Situating Comprehensive Refugee Response Frameworks (CRRF) Implementation in Ethiopia's Somali Region: A Security Sector Reform Agenda

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Abstract

In 2016, Ethiopia adopted the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) and made 9 pledges to facilitate the integration of refugees with host communities. So far in research and policy discussion, Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) is mainly portrayed as a socio-economic project with components such as burden sharing by the international community and refugee 'self-reliance.' This paper shows a different face of Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) by illustrating how the transformation of policies and institutions to accommodate CRRF's liberal values requires not only international financial support but a Security Sector Reform (SSR), especially in countries where refugee administration is highly securitized. In fact, the paper argues that steps taken to facilitate Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) implementation have already demonstrated subtle Security Sector Reform related activities; a typical move is the transformation of the Agency of Refugees and Returnees Affairs (ARRA) administered by the National Intelligence to an administrative organ under the Ministry of Peace in Ethiopia. This research employed a qualitative research design where interview, observations, and documents analysis were used as the major data collection instruments. Purposive sampling was used to select key informants from the refugees, host community, nongovernment, and government organizations. Collected data were interpreted and analysed through thematic analysis and triangulated from different sources to retain the reliability of the research. This research finds that, despite security traps,

CRRF implementation is desirable for protracted refugees and host communities. Especially, designed as a comprehensive program, it could bring sustainable solutions in the region. Finally, it recommends that the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) should be implemented with security sector reforms in the Somali national regional state of Ethiopia.

Key Word*: Ethiopia, Somali, CRRF, Refugee, Security Sector Reform*

1. Introduction

Even though refugees themselves are victims of horrific security challenges, around the world, refugees have been depicted as security threats and refugee administration has been highly securitized (Babacan & Babacan, 2013; Stepputat, 2004). Even as securitization of refugee administration in Ethiopia continues, the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) has emerged as a new refugee response regime that discourages encampment and provides refugees the opportunity for free movement, employment and local integration. It is an agenda of 'responsibility sharing' and 'refugee self-reliance' with an obvious economic and social impact in refugee host countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda (Crawford & O'callaghan, 2019:1). With this global paradigm shift, Ethiopia gave consent to join the world by co-hosting the Leaders' summit on refugees in New York in 2016 and making nine pledges to respond to refugees' wide-ranging needs. Ethiopia's pledges mainly covered areas of: education,

partnerships, protection, jobs and livelihood, energy and infrastructure and vital events registration processes. The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) was unanimously adopted by 193 member states at the historic summit (ARRA, 2017).

Plainly, the pledges and CRRF implementation are deemed an exclusively socio-economic endeavor. Many reports assessing implementation have identified administrative, social and economic challenges to be the main constraints, to what they believe is a socio-economic project (Crawford & O'callaghan, 2019; Fellesson, 2019). Such factors, typically include the prevalence of poverty in mainly agriculturalist refugee host areas, access to land, low productivity and remote access to basic social services is mentioned. Furthermore, administrative issues such as capacity gaps, weaknesses in attracting the private sector and the lack of institutional decentralization are major concerns. In some cases legal barriers such as the right to work for refugees and the like are mentioned as the challenges of CRRF implementation.

Overall, recommendations for a successful CRRF project focus on increased burden sharing and promoting host 'refugee self-reliance' (Crawford & O'callaghan, 2019; Fellesson, 2019; Rudolf, 2019).

Very few studies, while mainly discussing social and economic factors, briefly mention security issues as complementary challenges, one example reads: "There are also several challenges. Despite progressive legal developments, the protection of refugees is too often seen through a 'national security' lens. Terrorism and counterterrorism actions have further entrenched this approach" (Dare & Abebe, 2018:704). This paper goes beyond acknowledging security as a challenge among many; instead it outlines how CRRF implementation has become a Security Sector Reform Agenda in Ethiopia. It argues that devising policy and institutions that replace a securitized refugee administration with development-centered refugee governance, is a core Security Sector Reform (SSR) activity. Thus, CRRF has become an embodiment of a security-development nexus asserting SSR as its key component or, at least, working in tandem with a reform process that is already in motion (OECD, 2007).

2. Research Methodology

Qualitative research approach was employed to attain the basic objectives of the study. Qualitative research is "concerned with phenomena related to or involving quality or kind" (Kothari, 2004:3). This research aims to explore the impetus of the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) and relations with security sector reform in the Somali region of Ethiopia. This approach also enables us to depict CRRF from the perspective of a security-development nexus rather than merely humanitarian responses for refugees. Furthermore, qualitative research allows collecting data through interviews and observation (Creswell, 2013). For this research, 17 informants from different groups of the community-elders, youth, religious leaders, women, governmental, and nongovernmental officials were selected through purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling technique was used to select informants who have knowledge, expertise, and experiences. Besides, the research employed interview, observation, and documents analysis as the data collection methods. These data collection methods are appropriate for qualitative research and helps to "study a wide range of issues, across widely varying samples of respondents" (Crano and Brewer, 2002:225). Besides, secondary data were

collected by reviewing articles, books, reports, and proclamations related to CRRF, security sector reform, and refugees. These data were interpreted using thematic analysis by categorizing data into different themes based on similarities, differences, and characteristics. In this regard, the triangulation method was used to uphold the reliability of the research. According to Mouton and Marais (1996:91), "triangulation is a general principle that the inclusion of multiple sources of data collection in research is likely to increase the reliability of observations".

3. Security Sector Reform (SSR): Brief Overview

Security Sector Reform (SSR) involves the "orientation of the policies, structures, and capacities of institutions and groups engaged in the security sector, in order to make them more effective, efficient and responsive to democratic control and to the security and justice needs of the people" (AU, 2011). It is a process through which a security sector that is a source of insecurity to people is transformed into a system that is a source of human security. It involves a wide range of actors including security providers (non/state or in/formal), oversight bodies such as the parliament and, in some cases, the judiciary (OECD, 2007). Although the

security-development-humanitarian studies have long found a common niche and various intersections, the international literature on refugee administration and SSR is yet to flourish (Furness & Gänzle, 2017; Venturi, 2017; McConnon, 2019). What is normally referred to as 'the holistic understanding of the security sector' represents the evolution of the concept of Security Sector Reform since it first emerged (Sendra, 2010). It encompasses the contribution of relevant legal frameworks, oversight bodies, the judiciary and, more obviously, core security institutions and personnel (ibid). A precise definition of SSR would be "the transformation of the security system which includes all the actors, their roles, responsibilities and actions, so that it is managed and operated in a manner that is more consistent with democratic norms and sound principles of good governance, and thus contributes to a well-functioning security framework" (DFID, 2003:30).

There is both empirical and conceptual literature discussing SSR. Experiences of SSR implementation can be drawn from various types of contexts. As a western concept of liberalizing and democratizing the security sector in 'authoritarian' and 'transitioning' countries, most case studies are found in sub Saharan Africa, Middle

East and South East Asia (da Cunha, 2020; Ansorg, 2017). Critical analyses of these processes reveal that most have been either state-centric, technocratic or locally owned (Jackson & Bakrania, 2018). However, such literature lacks an in-depth discussion on particular institutions and processes instead focusing on country level SSR processes. The conceptual literature appreciates the array of definitions, actors and means associated with SSR by identifying its wide range meaning including: a liberalizing a democratizing project; a post-conflict security and reconstruction effort, a poverty alleviation mission, a peace-building and state-building effort, to mention key areas (Jackson & Bakrania, 2018; Jackson, 2018). While such conceptual discussion is clearly necessary, a context specific analysis of a particular conflict/post conflict setting (locality) with a clearly defined development and peace building intervention will allow the identification of iterative, unconventional and multi faceted SSR initiatives.

4. The Status of Refugees in Ethiopia

At the end of August 2018, Ethiopia hosted more than 900,000 refugees who fled their countries due to insecurity, political instability, military conscription, conflict induced-famine and other problems mainly from South Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia and others (UNHCR, 2018). Ethiopia took three policy measures following the adoption of CRRF, each adopted one year after the other starting 2017. The first was the documentation policy to register refugee's vital events-such as birth and death, the second is the drafting of National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy (NCRRS) and lastly the progressive refugee proclamation in 2019. Encouraging the government's commitment, the international community led by the World Bank has provided financial and technical support, contributing towards the USD 335.4 million budget for the national refugee response plan (Tadesse, Fasil, & Jaxxu, 2019). Agency for Refugees and Returnee Affairs (ARRA) and UNHCR took the responsibility of facilitating coordination among stakeholders including NGOs, INGOs and governmental line ministries working towards Ethiopia's long term plan to close all refugee camps (National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy, 2018).

Refugee camps in Ethiopia are located in Gambella, Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz, Tigray and Afar regional states. Though refugees from South Sudan, Somalia, and Eritrea make up the large proportion of

refugees, refugees from Sudan, Kenya, Yemen and Syria are also settled in rural and urban areas as well. Ethiopia started hosting registered refugees in the 1960s after becoming a party to the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees. Refugees in the global South including Ethiopia are settled in camps for various reasons, one of which is security concerns (Black, 1998). Encampment policies of host states, however, depict several challenges in which refugee dependency on humanitarian agencies is one. Refugees in Ethiopia are given refugee status considering multiple factors of displacement including drought and famine, factors explained in the OAU Convention (Dereje, 2003; IOM, 2018; Wondewossen, 1995).

The securitization of refugee governance has characterized international and national responses in recent years (Gitonga, 2018; Rudolph, 2013; Gerard & Pickering, 2014). This trend has particularly affected Somali refugees in the Horn of Africa (Gitonga, 2018; Terence, 2013). Following a similar approach, Ethiopia administered refugee affairs and humanitarian aid under highly securitized institutions such as the Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs, structured under the National Intelligence (FDRE, 2013). On the other hand, re-establishment proclamation 804/2013, under article 6 stated that "The objective of the Service shall be to protect and safeguard the national security of the county by providing quality intelligence and reliable security service" (FDRE, 2013, Art. 6). Further article 9(2) stated that "the Service shall have security powers and duties to: provide, in cooperation with other appropriate organs, the necessary service for refugees based on the Refugee Proclamation." The expansion of Out-of-Camp policies (formerly limited to Eritrean refugees) and local integration of refugees in 'securitized' contexts are faced with practices contradictory to international norms and values in the area of democratic governance and human rights (Whitfield & Fraser, 2010).

5. Security in Ethiopia's Somali Region

Like any development project, it is important to understand the characters and historical settings of the institutions implementing CRRF in the Somali region (Andersen, 2007). The securitized refugee governance is highly linked with two important factors defining the security dynamic of the Somali region: (1) Security governance in the Somali regional state is known for highly state centric approach

targeting terrorist and secessionist groups and (2) the prominent role of traditional clan based institutions. Unlike the other refugee hosting regions in Ethiopia, like the Tigray, Benishangul Gumuz and Gambella regions, the Somali region was under strict security-oriented governance from the federal government due to fear of Al-Shabab and Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), a secessionist movement also designated as a terrorist group in Ethiopia until 2018 (Ciabarri, 2008; Hagmann & Korf, 2014; Workneh, 2019). The Somali region has been subject to counter insurgency campaigns that have proved counterproductive against the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) (Hagmann & Korf, 2012). Even though the Somali region has meager public goods and ineffective regional government (Devereux, 2006; Lister, 2004), Hagmann and Korf (2012: 205-6) argue that in terms of security "one can no longer blame political turmoil in the Ethiopian periphery on the absence of the state. On the contrary, it is precisely at its periphery that a coercive Ethiopian state has made its presence felt periodically and most resolutely among Somali society." The counter insurgency techniques continued in various forms including the labeling of the ONLF as a terrorist organization, in the

heights of the War on Terror, to justify counter insurgencies. The conflict in the region and the counter insurgency/ counter terrorism interventions of the government has resulted in many unreported losses and conflict related famine (Brunel, 2000).

The second factor is the strong presence and role of clan based institutions that run parallel and sometimes in contradiction to formal state institutions, forming a hybrid governance landscape (Menkhause, 2005; Hagmann, 2007). The government also recognizes that these institutions are critical in helping it establish its rule in peripheral places, thus like most similar situations, it offers prominent personalities in 'traditional' institutions positions in local government, a practice most common since 1991 (Vaughan & Tronvoll, 2003; Turton, 2006). Such traditional governance institutions are also active in conflict resolution and security provision. Even though the constitution limits the adjudication right of religious and customary laws to 'personal and family matters' (FDRE Constitution, Art. 34 (5)), it is not easy to draw the line between what is communal, family or personal. What could be labeled as a personal dispute between two people's cattle grazing access can easily escalate to the clan given resources such as

firewood, water and most importantly the land are mostly "collectively" owned (Glasl, 1982). The involvement of traditional institutions in cases of disputes that arise from rape, homicide or theft; all of these have customary rules where a certain number of cattle are paid for different offences to the family suffering the loss instead of legal remedies based on the criminal code (Hagmann, 2007; Le Sage, 2005; Ingiriis, 2018).

6. Security and Refugee Administration in a Changing World

According to the UNHCR (2019), there are over 250,000 Somali refugees in Ethiopia hosted mainly in camps found around Jigjiga and Dollo Ado. The refugees in the camps around Jigjiga, the regional capital of the Somali region, and Melkadida, in Dollo Ado woreda of the Somali region (100 km from the Mandera Triangle), have resided there for more than 28 years respectively. Somali refugees fled their country as result of natural and man-made factors including persecution, drought, famine, civil war, and related environmental factors since late half of the 1980s (IOM, 2018). Because of the recurrent drought and conflict situation in Somalia, the number of refugees is still increasing. For example, a total of 7,264

new arrivals were registered in 2020 (UNHCR, 2020b).

A close look at refugees in the Somali region further elaborates the security-development nexus. According to a UNHCR (2020a) report, as compared with other refugee hosting regions, greater integration between refugee and host communities has been reported in the Somali region. Many informants from governmental institutions generally convey that the "ethnic similarity between the host and refugee communities has resulted in less competition over jobs and smooth overall interactions" (Interview, 13 May 2020). However, there still are conflicts reported between these host and refugee communities explained by "relatively low resource base in these areas still leads to tensions, particularly over access to land and fuel" (Alemu & Carver, 2019:5). The data indicated three layers of security challenges faced by refugees: (1) resource based security issues, i.e. communal conflicts based on cattle theft, land and market resources, (2) identity based security issues i.e. tensions triggered by the communal confrontations of the first layer; and (3) dysfunctional security approaches and institutions.

6.1 Resource Based Security Issues

According to interviews at the ARRA regional office and regional security bureau, there are five main resource related issues between refugees and host communities in the Somali regional state (Interview, 07 May 2020; Interview, 13 May 2020): (1) competition over energy resources such as fire wood causing refugee communities to venture away up to 35 kilometres to collect fuel wood; (2) agricultural and grazing land where refugees owning herds of sheep and goats allow their animals to graze in host community agricultural land, reducing productivity of the land and leading to conflict between the historical/ traditional owners and the refugees; (3) water resources of host communities such as wells for their animals; (4) market and other economic interactions. Refugees use their connection in Somaliland to informally import cheap consumer goods through Togo Wajaale (a trade centre at the Somaliland-Ethiopia border); in addition, their informal businesses are not taxed giving them advantage over the local business community; (5) Cattle theft, important due to the pastoralist life style.

With regards to the resource based security issues, from the point of view of CRRF, the major obstacle with regards to security and conflict related issue comes from the relations between host and refugee communities. As a result, naturally, most resource related causes of conflict can be tackled through a proper implementation of the CRRF, most eminently with livelihoods creation. Organizations such as DFID link the problem with large-scale challenges posed by poverty in the country and specially the peripheral places hosting refugee camps in Ethiopia. As a result, they indicate that their institution "tries to look at how to build up the capacities of the national system to deliver support to the refugee and host communities" (Interview, 22 May 2020). In some cases, the role of international support, for example in the energy sector, in reducing tension has been proved and consequently increasing tensions when the support was discontinued. For example in the energy sector, ARRA regional officer reported that "The situation was aggravated by the circumstance that UNHCR had stopped funding for the energy sector, which had led to a vacuum" (Interview, 07 May 2020). Different institutions have had unsuccessful and unsustainable attempts to fill the void. Interviews with the regional office also indicate that an institution (GAYYA) tried facilitating the provision of natural gas and the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) tried to

implement an unsuccessful pilot project on the production of charcoal.

6.2 Identity Based Conflict and Security Issues

With regards to the identity based security issues, the regional security bureau conveys the rhetoric of othering refugees, especially in places where the number of refugees is much higher than the local population such as Dollo Ado. The Somali region of Ethiopia is one of the country's ethnically organized regions that is known for its ethnic and religious homogeneity. The popular debates on Somali identity politics has evolved around the debate on the Somali view of self on whether it takes a western-Somali identity (as part of a greater Somalia divided by colonialism), more of a clan based Ogadenia identity (as part of a territory forcefully occupied by Ethiopia and seeking independence) or as an Ethiopian-Somali, where people have embraced the provisions of the Ethiopian 1995 constitution that grants nations the right to self-determination while at the same time recognizing a Somali nation in Ethiopia (Hagmann & Khalif, 2008: 39). There is the lingering bias that the Somali identity is more prominent in the region than Ethiopianess, reinforcing the pan Somali identity and even prospects of secessionism and a greater Somalia

(Hagmann & Khalif, 2008; Majid & Abdirahman, 2021).

This analysis needs to break free of the traditional narrowly framed narratives on African ethnicities and clans. It needs to find a grounded understanding of existing and emerging identities in the Somali region as "identities are themselves created and transformed in processes of social struggle" (Cook-Huffman, 2008: 19); for example ethnic /clan based identities and new socio-economic identities have clearly emerged. So far refugee policies and refugee studies have not acknowledged processes of the formation and reformation of new and existing identities during migration. While the era of the "over generalization of the Somali" is now over, the focus on clan based identities should not be another 'over generalized' fact. Individuals of the same clan do not always stand together creating what Little (2003:52) calls "clan-based contradictions." On the other hand, a difference in clan membership does not imply resources cannot be shared. The Somali concept of "social contract (*xeer*) that crosses clan and sub-clan lines and is based on a number of different principles, the most important being that contracted parties are morally bound to assist each other" (ibid).

Historical relations between different clans are also likely to play a significant role in host community's response to sharing resources especially land. There is evidence that refugees hosted in Somalia during the 'Ogaden war' (1977-78), predominantly from the Ogaden clan, were placed in Isaaq by Siad Barre. While this was a result of Siad Barre's malicious act to play the two clans against each other and to crush rebellions in Isaaq land, it led to large scale conflicts between host and refugee communities (Tibebe, 2014). This conflict are linked with Barre's harsh campaigns against the rebellion movement, the Somali National Movement (SNM), formed by the Isaaq, which led to more than 350,000 Somalis seeking refuge in Ethiopia and Djibouti, forming the first official Somali refugees in Ethiopia in the 1980s (Tibebe, 2014; Markakis, 1987). Misguided understandings of 'homogeneity' and 'co-existence' among groups have led government officials and others, to expect that Somali refugees and Somali host communities would not face identity based security issues. However, the data indicates that refugees report discrimination both from institutions of one's own clan and other clans. This is especially significant given the crucial role traditional institutions play in resolving issues related with access to natural resources. CRRF implementation needs to pay specific attention to identify and address triggering issue, beyond simply assuming the existence of boundaries between refugee and host communities as this does not apply in this context and (even when it does) might create and/or fuel tension over limited resources.

6.3 Dysfunctional Security Approaches and Institutions

While some of the above security challenges can be addressed through resource management and poverty alleviating development projects that highlight the security-development nexus, dysfunctional security approaches and institutions can only be addressed by reforming security institutions and their approaches. Security institutions in Ethiopia are criticized for their human rights records and state centric approaches unwilling to view citizens and refugee security as in need of protection (Burchard & Burgess, 2018).

While they do not openly speak against refugee integration and free movement, it is necessary to reckon the impact of such security institutions and approaches on the implementation of CRRF and vice versa. These security infrastructures also play the leading role in resolving refugee-host

disputes. Thus, the need to put security and peace infrastructures in place and build a human-centered security sector that will cater for both host and refugee communities is evident. This is acknowledged by some authorities and some of the preparatory work includes a development of a set of guidelines, establishment of a Community Care Committee (CCC), in which both the refugee and host community representatives meet on a regular basis and resolve conflicts and Refugee Care Committee (RCC) elected by refugee communities. Conflict resolution between encamped refugees and host communities is formally the responsibility of ARRA and UNHCR. ARRA and UNHCR are supported by police and administrations of the respective refugee camps. These formal conflict resolution mechanisms are mainly facilitated by Conflict Resolution Committees set up in refugee camps. "These are committees that consist of 8 people and meet monthly" (Interview, 04 May 2020). However, ARRA is aware that most of the potential conflict issues such as access to land and land based resources like water and firewood lies in the jurisdiction of traditional leaders of the clans and negotiated by them only. "In Sheder refugee camp, conflict settlements is much more dominated by informal institutions

(Elders, religious leaders), whereas police and camp security are dominant in Aw-Barre refugee camp" (ibid.).

7. CRRF as Security Sector Reform Agenda

Unless the issues surrounding challenges in and around refugee camps (however small scale) are not resolved, an out of camp refugee policy might let loose a myriad of security (governance) challenges currently masked by encampment; whereas other challenges such as those related to access to certain resources could be eased due to distribution of responsibility across the country. The CRRF does not provide a clear outline how security provision and peacebuilding will be pursued during implementation and it is also not clear on how, if and when the need arises, how traditional security and justice institutions fit into the work. The Somali region is not the only context where CRRF will be faced with such question, "... as evidenced by the fact that 80 percent of the populations in sub-Saharan Africa get their security and justice services from non-state actors" (White, 2009:110). This poses the question of whether CRRF implementation in the Somali region, and elsewhere in Africa should "go with the grain" of the local way of doing things and how it can deal with the

consequences as such indigenous institutions as they tend to " pose formidable obstacles to the implementation of Good Governance" (Kelsall, 2008: 628). As noted above, the justice system for example can be "characterized by inequitable and exploitative practices yet simultaneously supported by its subjects" (Denney, 2013:14).

There is need to build security institutions that can respond to the need of both host and refugee communities. This was to some extent recognized and attempted by the Ethiopian government when initiating CRRF implementation. When the out of camp policy was expanded, a key issue was how ARRA will work with the refugees, who will not be confined to camps. While most of this has not been implemented accordingly ARRA regional officials still convey their plan that they will, "establish a local office in every community that hosts more than 300 refugees. This will ensure that conflicts between the refugees and the host community can be dealt with locally and that many problems can be identified and resolved early on" (Interview, 04 May 2020).

This is not merely a change in nomenclature. It reveals institutions molding themselves to fit the values and goals of the project,

transformed from a state centered 'national security' to a people centered 'peace building' institution. The CRRF represents not only a breakthrough transition from humanitarian assistance into comprehensive developmental approach to make refugees self- reliant, but also a potential peacebuilding project, as its staff now identifies. They even go as far as acknowledging that conflict and security issues should be an additional thematic area in CRRF, perhaps under the name 'peaceful coexistence' (Interview, 12 December 2019). The transformation of ARRA suggests the shift of a fundamentally security institution to a 'peace building' one. This qualifies as an SSR, i.e. the reorientation or "orientation of the policies, structures, and capacities of institutions and groups engaged in the security sector" (AU, 2011).

8. Conclusion

Seeing CRRF as part of an SSR project or one that goes in tandem with it highlights many issues that need to be addressed. Currently it is sticking to the development language that only acknowledges traditional 'development' themes by consciously and carefully circumventing addressing the uncomfortable topics of national and local security of host states. It is crucial for CRRF

to join a myriad of development projects that have embraced the development-security nexus openly Given that these borderlands hosting refugees are post conflict and conflict settings, SSR implementation principles that specially apply to such contexts are necessary. The first step would be to consciously see security as one of its thematic areas. The second step is the preparation of a "clear implementation strategy" including a monitoring and evaluation plan. Third, like any SSR project, it should be locally owned and participatory. As CRRF did not explicitly acknowledge the development-security nexus it has not been inclusive of a wide range of security institutions in the Somali region. The CRRF, while it avoids addressing security directly as a specific thematic area, the structure and funding created for implementation provides an opportunity for states to tackle these challenges. It is evident that even though ARRA, at least officially, is no longer securitizing refugee presence outside of camps, the existence of parallel institutions pursuing the 'old' agenda poses a challenge to the freedom of refugees. Fourth, it should include different ranges of security actors like indigenous institutions and address them in the reform process; learning from

successful and failed experiences where applicable.

9. Recommendations

This research recommends that the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) as a durable solution for protracted refugees should be implemented with basic security sector reforms in the Somali region of Ethiopia. The reason is that restrictive security institutions against refugees would greatly affect refugee's access to work or employment, free movement, free education, and other basic needs that could profoundly impair the overall scheme of CRRF. Hence, CRRF implementation needs to be supplemented by policies including security related institutions that have a great sphere of influence on CRRF.

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