due to cattle rustling. There are many factors that contribute to the insecurity. The first is that they have ethnic affiliations across borders and do not recognize 'Westphalian' state boundaries. As Amutabi (2012, p.26) put it, "there is hardly any major pastoral group that lives entirely within the boundaries of one state in Eastern Africa." Secondly, the traditional cattle raiding has been intensified by the use of firearms, and "has degenerated into a free-for-all of vicious attacks and revenge attacks, often involving large numbers of cattle and significant loss of life" (Mwilu, 2015, p.56).

There are many instances where cattle rustling occurred. The heaviest was that which happened between Turkana and Merile groups on 6th September1997 in Lokitang, when "the Turkana recorded one of the worst raids in their territory in the hands of their Merile neighbors. In that raid they lost over 7,000 goats and sheep, 400 camels and 42 people were killed" (Amutabi, 2012, p.28). Moreover, in June 1971 Merile (Dassanetch) cattlemen raided and killed at least 200 Dongiro (Nyangatom) from several Kibish settlements in a single attack; in December 1987, Nyangatom massacred a large Mursi settlement on February 21st, 1987 (Amutabi, 2012).

Despite such a heavy casualty inflicted on pastoral communities, the issue of pastoral conflict mainly cattle rustling has not been given due attention by governments in the region. They have been afflicted with droughts and famines; limited access to water and competing rights to land; and intertribal conflicts (that occur in most instances across borders); and recently high-intensity clashes aided by modern high-assault rifles. The issue has become frequent and increasingly grave. Between July 2003 and January 2009, recorded casualties show that in Karomoja cluster, the border region, between Kenya and Ethiopia 18945 livestock raided and 267 human fatalities.

Small Arms Circulation

The conflict dynamics in the Horn of Africa has been attributed to the trafficking and circulation of small arms as they end up in the hands of cattle rustlers, refugees, migrant smugglers and traffickers thereby prolonging conflicts, promoting crime and armed violence and slowing down the development of social and economic stability and democracy.

Despite the absence of accurate data, it is estimated that 100 million small arms and light weapons are circulating in Africa, among the 640 million of those circulating globally (UNODC, 2009).

The availability and proliferation of firearms and firearms trafficking is widespread in the Horn of Africa due to a number of factors. First, even in the post-Cold War the flow of arms continued from major producing countries such as China, Iran, Russia, and Ukraine, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom and the US into conflict hotspots in the Horn of Africa, mainly in Ethiopia (1991), Rwanda (1994), Somalia (1991), and Uganda (1979 and 1986), among others. Because of the tradition of mutual interference and supporting each others' rebel groups, weapons of various types were circulating in the region. Moreover, the weakness of governments to provide security to all population resulted in violence as the demand for weapons increased among civilians and groups in their attempt to guarantee peace for themselves. As Wairgu (2004, p.112) put it

The breakdown of law and order opens the demand for arms, as security becomes an individual, clan or ethnic matter of concern. Situations or conflicts are pushing many communities into arming themselves for self-defense and to secure their property. There is growing regional and international concern that the easy availability of illicit small arms is escalating conflicts and is also undermining political stability with devastating impact on human and state security.

There are also cases where firearms fall into the hands of civilians and groups due to a combination of factors, including the breakdown of state institutions, looted government stockpiles, theft from state-run small arms inventories, and diversion of stockpiles by corrupt officials or thieves "facilitated by illicit brokers, who take advantage of weak regulatory systems, poor or non-existent import and export controls and licensing systems" (UNODC, 2009, p.24).

Secondly, the persistent instability in Somalia and South Sudan has been a fertile ground for the circulation of illicit arms in the Horn of Africa. This is compounded by the porosity of international borders. It was reported by The UN Monitoring Group on Somalia that "arms shipments have been made to the country through the Gulf of Aden" thereby finding their way through "clandestine military operations, which are covert transfers by corrupt government officials to separatist or rebel

forces operating in another country" (UNODC, 2009, p.24).

The trafficking and wide availability of small arms has been posing a serious challenge to security in the region mainly in terms of contributing to armed urban crimes, and armed cattle rustling and conflicts in pastoralist areas. The use of modern weapons has become a common feature in the region particularly among the youth in pastoral areas. This is more acute in the case of hostile neighboring pastoral groups, such as the Afar and Issa Somali ethnic groups in Ethiopia in the course of their inter-group violent competition to assert the use and ownership of pastoral lands. On the effect of the use of these arms among pastoral groups in Moyale borderland between Ethiopia and Kenya, Tesfaye (2017, p.8) explained that

The human costs of inter-communal conflict in the Moyale borderland region have risen, owing to expanded access to and use of more advanced weapon systems such as the AK47, and other automatic weapons, as well as grenades and rocket propelled grenades (RPGs). This has reshaped the dynamics of conflict, and significantly increased the magnitude of fatalities. A case in point is the July 2012 conflict between Garri and Borana, and the 2013 conflict between Gabra and Borana, where fighters used such sophisticated weapons.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The Horn of Africa sub-region where Ethiopia is a constituent part has been a hotbed of crises with local and global dimensions, which originate from state-based as well as society-based conflicts. On top of that the region has been facing threats from what is termed as 'new security challenges'-refugee crises, illegal migration, and cattle rustling, terrorism, human and drug trafficking, illegal migration, cybercrimes, maritime piracy, small arms proliferation etc.

The study findings show that the Horn of Africa has faced the brunt of transnational security threats. First and for most, due to its strategic location in the region, Ethiopia has been receiving a massive influx of refugees that originate from Eritrea, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Djibouti. Secondly, trans-border child abduction is a security threat to communities and ethnic groups living in the south western part of Ethiopia. In the long border that Ethiopia shares with South Sudan, cross-border raids are frequent and ubiquitous. In addition, the region acts as a source, transit and a destination for victims of trafficking and

smuggling. Thirdly, pastoral conflict mainly cattle rustling in the region resulted in heavy loss of human life, property; displacements of large segments of the communities, and increased hatred between communities. Moreover, trafficking and circulation of small arms in the hands of cattle rustlers, refugees, migrant smugglers and traffickers has adverse security impacts by prolonging conflicts, promoting crime and armed violence and slowing down the development of social and economic stability.

Finally, the study investigated a new research issue in a broader regional perspective and as a result contributed to existing body of knowledge in the field of trans-border security. It has also practical policy relevance as it can be considered as a caveat for policy makers in security issues. Apart from this, this research is a spur for future researchers to carry out further studies on the issue. Further insights into new issues for research include among others transnational security issues that were not part of the scope of this study; national, regional and continental responses to transnational security issues; and modus operandi of transnational crimes and actors in the Horn of Africa.

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¹ The term 'Horn of Africa' refers to part of Africa constituting the states of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti. It is bounded by the Red Sea in the northeast and the Indian Ocean in the southeast and runs into the territory of Sudan in the west and Kenya in the south. In the context of this paper, the region comprises not only the afore-mentioned countries but also their immediate neighbors, viz. Egypt, Libya, Sudan, Kenya, South Sudan, and Uganda.

ii Key informant interview (KI4) at 3.00 pm, 29 December 2017

iii Key informant interview (KI2) at 8.00 am, 26 December 2017

^{iv} Key informant interview (KI2) at 8.00 am, 26 December 2017