The state, the crisis of state institutions and refugee migration in the Horn of Africa: the cases of Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia
Degu, W.A.

Citation for published version (APA):
Degu, W. A. (2002). The state, the crisis of state institutions and refugee migration in the Horn of Africa: the cases of Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia Amsterdam: Thela Thesis

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: http://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
# TABLE OF CONTENT

List of Figures and Tables i  
Glossary iii  
Foreword v  

**INTRODUCTION** vii  

1. THE STATE, REFUGEE MIGRATION AND IR THEORIES 1  

1.1 Liberalism 3  
1.2 Realism and Neo-Realism 4  
1.3 Rationalism 7  
1.4 Marxism 10  
1.5 Critical Theory 12  
1.6 Postmodernism 15  

1.6.1 Postmodernism and the State 16  
1.6.2 State sovereignty as Social Construct 20  
1.7 Where does this Research stand? 22  

2. THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE STATE AND THE CRISIS OF THE REAL EXISTING STATE IN AFRICA 24  

2.1 The African State in Different Perspectives 25  

2.1.1 Modernization 25  
2.1.2 (Neo)Marxism 27  

2.1.3 The Failure of the State as a Theoretical Perspective 29  

2.2 Critical Reconsideration of the Failure of the State Perspective 34  

2.2.1 Political Community 35  
2.2.2 Political Identity 37  
2.2.3 Political Accountability 38  
2.2.4 State-Making and Security/Insecurity Problematic 39  

2.2.5 The Crisis of the Real Existing Post-Colonial State 42  

2.2.5.1 The European Styled State as an Exemplary Model and its Practical Problems 42  
2.2.5.2 The Crisis of the Real Existing State Institutions 45  

2.3 The Conceptualization and, the Conditions for and Signs of State Failure/Collapse 46  

3. CRITICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE IDEA OF A REFUGEE 52  

3.1 The Conceptualization of a 'refugee': critical Overview 52  
3.2 The Age of the League of Nations 58  
3.3 The Age of the United Nations 62  

4. TYPOLOGY, CHARACTERISTICS AND MAGNITUDE OF REFUGEE MIGRATION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA 70  

4.1 Typology of Refugee Migration 70  
4.2 Characteristics of African Refugees 76  
4.3 Magnitude of Refugee Migration in the Horn of Africa 78
9. POST-COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT

9.1 Ideology and Development Theories: General overview
  9.1.1 Ideology
    9.1.1.1 Nationalism and Ethnicity
    9.1.1.2 Socialism
  9.1.2 Development Theories
9.2 Political Development in the Horn of African Countries
  9.2.1 Somalia
  9.2.2 Ethiopia
  9.2.3 The Sudan
9.3 Economic Development in the Horn of Africa
  9.3.1 Economic Development Theories and Models from 1945-1970s
  9.3.2 Economic Development Theories and Models since 1980s
    9.3.2.1 Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs.)
    9.3.2.2 Globalization and Regionalization

10. CONCLUSION

11. SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY