

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES

Assessment of Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) Initiatives in the Context of Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Ethiopia (since 2018): Achievements, Challenges, and Prospects.



By Temesgen Tadewos
October 2023

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June 2024

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES INSTITUTE FOR
PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES



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Declaration

This thesis, titled, "Assessment of Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) Initiatives in the Context of Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Ethiopia (since 2018): Achievements, Challenges, and Prospects" represents a new contribution on my part. All information used in the thesis is appropriately cited, and it has not been submitted for a degree at any other institution.

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Date of submission: _____

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With my endorsement as a university adviser, this work has been submitted to Addis Ababa University's Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) for examination.

Name of Advisor: _____

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AAU- Addis Abeba University

AU- AFRICAN UNION

COHA- Cessation of hostilities agreement

CPA- Comprehensive Peace Agreement

CSO- Civil society organizations

CSS - Critical security system

DDR - Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration

EBC – Ethiopia broadcasting Corporation

ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States

EPRDF- Ethiopian people's revolutionary Democratic Front

ENDF- The Ethiopian National Defense Force

EU - European union

HPR- House of people representative

NATO- Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization

OLA- Oromo Liberation Army

OLF- Oromia Liberation Front

OSCO - The Organization for Security and Cooperation

PP - Prosperity Party

SSR - Security Sector Reform

TPLF- Tigray people's Liberation Front

UN- United nation

Abstract

This study assesses the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) initiatives in the context of SSR in Ethiopia since 2018. It primarily examines the Drivers, achievements, challenges, and prospects of these initiatives, basically focusing on the SSR in the Defense force and the other crucial project of DDR in the context of the war in Tigray and the case of Disarming the special force, which are crucial for post-conflict peacebuilding and state-building efforts in the country. The study employs qualitative method and primary and secondary sources to gather relevant data. The analysis of the data obtained various sources indicate that the security reform that started in 2018 achieved some important outcomes but the same can't be said for the DDR process, it is possible to mention some of the achievement of the SSR for example the reform came up with a proclamation that is strong which can motivate members of the national defense force, the reform also removed TPLF dominance in the security sector, In addition to that the reform came a different branch of the defense force which is the naval force. The findings also show that there are significant challenges the DDR initiatives faced such as the lack of a comprehensive national strategy, limited institutional capacity, and the continued fragmentation of the security sector. The study underscores that there is a need for a more holistic and integrated approach to DDR and SSR, addressing the root causes of conflict and fostering inclusive and DDR participatory processes.

Keywords: -

Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR), Security Sector Reform (SSR), Ethiopia.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In this preliminary part of the thesis important parts are included. First, it mentions important historical acts in the background of the study where there will be an explanation for the who, Why, and How of the historical aspect of the event went and there will be parts for statement of the problem, research questions, Significance of the study, scope, and Structure of the study are discussed in depth in the proposal part of the thesis in order to give a leading assessment and path for this the research.

1.1. Background of the study

Conflict of a violent nature in the Horn of Africa is a phenomenon that occurs with greater frequency than situations that stray from this pattern. When thinking about conflict between regional actors mainly in global south what comes to our mind is the end of the Cold War that has created space for regional powers to emerge as key actors who assume important roles in questions related to regional and global governance. When seeing the political arena in the 21st century, many states implement or claim somehow a democratic system. This system necessities the establishment of a healthy bureaucratic system in different regions. Consequently, certain levels of authority are delegated to regional governing parties. The delegation of power to local actors often leads to an overlap, resulting in competition for positions within the central government. Relying on regional powers to address conflicts, economic disparities, and political turbulence may potentially foster the emergence of a dominant state within the respective region. (Sassoon, 2004).

In the realm of geographic focus, the Horn of Africa stands out as an exceedingly vulnerable region to conflicts. This is primarily the reason why there is a growing recognition among the peace-building community (including policymakers, analysts, and practitioners) regarding the significance of DDR and SSR. These two components are widely acknowledged as fundamental aspects of peace-building efforts in areas that are prone to conflicts. Since the end of the Cold War, there has been a progressive rise in interventions by the global community in nations undergoing transitions from conflict, leading to an enhanced acknowledgment of the significance of post-conflict peacebuilding endeavors. An evaluation of accomplishments in SSR and DDR

initiatives demonstrates concrete advancements in mitigating armed conflict and violence. Furthermore, the disarmament and demobilization of combatants have played a role in improving security circumstances in certain areas, nurturing conditions helpful to development and reconciliation. (Bryden & Scherrer, 2012).

SSR and DDR are today acknowledged by the international community as an effective means to restore or establish the state by disbanding non state armed actors and reconstituting constitutional forces with a commitment to post-conflict peacebuilding and sustainable development. Concerns arise regarding the potential re-engagement of ex-combatants in armed activities or the formation of criminal groups if they fail to successfully reintegrate into civilian life. This poses a challenge to recently established security institutions and forces, which may not possess adequate capabilities to counter such threats effectively. Consequently, the populace becomes susceptible to violence, leading to a erosion of the state's legitimacy as it fails to ensure the protection of its citizens. In such instances, conflict-affected states give up their monopoly on security (McFate, The Link Between DDR and SSR, 2010).

In the context of the Global South, states experiencing a loss of their monopoly on security are seen, for example Ethiopia. Despite its longstanding prominence in African and Horn of African political dynamics, Ethiopia's stature faces formidable resistance due to the deterioration of intra-state security conditions (Asgele, 2021). So, Ethiopia by all standards, is a conflict-prone region with a need of a well-organized Security Sector Reform (Geda, 2004)

The case of Ethiopia, particularly in recent times since the rise of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed to power in 2018, reflects a significant destabilization of the nation's security landscape. Despite a promising start to his duration, Abiy's administration has encountered a succession of challenges from various regions and actors across the **country**.

In addition to that Notably, the northern region, particularly the Tigray region which is under the governance of TPLF, has emerged as a focal point of contention. Additionally, the Somali region witnessed instability during the tenure of Abdi Illey, who served as the region's president (Birhanu, The War in Tigray and its Geopolitical Implications, 2021). In the other part of the country OLA which officially separated from OLF, continued with armed struggle in different corners of Oromia, which created political insecurity in the region (Jebena, 2020). There is also the case of Benishangul armed rebel group with a serious problem causing a serious threat

towards the residence of region and the security sector (AA-Africa, 2020). Now at the time of conducting this research there is also an ongoing conflict in Amhara region.

When talking about the intrastate security of Ethiopia what comes to mind is the beginning of the special force in Ethiopian history that started in the Somali Region during the early 2010s. The establishment of this specialized unit was facilitated through collaborative endeavors between the federal government and foreign aid. Its principal aim was to efficiently counter insurgent activities carried out by armed factions officially designated as terrorist organizations by the federal government. As time progressed, this approach gained traction and was subsequently emulated by other regions leading to the establishment of their own dedicated forces (Woldemichael, 2023). Despite the federal and regional governments having the privilege to establish their respective police forces, there exists no specific legal framework addressing the above-mentioned special forces. As trust in the federal government diminishes in various regional capitals, states have intertwined the duties of these special police forces with aim of regional states self-governance. However, these special police units have overstepped their jurisdiction by engaging in activities, such as international border security and mediating interregional conflicts, which fall within the exclusive view of the federal government and its armed forces. (EU, The Special Police In Ethiopia , 2023).

The recent demonstrations in the Amhara Region were primarily not connected to the legality of the choice to disband the specialized armed forces. Rather, they emerged from the doubtful attitudes of numerous residents and political elites in the region, who were of the opinion that they would become more susceptible to attacks, particularly from forces in the Tigray and Oromia regions, if the specialized forces were dissolved. The trust by civilians given to the regional forces shows how much regional residents give credit for their regional forces than the central government. Furthermore, such groups have doubts that the procedure would specifically target the Amhara forces while leaving others unaffected. The federal government's inadequate attempt to clarify the uncertainties, and its unwavering determination to execute the plan regardless of the repercussions caused additional complexities surrounding the process (Woldemichael, 2023).

Regarding the Somali regional forces, the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) has stated that the attorney general has accused Abdi Illey of being accountable for human rights violations,

ethnic and religious conflicts in the Somali region. In the period preceding his resignation, at least 29 individuals were reportedly killed, while government establishments were destroyed, businesses looted, and churches set alight. Ethiopian national forces and law enforcement were deployed to the region in response, leading to Abdi Illey's replacement by his former finance minister, Ahmed Abdi Mohamed. It has been stated by Ethiopian authorities that a para-police force within the region, known as the "Liyu Police," was responsible for carrying out numerous attacks, including one that resulted in the death of 41 individuals and injury to 20 others. These forces have been accused of engaging in various forms of abuse, torture, and sexual assault, while also being associated with Abdi Illey (DW, 2018).

The other case that has affected the security sector of Ethiopia is the case of TPLF, A group which originated in the northwestern Tigray region on February 18, 1975, is a prominent liberation front in Ethiopia. It rose to prominence as the leading liberation movement in the country, eventually collaborating with the EPLF to overthrow the Derg regime and subsequently held power until it was ousted from federal government authority on April 2, 2018, by the administration led by Abiy Ahmed (Berhe A. , 2008) with this in mind, EPRDF a coalition consisting of four ethnically based parties which had been in power since 1991, was replaced by the creation of a single ruling party known as the PP. The formation of the PP has been viewed by the TPLF as a strategic move by Abiy to distance himself from Ethiopia's ethnic federalism. While three out of the four EPRDF parties, along with regional parties previously not involved in national governance, merged to form the PP, the TPLF, which held a significant position within the EPRDF chose not to join. In 2020, Ethiopia's federal parliament endorsed the government's decision to postpone all elections scheduled for August due to the pandemic. The Tigrayan regional government deeming the federal decision as unlawful, conducted a regional election in September 2020. The TPLF secured the majority of seats in the regional parliament an outcome dismissed by the House of the Federation. ultimately leading to the escalation of conflict into war. (EU, Ethiopia: War in Tigray Background and state of play, 2022).

The route of Ethiopia's progress in the direction of post-war SSR and DDR activities stems from its chaotic past. The nation's security sector and society have been deeply impacted by a sequence of conflicts and wars that occurred prior to 2018. In order to comprehend the obstacles and difficulties that these initiatives aim to tackle, it is imperative to possess an understanding of

this historical backdrop. Nevertheless, the journey towards achieving peace and stability in Ethiopia is marked by significant difficulties. Matters such as the inadequate completion of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration procedures, regional inequalities, as well as political tensions, present formidable barriers. These challenges emphasize the absolute necessity for all-encompassing, context-specific approaches to tackle the complex problems associated with SSR and DDR initiatives (Berhe M. G., Transition from war to peace: the Ethiopian disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration experience, 2017).

Despite the obstacles, Ethiopia's should strive to overcome challenges and achieve lasting peace. The country has a history of conflict and social chaos, leading to the urgent need for Security Sector Reform (SSR) and Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) efforts since 2018. Evaluating these initiatives is crucial for promoting peace, stability, and development after conflicts.

1.2. Statement of the problem

It's clear that prolonged conflicts, marked by widespread violence, displacement, and human rights violations has created a multi-layered problem in addition to this challenge it is clear to see ungoverned, unprofessional, and monopolized security sector institutions (the national defense, regional forces) posed serious security threat to the security of human being and the state.

The research basically sees how the unstructured SSR and DDR has caused different violent events to happen in different part of the country. As an example. The problem caused by Somali special force in Somali region, the war in Tigray, the problem in Amhara region, OLA in Oromia. This conflict has resulted in widespread violence displacement and human rights abuses, leaving a complex legacy that requires careful evaluation. To summarize the problem, it is possible to say the conflicts in Ethiopia has created an obstacle to the implementation of SSR and DDR in post war period necessitating a compressive analysis of the challenges and opportunists associated with the process.

1.3. Objective of the study

The study is going to have the following general and specific objectives.

General Objective

The study's main goal is to assess the DDR initiative in the borderline SSR, which has been going since 2018, with an emphasis on its successes, difficulties, and future possibilities.

Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are the following.

- To analyze the drivers of SSR and DDR initiatives that are undertaking since 2018 in Ethiopia.
- To examine the achievements of SSR and DDR processes undertaking since 2018.
- To identify the challenges of faced in the SSR and DDR processes.
- To analyze prospects of the SSR and DDR initiatives in terms of ensuring peace security in the country.

1.4. Research questions

This study attempts to answer the following questions.

- What are the drivers of SSR and DDR initiatives that are undertaking since 2018 in Ethiopia?
- What are the achievements of SSR and DDR process since the undertaking of 2018?
- What can be listed as a challenge faced in the SSR and DDR process?
- What are the prospects of the SSR and DDR initiatives in terms of ensuring peace security in the country?

1.5. Significance of the study

Considering the matter, the research focuses on is a contemporary issue that concerns to various matters, it is evident that the importance of this matter can have a wider scope. So in order to classify on the significance of the study the research will classify the significance of the study in three important parts.

- In the aspect of knowledge production

Gap Identification The study contributes to knowledge production by identifying gaps and shortcomings in the ongoing DDR initiatives and SSR efforts in Ethiopia. It is possible to do this by understanding of DDR initiatives and SSR in Ethiopia by assessing achievements, challenges,

and prospects. This multifaceted approach enriches the existing knowledge base by capturing the complexities of post-conflict security transitions. It is clear that in the process of knowledge production of this research the study will generate evidence-based insights that can inform future research endeavors and being a foundation for scholars and also in the process of identifying achievements and challenges will be a lesson to be learned by different stakeholders from past experience when designing and implementing future DDR and SSR programs.

➤ Policy development

The study holds additional importance in terms of its ability to assist policymakers in gaining valuable insights into ongoing initiatives and measures regarding DDR as well as SSR. These insights aid in the identification of challenges and opportunities that can be utilized to achieve desired outcomes. From a broader perspective, policymakers can strategically employ this research to evaluate and modify their assessments within the DDR programs, considering the larger contexts of SSR. By comprehending the challenges highlighted in the study, policymakers can proactively address and minimize the risks associated with DDR and SSR processes. This approach, which takes into account the potential risks, promotes stability and reduces the likelihood of reverting back to conflict situations. Furthermore, the study assists in optimizing the allocation of resources by shedding light on areas of success and those that require additional attention. Policymakers can then allocate resources based on evidence, ensuring the efficient utilization of financial and human capital in the pursuit of sustainable security sector reform.

➤ Other research work

The investigation sets a foundation for future scholarly undertakings on DDR and SSR in settings that have experienced conflict. Scholars have the ability to utilize the discoveries as a point of reference for thorough examinations, thereby generating a collective reservoir of understanding regarding successful transitions following conflict, allowing researchers to track trends, patterns, and the impact of interventions over time. In addition to this for researcher who conduct comparative type of research the study sets the stage for allowing scholars to draw parallels between Ethiopia's experiences and those of other post-conflict societies. Comparative studies contribute to the development of generalizable insights and best practices. In conclusion, the study's depth and longitudinal perspective make it a valuable resource for advancing knowledge, shaping policies, and inspiring further research in the realm of DDR, SSR, and post-

conflict recovery in Ethiopia. Its multifaceted contributions enhance the capacity of stakeholders to navigate the complexities of building and sustaining peace.

1.6. Scope of the Study

The study is primarily aimed at analyzing drivers, achievement, challenge and prospect in the context of the post 2018 SSR and DDR initiatives in Ethiopia, focusing mainly on the Defense force reform and the DDR process that are considered as crucial that has started mainly in Amhara and Tigray. In terms of time frame the study in general covering the period since 2018,

1.7. Limitation of the study

As a limitation of the study, it is important to note that certain information or data obtained during the course of this research could not be utilized due to its confidential nature or its classification as restricted and inaccessible to the general public. Furthermore, the constraints of time and financial resources hindered the possibility of conducting research visits to the areas where the conflict had taken place. The security status of the country and willingness of persons related with the subject also presents a hindrance to the process of data collection on this issue. Additionally, the research at hand poses a challenge in terms of skills, as it requires a higher level of expertise compared to previous research experiences. The financial aspect of this study is also undeniably problematic, as there is a need to gather additional information. Moreover, considering the issue at hand is an ongoing, it is likely to directly or indirectly impact individuals willingness to participate in interviews.

1.8. Structure of my thesis

The thesis is organized as follows, the 1st chapter is going to be the introductory part, which is the most important part guiding the path of the research. The 2nd chapter highlights readers about the research methodology and design, The 3rd chapter it is about literatures that were made on the subject, that are reviewed by me mainly in order to clarify important concept and ideas of different scholars and to understand the subject or debates based upon different theories. In the theoretical part there is also examining existing literature through a specific framework. Chapter Four, five, six, and seven will be devoted in presenting the collected data by assigning each research question as a topic for the chapters and the last chapter will be the conclusion and recommendations part.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Related Literatures

2.1. Introduction

In this part of the thesis, literatures that were made on the subject are reviewed mainly to clarify important concept and ideas of different scholars. This means the first part of this chapter touches on literature that were made on the bases of the SSR and DDR process which is peacebuilding, by explaining this important concept. and it will also touch upon idea revolving around SSR and DDR by going in-depth understand these concepts from the developing or 3rd world countries perspective So, the views of different scholars are mentioned and discussed in this part of the thesis. As for the theoretical framework part I will see the approaches and theories of Security considering the fact the whole research revolves around the idea of prioritizing National Security or Individual Security but also touching upon important models of SSR and DDR.

2.2. Conceptual issues

SSR and DDR

In preventing the reoccurrence of conflicts, it's vital to establish a comprehensive and efficient reconstruction of the peace framework that bridges the DDR and SSR efforts. This reconstruction is pivotal in influencing strategic decision-making and the broader process of national policy formulation and execution.

DDR is usually related with Ex-combatants and fighters, it's a complicated web of interwoven political, military, security, humanitarian, and socioeconomic procedures. It creates scenario of disarming combatants and fighting units, disengaging individuals, assisting them in their social and economic reintegration into society and, when appropriate facilitating their active involvement in peace processes, DDR aims to support former combatants and fighters in their transition to civilian status (IOM, 2019). This is where the three important aspect of DDR Comes in, in order to lays the groundwork for establishing a secure environment recovery and peacebuilding strategies

Due to shifting local settings, the character of DDR initiatives and the extent of international engagement in many countries have changed since the end of the Cold War. When peace agreements are absent or incomplete and there is ongoing violence against civilians, DDR practitioners working with or without legally mandated peace operations have had to come up with creative solutions. Traditional practices were perceived as insufficient to fully address reintegration needs as well as broader peacebuilding objectives (UN, Guidance Note of the Secretary-General: United Nations Approach to Transitional Justice, 2010).

When discussing DDR, three key elements must be considered. Firstly, it's crucial to understand that disarmament extends beyond the mere collection of excess weapons and ammunition as a temporary security measure. It's also an essential component of a holistic state regulation and oversight process, which seeks to govern the transfer, trafficking, and utilization of weapons within a country's borders. Secondly, demobilization is a crucial procedure that entails significant decisions regarding the scale of the armed forces to enhance peace and security. It directly influences the composition of the force and is essential for maintaining stability. Lastly, the reintegration of former combatants into civilian life is another crucial aspect to consider. It is important to take into account the needs of the receiving communities while facilitating the transition of these individuals from a military to a civilian lifestyle. By understanding and addressing these three aspects of the DDR process, it is possible to contribute to the prevention of future conflicts and promote sustainable peace. (McFate, The Link Between DDR and SSR, 2010).

SSR on a broader term it is used to describe the structures, institutions, and personnel responsible for the management, provision, and oversight of security in a country. The report titled "Securing Peace and Development the Role of the United Nations in SSR" by the Secretary-General on January 23, 2008, defines the concept of SSR as a "Comprehensive process that encompasses assessment, review, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation, guided by national authorities". The primary aim of SSR is to enhance the effectiveness and accountability of security measures for the State and its citizens, free from any discrimination, while ensuring the highest regard for human rights and adherence to the rule of law. The security sector includes various organizations responsible for ensuring security, such as defense, law enforcement, intelligence, and border

control agencies, as well as entities involved in management and supervision, like government departments, legislative bodies, and relevant civil society actors. Moreover, non-state groups also play a significant role in security provision, management, and oversight. Therefore, SSR involves a wide range of stakeholders and encompasses diverse activities, from political discussions and policy guidance to training initiatives and the provision of technical and financial support. (Knight, 2010)

In the broader context of establishing a stable global order, the United Nations, being the largest international organization, has acknowledged pivotal documents that establish a connection between DDR and SSR. The DDR processes, which involve disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, can significantly shape the structure and nature of the security sector, influencing SSR initiatives. This relationship is complex and non-linear, as each activity presents unique challenges depending on the context. Understanding how DDR and SSR interact allows for better policy and programming decisions to ensure the effectiveness of short to medium-term efforts. Overlooking the reciprocal impact of DDR and SSR may lead to missed opportunities or unintended consequences that hinder broader security and development objectives (Civic & Miklaucic, 2011).

When confronted with the task of executing or comprehending the connection between DDR and SSR, their deficiency in terms of context-specificity and adaptability has been subject to examination, thus raising doubts regarding their efficacy in the activities they encompass. It is vital that both DDR and SSR are embraced and tailored to the specific circumstances of each individual nation. Nevertheless, the involvement of the international community in these domains is frequently censured for its failure to implement these fundamental principles in practice. SSR, in particular, is perceived by certain individuals as a mechanism for enforcing externally imposed objectives and methodologies. This perception is partially due to the unique difficulties found in regions recovering from conflict, such as inadequate or questionable institutions, limited local capabilities, a lack of willingness to act politically, and the sidelining of civil society. The failure to coordinate between various international partners assisting in these endeavors is widely seen as a factor. It's important to recognize these specific challenges and involve a variety of national stakeholders in developing appropriate approaches. Emphasizing the

improvement of local capabilities to build strong, credible, and lasting security institutions is key to reaching DDR/SSR objectives together (Knight, 2010).

In a broad sense, it can be stated that DDR and SSR are two entities that play pivotal role in the post-conflict endeavors aimed at hindering the resurgence of armed hostilities and establishing the necessary circumstances for enduring peace and long-term development. Therefore, it is imperative to comprehend DDR and SSR as essentially interconnected to the mechanisms of constructing the state in the aftermath of conflict, which augment the state's capability to furnish security and reinforce the principles of the legal system. (UN, DDR and Security Sector Reform, 2009).

2.3. Theories and models of conceptual issues

Theories of Security

In a broader sense when we are talking about security we are talking about safety, Safety is crucial part of our day-to-day life without it, it is impossible to understand global politics. The idea affects modern society everywhere and it tend to cloud the opinions of experts and politicians; it dominates newspaper editorials and radio broadcasts; and it continually appears on television and the internet, where pictures of security and insecurity alternate between images of safety. Because of all of this, security is a fascinating, often extreme, but always significant subject. Like beauty, security is a subjective and fluid word that signifies exactly what the subject says it means neither more nor less (Williams, 2013)

Scholars have characterized security as a concept subject to natural contention, leading to substantial discourse within the domain of security studies in recent times. Efforts to expand and enrich the field beyond its historical emphasis on nation-states and armed confrontation have stimulated critical examinations of both theoretical underpinnings and pragmatic implications. (Krause & Williams, 1996). Theories of this field are constantly emerging and competing with one another, as soon as you think you have found your feet with one approach you realize the others, as an overall classification the theories of security have been classified in different ways considering different factors. It possible to see from the above literature the issue is a debatable issue related largely to the social reality of security. So, in this research, the idea is basically to try to identify the best theory that is applicable in order to explain the challenges and prospects

of the war. It is clear to see from the available literatures and see there are scholars basing upon the traditional school of thought realism and liberal, it is also clear that the critical school of thought and conservatism can also play a crucial role in explaining the process with the last theory being human security theory.

A. Realism

Prominent theory in the security realm is Realism remains the primary or alternative theory, Realism's primary argument centers on these premises to explain the correlation between political structure and security. Given the presence of self-interest and power dynamics in human interactions, political realms tend towards conflict unless there exists a central governing entity to uphold order. In realism it is stated when a state of anarchy prevails and there is no governing body capable of ensuring compliance with agreements several entities get the option to employ force in order to obtain their desired objectives. Even if an entity can be certain that no other party will resort to the use of force in the present, there is no assurance against the possibility that such action may occur in the future. Consequently, all entities tend to arm themselves in anticipation of this potential eventuality. Conflicts that could be smoothly settled with the assurance of a higher governing body to enforce agreements may escalate into military confrontations in its absence, prioritizing the preservation of national security. (Cavelty, 2071).

Key concepts such as 'The national interest' or 'the balance of power' were either undefined or defined in multiple and mutually contradictory ways. Power parity is considered to be a worthy attribute in the context of international relations. By articulating realism's fundamental proposition in a better-spoken manner, it becomes evident that the simple presence of factions in a state of anarchy can produce a healthy competitive pressures and conflict, irrespective of the internal politics of said factions. This argument is primarily predicated on the assumption that the world operates under an anarchical paradigm, while emphasizing the significance of power dynamics and military capabilities (Williams, 2013)

B. Liberal theory

Liberalist theory involves a solid approach aimed at fostering state interactions to promote peaceful resolutions to global political challenges. Within this framework, both individuals and states demonstrate a commitment to community and mutual reliance, collaborating towards common objectives. Moreover, their political influence is predominantly derived from shared

consensus. Enhancing interstate interaction becomes significantly more achievable when a state's political framework adheres to a Republican model, given liberal states emphasis on peace promotion. Additionally, it is notable that a governance structure marked by unrestrained authority, such as monarchy or dictatorship, inadequately protects the welfare and autonomy of its populace. Consequently, liberalism's central aim resides in raising institutions that ensure individual freedom through the oversight and regulation of political authority (Williams, 2013)

When investigating perceptions of war within democratic states, it is argued that nations governed democratically generally demonstrate greater proclivities towards peace in contrast to non-democratic counterparts. Nonetheless, it is essential to recognize that no state can consistently sustain a state of peaceful coexistence. However, the majority of liberal theorists advocate the notion that the combination of democratic governance, free trade policies, and active engagement in international organizations contributes to an augmented state of global peace and security. Primarily, democratic nations demonstrate a decreased likelihood of initiating or intensifying conflicts with other democratic counterparts, a concept referred to as inter-democratic peace. Secondly, participation in global trade endeavors serves to mitigate occurrences of interstate conflict. Lastly, democratic states exhibit a heightened inclination towards pursuing collaborative resolutions through international bodies. Despite variances among liberal theorists, they unanimously uphold a shared belief in the influence of political freedom, mutual reliance, and engagement with international institutions (Krause & Williams, 1996).

C. Critical theory

The emergence of the term critical thinking and the subsequent debate surrounding the notion of security. The traditional correlation between the term and its significance has diminished in importance, indicating a transition towards a broader viewpoint. The Critical Perspective on Security, situated within Security Studies, prioritizes the examination of power dynamics, societal inequalities, and the impact of dominant ideologies on security policies. This framework challenges conventional security paradigms, which primarily focus on state-centric military concerns, by underscoring the importance of non-military challenges such as economic disparities, environmental degradation, and social injustices. Critical scholars contend that

security is not an objective concept but rather a subjective one that necessitates a more comprehensive understanding. (Williams, 2013).

Critical security studies advocate for a shift towards a focus on pragmatic human security, highlighting the tangible existence and welfare of individuals. This approach aims to illuminate various impairments to human flourishing and to contest security frameworks and actions that perpetuate these obstacles. It advocates for a more comprehensive conception of security that go beyond traditional state-centered methodologies. Moreover, critical security studies assert that conventional security inquiry, often neglecting the voices and viewpoints of marginalized populations, inadequately addresses and resolves contemporary security dilemmas. It calls for an approach to security studies that is non-Eurocentric, incorporating the historical narratives of the Global South and challenging prevailing perspectives and power dynamics within the discourse. (Vaughan-Williams, 2010).

D. Human Security

Human security theory is a theoretical construct that prioritizes safeguarding the welfare and safety of individuals and communities over exclusively prioritizing state security. It acknowledges that conventional understandings of security, centered solely on the state, are inadequate in addressing the complexities of a globalized world confronting transnational threats. The notion of human security encompasses a spectrum of risks and exposures, spanning from poverty and climate change to cyber threats and armed conflicts. It offers a framework for incorporating these diverse challenges into national security considerations and formulating effective policy responses. Examining individual human security entails conducting thorough evaluations of the obstacles confronting individuals, communities, and governments, encompassing factors such as disease, unemployment, ethnic strife, and violence. This multifaceted approach underscores why the United Nations defines security as the prevention of adverse outcomes for individuals, encompassing a wide array of potential negative consequences. (Vaughan-Williams, 2010). Additionally, there is ongoing discussion about the role of gender in human security. Feminist perspectives highlight the importance of addressing gender-based violence and inequalities in understanding and addressing security challenges. (Dr. Reveron & Dr. Mahoney-Norris, 2019).

Having explained the theories and concepts, it is now feasible to explain the theoretical framework that will navigate the research in subsequent chapters. Concerning the theoretical underpinning, the study will be anchored in human security theory, with a primary focus on prioritizing the safeguarding and welfare of individuals. Simultaneously, while addressing the complexities of DDR and SSR highlighting the drivers, achievements, challenges and prospect expected from the SSR and DDR process that has started in 2018 by delving deeply into these concerns.

Empirical literature

2.4. Peacebuilding after the Civil War

Peacebuilding is a widely employed term in the process of establishing peace, particularly following a significant dispute or war. The largest international organization defines it as “An undertaking to identify and strengthen the necessary framework for peace, while simultaneously preventing the recurrence of conflict”. The UN foresees efforts to cultivate a lasting peace as encompassing the reconstruction of institutions and infrastructure damaged by conflict, in addition to addressing security, humanitarian, developmental, and governance-related concerns. Over the subsequent decade, the number of UN peacebuilding operations increased and extended geographically. Concurrently, regional organizations such as The AU, The EU, The ECOWAS, The NATO, assumed an increasingly prominent role in these attempts. (Chetail, 2009).

Following the Cold War, there has been a surge in the engagement of various actors in political processes, prompting peacebuilding agencies worldwide to prioritize initiatives such as DDR and SSR. In response to this shift, the UN system intensified its efforts towards post-conflict endeavors aimed at restoring peace (Hartzell, 2014). Studies show multilateral actors approached post-conflict peacebuilding without a common definition or doctrine of peacebuilding. So, the peace-building process was understood in different ways creating a setback in the process of applying it, the liberal peace thesis, rooted in a longstanding tradition of Western thought, suggests that liberal democracy, free market economies, and the rule of law serve as foundational elements for ensuring security and development within a functioning state. Proponents of this thesis argue that countries emerging from civil conflict can prevent further outbreaks by democratizing, embracing free-market principles, enhancing governance structures, and undertaking security sector reform. In the political sphere, liberalization entails democratization

efforts, including the promotion of regular and fair elections, constitutional checks on governmental authority, and the protection of freedoms such as speech, assembly, and conscience. Economically, the aim is to foster marketization, characterized by a shift towards market-oriented economic models that minimize government intervention and maximize the autonomy of private investors, producers, and consumers to pursue their economic interests (Doyle, 2005).

On the opposing side, there is a group of individuals who raise doubts regarding the entire concept of embracing liberalization as a resolution. Some critics perceive the liberal peacebuilding approach as a form of intervention masked under the guise of promoting peace, with the underlying aim of imposing Western ideologies on diverse regions worldwide. This viewpoint suggests that peacebuilding efforts may bring additional, potentially unethical objectives, such as neocolonial or neo-imperialistic ambitions to restructure societies and economies to facilitate exploitation by Western powers. To contextualize this discussion, the case of Ethiopia provides a pertinent example through the "No more" movement, a global initiative led by Ethiopians advocating against foreign interference, particularly from the United States and Europe. Spearheaded by the "Hands off Ethiopia" movement, protests erupted across the USA with demonstrators calling for denouncement of the terrorist group TPLF by foreign governments and cessation of any form of assistance to them. This illustrates how the ostensibly peaceful actions of foreign powers can be perceived as unwarranted intervention (Ethiopian_Citizen, 2022). As a result, the goals and purposes for which peacebuilding is undertaken have become increasingly unclear. Furthermore, there are scholars who criticize the notion of establishing a democratic system in a conflict-ridden area. Mainly because this may give rise to further conflicts, mainly due to the absence of a well-organized bureaucratic system. Consequently, prioritizing traditional institutions as a solution may hold more significance than modern institutions (Duffield, 2007).

In broad terms, Peacebuilding can be defined as a multifaceted effort aimed at reducing the risk of relapsing into conflict by strengthening a nation's capacities across various levels to manage disputes and establish a lasting framework for peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies should be coherent and flexible, tailored to the unique circumstances of each nation, and grounded in national ownership. These efforts should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequential,

and relatively concise range of initiatives with the goal of achieving specific objectives (Hartzell, 2014).

2.5. SSR and DDR in Global South

As Africa emerges from its post-Cold War era, which was characterized by internal conflicts and political instability, the continent has also become a prominent arena for multiple post-conflict peacebuilding initiatives. When examining the peacebuilding process in the southern hemisphere of the globe, it is evident that this region requires it more than others, primarily due to countries in the global south being more susceptible to conflicts compared to other regions of the world. However, it is evident that achieving success in this attempt poses challenges on a practical level, as the strategy for security sector reform necessitates collaboration among diverse agencies that often possess conflicting perspectives, priorities, and objectives (Knight, 2010).

The implementation of SSR and DDR initiatives in Liberia serves as a notable case study, following a protracted civil war spanning fourteen years. A pivotal challenge during this period was how to manage the multitude of combatants who remained armed and active across the country. This concern was specifically addressed in the CPA signed in 2003 by the conflicting parties. Consequently, the agreement facilitated the demobilization of over 100,000 ex-combatants, including approximately 11,000 child soldiers. The process of demobilization and reintegration of Liberia's armed forces was supervised by the United States, following the restoration of the military and Ministry of Defense. Liberia's integrated DDR-SSR programs successfully reintegrated a significant portion of ex-combatants. Specifically, in the case of the legacy Armed Forces of Liberia, approximately 13,500 former soldiers underwent demobilization. A considerable number of these individuals were subsequently able to rejoin and be admitted into the newly established security forces. A survey conducted in 2006 revealed that the majority of ex-combatants who participated in training and education initiatives reported an enhancement in their socioeconomic standing and were generally embraced by their communities (McFate, 2010).

Whilst comprehending the utilization and consequence of the two most pivotal entities of peacebuilding, it is also reasonable to observe how certain scholars perceive the implementation of these ideas in the global south of the world from the negative aspect. During the implementation of DDR and SSR initiatives, it has been noted that former combatants who

struggle to transition into civilian life may resort to rearming themselves or forming criminal groups. This poses a challenge to newly established security institutions that may lack the capacity to address such threats effectively. Consequently, the population becomes susceptible to violence, leading to a loss of confidence in the state's ability to protect its citizens and undermining its legitimacy. This phenomenon of state incapacity to ensure citizen safety is evident in Ethiopia, where various regions have experienced unrest over the past five years. For instance, in the Oromia region, despite government portrayals of peace and productivity, ongoing conflicts between the government security forces and armed groups such as the OLA have resulted in numerous casualties and alleged human rights violations. Furthermore, the absence of a robust central government has led to a rise in kidnappings for ransom, with civilians being targeted and abducted (Biyenssa, 2023).

On the other side the issue in global south of the continent is Female combatants have distinct needs in the DDR process. However, DDR programs often fail to recognize those needs. The World Bank has reported that in the DDR programmed in Mozambique, for example, only men were granted resettlement allowances and only men's clothing was issued despite the presence of a significant number of female combatants. Inversely, if DDR succeeds but SSR weakens, then people begin to rely on nonstate actors ethnicity or religion-based militias specially in a diverse part of the world or village self-defense forces for their security (Knight, 2010).

Even within the organizations engaged in the execution of these activities (DDR and SSR), there is a tendency to engage in rivalry, resulting in a flawed application of the process. Furthermore, the implementation of SSR processes requires a substantial number of resources, including a significant number of trainers and personnel, a large logistical presence, and a strong programmatic capability to train, equip, deploy, and sustain the newly formed security force. The establishment of a functional security sector takes several years, and in some cases, even decades. The extensive time frame required for SSR to yield noticeable changes may lead donors to lose interest. (Bryden, 2007)

In conflict-affected countries of the global south, Security Sector Reform (SSR) often encounters challenges, particularly when security forces hold significant power and changing them could incite violence and a return to conflict. For instance, convincing a warlord in a developing nation to transition to farming proves difficult. Additionally, defining security poses ambiguity—is it

state, regional, or human security? Peacebuilding suffers from fragmented conceptualization and implementation, lacking coordination and awareness of interconnected peacebuilding elements. To achieve sustainable peacebuilding, policymakers must grasp the interplay between DDR and SSR. However, educating conflicting parties often raises concerns about imposing Western ideologies or agendas. (Knight, 2010)

So, it is possible to say DDR is a process that safely transition combatants back to civilian life, and SSR, involving the reconstitution and professionalization of security institutions and actors. they can enable countries emerging from conflict to provide for their own security and uphold the rule of law, an essential precondition of sustainable development and part of the exit strategy for costly peacekeeping missions. DDR and SSR are programmatically linked, as a failure of one risk failure of the other.

2.6. SSR and DDR in Ethiopia

Considering the closest civil war in Tigray, The Tigray civil war characterized by its evolving nature and the convergence of multiple factors leading to its outbreak initially described as a brief "law enforcement operation," but escalating into a deadly conflict claiming numerous lives on both sides has captured international attention prompting a close examination of reports from within the country. Therefore, to grasp the depth of this issue, it's important to analyze its origins from the viewpoints of different scholars.

Ethiopia's political landscape is characterized by ethnic divisions, with the country's constitution preserving an ethno-federalist structure. This setup results in multiple power centers, which weaken the central government's legitimate control over the use of force and its ability to establish and enforce norms and rules. The civil war between the central government and TPLF from 2020 to 2022 highlights this dynamic. From 1991 to 2018, the TPLF-led federal government-maintained stability by granting special privileges to various political actors, relying on personal client relationships between federal and local governments, and establishing subordinate power centers, thereby fostering authoritarian stability. (Carusco & Akamo, 2023)

The conflict in Ethiopia's Tigray region has fueled a large-scale humanitarian crisis and attracted international concern among reports of starvation and atrocities. The war has taken a heavy human and economic toll, and it is spreading beyond Tigray. The TPLF, a party representing one

of Ethiopia's ethnic minorities, had been the dominant political party in the country's ruling EPRDF coalition for almost three decades until Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed took office in 2018. The TPLF was in power in the Tigray region when the conflict erupted, with some Ethiopians directly blaming the TPLF for igniting grievances that led to a widespread protest movement. This movement ultimately led to the election of Prime Minister Abiy, a member of the EPRDF, who initiated reforms aimed at political and economic openness. Abiy's efforts to mend relations with Eritrea, strained by a border dispute and animosity between the TPLF and the Eritrean government, earned him the Nobel Peace Prize in 2019. Following this, Abiy brought together the EPRDF alliance to establish the Prosperity Party, a move opposed by the TPLF, which viewed it as part of a plan to transition Ethiopia from a federal to a unitary state (Negatu. G & Hudson. C, 2020).

Tensions escalated between the TPLF and Abiy's government, sparked by an electoral dispute in 2020, leading federal and Tigray regional authorities to contest each other's legitimacy. On November 4, 2020, Abiy announced military operations in Tigray in response to a Tigrayan forces' attack on a military base in the region. The Tigrayan administration claimed self-defense against an anticipated federal assault, while federal authorities denounced the attack as unjustified and treasonous. Subsequently, federal authorities accused the TPLF of orchestrating ethnic violence across Ethiopia to sow chaos, leading to the classification of the party as a terrorist organization by the Ethiopian government in May 2021. This conflict in northern Ethiopia has evolved into what resembles a civil war. It includes a collection of armed groups aligned with the federal government including the militaries of Ethiopia and Eritrea, paramilitary forces from Ethiopia's regional states, and informal militia against an ethnic insurgent force led by a former head of Ethiopia's military and composed of former soldiers, Tigray regional security forces, militia, and civilian recruits. The conflict has resulted in significant humanitarian consequences, including reports of food shortages, starvation, and restricted humanitarian access. There have been allegations of human rights abuses and atrocities committed by various parties involved in the conflict. The war has also led to the displacement of people, both within Tigray, Amhara, Afar and across the border into Sudan (Blanchard, 2021).

It's widely acknowledged that a country's national army is vital for safeguarding its sovereignty, protecting its borders, and advancing its foreign policy goals both at home and abroad. ENDF

shares these responsibilities. Ethiopia is often recognized as a regional powerhouse in the Horn of Africa due to its military strength, diplomatic influence, and large population. Its past involvement in regional peace and security affairs underscores its willingness and capability to lead and shape the region. However, recent events especially the conflict in the Tigray region, where Eritrea became involved in the conflict have tested the ENDF's ability to carry out this mission. The conflict in Tigray a region of six million people has drawn international concern in light of a worsening humanitarian crisis and reported atrocities (Birhanu, *The War in Tigray and its Geopolitical Implications*, 2021). But it is clear that in this country there is a huge demand to reform the security due to numerous challenges. The Ethiopian government's approach to DDR, however, differs from comprehensive SSR/DDR plans, focusing on disarming the Tigray Defense Force and mobilizing donor funds. Yet, for meaningful SSR/DDR to occur, the government needs to engage in genuine dialogue to address citizen grievances and resolve conflicts. (Berhe M. G., *Peacerep*, 2023). The conflict involved various parties, including the federal government, Tigray Special Forces, and allied militias. Serious human rights abuses and violations of humanitarian and refugee law have been reported during the war, including attacks on civilians, unlawful killings, torture, and arbitrary detentions. The war has resulted in a significant loss of life and displacement of civilians at the end. Various actors, including the international community and regional organizations, have called for a peaceful resolution and the establishment of a political process to address the conflict in Tigray that is how the Pretoria peace agreement came. (Caruso & Akamo, 2023).

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This Chapter briefly explains the research design in a nutshell. The data collection and analysis methods, the data presentation, ethical considerations, and limitations of the study are included under this part too.

3.2. Research Approach and Design

The basic goal of this study is to come up with sound, detailed, and clear information on Post-War SSR and DDR Initiatives in Ethiopia, to achieve this goal of understanding subjective social reality that is highly affected by feelings, perceptions, attitudes, values, beliefs, and experiences of a group of people the paper will employ qualitative research.

To gain effective outcome with this design it is important to remember Qualitative inquiry works to comprehend societal phenomena through the lens of those who encounter them. Qualitative research allows a series of representations, including interviews, conversations, this method entails gathering non-numerical information to obtain a deeper understanding of human encounters, attitudes, and actions. Although qualitative research can furnish deep insights, the precision and applicability of its findings center upon the caliber of the sampling procedure. Sampling, a focal element of qualitative research involves the selection of a cohort of participants capable of offering valuable perspectives on the research inquiries. (UpMetrics-Staff, 2022)

In addition to that considering the subject of this study which needs wording and interpretation, it could focus on descriptive sub approach of qualitative research meaning the research is trying to

describe a phenomenon and situation accurately and systematically by answering important questions, adding up to this descriptive method is easily applicable when research aims at identifying, characteristics, trends, and categories of a certain reality. Data which obtained primary source such as interviews, speeches of political individuals and secondary sources such as books, Journal Articles, Reports, Archives and Internet sources could be analyzed using qualitative approach, But it is important to remember with the topic being a momentary issue and a sensitive issue, there is a possibility of difficulty to depend primarily or firsthand data as a source. Therefore, as researcher I believe that it is reasonable to focus on secondary data to meet the intended objectives of this study.

3.3. Data collection method

To conduct the research, I will draw upon multiple sources of data primary and secondary source of data, to build upon primary sources of data, if possible, I will use methods such as interviews, in this interviews using open-ended questions will be the major instrument of data collection because open-ended questions will provide an opportunity to follow up questions from the responses of available and willing key informants and speeches given by political individuals will be assessed. .

Regarding the secondary data collected for this study which is my main focus, the data will be collected from different books, Journals, Articles, and research papers that describe key recent events available at different libraries as well as Website sources will be referred, additionality The study will also employ secondary data sources, documents that have been filed and documented by the organization regarding Ethiopia's SSR and DDR journey.

3.4. Quality assurance method of a research

Quality assurance is defined as any method or procedure for collecting, processing or analyzing survey data that is aimed at maintaining or enhancing reliability or validity. It can also be seen as a management method that is defined as “all those planned and systematic actions needed to provide adequate confidence that a product, service or result will satisfy given requirements for quality and be fit for use”. (Stun, 2005).

In order to maximize the quality of the research A case study is going to be applied on the right way which is one of the most common qualitative designs, that is used to examine certain

phenomena in depth, by basing upon, multiple sources of information documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations For this research a case study is used as a specified research design by confining the time and space of the research (Hoover, 2021). Sampling is a critical component of qualitative inquiry, the method of sampling employed in this study is known as purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is utilized when researchers aim to identify individuals or groups possessing specific knowledge, skills, or experiences that are significant to the research question. The objective is to identify and enlist participants who can contribute diverse and comprehensive data, thereby enriching the findings of the research (SAGO, n.d.). So in general as a researcher all monitoring and assessment steps applied in this research are going to be aiming at the intended purpose of providing accurate information.

3.5. Ethical Considerations

The research topic encompasses a range of sensitive issues. Including respecting individuals who may be impacted by the violence of any nature that is related with SSR and DDR aspect, During the interview and data collection process utmost consideration is granted to these individuals. In terms of ethical conduct, A voluntary participation of participants is essential. Participants have the choice to choose in or out and to be named or not in the study with informed consent being an essential component. Prior to agreeing or declining to join, participants are fully aware of the study's purpose, benefits, risks, Furthermore, the process of data collection ensures the preservation of anonymity and confidentiality if they want to. Safeguarding against physical, social, psychological, and other types of harm is of utmost priority in order to minimize any potential adverse effects.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Drivers of the SSR and DDR Initiatives

The primary aim of this section of the thesis is to establish the groundwork for addressing the first thesis question, which involves identifying the key causes or catalysts influencing SSR and DDR efforts in Ethiopia since 2018. To explain this question, interviews were conducted using a purposive sampling approach, involving subjects from three distinct groups. Initially, an interview was held with Temesgen Desalegn, an independent Ethiopian journalist. Secondly, an interview was conducted with an academic from the PSIR department at AAU, who requested anonymity and will be referenced as Anonymous (1) in this paper. Lastly, due to the topic's security nature, an interview was conducted with Brigadier General Tefera Mamo.

To grasp the drivers of SSR, it's important to consider its scope and the various stakeholders it affects. SSR relates to the structures, institutions, and personnel involved in managing and overseeing security within a nation. However, it's crucial to recognize that security encompasses a wide spectrum of elements. The primary aim of SSR globally is to enhance the effectiveness and accountability of security measures for both the state and its populace, while upholding principles of non-discrimination, human rights, and the rule of law. The security sector comprises a range of entities responsible for security provision, including defense, law enforcement, intelligence, and border management agencies, as well as bodies engaged in governance and oversight, such as government ministries, legislative bodies, and relevant civil society actors. (Knight, 2010).

In contemplating SSR across various global contexts, the primary objective is to ensure the delivery of effective and efficient security services while operating under democratic oversight. Achieving this goal necessitates the implementation of methodologies aimed at optimizing the

utilization of existing security resources, enhancing accountability, effectiveness, and upholding human rights within the structured Security Sector. (DCAF, Security Sector Integrity, n.d). SSR is implemented globally, this is evident from the extensive list of countries requiring SSR. Security sector reform initiatives are prevalent worldwide, driven by common factors such as post-conflict reconstruction, shifts from military or autocratic regimes to democratic governance, newly gained independence, challenges in conflict resolution exacerbated by security sector involvement, resource management struggles, and insufficient civilian capacity to oversee security forces. Particularly significant is the decline in state capacity to uphold the rule of law when the security sector fails to operate professionally. A security sector that is led by individuals who aren't transparent will create opportunities for misuse of power and the absence of the rule of law which will lead to a fragile state. So, the security sector needs to be held accountable to the healthy judicial and legal framework (Wulf, 2011).

While considering the general factors that can be mentioned as reasons for a reform in the security sector, it is possible to reflect on different discourses and interpretations as the drivers of SSR and DDR that have been undertaken since 2018 in Ethiopia. It is possible to start from Prime Minister of Ethiopia, PM Abiy Ahmed can be mentioned as a crucial figure in the process of “Reforms of the security sector” as the Commander-in-Chief of the Ethiopian Armed Forces. The primary reasoning cited by the government for the reform of the defense force proclamation was to establish a legal framework governing the armed forces. The reform aimed to structure the defense force to comprise the Ground Force, Air Force, Naval Force, and Special Operations Force, with the potential inclusion of Space and Cyber Forces as deemed necessary. Additionally, the reform sought to ensure that the selection process for military service and promotion emphasized quality and promoted equitable representation of nations, nationalities, people, and women. Addressing concerns regarding professionalism, the Prime Minister highlighted that the previous organization of the FDRE defense force was predominantly comprised of a single ethnic group during the EPRDF era. (Birhanu, The War in Tigray and its Geopolitical Implications, 2021).

The reform it can be traced to the aim of the prime minister to create a critical change, prime minister Abiy specified in his parliamentary speech “When we come into power we can see where the people and country were at for the past 27 years, the repression, agony, and beating

was a problem people went through the outcome of this problem created an obstacle for the creation of a nation-state which is by all, for all and from all”. As the prime minister explain this idea, he explained the words as follow “When we say “by all it means a nation where every person contributes his bit. When we say ‘for all’ it means there should be no situation which makes one a beneficiary and the other not, which regards one as an owner and the other a stranger, one as a neighbor and the other important but rather it should be a state of affairs in which all take part equally. When we say ‘for all’ it means a situation where all are served equally”. The prime minster continues by saying “With this idea in our mind we raised the idea of building this nation-state but I was told that I was just a preacher speaking about love and it isn’t possible to rule a country like that” (EBC, House of People's Representatives 2nd Special Session of the 6th year of office, የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት 6ኛ ዓመት የስራ ዘመን 2ኛ ልዩ ስብሰባ, 2020).

The prime minster continues with the path of the reform “After this and few other minor disputes things became more serious, and we entered into a serious altercation which was a kind of ‘either you or us. When we entered into such altercation, we realized that we could not continue like this. The security officials were a powerful government with their own distinctions, and they have their own soldiers, media and a lot of business they run. Then we have made a decision that it would be impossible to continue working with them and we should remove them. So we made a decision and started to research, whether if we have to take such measures only against the defense force or the security agency. We researched what danger it would cause if we took measures on both because there were some African countries that removed the chief of staff and the security leader at the same time and exposed themselves to a huge disaster. It is a problem which history reveals and to avoid such issues after we have prepared the possible research and discussed it, we reached the final decision that we must remove the government within the government and the institution should become only an institution”. (Haile, The causes and course of the Tigray conflict according to Abiy Ahmed, 2020).

The prime minister continued and explained another driving force “There were following reform efforts targeted various institutions including INSA, NISS, defense establishments, police, and financial intelligence agencies. However, these institutions, commonly referred to as security institutions, were found to be largely deficient. Instead of structured organizations, they

resembled collections of individuals and families lacking professionalism. The leadership primarily consisted of individuals lacking expertise, experience, and competence, often selected based on family or friendship ties.” The prime minister builds up on the statement of the security sector being a family PLC “What led to this declaration giving equitable representation for nations, nationalities, people, and women was how the FDRE security system was organized as a family PLC and not an institution. When we look at the case of the FDRE defense force it was to the point where it is impossible to make reform in the upcoming 10 years to look at the data collected about the defense force organization. For example, among the generals who are called full four-star Generals in the Ministry of Defense, 60 percent of them were from the Tigray region while the remaining 40 percent were from the rest of the country altogether. As we go down 50 percent of the Lt. Generals were from Tigray. As we went down one step and investigated the major generals, 45 percent of them were from the Tigray region. 40 percent of brigadier generals were from the same area. 58 percent of colonels were from one area. 66 percent of Lt. colonels were from one area. 53 percent of majors were from one area. In general, an average of up to 55 percent of the army officials from the top to the major levels were from the Tigray region. It may be acceptable when it comes to the general, for it requires a pass-through long-time experience for an individual to become a Major, Lt. Colonel, and a Colonel, the last 20 and some years were enough in military careers, so this doesn’t make sense. This doesn’t help Tigray and it doesn’t help Ethiopia as well” (EBC, House of People's Representatives 2nd Special Session of the 6th year of office, የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት 6ኛ ዓመት የስራ ዘመን 2ኛ ልዩ ስብሰባ, 2020).

The prime minister continues and explains the deep-rooted organization of the Defense force In head quarter of the Defense force he said “80 percent of the staff who ran the administrative work were only from Tigray region what this means is, this is the staff that knows what armaments need to be bought, knows those who receive training, and knows each and everything was controlled by people from one area. As we go down one step from the defense force there are army commands below the defense. When we see all the commands Ethiopia has, 100 percent of the commander and deputy commanders of the command leaders were from the Tigray region. In the eastern and western areas, there were some Oromo or Amhara who were included in the positions of logistics and human resource, but in the northern command leader,

deputy, logistics, and administration all four positions were occupied by persons from Tigray”. (Haile, The causes and course of the Tigray conflict according to Abiy Ahmed, 2020).

The prime minister continues “we should not just ignore how the northern command was organized when we compare the Northern Command and the rest of the commands, the sum total of the rest of the command is not equal to the Northern Command in terms of equipment and everything. Ethiopia’s defense force depot is in Tigray region. There is no single ammunition here. All the missiles and rockets in Ethiopia has been in the Tigray region. Those who are acting with missiles are all from the same area and this will be seen on how it played on the war in Tigray”. As we go down one step from the command and try to investigate army divisions which are classified into two, mechanized and infantry, 100 percent of the leaders of the mechanized division were from Tigray while 80 percent of the leaders of the foot soldiers were from the same region as well. The Tigray people and the people of Ethiopia as well should know this imbalance and it should not be repeated. All should take a share of what they deserve. Of course, professionalism is expected, for it is not a house of parliament that needs to include representation from each ethnicity. But it is better to train the best one from any ethnicity and create a defense force that resembles all Ethiopians. This is what is stipulated in the constitution, and it is not what we do of our own will (EBC, House of People's Representatives 2nd Special Session of the 6th year of office, የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት 6ኛ ዓመት የስራ ዘመን 2ኛ ልዩ ስብሰባ, 2020).

The government's views and what it argues as the main driving force behind the reform are broadly reflected in the above paragraph. Now that the dominant discord of the government is out of the way it is possible to see what the interviewees think the driving force of the security sector reform is.

The prime minister primarily cited the organization's status as a family institution and a lack of professionalism as the driving forces behind SSR, which encouraged the government to carry out a significant reform in the defense force, but Temesgen disagrees with the professionalism discourse of the government, he says it is true that the security sector was controlled by certain group of people from one area, when looking at EPRDF it was organized in what looks like a well-represented HPR but when it comes to the real power the military or the security sector it

was dominated by people from TPLF. Therefore, the government's reform was actually an effort to remove the TPLF from its position of power rather than a true reform. Temesgen elaborates on the idea of the reform not being genuine on the achievements part or next chapter of the thesis. Whereas on the idea of professionalism is where he reflects on his idea of removing people from TPLF, he thinks there was no professionalism that is actually implemented but rather that was pretext the government used in order to cover up their initiation of absolutely removing people from TPLF from the security sector and states there is no professionalism seen in the existing security sector after the reform.

My 2nd interviewee, Anonymous (1), also shares insights regarding his outlook on the reform. He suggests that during the EPRDF era, the security sector primarily served as a guardian of the party's interests. Additionally, he highlights a decline in professionalism within the security sector, particularly within the defense force, since the Haile Selassie era. This erosion of professionalism has worsened by a decline of the quality of military academies over the years, raising concerns about the sector's capacity for professional conduct. Furthermore, my Anonymous interviewee underscores the necessity of the reform to incorporate additional branches, such as the naval force, into the security sector.

When talking about strengthening the central government the other important action that was planned by the government to strengthen the security sector is dismantling regional state forces. Before going in-depth with the issue let us see why the government saw regional forces as threats, first we have The Somali region's situation Former President of Somalia Abdi Mohamed Omar Iley Government media outlets claimed that he was well-known for his cruel and oppressive behavior. Mass murders and other crimes were committed against secessionist rebels. He also became embroiled in the developing Oromo crisis in Somalia. He eventually assumed control of practically all security-related duties that had previously been held by the regular police, the custodial police, and the federal military. In August 2018, Prime Minister Abiy had to intervene with federal forces and arrest Abdi Iley (VOA, 2024)

In Amhara region the case of Asaminew Tsige an individual who was highly related with the Regional Special Force in Amhara, it was said by the government that he made the decision to use force to execute a coordinated assassination of the most influential figures in the region ENDF chief General Seare Mekonnen and retired Senior General Gezai Abera were assassinated

in Addis Ababa due to this. The attack compelled the federal army to intervene and restore normality after that Brigadier General Tsige was killed and some of his followers. Lastly, the state of affairs in the Tigray Region Using its federal power, the federal government mobilized the ENDF and other forces in response to the TPLF offensive on November 4. The officials of Tigray regional administration assert that they are engaged in a struggle for “self-determination,” while the federal government contends that this is a simple issue of law enforcement and taking the required steps to preserve peace and security. Nonetheless, it is evident that the fundamental reason this war broke out was due to the formidable regional power that threatened the federal administration in Tigray (Tsegay, 2024). The three incidents mentioned above demonstrate how political, military, and sociocultural differences between the federal and regional forces can result in violent conflicts due to the authority granted to both federal and regional forces and the absence of accountability.

Now that I mentioned the general discourse mainly stated by government officials on why it is important to disarm special forces it is possible to see what different government officials and political elites stated about the issue, It clear that there are political individuals with a huge concern from the central government specifically after 2018, mainly because the government fears that permitting Special Forces will result in resource consumption and a security danger, One of the factors that led the government to the idea of dismantling Regional special forces is After the TPLF agreed to disarm and demobilize its special forces, the government determined that no other regional state should be allowed to maintain a police force that exceeds the norm. The country’s growing number of regional states is the second factor. Several ethnic groups and zones are competing for the status of regional states which is also a concern for the central government. With this in mind the federal government stated and gave three options for the Special Forces of all regional states, joining the ENDF, the regional police force, or civilian life. (Aljazeera, 2023).

On the government side, communication service Selamawit Kassa she said, “there is disinformation circulating as if this restructuring process is being implemented only in Amhara region, The restructuring of the special forces is being implemented in all regional states at the same time, this decision of restructuring was done after detailed studies and it is going to be implemented with caution”. The main leading point of the federal government is that Ethiopia is

at peace and special forces are unnecessary to prevent both internal and external threats, it is essential and preferable to have a strong national defense force (Fana, 2023), even prime minister abiy ahmed stated “Special forces instigate conflicts in unique ways. Occurrences in Somali and Amhara regions, and the conflict in the Tigray region, shows the magnitude of the problem” (Endale A. , 2023).

At the end when we look at the constitution regional states are only allowed to have their own police force with the regional police force existing there to maintain peace and order in the region. The gradually established constitutional Special Forces without constitutional constraints that is heavily armed have grown in strength and became more assertive over the past 5 years (Endale A. , 2023). The case of Tigray war can be mentioned as a case where the central government was threatened by regional actor making it the best factor for the need of DDR.

CHAPTER FIVE

Achievements of SSR and DDR process undertaking since 2018

The main objective of this section of the thesis is to establish the basis for handling the second question of the thesis. This is the chapter where we see the achievements of the SSR and the outcome of the DDR process that were being applied in Ethiopia. In order to clarify upon the general subject of achievement or if there is a counter argument on a specified subject, I have conducted an interview about the subject with my previously mentioned interviewees.

In the 21st century, it is clear we have a holistic understanding of SSR meaning it is possible to say it is the political and technical process of improving state and human security by making security provision, management, and oversight more effective and more accountable within a framework of democratic civilian control, rule of law and respect for human rights The goal of SSR is to apply the principles of good governance to the security sector (DECAF, 2022).

On the other hand, the objectives of the DDR process are delineated across three interconnected phases within the broader context of peacebuilding initiatives. These phases encompass peace negotiations, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding efforts, with the overarching aim of achieving two fundamental objectives: firstly, stabilizing conflict-affected societies, and secondly fostering a sustained development over the long term. During the critical transitional period from conflict to

peace and development, DDR initiatives play a pivotal role in creating a conducive environment for political and peacebuilding processes by addressing security challenges that arise when former combatants endeavor to reintegrate into civilian life (UNAMID, 2020). So, it is possible to say these can be mentioned as valuable assessing factors that can contribute to the achievement of SSR and DDR application.

Accordingly, before going into assessing what are the achievements of SSR and DDR it is important to remember that if the security sector is part of the problem, it must be recognized that it is also part of the solution. SSR programming can vary depending on the context, as the security sector, security environment, and political, social, and economic momentum for reform differ in each context. For these reasons During the planning, design, implementation, and evaluation phases of SSR and DDR, it is best practice to analyze the reform environment carefully. When we talk about the environment it means the application of the process of SSR concerns all state and non-state actors involved in the security provisions management and oversight and emphasizes the links between their roles. SSR can include a wide range of different reform activities covering all political and technical aspects of security, including legislative initiatives, policymaking, awareness raising and public information campaigns, management and administrative capacity building, (Clem McCartney et al, 2004).

Additionally, it's critical to consider the reasons for the necessity of security sector reform to evaluate the achievements of a particular security sector. Typical examples of these reasons include After wars, the shift from military or one-party rule to participatory forms of government, recent independence, a lack of accountability and transparency in public affairs, a disrespect for the rule of law, issues with conflict mediation because security sector actors frequently exacerbate conflicts, challenges managing limited resources, and insufficient civilian capacity to oversee and manage the security forces (Clem McCartney et al, 2004).

Using this broad knowledge of the variables that are widely seen as evaluating the success of SSR and DDR it is now feasible to examine the situation in Ethiopia. The main reform that was highly highlighted as a reform with the coming of Prime Minister Abiy was the reform in the defense force of the country, According to the newly appointed system it includes gender equality and bringing heroes to leadership positions while also creating a nationalistic general

standard (Ethiopianmonitor, 2020), It is possible to correlate the assessment of the achievement with the driving force of what the government stated that was the repression and the agony and the beating people of Ethiopia faced and the aim of creating a nation state with proper representation. This was clearly what was seen before the start period of the reform there were waves of public unrest in different part of the country, fueled by socio economic problems and there was also political question regarding different issues this were all factors that fueled the reform (ENA, 2021).

Let's examine what the government considers as an accomplishment in this goal which is based on the notion of establishing a nation-state with equitable representation for all citizens.

When looking into “the achievement” of the post-Ethiopian transition of security sector reform, the major restructuring point that is usually mentioned is the 1990s reform, researchers like Mulugeta Gebehawot Berhe state that “It replaced a once centralized state with a federal system, adapting a constitution that is democratic, the transfer of power through election and recognition of rights associated with freedom of expression” (Berhe M. G., 2021). But after a period of time it was clear EPRDF became a dictator like its predecessors ignoring all the rights and updates they did in the beginning of the 1990s. these triggered the public to stand against EPRDF and the massive public protest forced for a change and this resulted “the 2018 reform” held within the party, Abiy became chairman of the party and Default PM after he came into power poltcial elites including external and internal actors stated that he achieved remarkable achievements that have been recorded in fostering regional peace, widening the political landscape by including and inviting opposing political parties and armed groups into the peaceful political arena and some say he even achieved a liberalized key economic sectors (Dibu & Helawi, 2020) and these understandings are what is highly shared and reflected by the government officials to this day.

The general reform in the military sector started with Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed appointing General Seare Mekonen as the New chief of the staff of the Defense force as a replacement for General Samora, General Samora more or less showed a positive gesture of cooperation. Prime Minister Abiy stated “We thanked him and gave him an award for his service and made him retire in honor. However, even though he was cooperative, our interest in reforming those institutions was difficult”. When seeing who replaced General Samora as a reform of the Chief of staff, it was General Seare, he had served as head of the Ethiopian National Defense Force and

was a veteran who played a big roles in Ethiopia’s defense force, with the appointment of General Seare, the appointment was considered as a big step in the reform of the security force mainly because he was known to be a smart advocate of ethic regulation, professionalism, political neutrality even in one case General Seare was quoted in 2018 saying “Strong force for destruction and must be discarded as an obstacle for building a modern arm Ethnicity the above-mentioned characters were to be considered as a leading character of a good leader of a security sector which can be a good potential for paving a way for the Security sector reform” (Borkena, Borkena.com, 2018).

The previously mentioned characters might be regarded as the reason Prime Minister Abiy chose him given the alignment with the reform's driving force, with this first significant reform serving as an appropriate place to start. My interviewees Temesgen Desaleghe and Brigadier General Tefera Mamo have different perspective. They point out to PM Abey's speech in the parliament, stating that "All the highly ranking military personnels that were reformed were at the age of their retirement" (EBC, House of People's Representatives 2nd Special Session of the 6th year of office, 2020) as evidence that this change was made in the heavily used discourse of professionalism. However, when seeing General Seare Mekonen, who was appointed, he was roughly the same age and performed with the same mindset as General Samora, debunking the use of professionalism discourse of the government.

When discussing ongoing government achievements, it involves the continuation of activities deemed successful by the governing body, we have the leading statement of the proclamation of defense force Recruitment for military service as well as promotion for rank and position shall be merit based and it shall ensure the equitable representation of the nation, nationalities, people, and women there is PM Abiy speech going in depth on what the reform included “We decided to make the change in SSR into 3 parts the top leaders, middle leaders, and lower leaders, So The top leaders starting from general to Major that was 55% dominated by people from one area reduced to 26 percent, We still believe that 26% was a significant amount that we could accomplish with our limited time. When we saw the command that was 100% from one region, we reduced it to 25%, on the other hand we considered mechanized division to be a task needing a skill, so we decided just to reduce it by half, and we made it 50%. 80 % of the leaders of the foot soldiers who were from one region were reduced by half, in addition, other major changes

were also made in the staff and other major parts this was how the top leaders were reformed, it's crucial to remember that the personal leaders who were reduced were all at the time of their pension. when we come to the middle leaders starting from Lieutenant colonel was a bit harder task. This was because mainly the ranks of generals can be political rank but the case of Lieutenant colonel is different it needs time it is a career we can't just renounce them because they will go to the other group creating another armed group, so we made a small percentual change and coming to lower leaders we made huge change with discussion mainly focusing on strategy of creating an Ethiopian and not making it a prosperity army. In addition to overcoming the problem of secret slippage, we decided to make a secret change first creating a Republican guard and special force educated in different parts of the work and making a big change on the Airforce. (Haile, The causes and course of the Tigray conflict, according to Abiy Ahmed, 2020)

Using the previously mentioned percentiles provided by the government, it clear how the government worked on the reform in creating a well-represented Nation State. However, my first interviewee Temesgen has a different perspective, believing the government's narrative that it was attempting to create a nation-state structure was only a smokescreen used by the government . He goes on to say that at first, Prime Minister Abiy initiated what seemed to be a reform by establishing a command 4 structure inclusive of representatives from different ethnic groups within the country. However, this arrangement was short-lived, dissolving within a few months. Additionally, Abiy entered the security structure, reforming prominent figures such as Getachew Assefa and bringing other people under his leadership. However, within a few months, the security and command sector which was meant to represent Ethiopian society as a whole became dominated by certain group of people, primarily from Oromia. Additionally, he shares considers the PM's decision to give military personals promotion titles was a step toward the creation of one ethnic group's supremacy with Brigadier General Tefera Mamo, this is mainly because the promotions in rank were seen as a unethical act because certain military personnel were given ranks without following the proper procedures, which is opposite to what the government claimed to accomplish. In order to rationalize the above statement Temesgen mentions key position of this hierarchical system, at first we have Chief of General Staff, Air force Command, Defense information, National Information, Chief of Commissioner of the General, Leaders of

Maximum security prisons, and more but it is possible to see with a vast percentile gap on how a different group is dominating the Security sector rather than creating a Nation-state.

In related subject with the above paragraph, A question about “turn of certain group” (ተረኝነት) was raised for PM Abiy in The 1st year of the House of People's Representatives of the Federation 2022, The PM answered this question by saying “This is just politics we are working on representation politics, in order to clear upon the subject we gave a chance for civil service to clear up on the idea we checked minster cabinet, the higher parts of government institution and the concept of turn of Oromo is a false rhetoric, Oromo didn’t even get what Oromo supposed to get” (እንኳን ትርፍ ሊወስድ ሚንስትር አላገኘም.) so everything is a fairy tale. (AddisWalta, 2022)

In the other aspect of achievement My interviewee Temesgen explains his take on the subject reforms of laws mainly the government institutions proclamation and also Defense force proclamation. He considers the laws as a decree. As an example to mention the positive aspect of Defense force proclamation is, he starts from the benefit for the defense force, Medals and Certificate to be Bestowed upon Members of the Defense Forces all listed in the PROCLAMATION ON THE DEFENSE FORCES OF THE FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA (2023) Including The Distinguished Medal of the Black Lion, if these laws are correctly applied it can help out boost the strength of soldiers to want more and to be respected in general. But with this laws being asserted and given to some generals Temesgen and Brigadier General Tefera Mamo raised the question of was it really required to give reward for a war in Tigray, they listed out the reasons why it was not necessary for doing so, first the criteria for these rewards are extreme distinction and as we remember throughout the course of Tigray war there was a time the PM himself went to the Battlefield mainly because the enemy was getting closer to the capital, showing the weakness of the military leaders, in addition to this the war was peoples war, people from different parts who weren’t organized in a structured manner fought and also the war was among people of the same country, with this factors in mind it is possible to say giving out medals of that high standards was not necessary and the statement of the application of the law properly is in question.

The other achievement raised by the government and some elites is the case of Democratic approach, It is clear that the 1995 constitution recognized a multi-party system as a rule, it led to

assumption that it was a democratic constitution but the country was monopolized by EPRDF, the party made more repressive laws on antiterrorism, and civil society, and the media was highly oppressed this was used as a way to eliminate opposition parties and leading them to an armed struggle, in addition to this individuals who advocate for human right and democracy were sent to prison with repressive laws and terrorism being used as a cover up to legitimize these acts, with this in mind prime minster Abiy stated in his 2020 for the parliament how the government made important reforms aiming to improve security and justice sector of the country. (EBC, House of People's Representatives 2nd Special Session of the 6th year of office, 2020). Among others, releasing several high-profile political prisoners and lifting a draconian state of emergency, encouraged exiled opposition politicians to return home and participate in politics which was stated as an achievement by the government (Dibu & Helawi, 2020). Some might regard this as a political reform but in the newer understanding of politics it is important to mark the fact that security issues can be politicized meaning “political reforms” can play a part in security directly or indirectly.

The major reform that can be included in this restructuring is the reverse decision that was made by PM Abiy Ahmed to restore stars and full ranks of General Almeshet Degfe and Biragadir General Asaminew Tisge who was in prison for more than nine years after being charged with a coup, this action was seen by some as an action taken genuinely to construct an inclusive reform and on the other side there are a group who were uncertain about the appointment of Asaminew Tisge, who considered the appointment was just an action to pacify the rising Amhara nationalist and making ADP conciliatory to the population, however, one could get the conclusion that the scheme backfired on the federal administration of Abiy, with a powerful rhetorical style, Asaminew has been advocating for Amhara’s to arm themselves due to the numerous threats they face and the recruitment of individuals to join local militias (Solomon, 2019).

It is also possible to state how the government has brought an Enlarged Political Landscape with the coming of Abiy Ahmed into power, issue of the human rights and democracy also give high concern. As part of widen political landscape, the government showed different progress. Among others, the harsh state of emergency was lifted, decided to unblock several websites, blogs and radio and TV-stations, different bloggers, journalists, political leaders and activists were released from prison and the ‘Maekelawi’ or federal central prison in Addis Ababa in

which civilians were tortured changed into museum. Moreover, general forgiveness was declared and all the rebel groups that had been grouped terrorists by the previous administration were invited to return to the country and pursue a peaceful political struggle. Accepting the invitation, armed groups have indeed laid down their weapons and returned, including Patriotic Ginbot 7, the Oromo Liberation Front, the Ogaden National Liberation Front and the Tigray People's Democratic Movement. (Dibu et Helawi, 2020).

On a different point we have a reform approach that was stated by Prime minister Abiy mainly on laws, The prime minister continues and explained how other reforms like reform on the law aspect can benefit the security sector reform in his 2020 parliament speech," The first part was to improve the repressive laws and the laws which narrowed the political space. For example, if you take the NGO proclamation the law makes it a challenge to organize, and we did the reform on the proclamation to make it a bit relaxed, but it is important to remember There are NGOs who have the inclination of doing other things than their primary job, but we will try and address those kinds of problem. The second was the election boards reform proclamation. The election board was stifled by the proclamation so that it would not become an institution that stands on its own and works as an independent, democratic institution to undertake its jobs with trust and do what it wants per the constitution by organizing itself. So, the job you have seen was done to make a strong institution. The third was election law, which encompasses guidelines, the political party registration proclamation and which shows who can register and in what discipline we run our activities. It is what solves the previous challenges that have existed between political parties and provides a rule of conduct, and other reforms were made on untouched parts for decades" (EBC, House of People's Representatives 2nd Special Session of the 6th year of office, 2020).

When the topic of Political inclusiveness and Political prisoners is raised all my interviewees don't consider it as an achievement specifically Anonymous 1 and General Tefra Mamo said the government did all those acts until it gets to centralize its power after that the government went back to what the previous government did.

When the topic of political prisoners and journalists is in hand Temesgen have a different take on it. He thinks freeing political prisoners and creating an inclusive environment is what a party that

holds power without elections does, meaning parties who hold position without election usually disregard what the earlier government was doing portraying the previous government as an absolute dictator, In addition to this the initiatives that were created by inviting armed groups was just a facade to create the assumption of a government being inclusive. As an example, He mentions DERG, he says there was time were opposing parties used to write against DERG but as soon as the government consolidated power everything was changed, so the same goes to Abiys government and it is possible to raise the question of where are (OLF, Andargachew Tesge, Jewar Muhmmmed, Eskinder Nega, Bate Urgessa and other media personals). In the case of media personals, he says Media and journalist celebration of 2019 world press day was celebrated in Ethiopia with no journalist under arrest but now Ethiopia ranks third among African countries in terms of arresting journalists. So, he regards this behavior as a dangerous behavior of a party who comes without election, that it why Temesgen states the stage as the sweet talk stage.

In order to understand his statement, it is possible to compare different articles written in the subject of freedom of the press. 2019 world press day was celebrated in Ethiopia with no journalist under arrest The 26th edition of World Press Freedom Day was celebrated in Ethiopia from 1-3 May 2019 in Addis Ababa. It was stated that the global event was a reflection of the current social and political transformations in Ethiopia. Both President Sahle Work-Zewde and Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed made promises to promoting and defending press freedom in the country and conveyed their pride in hosting the global celebration. “The representation of this grand gesture is even more significant given that only one year ago Ethiopia was labeled as Africa’s foremost jailed journalists and one of the most repressive environments in the world for the functioning of independent news”, said Dr. Abiy Ahmed, Prime Minister of Ethiopia. (United Nations, 2019). But now The International Committee for the Rights of Journalists (CPJ) announced in its annual report that Ethiopia ranks third among African countries in terms of arresting journalists (EthiopiaInsider, 2024), In order to add on the subject the question of activists and journalist imprisoned were raised by HPR in July 14 2022, PM Abiy answered the question by saying “How are the rights of famous people in Ethiopia equal to the right of non-famous people to live” , claiming what the government doing is a matter of security and existence for people and shouldn’t be compared with the right to speak. What we are targeting is

rumor politics not journalists and medias in addition to this it is also important to remember sovereignty of the country comes before Democracy (AddisWalta, 2022).

Apart from the security sector reform, there is also the disarmament process, which was intended to target special forces that got lost and dragged the nation into another conflict, and the DDR, which is a component of the Pretoria agreement is considered as an achievement by some parties including the federal government.

Dr. Isezaki underscored the complexity of assessing success in DDR endeavors, citing the multitude of outcomes that resist easy categorization into simple success or failure. Using Sierra Leone as a case study, he illustrated how despite the successful reintegration of ex-combatants, state-building efforts faltered. He emphasized the necessity for comprehensive engagement of all stakeholders in the DDR process and advocated for an integrated approach that addresses DDR alongside Security Sector Reform, rather than treating them as isolated initiatives (UNDP, 2023).

On 2 November 2022 in Pretoria, Ethiopia's federal government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front TPLF signed the COHA under an AU led procedure. The agreement resolved an exhausting two-year war with significant national and regional implications which is why some considers it as an achievement. Stakeholders have been closely monitoring the peace deal's implementation and its impact on the security and humanitarian situation in the region for the past year. While others highlighted the need for complete implementation and additional work, the AU and East Africa's Intergovernmental Authority on Development praised it as a milestone that embodies "African solutions to African problems." The two signatories continually emphasize that to improve their efforts, they need help. (Mekonen, 2023), but other parties that sees the agreement as a failed agreement including my interviewee Temesgen considers the fact that Au conducted this agreement led to failure mainly because if it was another much stronger IO the agreement would have been stronger and more reliable

In order to see why it is considered as an achievement it is possible to see the speeches that were given by Gedion Timotheos minster of justice and Redwan Hussein, both individuals explained on the idea how the Pretoria agreement paved the way for sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ethiopian state. Redwan Hussein continues and stated that TPLF agreed on establishing the ENDF as the sole military force delegated to safeguard the country's security, agreed to

restore constitutional order, disengage their forces, embark on a transitional justice process, and cease all forms of hostile rhetoric, among other things. (EBC, Comments from members of parliament when the council lifted the terrorism resolution it had passed on the TPLF, 2023).

On a different ground PM Abiy explained the achievement of the DDR process that was achieved because of the cooperation between the federal government and Transitional government of Tigray, to list out those achievements first we have air transport back in different part of Tigray, Communication (Tele) and Electricity is back in Tigray region and made additional change in different lines, Bank is back more than 600 branches, School is back including universities, hospitals are also back giving service, we aren't saying these are enough but it a good start and we will also work on solving the Displaced individuals and Contested areas without firing weapon (EBC, Youtube, 2024).

The other issue that the government considers as an achievement is national dialogue, National dialogues in a broader term are dialogues, In periods of great political crisis, in post-war circumstances, or during large political changes, National Dialogues are nationally owned political processes that seek to forge consensus among a wide range of national stakeholders, with the goal of creating new institutions and renegotiating the terms of the social contract between the government and its citizens, it promotes ownership within emerging political, economic, and social systems. (Felek, 2024). Prime minster Abiy also adds up in the importance of National dialogue, "Ethiopia is on the verge of an inclusive national dialogue procedure in which all stakeholders can come together and speak about vital national troubles to attain a common and lasting political answer, there is a committee already in option that conducts the important aspect of the dialogue" and PM Abiy sates that "National Dialogue is important mainly because we are not trying to do what previous regimes were doing meaning we are not canceling out laws from previous government and putting our own but it is important to remember it is a dialogue not a debate meaning the everyone needs to try to be active listeners" (AddisWalta, 2022).

Relating with the question of National dialogue my interviewee Anonymous (1) doesn't see national dialogue working, he said he was directly related with issue, but he still thinks the civil society in the country are weak and highly influenced by the central government. Furthermore, different armed groups have made statements saying that the process of choosing commissioners

is unfair, ambiguous, and faulty and he relates the situation with South Sudan where a dialogue conducted wasn't productive mainly because it wasn't inclusive and seeing where the country is now, and my other interviewee Temesgen states "it is impossible to trust a government who is not even capable of enforcing rule and regulation stated at Pretoria agreement".

In the other side when the issue of DDR was raised the important subject that was highly focused on was the issue of removing the terrorist tag from TPLF, some HPR representative considered the action as a wrong action. As an example Doctor Desleghe Chane of HPR said "we shouldn't remove the terrorist title before disarming TPLF, with the amount of armaments TPLF holds it is a potential threat to nearby regions and the county itself and in addition the transitional regional government that is supposed to be highlighted with representation is dominated by TPLF so removing the terrorists tag won't be ideal" (EBC, Comments from members of parliament when the council lifted the terrorism resolution it had passed on the TPLF, 2023).

When seeing what is happening on the ground, It was stated that both sides agreed that TPLF will disarm two weeks following the agreement, although the TPLF failed to disarm by the first deadline of 30 days, its members started turning up their heavy weapons in early January. The presidential spokesperson for Tigray stated that although the process has begun, disarmament might take months or even years to finish. The violence that tore through Ethiopia for two years has stopped thanks to the Pretoria deal. This is an admirable accomplishment. But in order for firearms to stay silent, disarmament must be complemented with a workable demobilization and reintegration program that benefits both combatants and their communities (Palik, 2023).

Some say the defined plan of the DDR was presented at the top commander's follow-up meeting in Nairobi on November 7, 2022. It separated the procedure into two stages and connected it to the migration of non-ENDF troops from Ethiopia. A National Rehabilitation Commission was then established to handle the delicate and intricate task of DDR. The commission's initial mandate was to rehabilitate 25,000 combatants in a two-year period. Currently, it is anticipated to include around 400 000 former warriors nationwide, with 70% of them residing in Tigray. Since then, the government says the majority of Tigrayan forces heavy and medium weaponry has been turned in. However, it's clear that the Tigray Administration and the National Rehabilitation Commission both feel that the pace of DDR has been slow. It may take years to

finish, notwithstanding claims made by the AU Monitoring, Verification and Compliance Mission. (Mekonen, 2023)

Before questioning the achievement of the Pretoria agreement there is a question of the agreement being inclusive. The government believes the agreement was inclusive, Prime Minister Abiy addressed these questions in the parliament by stating “TPLF is not the enemy of Ethiopia. TPLF attacked the whole country and the youth dying and fighting the war are from different parts of the country so it is impossible to ask a regional representation of a single region” (AddisWalta, 2022). With this question going around political elites, I asked my interviewees about the issue. Brigadier General Tefera Mamo who participated in the war directly, his take is that “The agreement was not inclusive” meaning it is two-sided and believes mainly Amhara and Afar people should have been represented individually. General Tefera Mamo even mentioned the fact that there was a group created for these purposes but the federal government didn’t accept the idea.

Whereas in the case of Anonymous (10) and Temesgen Desalegn they both believe Afar and Amhara regions are represented mainly because the country is administered under a federal system and the fact that the central government is in this conversation is enough to represent both Afar and Amhara regions. But Anonymous (1) adds to the point and states if Amhara and Afar were represented individually it would have helped the case more.

Now that we have seen what the government and some parties consider Pretoria as an accomplishment let us see why some consider the DDR as a failed process.

So the first individual I raised the question to is Anonymous (1), he believes the DDR process has failed. The reason he bases his beliefs upon is the Pretoria agreement Article 6, the article states the overall disarmament process should be finalized within 30 days and the disarmament process should include not only big armaments but also small weapons, but it is still obvious that TPLF is still armed with not only small armaments but also heavy weapons. In order to build up his idea it is possible to refer to a recent interview of Lieutenant General Tadesse Werede Tesfay from TPLF “We did not disarm, and no one directly asked us to disarm. Our major questions are questions of displaced people and contested areas” (Horizon Free Media, 2024). In addition to this Anonymous (1) looks into the other article that shows the failure of the DDR, which is article 3 which is the permanent cessation of hostility which states TPLF should refrain from any form of

hostility including direct and indirect act of violence, To build up on this idea its possible to see how we have seen TPLF attempt to control Raya there was fighting aggression between TPLF Force and Milita Force of the area. (Borkena, 2024).

In the case of Temesgen Desaleghe he also believes the DDR has failed, he also starts from the DDR part of the agreement, he think when the 30 days time period passed for the disarmament the agreement became invalid, he continues and reflect on what looks like the movement unwillingness or laziness towards disarming TPLF he bases upon Redwan Hussein's speech at (EBC, Comments from members of parliament when the council lifted the terrorism resolution it had passed on the TPLF, 2023), where he stated the agreement we made on disarming TPLF and going to take time and if the disarming process happening it should happen equality in all regions, Temesgen considers this as unwilling of the government to apply the agreement which was specifically meant to disarm TPLF.

In addition to this Temesgen and Brigadier General Tefera Mamo shares a point, they see a huge problem on how the government tried to disarm Amhara regional forces before all the regional special forces, General Tefra mamo sees this act as a stab from the back mainly because this force was acting accordingly and played a huge role in Tigray war in protecting the people of Ethiopia and the general continues and say with an armed group existing in Tigray that has caused a war calming to have 275000 armed force (Borkena, 2024), the fact that the government first choose to dismantle Amhara region is a suspicious act and it can be stated as a cause that led to the creation of another war.

Anonymous (1) also adds upon the dismantling process of the special force, first anonymous 1 states it is true special forces are unconstitutional but he understands a problem came with the unstructured process of dismantling special forces he believes the fact that the dismantling process started suddenly and specifically from Amhara region was not right and that is basically what led the government into another war, it should have been done properly at the same time because at the end of the day no region wants to be unarmed first.

Temesgen also believes there was a problem with the dismantling process of the special force, first he says if the dismantling process happens it should have been done properly with a clear procedure and considering the fact regions concerns them as regional police part it should have been done with the each regional councils mandate, but the unorganized act of the central

government led the country into another war by creating a suspension that the central government is working with TPLF.

The other issue that questions the achievement of The Pretoria agreement is ambiguity on disputed territories currently under Amhara control, has complicated matters. Although the peace deal stipulates the restoration of constitutional order, Tigrayan forces demand a return to the pre-war territorial and administrative status quo, while Amhara forces insist on preserving the current status quo. Reports of Federal institutions compiling the contested territories under the Amhara region, and the inclusion of Wolkayit in the Amhara area, suggest that Addis Ababa endorses retaining the status quo. (Mekonen, 2023).

We can see this question of the contested areas being raised by official of TPLF, it is possible to mention Lieutenant General Tadesse Werede Tesfay , he states in one interview after the agreement in Pretoria we had a meeting in Nairobi on procedural application we agreed on the return of displace individuals with enough Humanitarian and removal of administration in the contested area and if there is a question of referendum it will be held under Tigray administration. And he believes all of these aren't happening and should happen before 2025 (Tigrai TV, 2024).

From the angle of unclarity and the above paragraph Temesgen stated the problem is on the agreement itself he believes that the statement “constitutional order” is open for interpretation. He says the problem is clearly seen in the term constitutional order one side considering it as proper Tigray and the other as Political Tigray. Tigray leaders says constitution represent the political Tigray which was under control of TPLF before the war whereas Amhara elites claim constitution refers to referendum and they also say Ethiopian constitution only specify regions but not places or werdas. So, these are the general achievement that are stated by the government and counter discourse from different groups.

CHAPTER SIX

The challenges the SSR and DDR processes faced

This chapter explores the difficulties faced in implementing SSR and DDR processes in Ethiopia. Like the previous chapter, interviews were utilized to provide clarification or counterarguments on specific topics related to the challenges.

To understand the challenges encountered by Ethiopia's government during the implementation phase of SSR and DDR it is a must to examine common difficulties experienced by governments worldwide when undertaking similar endeavors. Despite the widespread recognition that SSR initiatives must be tailored to the specific context and encompass a comprehensive approach calls for a more "holistic" methodology provide limited practical guidance on the implementation process as a result, there is a clear disconnection between the development of the SSR concept and actual field operations. In addition to this the concept of security has gradually expanded

from state security to human and it includes range of either subjects, this naturally leads to dilemma (Hendrickson & Karkoszka, 2001).

It is said that the first Challenge SSR starts from the general design of SSR the scope of application tend to be unclear, and the second problem comes in the practicing stage, SSR tends to form practice gap meaning it is common for SSR to lack operational guidance. The other important challenge comes from the donors. This donor driven reform that are dominant in the global south of the continent tend to pressure and mobilize the reform in some aspects and it is usually seen that a generated reform prescriptions inevitably collide with internal conditions of countries. The economic dimension of SSR can also be as one of the challenges faced in SSR, the other challenges emerge from the most important actors of the security sector reform civil society organization, it is agreed that the main source of local ownership, legitimacy, and durability of post-conflict peacebuilding is civil society organizations. They serve as a source of knowledge for evaluations of security laws and policies and serve as a reminder to governments to take the opinions and concerns of the local community into account when formulating national security policies. CSOs are scarce in the post-conflict context and when they do speak out against governmental policy, they are frequently viewed as dangerous and some also say they tend to reflect donor point of view (Peacebuildinginitiative, 2008)

In addition to this in the case of African countries the problem confronting African countries as a challenge for SSR has rightly been described by Lauri Nathan (2001) as “The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse” these are authoritarian rule, weak states, socioeconomic deprivation or inequity, and exclusion of minorities as the structural problems haunting Africa and concludes that the “four horsemen of the apocalypse” are the primary causes of large-scale violence. On the other hand, the international community’s program addresses primarily the prevention of violence rather than the structural causes; to address this problem it is a must for Domestic and internal initiatives to prevent violence and to provide security (Wulf, 2011).

After examining common challenges of SSR worldwide, it's evident that Ethiopia's government, particularly post 2018 faced significant obstacles in this regard. First issue, emphasized by government officials, notably the Prime Minister was the prevalence of hate speech spread by extremist groups via social media platforms to propagate their agendas. Studies indicate a concerning rise in radicalization, particularly facilitated by the internet and social media with

evidence suggesting a link between exposure to extremist content and recruitment, as well as the adoption of extremist ideologies among youth, posing an increased risk of violent radicalization. (Alava, 2017) when it comes to Africa social media is considered as a double-edged sword for a continent, meaning it can foster political, social, and economic advancement, it may also create more openings for radicalization. Terrorists may use social media as a low-cost means of recruiting, training, coordinating, and communicating with supporters and possible recruits from a distance (Kate Cox et al, 2018).

The same works for Ethiopia in fact that is actually what we have been seeing post 2018 in the country , PM stated in HPR meeting how the government have been working on people from radicalized media usage , but this idea can create tensions remain in striking a balance between the regulation of online space and protecting individuals freedom of expression and this was the question raised in the annual meeting of HPR which was “the increased arrest of political prisoners and journalists” the prime minster addressed these question in short by saying “we aren’t going to compare a few people freedom of speech with other people right to live” in addition to this the PM asked HPR for the council to ratify a stronger law on media usage to control “the radicalized usage of social media”. (AddisWalta, 2022).

The other important challenge faced in the reform period is the conflict between Ethnic or communal groups, Conflicts typically arise over political, economic, social, cultural, or geographical issues rather than actual ethnic divisions. One of the main risks to global peace and security is ethnic conflict. The conflicts in the West Bank, Rwanda, Iraq, and Darfur Ethnic conflicts are frequently linked to severe human rights breaches, including crimes against humanity and genocide as well as to state failure, economic downturn, environmental issues, and refugee movements. Ethnic violence causes enormous hardship for people (Reuter, 2023) Ethiopians dispute regarding heroes, flags, statues, anthems, and other national symbols. Some claim Ethiopia is 150 years old, while others say it is 3 million years old or older. Ethnic parties have also formed, many of them openly adopting biased ideologies. Some have contributed to historical interethnic clashes and rekindled land disputes that have resulted in large-scale displacement. (Felek, 2024).

Due to Ethiopia's political reforms and subsequent tensions the occurrence of injustice acts or incidents has increased posing challenges to the enforcement of the rule of law by both national

and local authorities. Involvement of federal and regional governments in these issues has led to a rise in mob justice. As a result, innocent individuals have suffered violence, displacement, and restrictions on their movement. This has led to a longing among the population for the stability of the previous political order. Hence, ensuring the prevalence of the rule of law emerges as a significant challenge in the reform process (Bekele, 2022). Political uncertainty, stemming from increased polarization among political elites, has resulted in a series of notable assassinations on June 23, including prominent leaders of the Amhara regional state, high-ranking military commanders. High-ranking Amhara regional state officials were assigned, and Amhara icons or notable individuals were mass imprisoned in the wake of the June 23. Whereas in the case of The "OLF" members who robbed more than eighteen banks, they were not put in jail. In addition, hate speech is spread by Oromia's political parties and elites, but the federal government is powerless to stop it. Furthermore, even though the reform is seen as a chapter for negotiation and change, the federal government has remained silent towards many cases, this caused the elites of Tigray and Amhara in particular to become suspicious of the change and feel compelled to go their own way. (Dibu & Helawi, 2020)

Ethiopia's transition in 2018 did not achieve the desired stability for the country. Instead, recurrent episodes of ethnic and political violence have severely destabilized the nation since then. In order to stand against the problem the country facing, the government approved legislation that mandates the lower house to constitute a national dialogue commission. This is a step in the right direction to restore not only the country's recent violence but also its historical social and structural divides. While the government's commitment to a national dialogue is commendable the process must be structured and inclusive. It must have legitimacy from the early stages of design and initiation and be free from political interference. This will not only signal good faith, but also give credibility to the process and its outcome (Yard, 2022). The PM got in depth on the idea by stating "we aren't trying to be like the last government we are trying to come to a common ground by considering peace as important commodity" (EBC, Youtube, 2024).

Given the preceding paragraph, the government seriously views the commencement of national dialogue as a viable avenue toward resolving the prevalent issues. Having in mind this, I questioned my interviewees about the subject of national dialogue. Three of my interviewees

considers the national dialogue as failed without it even beginning mainly because It would be naive to think that one group dominated conversation could unravel the complex web of prejudices accumulated over many years, considering the severity of these systemic injustices. Fairness and equality are fundamentals for meaningful and revolutionary conversation, yet they are now lacking. The civil society that are facilitating this process are influenced by government and my interviewees considers these actions as a way to stay longer in power and appease donor states. Beside my interviewees point of view in order to build upon these idea it possible to see how opposing parties rejected the dialogue mainly because opposing parties understanding the existing problem starting from the commission accusing of it as biased and operations failure to ensure inclusivity (Addis_Standard, 2024).

The other clear challenge the government faced can be the “Tigray War”, at the beginning of the reform strong challenges were arising from TPLF side, to understand these problems it is possible to see the chronological changes in the SSR reform. It all starts with, the removal of the chief of staff and the security head at the same time, As prime minster Abiy stated “The two didn’t respond to the action equally. General Samora was much better in showing interest to cooperate when compared relatively with the security head. This has resulted in the TPLF and Tigrayan feeling targeted by the government and has caused a damaging power vacuum. Thus, TPLF used this opportunities to weaken various part of the country and to restore its power via create management crisis. Getachew Assefa former security head, he took many of the latest materials, weapons and other instruments with him and went to Mekelle just the day after his removal. We didn’t know how much he took because the agency which was called the security agency was rather a family Plc and not an institution”. (EBC, House of People's Representatives 2nd Special Session of the 6th year of office, 2020)

Among challenges the central administration faced from the Tigray area was a power struggle, an election and a movement for political reform. And throughout the course of the conflict, the government encountered challenges in human resources, as noted by General Tesfaye Ayalew. He emphasized that while Ethiopia boasts a population exceeding one hundred million its army falls short of what is deemed appropriate. The disparity is evident not only in relation to the population size but also considering the vast geographic expanse and economic development of the country. In recent years, regional governments have primarily focused on strengthening their

respective regional special forces and police units this caused a major challenge in the general security sector (Birhanu, *The War in Tigray and its Geopolitical Implications*, 2021). The two-year conflict in Tigray can be perceived as a problem the government encountered from the beginning of the SSR with the burden lasting for the coming years, with in this two years period of time it expanded to neighboring region of Tigray Afar and Amhara it affected more than 20 million people, more than 5 million people flee at the course of the war in addition to this there are millions of student that missed class (No-name, 2023) costing government extra time and resource in different sectors.

On the flip side of the challenges, the government encountered difficulties in the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) process. Since the conclusion of the Cold War, DDR has become a common strategy in addressing intrastate conflicts involving a diverse array of combatants such as regular government forces, paramilitaries, armed gangs, and guerrilla forces. DDR implementation typically follows a sequential approach. In broader terms, the obstacles faced by a government in DDR can be attributed to the demographic, topographical, cultural, historical, economic, social, and political context of a specific case (Palik, 2023).

In the case of post 2018 DDR case of Ethiopia it possible to dissect the 3 aspects and see different challenge the government faced in the process. One of the main challenges in implementing disarmament in post-conflict situations is the widespread presence of internal insecurity. In a country emerging from conflict organization tend to be non-existent and often contested because of fragility and this tend to drive the armed groups to take action by their own and not trusting the countries security (Harvey, 2012).

The previously mentioned problems are what the federal government of Ethiopia is facing, Controversy and skepticism have surrounded the Federal Government's decision to dissolve the Regional Special Forces in the country. Primarily regional leaders expressing concerns the main issue of dismantling regional special forces is their worry of the security of their respective regions, As an example the Amhara region views TPLF as a significant security threat, to develop on this particular problem Amhara leaders drive upon their idea regarding the Pretoria agreement under this agreement of DDR it states that “Tigray rebel force should demobilize and reintegrate and that TPLF must disarm within 30 days of signing” however the signing was done in November 2022 and TPLF has not disarmed and making the case worst the government has

not given clarification for this problem and The TPLF is seeking new recruits and conducting military training in various camps that are situated near the neighboring Amhara Region. Moreover, the newly elected President of the Tigray Interim Government, Getachew Reda, said recently on the wake of his appointment that one of his priorities in his terms would be to re-annex Welkait and Raya to Tigray and made progress to areas like Alamata disregarding Article(3) of Pretoria agreement, that why elites in Amhara ask How can the issue of dissolving the Special Force be rationalized only in Amhara region in such a situation at this very time when the Oromia Region is recruiting new military entrants of its own. Oromia claims a concern with Somali and OLA (Oromo Liberation Army), otherwise known as shene, is inflicting sorrow and injuries on unarmed innocent people, committing harassment and force displacing civilians from their areas and Somali is worried about the case of AL shabaab. In general, at the country level different political parties reflected in a different way towards the issue of Disarming Special forces. Mainly ethnically based political parties in Amhara region commended the government decision and asked the government to reverse the decision on the other hand there were parties like Ezema arguing regional special forces as illegal and the process should happen in a proper procedure. (Endeshaw, 2023)

Regarding demobilization, obstacles can differ as armed groups might hesitate to undergo demobilization if they perceive that their political objectives could be significantly compromised. (Stibbe, 2012) In the case of Ethiopia, it's evident that Tigray transitional leaders are leveraging the potential risk to their goals as a reason for delaying demobilization efforts. (Endeshaw, 2023), we can see what Lieutenant General Tadesse Werede Tesfay Vice president of the transition region of Tigray says about the demobilization stage not happening. The first goal that is raised by Tigray regional leaders first “we have contested areas” what Tadesse Werede addresses as West Tigray he says “first we need to have control over those areas and after this we will form a timely regional administration over those areas and then we will continue with the bringing back the displaced people from those areas considering all of these factors it is unattainable to think about the DDR process (Tigrai TV, 2024).

The third aspect of DDR is reintegration which is also highly challenged with different factors, in general. Reintegration can be seen as the process of ex-belligerents reintegrating into the economic, social, and political fabric of a society that is recovering from long-lasting and

widespread violence. This process involves participating in public discussions, engaging with political institutions and organizations such as political parties and NGOs, being involved in media outlets, working in the public sector or businesses, and joining civil society groups. The economic reintegration of ex-combatants is often considerably affected by the massive economic devastation commonly witnessed in different DDR contexts; example unemployment, inequality and insecurity, as well as substantial damage of infrastructure (Steenken, 2017).

When we see the problem, the government is facing in facilitating the DDR in Tigray we can mention the financial problems, In major donations mainly from Canada and EU, minister officials were quoted saying “On behalf of the Federal Democratic Government of Ethiopia, the Ministry of Finance appreciates the European Union for supporting the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration process in Ethiopia. The DDR requires significant number of resources. The government of Ethiopia has been supporting the NRC since its establishment for institutional set up and remains committed to cover 15% of the National Demobilization and Reintegration Programme. I hope that EU’s contribution would invite other potential partners that are showing interests to support the National Rehabilitation Commission to discharge its mandates.” Clearly showing the need for support is necessary (Borkena, 2024).

Furthermore, the economic reintegration of former fighters may be further jeopardized if armed groups include a sizable population of undereducated children and youth with little background in civilian work. Besides, too optimistic aspirations of reintegration by former combatants may occasionally hinder economic reintegration. Additionally, cultural norms can pose a barrier to ex-belligerents' complete reintegration into society. Cultural and religious standards towards women have impeded reintegration (Stibbe, 2012).

When examining deeper into the issue within Ethiopia, Article 4 of the Pretoria agreement stipulates that the parties involved must condemn the recruitment of child soldiers. However, some individuals express concern regarding the absence of explicit provisions addressing female combatants or minors enlisted by the conflict parties in the Pretoria program. This omission is troubling because research suggests that conflicts characterized by high rates of child soldier recruitment are more prone to recurrence. Reintegration programs need to account for the stigmatization and the tendency for female ex-soldiers to revert to pre-war gender roles upon

returning home, despite the fact that women combatants are seldom perceived as threats to peace. (Palik, 2023)

Finally In the reintegration phase, a notable finding from research on DDR suggests that disarming groups may feel vulnerable without substantial external security assurances. This vulnerability may lead to a risk of conflict resurgence if these groups perceive themselves as under threat and either retaliate or preemptively attack others. This underlines the importance of international financial institutions in facilitating a smooth DDR process. However, a challenge with international financial institutions lies in donor pressure, which manifests as a lack of commitment and political will, hindering the reintegration process. (Stibbe, 2012)

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Prospects of the SSR and DDR Initiatives in ensuring Peace Security

To clarify the final inquiry of the study regarding the effectiveness of SSR and DDR (activities in upholding peace and security, interviews were conducted employing a purposive sampling methodology. Notably, the interviewees for this phase correspond to those previously engaged in the preceding chapters of the research.

It is clear the research paper aims to assess the achievements, challenges, and future prospects of DDR initiatives in the context of SSR in Ethiopia since 2018, having concluded the segments addressing challenges and achievements within the thesis, it is now imperative to direct the

attention towards the exploration of prospective avenues. In the context of "Prospects" in general it refers to the future possibilities or likelihood of success for DDR initiatives within the framework of SSR. Essentially, it's about the potential outcomes or developments that could occur in the future regarding these initiatives.

Giving prospect or forecasting the outcomes of SSR and DDR processes is challenging due to the multi-layered nature of these endeavors. Factors such as political dynamics, socio-economic conditions, historical context, and external influences all contribute to the complexity of predicting outcomes. Moreover, the interconnectedness of various stakeholders and the unpredictable nature of conflict dynamics further complicate forecasting efforts (UN, DDR and Security Sector Reform, 2009).

Forecasting the outcomes of SSR and DDR becomes notably more complex due to the distinctive challenges and opportunities each country faces in these processes, making it hard to make broad generalizations. When examining Africa's specific situations, the continent's varied political environments and past conflicts add to the difficulty of predicting results. Additionally, the presence of various armed groups including non-state actors and militias adds another layer of complexity (Knack & Brautigam, 2004). Furthermore, the effectiveness of SSR and DDR efforts in Africa is often hindered by weak governance structures and institutional capacities. Limited resources, corruption, and lack of political will also hamper the successful implementation of reform and reintegration programs. Moreover, the involvement of external actors such as international organizations and donor countries can sometimes aggravate existing challenges by imposing top-down approaches that may not be contextually appropriate (Krause, 2009). Lastly, the fluid nature of conflict and security dynamics in Africa poses difficulties in accurately predicting the long-term prospects of SSR and DDR initiatives. Shifts in political alliances, emergence of new threats, and socio-economic changes can all impact the trajectory of reform processes. Therefore, while identifying potential prospects for SSR and DDR in Africa it is crucial, it requires a clear understanding of local contexts and ongoing dynamics. (Muggah & Krause, 2009).

Alongside a clearer understanding of the shared indicators influencing the likelihood of success for SSR and DDR, we can now pinpoint the specific prospects associated with the 2018 initiatives in both areas. The Ethiopian state underwent a major restructuring at the beginning of

the 1990s. It replaced a once highly centralized state with a federal system the Ethiopian security sector was transformed from 1991 onwards political changes led to a new conception of threats and security needs and the institutional structure of the country's security agencies was brought into alignment with the new federal arrangements. The defense review was developed in the context of this wider security sector transformation (Berhe M. G., 2021),

But the 1990s was never seen as a successful professionalized transformation, this is where the 2018 transition and Reform comes in. In principle the assessment of DDR programs is a crucial undertaking to comprehend the course of peacebuilding and security improvement in the country. Prospects is in essence, it's about the possible results or advancements that these projects may see in the future. Following important political and security reforms.

Taking into account the overarching concepts and trends in the realm of SSR and DDR prospects, my interviewees have shared their perspectives on the matter. Starting from the top, Temesgen Desaleghe thinks the SSR is a failure because it failed to establish a military sector independent of government influence and a nation-state with a strong representation, as a result of the short coming of the reform the chance for the nation and citizens to face external and internal threat would increase, leading to unstable authority for the federal authority this absence of strong government will also be reflected in next year's election when absence of elections happen in different part of the country. Whereas in the case of DDR Temesgen considers the whole process as a failed project mainly because it failed to attain the goal of disarming an armed group that has caused a war in the country and also the DDR process in Amhara part of the country has caused another war. There's a possibility that the increasing violent conflict in many parts of the country would give rise to movements akin to warlords, which would compromise national security. and Since opposition groups are unlikely to trust the government and since national dialogue is typically conducted by civil society unaffected by threats from the outside, it is difficult to even entertain the possibility that national dialogue will take place free from government interference and pressure. This makes national dialogue, which is seen as the only viable solution a failed attempt by the government. The other factor is, known opposition groups and an armed organization rejected the idea of participating in the dialogue before it even got started. If that is the case, then who will participate in the dialogue? Is the question he asked.

In addition to this my other interviewee anonymous 1 also gave me applicable scenarios that can be mentioned as a prospect with this process of what the government call SSR and DDR. Anonymous (1) starts by stating that everything is determined and is going to happen with first with governments willingness and potential. If the government is truly working on creating peace then it is important to address the issue of Eretria and contested areas which can help out in bringing peace in those areas, mainly because the DDR that has happened in 2018 have been one sided and failed attempts and when seeing the case of national dialogue he also shares Temesgen's idea finding is that the government totally affects the national dialogue and to gain optimal result that is not how it should go he compared the case of South Sudan and Tunisia's national dialogue where interference of a government led a country into chaos in South Sudan and on how having a strong civil society or group could benefit the dialogue by creating transparency and accountability. He also shares the idea of either armed group rising in different part of the country and with governments aim of stooping this aggression there will be a huge resource towards the security sector affecting the overall economic aspect of the country and the national dialogue could also give a chance for the government to skip next year's election.

A highlighted topic that is raised by government in what can bring a stable country is the subject of national dialogue Even AMBASSADOR TEKEDA ALEMU, CO-CHAIR OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE FOR AN INCLUSIVE NATIONAL DIALOGUE IN ETHIOPIA, " the fact that there is a great need of national consensus has become more clearer, It has been said Ethiopia has initiated a transition beginning in June of that year with an aim to foster inclusive dialogue among significant local stakeholders, with the objective of addressing prominent fault lines within the nation and establishing consensus on a framework to navigate the transition effectively. (Berghof-foundation, n.d).

It is clear the national dialogue can bring a negative or positive outcome to the country, in order to see the prospect aspect of this process let us see the concept of national dialogue, some individuals associate it with the previous Reconciliation Committee convened in March 2019, this committee disbanded without achieving tangible outcomes, with no studies into its failures, suggesting a recurring pattern within the government wherein new committees may emerge over time without substantial progress. In February 2019, the Ethiopian parliament adopted a landmark proclamation establishing a national reconciliation commission, the first-ever such

institution in Ethiopia. The commission believed it was working in bringing a positive outcome but the body was formed without broad-based political consensus regarding its mandate and disappeared without attending a true goal. The other committee was the privatization committee that was created by PM Abiy to discuss the issue of important government held institution and with time the committee disappeared without attaining it goal. (Ethio-Forum, 2024)

So this why every committee after 2019 created by the government are just are just regarded by political scholars as for building image rather than attaining a pure goal and people who were part of the commission were also not the ideal people to be part of the commissions mainly because some were holding hands with government. after the dismantling of the commission PM gave them political power. the national dialogue people who are part of this committee were said by the P.M as if he doesn't know them but the truth is he knew which people were elected and different political elites from opposing parties sated that the new dialogue aim is growing influence from donors national committee and he will use this national dialogue committee to show how the opposing parties aren't willing to engage in discussion. (Ethio-Forum, 2024)

Ethiopia's government still needs to secure the vital trust of its diverse social and political factions. Dr. Solomon Ayele Dersso examines the mission of this institution, the forthcoming obstacles, and its potential role in fostering peace in Africa's second most populous nation. The prospects of Ethiopia's SSR and DDR initiatives depend on various factors such as political stability, commitment from all stakeholders, adequate funding, and effective implementation strategies. Positive prospects include enhanced security, stability, and socio-economic development if these initiatives are successfully implemented. However, challenges such as political tensions, resource constraints, and resistance from armed groups could hinder progress. Overall, the prospects rely on the ability of the government and international partners to address these challenges and sustain efforts towards security sector reform and DDR in Ethiopia.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusions

As a conclusion it possible to list out the finding of the study related with drivers, achievement, challenges, and prospect. When seeing the findings related with the subject of the drivers of the SSR and DDR it clear that the obvious driving force for the SSR was removing the dominance of TPLF from the security sector, this was mainly done mainly because the security sector was organized based on family ties and the clear driving force the DDR process was the mainly the threat the government felt from special forces in different part of the region and the war in Tigray.

When see the finding of what the SSR and DDR achieved the SSR achieved to dismantle the dominance of TPLF in the security sector and the other important achievement that can mentioned is the proclamation, the proclamation of the defense force post 2019 is a great asset for the country and the people in general as a decree if it is applied correctly and coming into achievement of the DDR process, The Pretoria agreement played a huge part in stopping the Tigray war some critics raise the question of its legitimacy and application but it is still possible to say it stopped the catastrophic war in Tigray and it also brought back services like Electricity, water , aviation back to Tigray region and the other prominent achievement is the national dialogue which is expected to solve problems in the country if applied properly.

Looking in to finding of the challenges the dominant problem the SSR faced can the war in Tigray itself, this war is somewhat related directly or indirectly to the SSR, in addition to that the reform in media sector believed to cause the increase in hate speech and spread of extremist groups. The other main challenges the government faced post SSR is conflicts and injustice acts in different part of the region and when looking into findings of the challenges of DDR first there is the war in Amhara region, it is possible to say the unorganized or suspicious DDR process over Amhara special force led the country into another war, in addition to this the unclear article in Pretoria over the contested area does have possibility to led the regions of Amhara and Tigray into war.

As a prospect it is clear everything is in the hand of the government meaning the government needs to be free and clear in approaching the national dialogue, the government needs to show inclusive actions for opposing groups to join into the dialogue, this will clear up the suspicion opposing parties are feeling

Recommendation

As a recommendation in order for the government to stop the war and conflicts in different part of the region, it needs to work on being more inclusive and open in the national dialogue and also the government needs to avoid interfering the national dialogues commission meaning a well-organized commission without interference tend to be more effective and attractive for opposing groups. in order to address the question of dominance of one ethnic group in the security sector the government needs to open up more opportunities for other ethnic groups to

take part in a professional way and considering the war in Amhara, government need to include these armed groups in the national dialogue and to avoid suspension from these groups the DDR process of special forces need to happen in all regions.

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Appendix I: Interview Questions

The questions that were raised for my interviewees were the same question with the research question

What are the drivers of SSR and DDR initiatives that are undertaking since 2018 in Ethiopia?

What are the achievements of SSR and DDR process since the undertaking of 2018?

What can be listed as a challenge faced in the SSR and DDR process?

What are the prospects of the SSR and DDR initiatives in terms of ensuring peace security in the country?

Appendix II: List of Informants

Anonymous (1): - PhD, Addis Ababa University Political science department

Temesgen Desalgeh ;- is an Ethiopian journalist. As an editor of the independent weekly newspaper Feteh

Brigadier General Tefera Mamo :- military individual who was named as the commander of the Amhara region special.