

AN ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICS ON POLICING IN ETHIOPIA

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This Thesis is dedicated

to my late parents

Gebeyehu & Mulunesh

(authors of my life, my success)

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SUMMARY

The study was designed to determine the influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia generally pre-1991 and post-1991 as this is the period that characterise the Ethiopian political system, which underwent tremendous changes taking along various initiatives in its move towards democratisation. It is important to note how policing was figured and reconfigured during this period in view of its critical role in the social and political system of the country. In fact, during turbulent and peaceful political changes in the country it was often used as an arm to safeguard or brutalise people. The study also indicates the extent to which the Ethiopian police as an institution has been mandated to maintain law and order while at the same time has undergone various structural and organisational changes in an attempt to move it away from undue political influence.

Furthermore, the study indicates the extent to which policing is embedded into politics which by itself is a challenge because the police are expected to be professionally independent in order to uphold the rule of law while at the same time guaranteeing the safety and security of all the inhabitants of the country. This indicates the interconnectedness of policing and politics as the

police are required to enforce the laws that are enacted by the government and influenced by the ruling party. Government policies are politically driven and formulated by the party in power, thus making politics to create and direct police institutions in the fulfilment of peace and security in the country. Despite the fact that the police should operate within certain degree of independence, they still have to take orders and direction from the politically established government. That is why the determination of the degree of influence is essential as it indicates whether there is undue influence or not. In view of the above inter-related issues, this thesis aims to analyse the influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia indicating how this has influenced policing in various eras.

NB: The computer used by the promoter cannot read Amharic alphabets but makes blocks on them. To ensure that sentences that contain words in Amharic alphabets do not lose their meaning, the words “*Amharic Alphabet*” are inserted as place holders for those words that use Amharic alphabets.

KEY TERMS

Policing and politics; The influence of politics in policing; The independence of policing; Police influence by politics; Police independence; Policing and politics in Ethiopia.

Student Number: 47189851

I declare that “An analysis of the influence of politics on policing in Ethiopia” is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of a complete list of reference. This study has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signature

(Workneh Gebeyehu Woldekidan)

Date: 21 March 2016

ACRONYMS

AESM	:	All Ethiopian Socialist Movement
CJC	:	Criminal Justice Council
COPWE	:	Commission to Organize the Party of the Workers of Ethiopia
CUD	:	Coalition for Unity and Democracy
EIS	:	Early Intervention Systems
EPRDF	:	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	:	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
O.E.T.A	:	Occupied Enemy Territory Administration
SNNP	:	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples
TDP	:	Transformation and Development Plan
TGE	:	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
TPLF	:	Tigrean Peoples' Liberation Front

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CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL ORIENTATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Police and policing has been a subject of debate in many countries. This is more so in view of the undue influence or the use of police for political ends that has generated arguments on its independence. Yet, as will be discussed below, it has been difficult in a practical sense and more so to sustain it as well. Many academics and police practitioners would agree that there is quite a lot of advantages if the independence of the police is maintained and promoted but inevitably there seems to be a lot of interplay of political and other factors that inhibit this independence. Be that as it may, police independence from undue political influence is what most police agencies are yearning for because it could enhance police efficiency, credibility and professionalism.

Domestic policies of any country are governed by several inter-related factors and much of the domestic policies are essentially tuned towards bringing about development for the country as a whole. These policies go with a set of ideological basis upon which they are formed, decided and implemented. In the process of implementing the policies, which are devised as per the ideological orientation of the state upon the notion that it will ensure the betterment of its citizenry, a state encounters several difficulties, and these difficulties stem from different directions with several implications preventing or hindering the realisation of the state policies. Two set of issues that are worth mentioning here are: firstly, there is a need for putting in place a viable mechanism of social control; and secondly, to develop appropriate institutional mechanisms that ensures that such social control as devised and enacted by the state is implemented and administered. Both these factors could be properly implemented if there is a sound institutional framework. This presupposes that the creation of the enabling environment should precede the implementation of the social control mechanism.

Policing is one such institution of social control through the state. It ensures that social order is maintained through law enforcement for the safety and security of the citizenry. Jones (2008:695) correctly define policing as an organised form of keeping peace and maintaining social order through law enforcement, crime investigation, and information brokering. The relationship between the state and the police as an institution is very dynamic and often reflect the changing nature of the method being used in policing; the interests of the political party that is in power; and to some extent the personalities of the key players (leadership) of the police and that of the political parties in a specific period. This creates a fluid interplay between the police and politics that impact on the performance of the police as a community service and its interaction with various external factors, such as the prevalent security issues, religious divisions, and ethnic differences.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The central focus of this research revolves around the influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia. Therefore, to unpack the role of politics in policing in Ethiopia through different political eras, the role of politics in policing will be presented and analysed from its evolution in Ethiopia until date. This is done in order to determine whether the influence of politics in policing is a new phenomenon; or is it something that has evolved with policing; or whether the influence of politics in policing is something that is entangled in the body politics.

In countries such as Ethiopia which is heterogeneous and had been torn by civil strife and animosity among the various ethnic groups an element of social control is needed for the establishment of law and order and achievement of social and economic progress. And in this the Ethiopian police play a crucial role acting as a bridge between the public and the state ensuring on the one hand that the rules and regulations enacted by the government are implemented and playing a humanistic role on the other. In this dual role it is worthwhile to explore and analyse the extent, to which such a role is played, the compromises that go with it, and the realisation of the objectives and goals of the government under different regimes.

Police force in Ethiopia is one of the oldest, as compared to many countries, and it is traced back to third century B.C during the time of King Ziyon in 2575 BC when he initiated a force called Unity to prevent theft (Nigusie, 1964:18). Later it got transformed as mounted guard of the nation during the rule of King Sebtahi in 2545 B.C. As such these were not formal institutions as we see them today in terms of being institutionalised. Rather they were mere proclamations by the King and hence served the interests of the King although they were primarily meant to protect the interests of the subjects as perceived by the King indicating in a sense the influence of the rulers in policing. It was much later, during the rule of Emperor Adam Seged Iyasue in 1774 A.D that the police force was given the task of safeguarding the security and peace of the capital city by preventing thefts (Nigusie, 1964:23). Yet, in whatever form it prevailed, the point to note is the longevity or the existence of the force since then.

Expectedly, subsequent rulers of Ethiopia too had such security force to safeguard their cities. The rule of Emperor Tewodros, Yohannes and Menilik II saw the continuation of security forces albeit different titles (Nigusie, 1964:23). For example, Emperor Menilik established what was called the guard of the city. In fact some forces were also sent abroad for training purposes and after their return they were merged with the existing forces. As time passed, the evolution of the police force saw significant changes in nomenclature as well in the manner they were accountable to the political system. During the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, for example, the police force got a new lift in its stature by way of proclaiming it as Ethiopian Imperial Police Force within the different ministries (Andargatchew, 2004:14).

As the Emperor's rule was overthrown in 1974 by a military coup under Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam, the police force got revitalized as Ethiopian Revolutionary Force and was predominantly meant to serve the revolutionary regime at times against the larger interests of the people (Andargatchew, 2004:24). It was only when the military regime was overthrown in 1991 that the police force attained remarkable stature by getting institutionalised within the constitution of Ethiopia (Art. 52/2.g of Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic Constitution of 1995).

In summary, one can say that the evolution of Ethiopian police has undergone periodic changes as and when a new rule was established. Also, the existing political system determined much of the police force by way of controlling them and ensuring that they served the interests of the ruling party. It was even more vividly seen during the rule of the military regime. Indeed, there was continuity of Ethiopian police force since the rule of King Ziyon but this continuous development did not provide for any big change in terms of accountability of the Ethiopia police.

1.3 A BRIEF HISTORY OF POLICING AND POLITICS

As noted above, Ethiopia has a long police history parallel to its political evolution as an ancient country in the Horn of Africa. Many Ethiopian history literatures point to the fact that Ethiopia has 3 000 years of national history and the first formal police institution responsible for peace and security called “*Amharic Alphabet*” which literally means “unity” was established during the rule of King Ziyon in 2575 BC (Nigusie, 1964:18). According to Nigusie (1964:18), the security force was constituted by persons selected from peasants and church servants. Their responsibility was to prevent theft during the day and at night. After the death of King Ziyon, the other security force named “*Amharic Alphabet*” which literally means “guard of the nation” was established and it later became “*Amharic Alphabet*” which means “mounted guard of the nation” in 2545 BC during the rule of King Sebtahi (Nigusie, 1964:19).

Understandably, the police institution was in an infant stage as compared to the present day context. It was not established in the manner it is today. Nevertheless, what is interesting to observe is the historicity of the institution in whatever form it existed then. One can understand this from Nigusie (1964:18) who citing from an ancient Ethiopian Geez book known as “Pentelewon” which state that the security force was established by King Sebtahi by way of oral proclamation. According to the source, the King in his speech said:

People means a rational being formed from fire, water, air and soil and have four characteristics/behaviours. We believe that most persons who had been formed from these elements have no

antagonistic aim with our vision. Human being is different by its very nature, has the ability to think and create his way of life better. Thus let us establish the force that protect the people and assist our life (Nigusie, 1964:18).

After the King's speech the proclamation to establish the security force was announced by one of the King's servant on behalf of the King in the following words that were uttered in Amharic:

I Kabal by the name of my crown "Sebtahi" so that the nations of the world recognises me as a Great King, I established the special force called mounted guard of the nation responsible to protect my people (Nigusie, 1964:19).

The above is telling of the fact that both the institution of Politics and Policing has a long history in Ethiopia and it was the political system that created the police in order to protect the will of the King (government) at least since 2545 BC. According to Nigusie (1964:20), this force was not only responsible for the security and peace of the nation. It was also considered as governor of the people under the rule of the King. Subsequently, the nomenclature of the force was changed to "*Amharic Alphabet*" meaning "Afirsata", which lasted for many years up to 1418 BC (Nigusie, 1964:21).

The other notable development in the evolution of Ethiopian police is during the reign of Emperor Adam Seged Iyasue who established a security force known as "*Amharic Alphabet*" meaning "thief detector" in 1782 (Nigusie, 1964:23). The Emperor had appointed the leader of this force from the then highly ranked government officials known as *Bitiwedid* and *Ligaba* to ensure the loyalty of the force to him. This force was responsible to safeguard the security and peace of the Capital City of the Emperor and the seat of regional governors. The regional town force was accountable to the regional town Mayor (Nigusie, 1964:23). According to Nigusie, the security force named *Yeketama Zebegna* (City Guard) had been serving during the time of

Emperor Towodros, Yohannis and Minilik II by having different but related names in rural areas, lowlands, highlands and urban areas of the country. Emperor Minilik II during his rule in Shoa (one of the province of Ethiopia) in 1882 established *Yeketema Zebegna* meaning the guard of City as the new form of security force. In 1898 a police force known as *Dewariya*, an Arabic term meaning patrol or watchman was selected from Harar Town and sent to Turkey to be trained in policing the cities (Andargatchew, 2004:12). According to Nigusie (1964:34) the then governor of Harar Ras Mekonen, informed Emperor Minilik II about the return of the *Dewaria* from Turkey. Having heard the return of this force the Emperor gave an order to merge the trained officers with *Yeketema Zebegna* to secure the security of urban areas including Addis Ababa (Andargatchew, 2004:12).

It is interesting to note the expansion of police force as far as Addis Ababa. Andargatchew (2004:12) explains how this expansion was possible claiming that by about 1916 *Dewaria* was replaced by the *Arada Zebenga*. However, as a result of invasion by Italy, *Arada Zebenga* was abolished in 1936. Italy brought its own police men including some from its colonies and established the police force named *policia colonial*. This police force served from 1936 to 1941 until the defeat of Italy in II World War and resumption of the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie into power (Andargatchew, 2004: 13-14).

1.3.1 The Role of Politics in Policing in Ethiopia from 1941 to 1973

Significant developments in policing could be noted during this period. With the resumption of power King Haile Selassie established several governmental agencies one among which was Ethiopian Police Force. In fact, it was during his period that Ethiopia saw a modern police force established by the Imperial Police Force Proclamation No. 6 of 1942 in 1942. The full implementation of this proclamation began in 1948 after the British support team ended their mission. According to Shuffa (2005:4) from 1941 to 1948 the police force in Ethiopia was known as “Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (O.E.T.A)” and changed to “Ethiopian Imperial Police Force” in 1948 following the return of most British force members except for the

Commander-in-Chief and few other experts (Shuffa, 2005:4; Andargatchew, 2004:14).

After the disbandment of Occupied Enemy Territory Administration in 1948 the police force was placed under the control of the Ministry of Interior. Although the provincial police forces received orders and directions from the governor of their province they remained under the direct command of the Chief of Imperial Ethiopian Police Force (Andargatchew, 2004:15; Beyene, 1970:207). However, the provincial police commissioners worked in collaboration with the provincial governors to play a significant role in keeping peace and security in the provinces.

It is argued that there was the time when more influential commissioners bypassed the governors, directly or through the police force commissioner to the Emperor. Such situations were deliberately encouraged by the Emperor to ensure loyalty to himself by setting the governors and the police commissioners to work at cross-purposes against each other (Andargatchew, 2004:20). Thus, it is clear that the role of the police became more than providing the safety and security to the public but included spying on the behaviour of government officials, which is a clear misuse of the police for political ends. According to Shuffa (2005:6) the structure of the police was para-military, as the police was involved in war affairs. It is not surprising that the police force was used as a machinery to protect and to serve the Emperor rather than providing the safety and security to the public. Beyene (1970:242) explains that members of the police (*Guards*) were trained to obey and implement orders and laws adopted from the government and they were duty bound to receive orders from any authority.

In relation to this, Shuffa (2005:79) argue that the police served the Emperor and advanced whatever the agenda he had. He further explains that the Imperial Ethiopian Police Force was constitutionally mandated to protect the King and the King possessed all rights to decide the direction and practice of policing. This supports Beyene's (1970:154-155) view that the police members were not trained to be a servant of Ethiopian people but that of the Imperial government.

1.3.2 The Role of Politics in Policing in Ethiopia from 1974 to 1991

There were some new developments in the police force after the Emperor was overthrown in 1974 by a military coup led by Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam. The new regime called *Dergue* changed the name of the Imperial Police force to Ethiopian Revolutionary Police Force. From the personal knowledge of the researcher, during the early years of the *Dergue* regime, it was obviously known that most of the high ranking police officers were demobilised by retirement or transferred to defence force. In general, the police force in the *Dergue* regime had been weakened although at a later stage it began to strengthen and changed its name from Revolutionary Police Force to People's Police Force following the establishment of Ethiopian People's Democratic Republic Government in 1987. When the *Dergue* regime was overthrown by Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) in 1991, simultaneous changes also took place in the police force by way of re-organising them and bringing in former police officers who had no criminal records as well as members of the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front along with newly recruited officers (Shuffa, 2005:5-6).

During the time of the *Dergue* one can note political intervention in the functioning of police force quite extensively. For example, some of the experienced and high ranking police officers were downsized because of their ties with the emperor regime (Shuffa, 2002:7; Shuffa, 2005:5-6). Some other higher officers who did not retire were transferred to defence force to strengthen the military. In this process experienced and long serving police officers and members were reduced or transferred from the police force. The politics under the *Dergue* regime strategically substituted the police members by local militia known as *Abiyot Tibeka* (the guards of revolution) (Shuffa, 2005:5). Therefore, under this regime politics played a great role to weaken the police force believing that the work of the police could be replaced by any laymen like militias.

There was also the renaming of police force during this time. The Imperial Ethiopian Government Police Force was renamed the Revolutionary Police Force to the People's Police

Force following the adoption of Ethiopian People's Democratic Republic Constitution in 1987. The police force was placed under the Ministry of Interior at national level whereas at the provincial level the police force was headed by provincial police commissioners who were directly answerable to the chief commissioner at the Head Quarters in Addis Ababa. The regional/provincial governors and party leaders were directly influencing the authority of the police (Andargatchew, 2004:25). From this, one can infer that the role and influence of politics in policing during this time was direct and very much influential. What was surprising to note is that there seemed to be a general neglect of police force in terms of amending the previous provisions and redefining the role of police to fit into the context of the new environment. Andargatchew (2004:25) contends that the duties and responsibilities of the police remained as stipulated in the police proclamation issued in 1942 for long time during the *Dergue* regime.

One of the areas in which political intervention in policing could be noted was on police accountability. Though the nomenclature of the police force was changed to People's Police Force, the reality was different as it did not reflect the welfare of the common people. There was police brutality during this time, which was neither accounted for nor managed particularly when it was related to politically motivated cases. Obviously, such attitude reflects the fact that policing was politically driven rather than being guided by professional policing principles. It was expected from the police that any politically motivated opposition actions should be suppressed and no accountability made for any such measures against such police response. In relation to this Andargatchew (2004:42) argues that though the police during the *Dergue* regime were not solely responsible for terror of the time, they had a role in carrying out the red terror.

Red terror was the mass killing carried out by the *Dergue* regime to forcefully suppress political groups such as the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) and All Ethiopian Socialist Movement (AESM) as well as all those who strongly stood against the *Dergue* regime in the struggle to establish the People's Democratic government in the country. Therefore, the red terror was launched by the *Dergue* to take oppressive measures including arbitrary execution of the opposition members by security forces. In some regions the victim of red terror were

executed and buried even in the police camps (Andargatchew, 2004:42). The researcher as the then National Commissioner of the Ethiopian Federal Police Commission has personal knowledge of the exhumation of red terror victims from Bale region police's head quarter compound.

The *Dergue* seemed interested in apprehending and investigating cases of the resistance forces, i.e., the groups who were ideologically different from that of the *Dergue*. As was noted above, the politics of the time neglected the police institution and created a special group called “*Abiyot Tibeka*” to play the role of the police. In line with this argument Andargatchew (2004:25) contends that the revolutionary squad (guard) of the urban dwellers' and rural peasants' associations were expected to take over the role of the police.

In contrast to the neglect of the police force, the *Dergue* regime gave preference to those Departments that were in favour of the regime. For example, since the opposition to the regime were identified and apprehended by revolutionary guard and handed over to Central Investigation Department, the *Dergue* had given relatively better attention to this department (Shuffa, 2002:7; Shuffa, 2005:6). This is because of the fact that this department investigated the cases through torture and intimidation in order to present the findings to the cadres so that they will decide on the case. Another noteworthy development, for the knowledge of this researcher, during this period was that the *Dergue* established political departments within the Police Department. From the Head Quarter Addis Ababa down to all police departmental structural levels up to sub-provincial (Awuraja) police departments' political departments were instituted and considered as an important part of the police institution. The role of these political departments in the police was to indoctrinate the ideology of socialism and to recruit party members. Shuffa (2005:96) lists the function of police during that period as follows:

- To protect the properties which were nationalized from “anti-revolutionary” and “anti people”;
- To implement the progressive proclamation and laws of revolutionary Ethiopia;

- To participate in the development of the socialist economy;
- To protect the country from internal enemies ;
- To see and evaluate any situation that the police face from the directions of revolutionary and class struggle.

The above goes to show that the police during this period was only mandated to safeguard and protect the ideology and the fruits of the revolutionary politics. It implies that the police were there to protect the regime and not to serve the public and the interest of the public. Thus, it could be safely argued that similar to other previous periods of policing the *Dergue* period is the one that was highly influenced by the politics.

1.3.3 The Role of Politics in Policing in Ethiopia from 1992 to date

The Ethiopian People's Police Force that was functioning under the *Dergue* regime was disbanded after the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) took over power (Andargatchew, 2004:28). At the beginning, the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front established security forces from among the local residents both in the cities, towns and rural areas to replace the police force. However, gradually in most parts of the country the police as an institution began to perform their police role. Soon after the establishment of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) by virtue of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia Proclamation No 8 of 1992 the central and regional governments were allowed to re-establish their own police forces.

What is noteworthy in this revival is that the newly established police institutions were a hybrid of three groups: those police members who served during the *Dergue* regime but were not party members, members of Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (particularly for special police force) and newly recruited members. In this regarding, Shuffa (2005:7) states that

the view of the new government was to reorganise the police by providing strict re-orientation. One parallel development that took place was the government's move to decentralise power and autonomy to regions. Hence, in the wake of such measures the entire police structure was compelled to be reorganised and every region was provided with its own police force and all policing matters were left to the regional governments. Additionally, special police was created and mandated to handle cross-sectional duties that fall within the purview of the Federal Government jurisdictions.

Under the new government, there was division of power and accountability as per the principles of decentralisation and self-government in which the regional police departments were directly responsible for the regional governments whereas the central police force came under the responsibility of the federal government. The central police force was coordinated by a Bureau that was created to coordinate the police force and correctional administrative services headed by a commissioner (Andargatchew, 2004:29). What was new, however, in this set up was the police forces established both at central and regional government were conceived upon the notion of independence from any political influences (Andargatchew, 2004:29).

The role of politics in strengthening the policing in Ethiopia continued after the adoption of the Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic Constitution in 1995. The Federal Government Established Federal Police Force under the Ministry of Justice, which formed a Coordinating Bureau for Police and Prisons (Andargatchew, 2004:29). The regional police remained under the responsibility of regional governments. The change that had been made after the formation of Federal Government was not as such noticeable. However, these should be viewed as part of the processes of strengthening the administrative setup of the police force both at the federal and regional levels.

By the provision of the Federal Police Commission Establishment Proclamation No 313 of 2003 the Federal Police was restructured under the Ministry of Federal Affairs very much similar to

the historical structure of police under the Emperor Haile Selassie and *Dergue* regimes in which the police force was under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Currently, the Ministry of Federal Affairs has replaced the then Ministry of Internal Affairs. However, under both regimes, the Ministry of Internal Affairs supervised the national security affairs centrally, but under the current government the Ministry is responsible only for federal matters and so does the federal police.

Apart from restructuring the police force, police accountability has also been significantly strengthened. This could be seen in the manner in which the new police officers are recruited by way of passing through evaluation from among the local community (Shuffa, 2002:2). This is conceived upon the notion that without local community members' approval and their participation it would be difficult to utilise the police services and for any effective police services the community members' cooperation is essential. In line with this argument Andargatchew (2004:29) contended that the recruitment of the police force shall be carried out with the full participation of the local community to ensure that undesirable individuals are not recruited.

It could be inferred from the above that greater accountability of the police to the people is supported by the current political system. In other words, the police is responsible directly to the local community it serves in view of the consent that the community gives for the person to be a police officer and indirectly, the police is responsible to the democratically elected government. The federal government and regional governments set the policy of policing and demand the implementation of that standard. Therefore, the role of politics in policing is critical in a sense that both governments appoint police commissioners to ensure that the government security policy is implemented and the needs of the people that elected it are satisfied by police services.

The newly revised Ethiopian Federal Police Commission Proclamation No 720 of 2011 indicates the nature and extent of political role in policing affairs. The politics play important role through

the Ministry of Federal Affairs. Art. 11 of the proclamation states that the Minister shall have the following powers and duties over the police:

- Direct the Commission's general activities;
- Appoint the Commissioners General of the Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa Police Commission upon the recommendation of the Commissioner General of the Federal Police;
- Examine and approve action plans and studies submitted to it concerning structure, tasks and human resource development of the Commission;
- Submit to the government the Commission's annual plan, budget and performance report with its recommendations;
- Take the necessary measures for the implementation of this Proclamation.

The above provision goes to show that the Minister who is a member of the ruling party is given the responsibility of directing the police commission's general activities, approve its structure, tasks and human resource development, and has great influence in the process of presenting police plan and budget. This is due to the fact that the Minister is the member of the Council of Ministers where the government policies, including security and policing policies, are framed and adopted. The policies framed and adopted by the Councils of the Ministers originate from the ruling party/parties who promised the electorate to perform and improve all aspects of political, economic, social and security situation of the country. Thus, when the Minister gives direction and determines the budget of the police, he/she considers that the plan and budget of the police will attain what the government promised to achieve. Therefore, from this perspective it could be concluded that normal political processes determine the duty of police and its budget.

1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Problem statement provides the essence, i.e. the rationale on why and what is to be studied has to be studied. As outlined by Locke, Waneen and Stephen (1987: 5) and Creswell (1994: 41-45), the problem statement gives a specific and accurate synopsis of the overall purpose of the study.

In other words it represents the basic controversies surrounding the study that has motivated the researcher to pursue it. As the present study would largely be based on qualitative paradigm variables that will be dealt with later in the research methodology chapter, only the central issues surrounding the topic would be highlighted.

As noted above, Ethiopia's political system has undergone tremendous changes moving towards democratisation and several initiatives have been taken to do away with centralisation of political power. This indicates the extent to which the Ethiopian police as an institution mandated to maintain law and order has undergone various structural and organisational changes. These changes indicate the extent to which the police have been decentralised and how it gradually moved away from political control in an attempt to perform its functions independently (Shuffa, 2005:5).

The country's economic base is agriculture despite steps taken to industrialise it (Xinshen, 2010: 20). In such contexts it is understandable that the interaction between policing and politics is sensitive as the government tries to fulfil its promises to the rural and urban population which by its very nature demand the diverse form of policing.

Hence in such political context policing is challenged by issues pertaining to the use of coercive force that is needed from time to time in dealing with the infiltration of the country by terrorists in outlying areas which require a different dimension when policing urban residents. It is obvious that much of political reputations that the government can wield depend very much on the extent to which law and order and internal peace in the country is maintained by the police. Therefore the debate arises since the police act as the major law-enforcing arm of the government. They are given the responsibility of providing security and protection to citizens according to domestic and national security policies and strategies of the government. They are accountable to the government thereby giving rise to undue influence that could affect their independent functioning (Rauch & Van Der Spuy, 2006:141).

In other words politics is embedded into policing. Thus, though police is expected to be professionally independent, still it is dependent to political institution, i.e., the Government, to implement the security and policing policies at the level required to guarantee the safety and security of the country (Berning & Masiloane, 2011: 63). This indicates the interconnectedness of policing and politics as the police are required to enforce the laws that are enacted by the government influenced by the ruling political party. In this regard, Ethiopian Federal Police Proclamation No 720 of 2011 has clearly put the mandate of police within the umbrella of the Ethiopian Constitution.

As it is obviously known, government policies are politically driven and formulated by the party in power. Therefore, politics create and direct the police institution to fulfil its mandate in the area of peace and security. Despite the fact that the police should operate within some degree of independence, they still have the responsibility to take order and direction from politically established government that is why the determination of the degree of influence is essential as it indicates whether there is undue influence or not. In view of the above inter-related issues, this thesis aims to analyse the influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia, indicating how this has influenced policing in various eras.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

A research question poses questions to ensure that the study answers the phenomenon to be studied. Denscombe (2002:31) states that research questions indicate the phenomenon that is directly investigated such as specific things that are to be observed, measured, and interrogated in order for the topic to achieve what it is set out to achieve. Creswell (2009:111) supports the view of Denscombe (2002:31) by elaborating further that research questions indicate beforehand the phenomenon or aspect that the researcher intends to probe in his/her research during the

investigation of the stated topic. Based on this understanding the major research question that this study aims to answer is:

What is the influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia?

In an attempt to focus the study to answer this question the following sub-questions has to be answered:

- How and in what way politics influence policing in Ethiopia?
- What is the impact of undue influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia?

1.6 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

According to Kothari (2004:2), the research objective broadly indicates what the research intend to achieve. Research is conducted to collect the data to identify and address the challenges that are experienced in a certain sphere or phenomenon to be studied (Bryman, 2012:5). Research objective is central to the research as it maps the pathway for the investigation that is being designed, thus clearly stating the purpose of the research. The main objective of this study is to determine the influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia. In an attempt to achieve this main objective, the following sub-objectives were developed:

- To determine the role of politics in policing
- To determine the impact of undue influence of politics in policing

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This is the first comprehensive study that attempts to establish the influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia. It will include the impact of this influence on police performance and professionalism and propose the methods of reducing the influence of politics in policing for the effective, efficient and professional police service.

The findings of the study will provide policy makers and other stake-holders with useful information on ways and means to eliminate the undue influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia. This could bring about worthwhile conclusions and put forward appropriate recommendations that can help alleviate some of the problems encountered by policing and be a stepping stone to re-think and or re-evaluate some of the entrenched operational and behavioural attitudes. This study will also enhance the body of knowledge in policing and be of immense use to academicians and to the community at large both within Ethiopia and abroad.

1.8 THE DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

1.8.1 Politics: According to Johnston (2007:18) politics deals the formulation and execution of decisions that are binding upon the community or society and the relationships between those who make or implement such decisions and those who are affected by them. Ponton and Gill (1982:5-6) argue that politics can be defined as the way in which we understand and order our social affairs especially in relation to the allocation of scarce resources, the principles underlying this, and the means by which some people or groups acquire and maintain a greater control over the situation than others.

On the other hand, Danziger (1991:5) explains that politics is the exercise of power; it is the public allocation of things that are valued and the resolution of conflict. He further argues that politics is the competition among individuals and groups pursuing their interests and the determination of who gets what, when and how. Redekop (1983:149) also contended that politics refers to all activities whose main purpose is one or more of the following: to reshape or influence governmental structures or processes; to influence or replace government office holders; to influence the formation of public policies; to influence the implementation of public policies, to generate public awareness of, and response to, governmental institutions, processes, personnel and policies; or to gain a place of influence or power within government.

Therefore, politics, for the purpose of this research, could be defined as a philosophical thought and strategy that play a great role in formulating public policies such as national security policy and influence the organisational structure of security institutions such as the police; influence the process of capacity building, indoctrination and recruitment or assignment of security personnel and leaders. Moreover, politics highly influence and lead the process of implementing public security and safety policies, strategies and action plans.

1.8.2 Policing: Policing encompasses traditional and non-traditional methods of social control in society. Policing is a process of preventing and detecting crime as well as maintaining order and could be engaged in by any number of agencies or individuals (Mawby, 2008:17).

1.8.3 Police and Police Officer: Is an institution that has been given legal or constitutional backing to ensure the maintenance of law and order and there by social control while a police officer is the representative of this institution (Mawby, 2008:17).

Therefore, for the purpose of this research police refers the Ethiopian Police institutions which are responsible for safeguarding the constitution and enforcing the laws enacted pursuant of the constitution, provides policing services as provided by the principles of community policing philosophy and strategy. Policing, on the other hand, is a process of delivering police services to solve the problem of community to achieve the goal of the national security plan: create safe and orderly environment enabling the citizens and investors to work and achieve the goal of Ethiopian Transformation and Development Plan (TDP).

1.8.4 Police-Independence: Political independence is the attribute of an institution which is entirely autonomous and not subject to the government control or dictation of any exterior power (Law Dictionary, 2015). It refers to the freedom and ability to make institutional decisions, without having to ask political powers for permission to perform police duties. Therefore, for the

purpose of this research, the term police-independence is used to denote the total independence of police institutions from political influence in deciding on police operational matters.

1.9 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is organised into the following seven chapters:

Chapter One: Chapter one deals with general orientation of the study. This chapter discusses the introduction, background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, and objectives of the study, significance of the study and the definition of concepts.

Chapter Two – Four are literature review. Chapter two deals with the policing and politics in Ethiopia from 1941-1973, chapter three will discuss the policing and politics in Ethiopia from 1974-1990, and chapter four will deal with the policing and politics in Ethiopia from 1991.

Chapter Five: This chapter deals with the methodology of the research. In this chapter research methodology, research demarcation, research sample, data collection, analysis, validity and reliability and ethical consideration of the research are presented and discussed.

Chapter Six: Deals with the literature and the empirical findings of the study.

Chapter Seven: Discusses the recommendations of the study based of the shortcomings that are revealed by the findings and give a conclusive view of the entire study.

1.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the general background of the study and the basic questions of the research. In this discussion it is indicated that Ethiopia had its first security personnel responsible for peace and security in 2575 BC during the rule of King Ziyon. Since then institutions responsible for security and social peace were in place by different names under different governments. The modern policing force in the country had been established during Emperor Haile Selassie.

Currently, Ethiopian police is organised along the principles of Federalism with all nine regional states and two city administration governments having their own police forces. The Federal Police Commission was also established to safeguard the interests of the Federal Government.

In this chapter, it is observed that the formation and organisation of the Ethiopian Police Force had passed through several stages and had undergone frequent changes and challenges directly or indirectly influenced by the prevailing political system. In other words, as the political rule changed so was the change in organisational structure and nomenclature of police force along with related duties and responsibilities.

The chapter also discussed the problem in contemporary Ethiopian police force in terms of lacking clear understanding on the extent to which the police could remain independent from politics. Therefore, this research attempts to deal with this lack of clarity by tracking the chronology of the Ethiopian Police Force and the type of political influence that they have gone through and those that they are still going through. It critically examines the relationship between the police and political office bearers, police accountability, and other important issues related to the topic under discussion.

CHAPTER TWO: POLICING AND POLITICS IN ETHIOPIA FROM 1941 TO 1973

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Traditionally Ethiopians like most African societies seemed to have used customary methods and trials to resolve conflicts in society. Perham (1969: 28) notes that aggrieved parties in civil and minor criminal disputes used to call upon community elders to solve their disputes. According to him, families were avenging the wrongs committed against their members and the armed retainers (*Yeketema Zebegna*) of the nobility enforced law in the countryside according to the will of their leaders.

The origin of policing in Ethiopia can be traced back to 1916, when the then imperial government formed a civilian municipal guard (*Arada Zebegna*) in Addis Ababa to enforce obedience to legal proclamations. Members of *Arada Zebegna* were despised by the community in general because of their inefficiency and ineffectiveness in preserving public order and investigating criminal activities. Emperor Haile Selassie then established the formal policing that was trained in Britain in 1935 to police Addis Ababa and four other cities. This promising beginning was snuffed out with Ethiopia's defeat in the Second Italo-Abyssinian War (Perham, 1969:31). In this chapter the features of policing and politics from 1941-1973 will be presented and discussed in details. This era is known as the era after the end of fascist Italian invasion.

2.2. THE ORIGIN OF THE ETHIOPIAN POLICE FORCE

Ethiopian police has a legendary beginning. Andargachew (2004:10) argues that in this legendary beginning one can note that many police names had come and gone. For example, *Dewaria* was established in 1906 by the then Hararghe governor Ras Mekonnen. *Dewaria* is an *Arabic* term that means patrol or watchman. Upon the request of Emperor Menelik II, Ras Mekonnen the governor of Hararghe sent *Dewaria* to Addis Ababa to serve as a police force (Andargachew, 2004:12). The expansion of police force took place thereafter. Andargachew

(2004) claims that by 1916 *Dewaria* was replaced by the *Arada Zebenga*, which literally means the guard of the city. Subsequently, *Arada Zebenga* was mandated to patrol the streets of Addis Ababa like the bow street runners of 1829th Sir Robert Peel's police patrol officers who were mandated to patrol London's Metropolitan streets.

As the result of the invasion by Fascist Italy, *Arada Zebenga* was abolished in 1936. As indicated above, the invader brought their own police men both from Italy and from some of their colonies and established the police force named *policia colonial*. This police force served from 1936 to 1941 until the reign of the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie. After one year Emperor Haile Selassie established modern police force by virtue of Proclamation No. 6 of 1942 (Andargachew, 2004:13).

By 1941 Emperor Haile Selassie returned from exile and restored his government and was in power until his overthrow in 1973. His Majesty had established councils of ministers and different government agencies including the police force. As mentioned above, the full implementation of proclamation No.6 of 1942 began in 1948 after the British support team ended their mission in Ethiopia. According to Shuffa (2005:4) from 1941 to 1945 the police force in Ethiopia was known as "Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (O.E.T.A)" and they then changed to "Ethiopian Imperial Police Force" in 1948 following the return of most British force members except the Commander-in-chief and few experts. At this period all the 45 commanders of the police stations were British and they started inviting people above the age of 20 to be recruited to the police and close to one thousand Ethiopians were enlisted.

These newly enlisted Ethiopian police officers were trained to become police officers by the police officers from South Africa (Mogous, 1971:114). They then signed Ethio-British Agreement of 1942 and made the Ethiopian government to be responsible for the newly established police force. Article 2 of the 1942 agreement continued to protect and guarantee the

rights of the British subjects by making them the commissioners of police, police officers and inspectors (Beraket, 1981:65). As can be seen from the sections below, the Ethiopian police force went through various changes and reforms during this period indicating how in some instances the change was for political expediency.

2.3 THE USE OF THE POLICE DURING THE IMPERIAL REGIME

The new police force that was established under the proclamation was in fact under the control of the British who made it a centralised national force that was responsible for crime prevention, the maintenance of peace and good order, the apprehension of offenders, the safety of persons and property and the control of traffic. It was located under the political authority of the Minister of Interior and it was comprised of superior officers, inspectors, non-commissioned officers and constables. According to Proclamation 6 of 1942, the non-commissioned officers and constables were serving a twelve months' probation period after which the Commissioner had the prerogative to determine the fixed time period in which they could serve in the police.

The police commissioner was the accounting officer and exercised most operational decisions on the police although there were incidents of undue political interference on some activities that the Emperor would want the police to do. The Commissioner also had the power to enlist and fill any vacant position by the appointment of superior police officers, inspectors, non-commissioned officers or constables. It is important to note that all the top police ranks including the Commissioner were held by British officials. Most Ethiopians police officers were confined to the Civil Police, which is the force that functioned under the supervision of the British Military Authorities. Some Ethiopian Civil Police members were permitted to carry firearms and wear uniform whilst on duty (Perham, 1969: 56).

According to Perham (1969: 56), 1946 the government opened the Abadina Police School with the help of Swedish trainers. These Swedish high ranking police officers played the leadership

role and performed the entire training functions of the school until 1958. From 1958 the Ethiopian police officers started replacing the Swedish high ranking police officers in running the affairs of the Abadina Police School. Police officers who attained a formal training were disseminated in various places such as Addis Ababa, Harerge, Dire Dawa, Jimma, Kefa, Sidama, Borena and Wollo. This was proving the extent to which the establishment of the training centre had advanced the mission of the police and enhances the safety and security in those places where they were deployed. The centre is responsible for the establishment of police music, theatre, sport and other clubs, as well as the training of numerous police officers and the high ranking personalities such as the first President of democratic South Africa – Mr Nelson Mandela – who undertook a four months training there (Mogous, 1971:214). By 1949 the total police force numbered 19 250 composed of 174 superior officers (majors and captains), 580 inspectors and sub-inspectors, 2 228 non-commissioned officers, 16 224 constables and 44 health officers (Banks, 1957:19).

In 1956 the imperial government amalgamated the separate city police forces with the national police force. Further developments was the promulgation of a new penal code, written in 1957, which was part of a series of legal codifications which included the promulgation of a criminal procedure code in 1961, it is also between these periods that Ethiopia joined the INTERPOL, with the objective of bringing international Criminals to Justice (Perham, 1969:38).

According to the Ethiopian Criminal Procedure of 1961, conventional police functions include the prevention of crime, the maintenance of peace and order, the execution of arrest and search warrants, the arrest and detention of offenders, investigation of the safety of persons and property, as well as control of traffic. Furthermore, Articles 9 and 10 of the Ethiopian Criminal Procedure accord the police prosecutorial power to initiate and prosecute criminal cases, including public disorder and state security offenses. Generally classified under offenses against law and order, Articles 476 and 483 of the Ethiopian Penal Code of 1957 strictly forbid assemblies, meetings, demonstrations, secret societies, false charges and rumours against the state, alarming the public, incitement to breach the peace and riots (Toggia, 2008a: 334).

Toggia (2008a: 328) states that in the maintenance of law and order, the Ethiopian police have assumed a unique functions and an exceptional role of legitimising and stabilising the state power by using an excessive force in dealing with people who are opposed to certain factors in government. This is not in line with the expectation that the police as the upholder of the law and order in the country should execute law enforcement under the state order that is rooted in the rule of law.

2.3.1 Promotional Regulations of the Police Force

The police force that was initially a department under the Minister of Interior gradually evolved to become an independent agency commanded by a police commissioner who was accountable to the emperor in the 1970s. A regulation on police officers promotion, obligatory service and dismissal regulations was issued in 1973 to regulate and ensure the manageability of the police force. The regulation spelled out the minimum requirements for the police officer to be promoted to the next rank which included the satisfactory performance in the current rank and the availability of the vacant position in the higher rank (Shuffa, 2014:65).

The minimum service period that was required for the officer to be eligible for promotion to the next rank level was as stipulated on table 1 below:

Table 1: Promotional Rank of Police Force

For Promotion to the Rank of	Time in rank for Normal Promotion	Time in rank for Accelerated Promotion
First Lieutenant	2 years as Second Lieutenant	
Captain	5 years as First Lieutenant	4 years as First Lieutenant
Major	5 years as Captain	4 years as Captain
Lieutenant Colonel	4 years as Major	3 years as Major
Colonel	4 years as Lieutenant Colonel	3 years as Lieutenant Colonel
Brigadier General	4 years as Colonel	3 years as Colonel
Major General	5 years as Brigadier General	4 years as Brigadier General
Lieutenant General	5 years as Major General	4 years as Major General

Source: Ethiopian Police Proclamation of 1973.

Promotion of police officers to any rank below the rank of Brigadier General was considered by the Board established by the Commissioner of the Police Force. In this regard the Commissioner had the discretion to refer or not to refer to such a Board the consideration of Second Lieutenants to the rank of Lieutenant. The promotion of General Officers was considered by a different Board comprised of officers selected by the Minister of Interior from the list of General Officers submitted to him/her by the commissioner of the Police Force. The appointment of a person to the position of Major General or Lieutenant Generals was approved by the Emperor which largely depended on the relationship of such a person with the Emperor rather than the knowledge and expertise of such a person in policing in comparison with other people (Library of Congress, 1991).

Assistant police commissioners in each of the fourteen provinces worked in conjunction with the governor general of these provinces, but for the most part Addis Ababa directed administration. The Territorial Army's provincial units, commanded by the governor general and consisting of unpaid civilian auxiliary, assisted the national police force in areas where police were scarce. Police posts were found in all cities and larger towns and at strategic points along the main roads in the countryside. The police usually recruited local men who were familiar with the social values of the areas in which they will serve; however, the populace rarely looked upon such individuals with affection. Police operations generally emphasised punishment rather than prevention (Library of Congress, 1991).

2.3.2 The Structure of Law and Order

Although Emperor Haile Selassie gradually modernised and professionalised the Government, in many respects, the bureaucracy of his local governors reflected a patrimonial system. Even though the Emperor created important institutional foundations for developing a democratic system and the establishment of the rule of law such as an elected Chamber of Deputies and a nominally independent judiciary - these organs remained under his watchful eye. The nongovernmental press and parliamentary elections were closely controlled and judges were appointed, transferred, or retired by imperial command. There were no political parties and the rights of association were constrained. Even though the civil society was vibrant in many ways it was very weak in terms of the capacity to nurture democracy. This period also saw the increase of the military forces in size, professional status and potential political power (James, 1994).

The Emperor commanded the armed forces and the police, and had exclusive executive powers to determine their size, organisation, and cost; to establish the law governing their leadership and discipline; to decree emergency powers and martial law; and to deploy security forces as and when he deemed necessary to assure the integrity of the Empire. Personal and centralised rule, hierarchical and authoritarian methods of administration, secrecy, and an absence of participation was the order of the day in his government. These powers were elaborated by various executive and legislative instruments promulgated over the years, though much of the detailed law governing the security forces seemed obscure and unrevealed to the public. This body of law can be characterised in general terms as follows (James, 1986:35):

- *Centralised Executive Control* was exercised directly by the Emperor or by Ministers and officers that he appointed and dismissed when they were not fulfilling his objectives;
- *Autonomy of the Security Forces* in the sense that, subject to the control of the Emperor, they were left free to govern themselves in accordance with their own regulations;
- *Lack of Accountability to Civil Society* by the police and the army who were beyond the reach of Parliament and were able to evade, or simply ignore, with impunity the orders of courts as they enjoyed considerable *de facto* (if not *de jure*) immunity from the civil law;
- *The Absence of Law* that was evident by the absence of human rights, obedience to the rule of law, and the constitution in any of the professional codes governing the security forces, or in the training and accountability of the security forces.

Even though some police force members and a sizable number of other paramilitary unit members may have been well-trained and efficient, their relationships with civil society were often characterised by patterns of human rights abuse. The regime converted the security forces into an instrument to maintain its political ascendancy. Illegal detentions, coercive integration, mistreatment of prisoners and indeed sometimes harsh treatment of students and political dissidents, disdain for the poor and vulnerable, disrespect for the orders of courts were all often alleged to be common phenomena, as were instances of petty corruption. The training and acculturation of the police also failed to emphasise or inculcate respect for human rights and the rule of law. In various ways their conduct helped to generate popular mistrust of the legal system by most Ethiopians (James, 1986: 33).

2.3.3 The Role of the Police during the Imperial's Crises

Toggia (2008a: 338) states that the unique function of the police during the state crises is to maintain public order under the state and for the state. On 2 August 1941, the Ethiopian emperor

underscored this police function in his speech to the first group of Ethiopian police cadets during their graduation by stating that police officers' mission and responsibility exceed the duty of the military forces in war. This extraordinary function was seen performed by the Ethiopian police particularly during the emperor's major crisis in the final days of his regime in February 1974 (Toggia, 2008a: 338).

In February 1974, nation-wide protests that was characterised by the boycott of University and high-school students rocked the political foundation of Emperor Haile Selassie's 44 year-old rule. They took to the streets for days, demanding democratic freedom, emergency relief food for famine victims and land for the tillers. They were also joined by the teachers who opposed the revised educational curriculum for public schools and salary increases. The national labour union called a general strike since the workers' demand for more wages was ignored and taxi drivers went on strike protesting for the hike in gas prices. The tenants and peasants in the rural areas also demanded expropriation of the land owned by absentee feudal lords. The police clashed with the protesters killing 11 peasants and arresting 500 people. The crisis worsened when the imperial army also demanded a salary increase. Although the Emperor acted quickly by increasing salaries of the army officials by 37 per cent, the disgruntled soldiers in the Second and Fourth Army Divisions in the north and the south of the country detained their own commanders (Toggia, 2008a:341).

The government reacted by deploying a large number of police officers in Addis Ababa and in many other cities. In the nationwide protest that was organised on 18 February 1974, five people were killed and more than 1 000 were arrested by the police. This led to the resignation of the Emperor's Prime Minister and his cabinet on 20 February 1974. As the crisis continued the employees of various government agencies and city residents took part in the protests demanding for the resignation of heads of government agencies. Six court employees were killed by the police and more than 100 000 people participated in a mass rally and demonstration in solidarity with Ethiopian Moslems in the capital, Addis Ababa (Toggia, 2008a:339).

The newly-appointed Prime Minister issued a proclamation, prohibiting any public demonstration and strikes on 22 April 1974 in an attempt to stem the waves of public protests. This proclamation imposed a curfew from 7 pm to 6 am and more police officers were deployed in the streets of the capital and other cities to enforce the curfew and prevent any public assembly or demonstrations. This led to the arrest of many people who violated the new laws (Toggia, 2008a:339).

The Ethiopian police was put to the task of maintaining the stability of the state, while every segment of the state apparatus such as the army had defected to join the side of the spontaneous mass opposition in 1974. The police were thus at the forefront in the defence of the government of the Emperor against the political opposition and in this process they were using extreme force. Although the role of the police is supposedly to maintain public order, its task had clearly become that of restoring the stability and legitimacy of the unpopular and failing regimes (Toggia, 2008a: 322).

The Ethiopian police continued to defend the government of the Emperor until it was overthrown in September 1974. They only switched sides when the imperial state was formally disintegrating and replaced by a military junta. Some police officers with the rank of captain and major joined the *Dergue* as representatives of their respective police units under the new military regime. Those police commanding officers who aligned themselves with the overthrown government of the Emperor were detained along with other former government officials (Toggia, 2008a: 326).

2.4 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLICE AND POLITICAL OFFICE BEARERS

There is inevitably a strong bond between the police and political office bearers. According to Lewis and Prenzler (1999:1) on the question on who will guard the guardians explained that historically, countries like Australia largely preferred to trust the police to keep their house in order, with some external guardianship administered by the courts and the government. They there after mentioned that this simple approach has now been found wanting, as numerous inquiries have demonstrated the vulnerability of policing to corruption and misconduct. They conclude by stating that there can be little doubt that constant vigilance and strong measures are required to prevent misconduct becoming widespread and entrenched in police organisations.

As mentioned previously, since the reinstatement of the Ethiopian Imperial Government from 1941 to 1991, the Ethiopian Police Force was centralised and was commanded from the Head Quarter. During the era of the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (O.E.T.A.) the police force received superior order from the Chief Political Officer of which the head quarter was in Nairobi, Kenya. The command-in-chief operating in Ethiopia was known as Deputy Chief Political Officer (Beyene, 1970:57). From this phenomenon, it could be easily understood that the then Ethiopian police force was directly commanded by the political incumbent. After the disbandment of the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration in 1945 the police force was placed under the control of the Ministry of Interior. The police forces in provinces received orders and direction from the governors of their provinces (Andargachew, 2004:15; Beyene, 1970: 207). Yet the provinces police remain under direct command of the Chief of Imperial Ethiopian Police Force (Andargachew, 2004:20).

The British Commander-in-chief commanded the Police Force from 1941 up to 1956 before the Ethiopian police established full control and the first Ethiopian Police Commissioner was appointed. The command of all provinces police forces were taken over by the Ethiopian Chief Police Officers (Andargachew, 2004: 16). According to Shuffa (2005:5) the structure of the

police was para-military and was involved in war affairs. The monarchy of Emperor Haile Selassie used the police force as a machinery to keep its regime in power.

In a similar vein, Beyene (1970) explains how the member of police, at a time called *Zebenga* (meaning guard), respected the superior orders. Members of the *Zebenga* were trained to obey and implement orders and laws adopted by the government. They were duty bound to receive orders from superiors who send them to the rank and file of police members. Even to establish new police departments the representatives of the requesting community presented their request to the Ministry of Interior. On the other hand, to establish new forces the imperial blessing were to be obtained. For example, in 1955 the Shoa (the central part of Ethiopia of which Addis Ababa is the capital of the province) police commander-in-chief submitted request to Imperial Haile Selassie on the establishment of *Fetino Derash police* (Rapid Police Force) and accordingly the Emperor gave his consent (Beyene, 1970:242).

Therefore, from the above analysis it could be understood that the relationship between the police and the political office bearers were direct and mandatory. As it is clear from the discussion above that the Emperor and the Interior Minister were the political office bearers who had direct relation with the police. The police received direct orders either from the Emperor or the Minister on the political direction that was to be followed.

2.5 THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF POLITICAL INTERFERENCE IN THE POLICE

Anonymous (2012) states that politics is the process by which resources are distributed or allocated for the benefit of the citizens. It is stated that politics is about who gets what, when, and how as political considerations are a necessary but sometimes problematic part of criminal justice.

According to the United Nations (2011:98), democratic principles require governments to have authority over the police, provide clear policy direction, prepare policing plans and set standards or performance indicators, but appropriate democratic government control must not become political interference that threatens impartial policing. Klerks and Kop (2012:73) argue that the police are operating in everyday life with a great deal of professional discretion. The existence of clear and transparent procedures defining appropriate political direction and well-functioning accountability systems are the best safeguard against undue interference. The procedures that safeguard undue interference incorporate the hiring and firing of senior police officers (Klerks & Kop, 2012:73).

According to Anonymous (2012), politics influence policing in many ways among which are the following:

- selection of decision makers in policing;
- enacting the laws concerning public security and order maintenance; and
- even though politics doesn't have a direct impact on the routine, daily decisions of police officers on patrol, the political culture of a community determines the style of law enforcement and the nature of departmental policy.

The form of government makes a difference in the extent to which politics shape policing because politics permeates police departments in cities that employ a mayor/council type of government.

In Ethiopia, the nature and extent of political interference in policing between 1941 to 1974 was direct in terms of giving policing direction and resources. Lefever (1970) in Andargachew (2004:20) wrote extensively on how political intervention took place during the reign of Emperor Haile Silassie. He explains that the provincial police commissioners were working in collaboration with the provincial governors and argues that there were times when more influential commissioners bypassed governors, directly or through the police force commissioner

to the Emperor. Such situations were deliberately encouraged by the Emperor to ensure loyalty to him by setting the governors and the police commissioners to work in contradiction with each other (Andargachew, 2004:20).

Such situation clearly show that the political influence on the police extended to direct supervision by the Emperor. The emperor used police authority as a disguise to spy on provincial governors and to check their loyalty to the Imperial.

2.6 THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL INTERFERENCE IN POLICING

The effects of political interference upon policing have different dimensions. Klerks and Kop (2012:73) argue that politics on both regional and national level incited by more assertive citizens is interfering more and more in the way in which the police carry out their duties. They further contend that police organisation, methods and achievements are subject to criticism with regard to professionalism (solving crimes while avoiding mistakes) and deployment of capacity and reducing the bureaucracy.

In the case of Unites States of America, Uchida (2004:17) argues that the major problem in American police service of 1900 was as political as it was in previous decades. The police were viewed as an instrument of the political machine at the neighborhood level and reformers could not counter the effects of the Democratic or Republican parties. Robert Fogelson (1977) in Uchida (2004:18) suggests several reasons for the failure of reform in American policing. First, political machines were too difficult to break because despite the efforts by progressive forces, politicians could still count on individual supporters to undermine the reforms. Second, police officers themselves resented progressive interventions.

In the case of India, according to Joshi (2005:2), the police in India began as the result of the legislation passed in the wake of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, when the Indian soldiers in the colonial army revolted against their British commanders. The British colonial army quelled the revolt speedily and established an authoritarian police force to support the colonial government with the Police Act of 1861. The colonial executive authority exercised complete and unquestionable control over the police force. The establishment of the colonial police in India indicated that the police authority is important to safeguard the governor's powers and the colonial executive authority hold complete and unquestionable control over the police. Thus, the political influence on the role and duties of the police during the colonial times in India was clear and evident. According to Joshi, to realise this thought, the British structured the organisation in a way so that the senior positions in the force would be occupied by them and the junior slots would be kept for natives.

Joshi (2005: 2) continues to argue that managerial philosophy, value system and ethos the Police Act of 1861 remained what they were during the colonial even after the Indian Independence from the British Colony. Thus, the powers granted to politicians, bureaucrats and superintendence to exercise control over the police remained the same. This situation continued for more than 57 years until the issue of democratisation came to being in Indian politics.

In Ethiopia as stated above, soon after the deposal of Fascist Italian invaders and return of the Emperor Haile Selassie's regime, the police organisation was led by the British army service men and commanded by the Chief Political Officer located in Nairobi, Kenya and Deputy Chief Political Officer located in Addis Ababa. These foreign commanders had great influence in shaping and directing the service of police force in the country. They determined how and on whom the police measures should be taken against. In this regard Beyene (1970:126) wrote on how British commanders put pressure on Ethiopian policing practices. Without the knowledge of British commanders, Ethiopian police men had no power to investigate the white people's cases even the cases of Fascist Italian military and civilian personnel who were left behind after their

defeat. Beyene (1970:126) illustrates by the following examples to show how British officers controlled Ethiopian police officers:

- The Ethiopian police officer who once arrested Italian citizens from a hideout place and brought them to the police station for violating the order to leave the country was ordered to release them by the British officers who subsequently arrested him for arresting these Italians. They (British police officers) were angry and questioned the Ethiopian police officer who gave him the authority to arrest white men.
- The Ethiopian police officers had no powers to investigate criminal cases against any white person. Such cases were to be dealt with by the British police officers.

After the police commanding posts were gradually taken over by the Ethiopian Police Officers, political interference shifted to the Emperor and his majesty's loyalists. Without the knowledge and permission of the Ministry of Interior, it was impossible to establish new police department throughout the country. Even if the public demanded the establishment of police stations the police could not determine whether the police department shall be opened or not (Beyene, 1970: 206). The emperor was the supreme authority to decide on the recruitment of new police members and new police structure. This was due to the following two reasons: First, the recruitment of new members and new organisational structure required additional budget. Second, if police continued to expand throughout the country the span of control was to widen and become difficult for effective control. Therefore, the effect of political intervention, during this time, overshadowed the policing profession and led to the lack of confidence in police officers and police force commanders.

2.7 MEASURES TO DEAL WITH POLITICAL INTERFERENCE

Measures to deal with political interference may take different forms. According to Dig (2010: 22), the proper management, discipline and accountability of any organisation or institution require proper structures and systems of personnel control and general administration. The

previously indicated interference of the emperor indicates that the emperor was interfering on operational matters which were supposed to be the terrain of the Commander of the police force. And this indicates the absence of a structure or legislative prescript that was supposed to check the extent to which the emperor should be involved in policing matters.

Even though the political organ has influential role to determine the number and quality of police personnel which in essence indicates the political will of the government in ensuring effective and efficient policing, operational matters should be left to the chief of the police. No one could allege undue political interference if the government sticks to its governance matters of allocating adequate budget and resources as well as indicating broad political direction that the police should take such as the community policing philosophy. In most cases political influence tend to be subtle and takes various forms such as the undue influence of the mandate and duties of the police; police orders, administrative instruction and administrative guidelines on selection and recruitment (Dig, 2010:23).

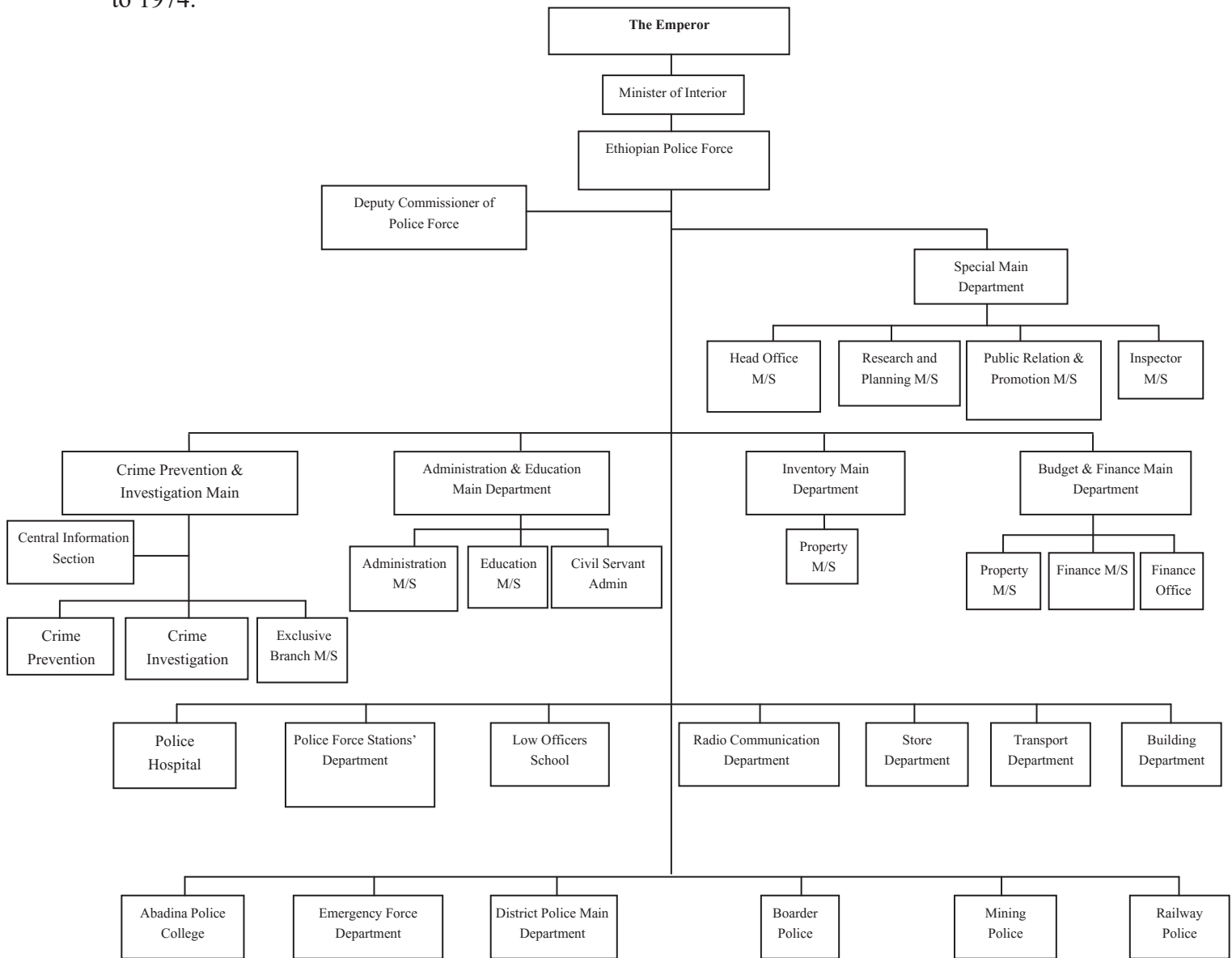
In the United Kingdom the tripartite oversight system is in place as measures to promote police accountability as well as the objectivity of their operations. The tripartite system includes Home Secretary/Home Office, local police authorities and chief constable. Home Secretary influences the police by determining key national policing objectives such as producing Annual National Policing Plan and presenting it to Parliament. The local police authorities determine local policing priorities, and chief constable is responsible for direction and controlling of the force, among others (Mawby & Wright, 2005:4). This promotes check and balances on police priorities and promotes some level of objectivity on how they decide on doing what they do.

The description of the police as the strong arm of the state embeds their authorisation to enforce laws and policies defined by state institutions (United Nations, 2011:6). It is important in this regard that the police become the servant of the people by ensuring that the laws of the

government of the day and not the will of political parties are adhered to. Without proper police oversight structures and professional policing it is easy for the police to find themselves executing the will of the dominant political party, like what happened in Ethiopia where Mengistu Haile Mariam used the Revolutionary Guards and the *Kebeles* (urban dweller association) to arrest and persecute people who had different political views; Milton Obote and Idi Amin of Uganda who also used the police for their own political ends (Nsereko, 1993:468)

As far as legislative measures are concerned, the Constitution as a supreme document and Police Proclamations are some of the legislative measures used to influence the police. The Ethiopian Constitution of 1931 gave the ultimate legislative, executive and judiciary powers to Emperor Haile Selassie and the police was responsible to safeguard this supreme power of the emperor to ensure that every citizen and authorities abide with the provisions of this legislation. The provisions of the Imperial Ethiopian Government Police Proclamation No 6 of 1942 provided that the police force is responsible to serve His Majesty's will. During this time the structure of the Ethiopian police was centralised and the provincial police divisions' commanders were appointed and directed by the Force Command in Chief. Figure 1 below depicts the organogram of the Ethiopian Police Force during Emperor Haile Selassie regime from 1942 to 1974.

Figure 1: Ethiopian Police Force Organogram during Emperor Haile Selassie regime from 1942 to 1974.



M/S = Main Section

Flowing from the Ethiopian Imperial Police Force Proclamation No 6 of 1942, modern Police Force started to organise according to the organisational structure that is depicted on figure 1 above. The Emperor commanded the Police Force, and retained executive powers to determine its size, organisation, and cost. Though the Commissioner of the Force was structurally accountable to the Minister of Interior, the Police Force remained under the watchful eye of the

Emperor. There were five main departments and eleven departments under the administration of the Commissioner. Thus, it can be observed that the system was highly centralised and it did not give considerations to administrative freedom. There was also no clear staff organisation, since staff units and operational organisations were mixed up. This did not only cause problems in the daily operations, but it also caused management problems in special policing situations.

What has to be noted is that during the period of Emperor Minilek II and Emperor Haile Selassie before the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, there was no formal organisational structure of the Police. The duties and responsibilities of policing were performed in traditional way. Modern police with its formal organisational structure was established through the support of the British Police in 1942.

The Commander in chief was appointed by the Emperor on the recommendations of Interior Affairs Minister. As it has been explained above, the Emperor had a hand in controlling the provincial police commanders directly by tasking them to have an oversight on the behaviour of provincial governors and indirectly by imposing His Majesty's interest through the commander of the police force or provincial governors (Andargachew, 2004:20).

According to Beyene (1970:154), the police force is stated in Proclamation No. 6 of 1942 as the Imperial Ethiopian Government Police Force. This implies that as Ethiopia and its people were the property of the Imperial, so did the police force. The commander-in-chief of the police force directly received order from the Emperor or indirectly from the Interior Affairs Minister. Thus the political influence measures included the constitution, the law that established the force, the process of appointment and the direct and indirect supervision by the Minister and Emperor to a large extent on police operational matters.

The provisions embedded in Article 26(2) of the Criminal Procedural Law of 1961 were also used to control the police during this time period. Art. 26(2) of the Criminal Procedural Law of 1961 forbade the police from arresting the suspect without the warrant of the court on crimes which are not flagrant offences and punishable with imprisonment of less than one year under the Ethiopian penal code. When a person committed such crimes, the police had to apply to the court in accordance with Article 53 of the Criminal Procedural Law to secure the warrant of arrest. Article 56 of this law governs the use of force by the police executing the arrest. This provision forbids the police from using force unless the arrestee refuses to submit himself/herself to such an arrest. If the arrestee refuses to be arrested the police are empowered to use proportionate force to make the arrest. The above mentioned prohibitions are also enhanced by Article 33 of the same law that guides the police procedure on search and seizure of the evidence that is important to the crime under investigation. Making search and seizure in contravention of this article is illegal and not admissible in court (Criminal Procedural Law, 1961: 232).

2.8 POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY

Accountability is a very important provision in ensuring police neutrality. Walker (2006:2) defines police accountability as a fundamental principle of a democratic society which ensures that the police are held accountable for their actions. Accountability includes both what the police do and how they do it. Agency-level accountability involves the performance of law enforcement agencies with respect to controlling crime and disorder and providing services to the public. As Walker (2006:2) elaborates, individual-level accountability involves the conduct of police officers with respect to lawful, respectful, and equal treatment of citizens.

The procedures involved in individual-level accountability fall into two general categories: internal and external. Procedures that are internal to law enforcement agencies include controlling police officers conduct through written policies, routine supervision, regular performance evaluations, and the investigation of allegations of misconduct, and Early

Intervention Systems (EIS). According to Walker (2006:2), external accountability procedures include citizen oversight bodies.

According to Olusola (2012:250) the police all over the world are becoming more accountable in the performance of their primary responsibility of crime prevention and control. Stone (2007) in Olusola (2012:250) states that despite the fact that police accountability mechanisms differs from one country to another, the accountability has become an important element in the discourse of the ground rules for the governance of nations and corporate entities. One of the most rigorous yet broad, definitions of accountability is provided by Schedler (1999) who explains accountability as the continuing concern for checks and oversight, for surveillance and institutional constraints on the exercise of power and authority (Alemika, 2010:9). Accountability is not intended to eliminate or undermine power but rather control it from becoming an instrument of repression and exploitation and to ensure that power is exercised in a transparent manner, and according to the rule of the state.

In fact, one of the fundamental sources for legislative and judicial accountability is provided by the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights in 1948 (Mawby & Wright, 2005: 3). It provides human rights principles and standards that underpin the accountability of the police. Jones (2008:694) describes accountability as a “chameleon” term denoting a range of meanings including “answerability, responsiveness, openness, efficient estate management, not only to mention participation and obedience to external laws”. Accountability in policing concerns institutional and individual accountability. Jones (2008:694) states that an important distinction between organisational and individual dimensions of accountability is that organisational accountability denotes the direction and control of organisational policing policies concerned with overall priorities, resource allocation and policing styles. It concerns the constitutional and institutional framework for the framing and monitoring of policing policy (Jones, 2008:2004). Individual accountability on the other hand refers to the accountability via legal rules or complaints mechanisms of individual policing agents as they go about their day-to-day activities.

Mawby and Wright (2005: 8) contest that at an organisational level, accountability is provided through a hierarchical rank structure. They further argue that a quasi-military structure is aimed to produce a disciplined and answerable service. In addition police officers are subject to a disciplinary code that punishes offences including discreditable conduct and failure to obey orders. Punishments range from reprimand, fine to dismissal. A breach of the code may also constitute a criminal or civil offence. Officers taken through the courts can still face police disciplinary boards as well.

According to United Nations (2011:93), the three pillars of the government, i.e., the executive, the judiciary and the legislature, all play a role in police accountability. State accountability regarding the police involves establishing the framework within which the police should operate. Each pillar of the State has its own responsibilities. The parliament drafts laws and evaluates their implementation. This also applies to laws relevant to policing.

Most countries have Police Acts, Criminal Codes and Criminal Procedure Codes stipulating various actions that the police may take when investigating crime. Usually, the provisions of all these instruments are rendered as instructions on how the police should carry out their functions and how they can use their powers and this becomes the standard operating procedures (United Nations, 2011:94). According to Mawby and Wright (2005:2) police accountability remains significant for the following reasons:

- The paradox of police governance: There is a need to balance the unwarranted exercise of coercive power by the police with enabling their effective operation.
- Policing is political: Policing is about the exercise of power and there are competing options for policing priorities and style.
- Financial stewardship: The police need to be held accountable for their use of public resources because the police use a large chunk of tax payers' money.

- Police legitimacy: Police in democratic states strive for legitimacy to achieve the active cooperation and trust of the public. Accountability contributes to the legitimacy of the police agency.

The United Nations (2011:96) states that the executive is the branch of the State that is responsible for carrying out the State's responsibilities. The police form part of this executive pillar. In most countries, the Ministry of the Interior oversees the police, inspects the police and draft guidelines for police operations. The Judiciary could also be regarded as another oversight mechanism for the police. In practice if a court orders an individual to be arrested or released, the police are to comply. If the police consider using investigative methods that need authorisation from an investigative judge, they must seek such authorisation beforehand, and if they fail to obtain this they cannot use these methods. Police are also accountable to the judiciary when they find themselves under criminal investigation and can be held accountable under civil proceedings as well (United Nations, 2011:99).

According to Olusola (2012:250), police accountability entails holding police officers responsible for their actions and inactions as well as for the effective performance of the primary duties of crime prevention and crime control while at the same time treating individuals fairly and within the confines of the law. Accountability is vital to policing all over the world (in both democratic and non-democratic arenas) and this is why accountability procedures are essential if police agencies are to achieve their goals of lawfulness and legitimacy and to ensure effective police-community relationship (Walker, 2006:1). It is important to note that police accountability is necessary because if the powers of the police are not controlled, policing could be harmful to society. Democratic societies have thus devised mechanisms to hold agencies of government including the police accountable for their performance, actions, and the management of resources.

Walker (2006:1) argues that accountability is a vital element of American policing. Both individual officers and law enforcement agencies should be held accountable for their actions. Effective accountability procedures are essential if the police are to achieve their goals of lawfulness and legitimacy. Lawfulness refers to compliance with the formal requirements of the law, including statutes and court decisions. According to the National Research Council (2004) in Walker (2006:1), legitimacy refers to the perception that police conduct is both lawful and consistent with public expectations.

To indicate the accountability of police as illustration in India, 123 police officials were facing trial for the illegal methods they used to enforce anti-terrorists laws. In addition, 2 555 petitions had been filed against Punjab (India) police officers by individuals and human rights organisations. The grievance of the police was that no one came forward to support or assists them during difficult times when they and their families had to bear the brunt of terrorist onslaught (Joshi, 2005:10). Joshi further indicates that as many as 1500 Policemen lost their lives while fighting terrorists during the five-year period 1988-1992 in Punjab, but once the problem was over, mainly due to police efforts and sacrifices, they were being asked to account for the methods they used. This example clearly shows that even in controlling very serious criminal activities such as terrorism, if the police do not abide by the rule of law when discharging their mandate they will be accountable for the method that they used in the operation (Joshi, 2005:15).

Olusola (2012:252) contend that all over the world there are multiple mechanisms of exerting control over the police. These mechanisms vary from place to place, depending on the political system and the structure of the police in the country concerned. In both Nigeria and United States of America these mechanisms can be grouped into three different levels: internal or departmental control; state or governmental control and social control or what is usually known as control by the civil society. Olusola (2012:252) argue that these mechanisms are not only necessary but complementary to each other. According to Chukwuma (2003) in Olusola (2012:252), these mechanisms should also mesh together in order to be effective. Similarly,

Bailey (1983) in Olusola (2012:252) emphasise that the best way to achieve accountability is to enlist the support of the police in disciplinary activities and for processes of external regulation to be taken seriously, the police must become convinced that they will be trusted to bear the active responsibility for ensuring correct performance.

In the context of Ethiopia, the police accountability during the period 1941-1974 is not well documented. It is during this period that the Ethiopian police force was ultimately mandated to serve the Emperor and his throne. According to Shuffa (2005:79), Imperial Ethiopian Force was constitutionally mandated to protect the king and the king possessed all rights to decide in the direction and practices of policing. Beyene (1970:66) explains the accountability of police force during the Imperial regime by illustrating how police should be liable for their actions. He further states that the police members were trained to be a servant of the Imperial. Therefore, it had been clear that the police force of the time was accountable to the Emperor, though it was thought that the police was the servant of Ethiopian people thus accountable to them.

2.9 POLICE OVERSIGHT BODIES

Murtaugh and Poe (2010:1) state that as the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system, the police are expected to provide security and preserve order while remaining accountable to both the government and the public. There were various internal and external oversight mechanisms that were implemented to ensure police accountability. Murtaugh and Poe (2010:1) argue that establishing a police oversight body follows the following seven consolidated processes:

- Determining the method to legally establish the oversight body;
- Defining the purpose of the oversight body;
- Defining the jurisdiction of the oversight body;
- Selecting the model of the oversight body;
- Defining the powers of the oversight body;
- Defining the complainant; and

- Determining the procedure by which the oversight body carries out its functions.

According to Lewis and Prenzler (1999:1) historically, countries like Australia, UK, and USA, largely preferred to trust police to keep their house in order, with some external guardianship administered by the courts and government. This simple approach has now been found wanting, as numerous inquiries have demonstrated the vulnerability of policing to corruption and misconduct. Therefore, to ensure the accountability of policing and establishing policing oversight bodies is important.

According to Murtaugh and Poe (2010:1), the first step in creating a police oversight body is to legally establish it. There are three general methods employed to establish a police oversight body: (1) constitutional, (2) legislative, and (3) executive decree. Establishing the oversight system in the Constitution gives it permanence, and maintains the independence of the police institution. The police institution becomes more independent and accountable when the system that checks its performance is established in one of these three mechanisms.

In the process of creating the oversight body, defining the purpose of the oversight body is the important step. A range of purposes may be identified and incorporated into new legislation. For example, the purpose of the police oversight body may be to address individual police misconduct or abuse, including human rights abuses and corruption; to research and recommend changes in police policies, procedures, and trainings; or to encourage community buy-in of the police through a more transparent and accountable complaints system.

According to the United Nations (2011:49), police oversight bodies should be independent. Independent police oversight bodies as they currently exist have different mandates. Some focus on receiving, investigating and/or recording complaints; some have general oversight functions

(over police performance in general, usually without focusing on specific cases); some provide policy guidance for the police deployment; some mandates focus on personnel issues, usually specifically focusing on the selection and appointment of the national chief of police; some mandates focus on oversight over police detention and some have a mandate combining some or all of these functions.

Lewis and Prenzler (1999:6) argue that the majority of police oversight bodies in Australia have responsibilities across government departments. Few are concerned exclusively with the police. The Criminal Justice Council (CJC) has very broad responsibilities for criminal justice policy and the police strategy. The advantage of jurisdictions across the public sector allows for the establishment of a large organisation with generic skills and career space (Lewis and Prenzler (1999:6).

In Ethiopia, from 1941 to 1974, it is not clearly known whether there were any police oversight bodies except what has been discussed above that the Ministry of Interior was responsible for the police force even though they had a direct reporting line to the Emperor. According to Beyene (1970:376), in 1958 the Ethiopian Police Force directly wrote and submitted to His Majesty the permission to establish a new structure. From this statement it can be clearly inferred that the supreme order and fundamental change to the force were to be approved by the Emperor. Thus, during this time there is no evidence that shows the presence of oversight bodies except the Ministry of Interior and the Emperor.

2.10 THE EFFECTIVENESS OF MEASURES THAT ARE DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY

The police have discretionary powers to carry out their mandate. In exercising these powers the police should operate within the framework of legality to ensure accountability, effectiveness

and efficiency. For example, to reduce incidents of racial profiling in U.S.A the ability to make the police accountable is of extreme importance (Olusola, 2012:251). According to Goldstein (2011), through the use of accountability police managers have a range of options for improving the conduct and performance of their subordinates. Alemika (2010:7), in his presentation published by CLEEN Foundation, argues that police accountability mechanisms are established to ensure that police powers and resources are used responsively for common good. The implementation of a comprehensive system of external and internal accountability is taken as a serious action to minimise incidents of police misconduct and to assure citizens that their complaints would be dealt with effectively (Olusola, 2012:255).

Obviously, there are important reasons for police accountability. In relation to this argument Alemika (2010:8) identifies some of the salient reasons for police accountability and oversight as follows:

- Police have enormous powers that have profound impact on the rights and liberties of citizens and therefore it is necessary to establish mechanism to monitor the exercise of the powers in order to ensure that they are not used for repression – violation of the rights and liberties of citizens.
- The police are subject to political, economic and social pressures from different groups including the rulers, to use their powers in ways that are inconsistent with democratic norms and governance. Without effective accountability and oversight mechanism, the police are likely to succumb to partisan interferences to the detriment of democratic governance and economic development.
- The police draw substantial resources from the state for the purpose of carrying out their mandates. The use of the resources must be accounted for. Otherwise, there will be pervasive corruption and resource misallocation that will endanger the overall functional inefficiency.
- The police are established to carry out specific functions in order to promote and guarantee safety, security, peace, human rights and necessary conditions for economic development and equity in a nation-state. Therefore there must be an effective

mechanism to determine the effectiveness and efficiency of the police in their functional performance.

According to Alemika (2010:9), the above mentioned reasons indicate that the purpose of police accountability is not for condemnation and criticism but for institutionalised mechanisms for enforcing answerability to democratic authorities with regard to performance, cost and conduct by the police. In Ethiopia, from 1941 to 1974, the effectiveness of police accountability measures was evaluated in the eyes of police loyalty to safeguard the name, integrity and throne of the Emperor and his country. Any measure taken to keep the integrity of the Emperor was correct and there was no police accountability to the general public.

2.11 CONCLUSION

In the history of the Ethiopian policing system many security agencies were known by different names. In 1906, the security agency known by *Dewaria* established by Ras Mekonnen was responsible for security and order maintenance in Hararghe Province. By the request of Emperor Menelik II, Ras Mekonnen the governor of Hararghe sent *Dewaria* to Addis Ababa to serve as a police force and it was replaced by *Arada Zebenga* in 1916. As the result of invasion by Fascist Italy, *Arada Zebenga* was abolished in 1936. During the time of invasion, the police force named *policia colonial* had taken the role of the abolished *Arada Zabenga*. This police force served from 1936 to 1941 until the resumption of the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Silassie to the throne. Soon after the defeat of the Italian invaders, the police force came to be known as Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (O.E.T.A) and carried out the responsibility of security from 1941 to 1945. After one year of the restoration of the throne of the Emperor, the Ethiopian Imperial Police Force was established by the Proclamation No. 6 of 1942.

Since the reinstatement of the Ethiopian Imperial Government up to the overthrow of Mengistu regime in 1991, the Ethiopian Police Force was centralised and was commanded from the Police Head Quarters only. During the era of Occupied Enemy Territory Administration the police force received superior order from the Chief Political Officer located in Nairobi, Kenya and the Deputy Chief Political Officer was operating in Ethiopia. After the disbandment of Occupied Enemy Territory Administration in 1945 the police force was placed under the control of the Ministry of Interior. The provinces police forces received orders and directions from the governors of their provinces. Though the Ministry of Interior and the provincial governors had direct supervision over the police, the provinces police remained under the direct command of the Chief of Imperial Ethiopian Police Force. Thus, the police received direct orders either from the Emperor or the Minister on other matters that they deemed to be of great importance.

In democratic societies, democratic principles require governments to have authority over the police, provide clear policy direction, provide direction on policing plans and set standards or performance indicators, but appropriate democratic government control must not become political interference that threatens police impartiality in the public interest. However, this was not the case with regard to Ethiopia where the nature and extent of political influence in policing was direct in terms of giving policing direction and resources. The provincial police commissioners were working in collaboration with the provincial governors however, the more influential commissioners bypassed the governors, directly or through the national police commissioner to communicate with the Emperor. Such situations were deliberately encouraged by the Emperor to ensure loyalty to himself by setting the governors and the police commissioners to work in contradiction with each other.

In many nations, the police were viewed as an instrument of the political machine. In Ethiopia, after the deposition of Italian invaders, the British commanders put pressure in many aspects of Ethiopian policing. During this time without the knowledge of British commanders, Ethiopian police men had no power to investigate the white people's cases even the cases of Fascist Italian

military and civilian personnel who were left behind after their defeat. However, after the police commanding post was gradually taken over by the Ethiopian police officers the situation of political influence shifted to the Emperor and his majesty's loyalist. Without the knowledge and permission of the Ministry of Interior, it was impossible to make significant reform in the police force. This clearly shows that the effect of political influence overshadowed the policing profession and this led to the lack of confidence in police officers and the entire police department.

Some measures of political interference that could be exerted in policing takes the form of control in personnel deployment, the allocation of funds and the administrative set up. In many countries political influence is detected through different measures such as police mandates and duties; regulations; police code of conduct; and police orders. In Ethiopia, from the year 1941 to 1974, politics use to influence the context of policing through the Constitutional provisions, Police Proclamation's provisions and other Laws such as Criminal Procedure Law.

As far as police accountability is concerned, it is a fundamental cornerstone of a democratic society that the police should be held to account for their actions. Accountability includes both what the police do and how they do it. At the institutional-level accountability involves the performance of law enforcement agencies with respect to controlling crime and disorder and providing services to the public whereas at the individual-level accountability involves the conduct of police officers with respect to lawful, respectful, and equal treatment of citizens.

In Ethiopia, the mechanism in place to ensure police accountability from 1941 to 1974 was included in the proclamation No. 6 of 1942 that established the Ethiopian Imperial Police Force. By virtue of this proclamation, police members were recruited and trained to be the servant of the Ethiopian Imperial therefore, it had been clear that the police force of the time was accountable to the Emperor not to the public. Over the world, various police oversight

mechanisms have been implemented to ensure police accountability, either falling internally within the police institution or externally. The purpose of establishing the police oversight body is to answer the question of “Who will guard the guardians?”

CHAPTER THREE: THE POLICE AND POLITICS IN ETHIOPIA FROM 1974 TO 1990

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The police went through structural and ideological changes during the *Dergue* regime indicating once more the dire consequences to the public safety when the police are controlled by the interest groups or are accountable to the ruling political party thus being used to further the narrow political interests. This indicates the need for the fundamental principles of policing that the police should be first and foremost accountable to the community that they serve. They should be made up of independent civil servants, serving the people, under the law, no matter who holds the reign of power.

This chapter will indicate how Mengistu Hailemariam who was leading the *Dergue* that overthrow the rule of Emperor Haile Selassie disintegrated policing in Ethiopia and how the remnants of the police and other armed forces were given police powers to further the political interests of the *Dergue* regime. The use of the Red Terror (mass execution by the regime) to imprison, torture and execute a large number of Ethiopians who were seen to be siding with the opposition will also be indicated. Mengistu Hailemariam initially received backing from Russia and Cuba during the Somalian and the Ethiopian war and this military and logistical support were later used to assist him to plan the fighting of the opposition within the country.

3.2. THE POLICE FORCE DURING THE *DERGUE* REGIME

Emperor Haile Selassie who ruled Ethiopia for 44 years operated an Imperial Court of a highly elitist government that oversaw expensive developmental projects that did little to alleviate the massive inequality that characterised the country (Clapham, 1988:32). Due to some of these challenges that the country experienced, the Emperor was overthrown in September 1974 and the military committee known as the *Dergue* took over power and ruled the country. The *Dergue* that was initially popular became unpopular due to their policies and the mass executions of the people with dissenting views, leading many Ethiopians to join the opposition groups while others

fled the country. Even within the *Dergue* itself people who did not agree with their mode of operation were deposed and executed. A typical example being that of General Aman who was put under house arrest and executed two months later (Anonymous, 2015).

The overthrow of the government by the *Dergue* soon demonstrated the dangers of the military rule. Whereas the autocratic rule of the imperial regime was relatively benign, the *Dergue* ruled in a lawless, brutal and totalitarian way. The internal security system created by the *Dergue* dominated all organs of government and civil society (James, 1994:60). Soon after the overthrow of the imperial regime, the *Dergue* moved to consolidate the revolution at the grass-roots level by creating peasant associations and *kebeles* (urban dweller association). These associations had tribunals that permitted them to exercise criminal and civil jurisdiction over legal matters. More important, the government also legitimised local defence squads, granting them police powers within designated areas. These Defence Squads protected public property and enforced land reform measures, but their original political mandate was the rounding up and disposition of suspected government opponents (Library of Congress, 1991: 32).

The then Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) supplied the paramilitary police with weapons and vehicles and installed a nationwide teleprinter system, while Israeli counterinsurgency specialists trained commandos and frontier guards. About 5 000 constabulary police, mostly recruited locally, served in Eritrea, as did 2 500 commandos (Library of Congress, 1991:44). The *Dergue* severely circumscribed the authority of the national police because it was identified with the old regime of Emperor Haile Selassie and regional interests. The authorities accused constables of protecting landowners against peasants in the countryside and arresting supporters of the military regime in Addis Ababa as well as of being members of the rightist opposition. In Eritrea the army had already taken over police functions by January 1975 from local police units that were suspected of being sympathetic to the secessionists Eritrea. The Asmera (which is now the capital city of Eritrea) police voluntarily stayed at their posts for some time after their dismissal to protect civilians from attack by unruly soldiers (Library of Congress, 1991: 34).

According to Andargachaw (2004:24), the *Dergue* did not acknowledge the importance of the police during the early periods of the revolution thus creating the confusion as to whether or not the police should be replaced by the militia. This among others was indicated by their failure to amend the laws, therefore, in theory the duties and responsibilities of the police remained as stipulated in the Police Proclamation No 6 of 1942, which is the founding proclamation of modern policing in Ethiopia. During this period the police force maintained more or less the same structure and they were still centrally commanded from Addis Ababa (Shuffa, 2005:16).

In 1978 the People's Protection Brigades took over local law enforcement duties that were previously assigned to the constabulary that were created from an estimated 10 000 defence squad vigilantes. Their function was to act as local law enforcement agencies within the jurisdiction of each peasant association and *kebele* (urban dweller association). Although promoted as instruments of decentralisation, the brigades were accountable to the security chief of the Central Committee of the Commission to Organize the Party of the Workers of Ethiopia (COPWE). Although the People's Protection Brigades retained a political role, after 1980 these paramilitary units concentrated on local police duties. Brigade members received up to five months' training in police and military tactics from East German instructors and some brigade personnel had served on active duty in Eritrea, Tigray, and the Ogaden (Toggia, 2008b: 17).

As a result of these changes the police force that had 28 000 members in 1974 was now shrunk to 17 000 members by 1982 as the government dismantled it by various means such as the creation of the new Eighth Division commando units from the police as well as making some police officers to join the augmented 9 000 member paramilitary Mobile Emergency Police Force for deployment in counterinsurgency operations. In practice the police were left without any real power because most of their mandates were taken by different organisations. The section of the investigation department that was dealing with serious investigations was placed under the special investigation department that was under the direct command of the *Dergue* committee. The section of lower level of crime investigation, prevention and law enforcement

were placed under the local administration, which were authorised to imprison, investigate and even kill offenders. The revolutionary squad of the urban dwellers and rural peasant associations also took some of the police functions and the police were ultimately left with the role of traffic policing as even the police stations were run by revolutionary guard committees (Andargatchew, 1986:70).

This effectively confined the role of the police to the enforcement of the government rules and the elimination of the opposition members. As a result the police gained a reputation for arbitrary arrests, detention and killings (Henze, 1998:140). This entrenched the fright and flight mode from the general public when they see the police fearing that they would be captured to be turned into fighters or be imprisoned. The country was at one stage engulfed by fear that those who were arrested by the police were killed (Denney & Kassaye, 2013:3).

As stated above the *Dergue* regime did not really trust the police because they regarded them as being loyal to the then government of the Emperor and this made the *Dergue* to increasingly use the army for investigations and the maintenance of social order. People's Protection Brigades were used to enforce law at the local level thus assuming the responsibilities of police constabulary. During the *Dergue* regime the role of the police was emphasised as the suppression of political dissent and this eroded the credibility of the police in the eyes of the public (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:14).

The *Dergue* government went further to grant police powers to people's defense squads operating within specific peasant association or *kebele* (urban dweller association) constituencies to suppress political dissent by identifying and disposing people that they suspected as the opponents of the *Dergue* rule. This People's Defense Squads were merged into People's Protection Brigades in 1978 and they were offered formal police training and continued with their police duties within the peasant associations and *kebeles* (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:17).

3.3 RECRUITMENT OF POLICE OFFICERS AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE POLICE STRUCTURE

Neguse (1956:17) states that Ethiopia had its own forms of a police force for centuries. It gradually evolved to be a modern police agency with the passing of the Ethiopian Imperial Police Force Proclamation No 6 of 1942. This led to the establishment of the Abadina Police College (now called the Ethiopian Police University College) that expedited the use of scientific knowledge and professional skills in policing. This development took a back stage during the *Dergue* regime as the police and other armed forces in the country were used for political expediency to suppress any dissenting voice in the country. Local militias, called *Aboyot Tibeka* which literarily means the Guard of Revolution, were involved in many of the police functions, except few investigation activities (Tesfaye, 2004). Even though this situation improved during the last era of the regime, the police structures and functions were highly centralised.

During the *Dergue*, there was no clear policing strategy and what could be distilled from this unclear strategy according to Task Force Report (1983:71), was that in order to prevent crime the revolution was to: destroy the old regime and build socialist government as this by itself was taught to be the approach that could decrease crime; transferring the police work to the militia; taking criminals who build their lives on crime to agricultural land to make them productive; organising the workers and making sure they expose criminals; and preventing the consumption of alcohol during day time etc. (Shuffa, 2014:67).

During this period the police were essentially playing a political role of suppressing political dissent as the local law enforcement role shifted to People's Protection Brigades. The *Dergue* government described the police mission as contributing to the intensification of the class struggle (Library of Congress, 1991:18). Police constables were recruited at an early age and trained in their native regions. Although training standards were not uniform, the training was designed to equip police officers who were stationed in remote areas to be self-sufficient in establishing and maintaining their posts (Library of Congress, 1991:18).

In-service and specialised training were very limited because they were only conducted in Addis Ababa. In politically stable rural areas where duty requirements and supervision were less exacting, the police were less efficient than their urban counterparts. A high percentage of rural constables could neither read nor write and therefore did not keep records of their activities. Many crimes were considered to be matters concerning only the persons involved and were often ignored by the police unless one of the interested parties filed a complaint (Library of Congress, 1991:18). The police in Addis Ababa were more organised and equipped than the police in the regions because they consisted of units such as uniformed, detective, and traffic units as well as facilities like a police laboratory and many such utilities that are not found in the regions (Library of Congress, 1991:18).

Informed by their strong belief that the unitary structure of government strengthens the solidarity, while the federal structure could open the window for separation, the *Dergue* regime included in the 1987 Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Republic Constitution that Ethiopia is a unitary state. This justified the centralisation of every facet of government including the Ethiopian Police Force. There was the Central Police Force Head Quarters and the Commander in Chief who had almost 14 Provincial Police Force Head offices whose commanders were directly accountable to him. There were also other lower levels forces accountable to the provincial force commanders and lower level commanders (Tesfaye, 2004:24).

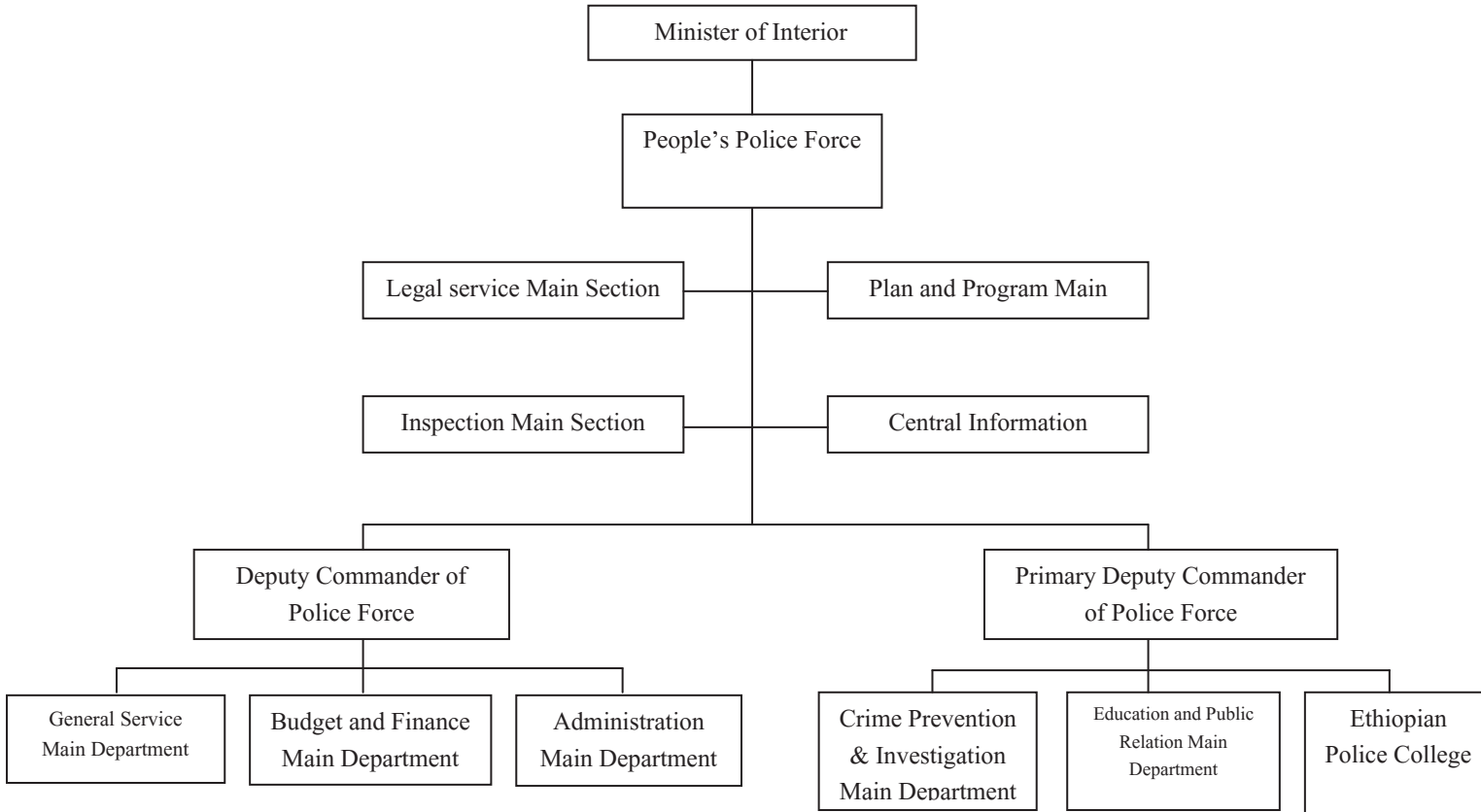
Figure 2 below depicts the Ethiopian Police Force Organogram during the *Dergue* regime from 1975 to 1991. The People's Police Force Commander¹ was accountable to the Minister of Interior. Under the Commander, there were two Deputy Commanders. They were called Primary Deputy Commander and Deputy Commander of the People's Police Force:

¹ Between 1975 to 1985 the People's Police Force was known as the Revolutionary Police Force.

- a) Primary Deputy Commander was responsible to direct the Crime Prevention & Investigation Main Department; Education & Public Relation Main Department; and Ethiopian Police College.
- b) The Deputy Commander was responsible to direct the General Service Main Department; Budget and Finance Main Department; and Administration Main Department. It should be noted that although the police had the emergency force/unit it was not included in the structure for unknown reasons.

According to this structure, it was well known that the Primary Deputy Commander can replace the Commander of the Police Force in his absence. It also depicted that there were a separate human resource management, budget, finance and logistic services from the crime prevention and investigation main department. The Police Force organisational system was a centralised one and more emphasis was given to the military arrangement. In addition to this, the bureaucratic operations from the centre to the smallest police station were a cause for delaying work and infringing peoples' rights. Thus, the Police Force was weakened in every aspect.

Figure 2: Ethiopian Police Force Organogram during *Dergue* Regime from 1975 to 1991



3.4 THE ROLE OF THE POLICE DURING THE REGIME'S CRISES

As mentioned above, soon after the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie the new military regime faced its own crisis that led to a declaration of a state of emergency in September 1975. The proclamation that declared the state of emergency gave sweeping powers to the police and security forces to conduct searches without search warrants, to arrest anyone participating in public demonstrations and strikes, as well as taking all the necessary measures against any individual who breached public peace and state security (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:7).

As a form of opposition to these measures, students and labour strikes were widely organised under the tutelage of the opposition parties that were operating clandestinely. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), the principal clandestine opposition group to the military rule, called the protests and strikes, demanding the immediate establishment of a Provisional People's Government. To counteract this, the government introduced a Special Penal Code that defined these strikes and protests as strict liability crimes. This led to the establishment of the Special Court Martials with exclusive jurisdiction over criminal charges brought under the articles of this Special Penal Code (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:4).

However, none of these special and regular courts seemed functional as police and security forces often exercised their emergency powers to keep detainees in police jails for longer periods, disregarding *habeas corpus* altogether. In some cases, suspects and detainees were summarily executed by the police and the security forces either in the streets or in jails. On 21 September 1975, seven employees of the Ethiopian Airlines were killed and 30 others were seriously injured by the police during an attempt to stage a labour strike. Following this incident, the police closed the national labour and the teachers' association offices and immediately arrested union leaders and members (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:4).

Based on political orders that were designed to maintain the *status quo* the police rounded up protesters and supporters of the opposition political parties, arresting and detaining them as a strategy to contain the situation. This was the flagrant use of the police to solve a political problem. Mass arrests were effected and trucks and buses were usually seen being full of detainees that were transported to permanent and temporary detention centres such as the Third Police Station and Kolfe in Addis Ababa, as well as other places in Ethiopia such as Sandafa, Debre-Berhan, Boter, Zeway, Robi in Shewa region and Dedessa in Wollega. These permanent and makeshift mass detention centres were used extensively from the 1960s by Haile-Selassie's regime during recurring periods of heightened political opposition. It is worth noting that despite the regime change in 1974, the legacy of the carceral institutions did not only continue but they were expanded and improvised during the "red terror" period in the late 1970s under the *Dergue*

rule. It is during this period (red terror – which is the name that was used by the *Dergue* cadres for the campaign of mass killings, while the white terror was the name given by the opposition for the killings of the *Dergue* cadre) that thousands of young people who were viewed as counter revolutionaries were killed (Special Prosecutor Office, 2010:46). Instead of dismantling these repressive carceral systems that were used by Emperor Haile Selassie, as most Ethiopians would have expected, the *Dergue* regime found them useful and kept them for the purpose of subjugating its political enemies as well (Toggia, 2008b: 21).

This practice of mass arrest and detention of political activists as the Ethiopian police had unlimited and unqualified powers which encompass enforcement, prosecution and punishment created a situation where there was always political detainees incarcerated alongside criminal offenders in places like the central prison (Kirchelle) in Addis Ababa and in other towns around the country. The three delineated aspects of police power are exceptionally consolidated and simultaneously exercised. Detention, and specifically mass detention, appears to be the only technique of power readily utilized against any form of peaceful and violent political protest (Toggia, 2008b:26).

In April 1993 the opposition parties finally overthrew the *Dergue* regime resulting in many of its leaders being imprisoned and some fleeing the country to avoid being prosecuted for the mass murders that they committed. Subsequently, consolidated opposition under the Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front came to power and Eritrea voted overwhelmingly for independence in the 1993 referendum becoming an independent state. Ethiopia on the other hand became an ethnic federal state divided into nine administrative regions with two special zones administered centrally in 1995 (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:7).

3.5 CONCLUSION

This Ethiopian police was destroyed and replaced by new police by the socialist oriented *Dergue* regime and during this period the police did not have clear principles and strategies except their

practice of repressing and executing political opponents. The police system was characterized by disorganisation, centralisation and was paramilitary in nature as well as alienated from the population. It was composed of few nationalities, with very little public service experience and it was too much politicised.

Thousands people who were viewed as counter revolutionaries were killed during the red terror indicating an extricable link between policing and the host of variable such as the social structure, culture, and political factors of the country. The use of policing for political ends destabilised policing and removed it from its core fundamental duty of being accountable to the community and advancing the safety and security in society. It is important to note that in any functional democracy there is continuous change of the ruling political parties and if the police are serving the interests of political parties they will be in a flux state that undermines accountability to the community and professionalism.

CHAPTER FOUR: POLICE AND POLITICS IN ETHIOPIA FROM 1991 TO DATE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The current influence of politics on policing in Ethiopia from 1991 to date could be traced from the overthrow of the dictatorial military rule in May 1991 by the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front. The former socialist government was overthrown and the new Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) government that took over came with the adoption of the market economy and democratic principles of governance. This overthrow by the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) which is a coalition of the ethnically-based groups dominated by the Tigrean Peoples' Liberation Front (TPLF) brought an end to a decade of devastating civil war (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:7). Under the circumstances prevailing then, it was inevitable that all major ethnic groups combined to put up a united front under the banner of EPRDF. As the TPLF spearheaded the campaign to overthrow the *Dergue* regime, it was given the dominant position from within the coalition.

As stated previously these changes impacted on the organisation and operation of policing in Ethiopia from then up to now. This emanated from the establishment of the Peace and Stabilisation Committee during the transitional government that used militia (armed community volunteers, many of whom were remnants of the guerrilla groups) to fulfil policing duties while the then police of the *Dergue* regime were either dismissed or retrained. As time progressed the partially retrained and the few who were recruited anew took over policing duties (Denney & Kassaye, 2013:3).

Ethiopia has a federal police system in line with the country that is divided into nine ethnic regions and two administrative zones under federal control. All the nine regions have their own police agencies and the Federal Police controls the two administrative zones of Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa but they also provide support to regional police agencies on request. The extent of their involvement in different regions differs according to the ability of the region to capacitate

the police which is largely dependent on the economic strength and advancement of the region. In the advanced regions such as Amhara, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region, and Oromia, the Federal Police extend support through the regional security and administrative offices, while in other less advanced regions they have greater influence thus lessening the accountability of the regional state on policing (Greene & Kebede, 2012: 25).

This section aims to discuss the evolution of policing in Ethiopia after the overthrow of the *Dergue* regime and analyses the extent to which politics has influenced policing post 1991 in Ethiopia.

4.2 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLICE FORCE

Security and justice in Ethiopia are characterised by a long standing pluralism of law enforcement groupings and the police are just one of a number of dispute resolution mechanisms in the country. The militia and the elders operate along the Federal and State police in dealing with policing issues in the country. Militias are present in every Regional State and substantially outnumber the Regional Police. They are generally armed volunteers, some of whom were a part of the ethno-nationalist guerrilla groups fighting against the *Dergue*. They are responsible for policing duties such as community patrols and manning checkpoints at the entrance to towns and they form an important complement to the policing resources – for instance in Amhara there are approximately 128 000 militia as compared with 14 000 Regional Police. There is a perception in the larger section of the Ethiopian society that the militia, more than the police, are the representative of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front and they are also more accessible than the police. The use of militias for policing duties alongside the police in the immediate aftermath of a conflict is not a unique thing in Ethiopia as it happens in many other countries that experienced conflicts (Baker, 2013:297).

According to Human Rights Watch/Africa (1997:4) more civilians who were suspected of supporting the armed opposition were held and tortured by security forces under the authority of

regional governments in 1996 and 1997. This report indicates that the suspected people who were detained faced the greatest risk of political killings, torture, harsh and inhumane treatment, mainly at the hands of members of rural militias and other security forces that enforce law and order in remote rural areas. The actions of the militia is largely seen as the extension of policing because according to Shuffa (2014:68) about 1 234 police officers were taken to train and lead the militia by the *Dergue* rule in 1982.

Police crackdowns on political opponents of the ruling Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front indicate how the police can be used to severely curtail the exercise of civil and political rights. The denial by the government to grant the Ethiopian Human Rights Council legal status on the contention that it is a political organisation, thus making it to function under difficult circumstances clandestinely reinforced the belief of the use of the police for political ends among most people (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:3).

The government went ahead to restrict the protests by introducing the system whereby the people who will want to protest have to be given the permission to do so, while this was a noble management tool to control protests in the country. The government used to frustrate those who were applying for permits to protest by not responding in time thus leading to unauthorised protests. It is during these protests that the police arrest protesters and demand that they accept having participated in an illegal march and sign an undertaking that they will not do that again to guarantee their release. Demonstrations by shopkeepers and students in Addis Ababa in 1997 are a typical example of this (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:3). The principle here was to threaten people with unknown punishment should they not accede to signing an undertaking and thus deterring them from participating in similar protests or demonstrations in future.

The involvement of the police in furthering the political agenda eroded the credibility of this new police force that was established under civilian control and was supposed to be accountable to the law of the land (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:3). The police also received negative publicity when two of the three British police who were working on international police training programme were seriously injured in the bomb attack in Addis Ababa in April 1997 even though

there was no evidence that they were deliberately targeted. This programme was to restructure the Ethiopian Police along civilian line (Martin, 1997:3).

The 2005 elections were a turning point in Ethiopian political discourse. The Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front, under pressure to demonstrate progress on democratisation, opened political space allowing opposition parties access to media outlets and to organise rallies (Aalen & Tronvoll 2008: 112). For the purpose of winning the election, four opposition parties joined together as the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) and were able to compete for all seats in the National Parliament, as well as in City Councils in other parts of the country, such as Addis Ababa and Amhara (Pausewang, 2009: 552-4).

On election day, to the surprise of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front, the Coalition for Unity and Democracy won 172 of 547 seats in the lower house and the control of the Addis Ababa City Council (ICG 2012: 4). This is despite claims by international observers (but rejected by the Ethiopian government) that extensive rigging took place and that the elections fell below international standards (ICG 2012:4).

The Coalition for Unity and Democracy believed that it had been robbed of a national electoral victory and hence organised street demonstrations to contest the results. These demonstrations turned violent and were perceived by the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front to constitute an attempt to subvert the political process and overthrow the democratically elected government (Aalen & Tronvoll 2008: 112; ICG 2012: 4). The subsequent crack down, carried out primarily by the Ethiopian Federal Police, resulted in 193 deaths (including at least six police officers), 20 000 arrests and detention of over 70 opposition leaders, journalists and activists (ICG 2012: 4). However Denney and Kassaye (2013:v) are of the view that police transformation in Ethiopian may require a broader decoupling of the police from politics, which is probably not possible in the current political context.

According to the Federal Police Strategic Plan (1997: 5), the vision of the Ethiopian Police post 1991 era was to become the most professional, reliable and modern public institution by maintaining peace and security in the country. This vision also had provisions for safeguarding

the well-being, human rights of citizens, contributing to the rule of law and prevalence of justice. It was articulated in 1995 and altered in 2003 when the Ethiopian Police came up with a five year plan with a vision to see the Federal Police Commission being a more open, transparent, accountable, performance oriented, reliable, trusted professional service provider to the satisfaction of the public at large in safeguarding the well-being and human rights of the citizens and contributing to the rule of law, good governance, justice and socio-economic development of the country by complying to and enforcing the constitution of the country (Federal Police Strategic Plan, 2004: 11).

In pursuance of this vision the Ethiopian Police Force went through rigorous structural changes. The entire police force was dissolved and the new armed wing of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front assumed the policing and the internal security issues as well as the national defence of the country. The police was then re-established in 1994 and because of the symbiotic relationship between the police and the army during this period the policing and security of the country was tilting between the police and the army. This was due to decades of exercise of police powers by military forces operating in towns as well as in rural areas. When the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) phased-out the core Tigrean Peoples' Liberation Front (TPLF) fighting force, they integrated them into the new police and internal security structures. The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia retained the peasant association and *kebele* system for the purposes of local administration and the consolidation of political control. Officials of the ruling coalition oversaw the system and commanded the peasant militias attached to it (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:17).

Foreign governments offered special programmes designed to train and increase the efficiency of the federal and regional police. One of the main areas of British and German bilateral assistance to Ethiopia has been the capacity building and strengthening of the management capabilities of the police force. This assistance included the establishment of educational facilities and the review of international standards and regulations. The states have followed the federal blueprint in establishing their own police structures and controls (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:14).

4.3 THE ETHIOPIAN FEDERAL POLICE COMMISSION AND THE REGIONAL POLICE

The federal police are accountable to the Ministry of Federal Affairs in relation to management issues, but operate independently when it comes to operational police work. They are mainly responsible for the prevention and investigation of crimes that relate to state security, including transnational crimes. They play a coordinating role at the national level and are responsible for the development of national policing standards and new initiatives such as community policing. In addition, they provide professional and technical advice, support and training to the regional police. In relation to the investigation of federal crimes committed within regions, the federal police have delegated powers to the regional police, though they also provide support in the investigation of federal crimes, especially in the case of complex investigations, when requested to do so. They have a strong presence in the regions that are identified as having a high national security concern.

Regions have their own police forces, though for the most part they rarely reach below the level of the *woredas* (districts). The regional police are accountable to the regional Security and Administration Office in relation to policy and financial matters, but are independent when it comes to the actual implementation of police work. Compared to the federal police, the regional police have less technical capacity and human and financial resources (Ministry of Capacity Building, 2005).

The regional police are very limited in terms of staffing numbers and practical skills as well as the weak investigation skills that lead to lengthy investigations and often inadequate evidence for the courts. They also lack basic communication equipment; transport and investigation kits are in limited supply. They also do not have the capacity to do forensic tests like fingerprint, ballistic and document testing, and have to send samples to the federal laboratory, which can take months to return results. A very high percentage of criminal cases in the regions end up in courts with no forensic evidence, which is one of the reasons for prosecution having a very low success due to the failure of providing evidence that will prove the guilt of the offenders. Policing at the *kebele* level is done mostly by militia, though their role is one of maintaining peace and security than regular policing (Gebrewald, 2005).

The militias are local people who work part-time as militia in the evenings and nights. Typically, there are 5 militias for 100 households. Militias therefore have much larger numbers and a wider presence than the regional police (Ministry of Capacity Building, 2005). In practice, the militia report to the *kebele* administrator, though this is not a formalised structure. Initially, members receive 5–10 days training from the *woreda* Security and Administration Office, but there is no skills upgrading after that. They are frequently accused of being partial and of demanding bribes and they lack the capacity to always enforce their authority. Even so, in many local settings the presence of militia is vital to maintaining peace and security and addressing the escalation of disputes (Ministry of Capacity Building, 2005).

4.4 THE POLICE FORCE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

According to Shuffa (2014: 69), the existing federal and regional police activities can be categorized into the period from 1991 to 2003 and from 2004 until to date. The first period was characterised by reorganising the police and focusing them to crime prevention, investigation and law enforcement tasks. The second phase focused on strategic issues and police transformation to be more professional and accountable to the community.

Andergachaw (2004:23) is of the opinion that the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) disbanded the police after taking over the government in May 1991, thus leaving the country without a police system for some time. Andergachaw’s assertion is contradicted by Shuffa (2014: 69), who is of the view that there was no vacuum created in the country as the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front created the core of the police system and dealt with how to organise the police, army and security well before the actual fall of the *Dergue* regime. Shuffa goes further to mention the resolution taken by the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front in 1990 on how the current police will be disbanded and replaced by the new police system as they were used as the machinery to oppress people by the *Dergue* regime (Report of EPRDF 1990:31).

According to Shuffa (2014: 69), this is exactly what happened when the *Dergue* was defeated. He further mentions that 123 police officers were trained from 1990 to 1991. This was materialising the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front’s policy of continued

policing after the defeat of the *Dergue*. The over throw of the *Dergue* and the coming to power of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front did not entirely change the influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia because the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front also pursued its own political ideology.

In terms of Proclamation No 8 of 1992, the re-organisation of the Ethiopian police after the disbanding of the police that was operating under the *Dergue* rule was based on the following principles:

- the decentralisation of the police force
- the composition of police to ensure that they consist of all nationalities
- the changing of the police from the paramilitary to a civilian and a professional agency
- the creation of a standardised police organisation throughout the country

Proclamation No 8 of 1992 empowered the Central Transitional Government to re-establish its own police force. The police force established by Regional Transitional Government by virtue of this proclamation has the power and duties to:

- investigate, prevent and control crime;
- investigate, prevent and control crimes committed in violation of the human rights guaranteed by the Transitional Period Charter;
- investigate in accordance with the law crimes committed and submit reports to the appropriate organ;
- carry out court decrees and orders of the courts;
- perform other security and police duties as may be assigned to them by the Central Transitional Government or the National/Regional Transitional Self-Government as the case may be.

Proclamation No 8 of 1991 clearly indicates that the established force should be independent of any political organisation and should be accountable to the Regional Transitional Self-Government. However Article 7 of the Ethiopian Federal Constitution of 1995 emphasise that

the Central Transitional Government has the power to coordinate and harmonize police activities where more than one regional self-government is involved. In addition, this article gives the Central Transitional Government the powers and duties to:

- establish various technical organs to control sophisticated crimes;
- establish, as may be necessary, a police department (special police force) to discharge police duties that are within the responsibility of the Central Transitional Government;
- determine the ceiling of the manpower of the police force of the Regional Self-Government;
- issue the recruitment criteria and directives of the police force and ensure their proper implementation;
- supply National/Regional Self-Government with the necessary manpower and material required for the training of the police force conducted by the former or itself, conduct such training depending on the magnitude of the training;
- Issue police regulations and lay down police principles and oversee their implementation.

Having these, the Transitional Government established security forces with members who were recruited basically from urban and rural areas with the full participation of the community. The newly established police force was the hybrid of three groups: Based on the above policy and recruitment criteria, the first Federal Police Force was formed from the following four entities: 51% were former police officers who were selected by the community to re-join the new police force. The second category was 1.3% police officers that had been trained by Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front before the fall of the *Dergue*; the third category, 6.25% that were brought from the army; and the last category was of the new recruits (Shuffa, 2014:70).

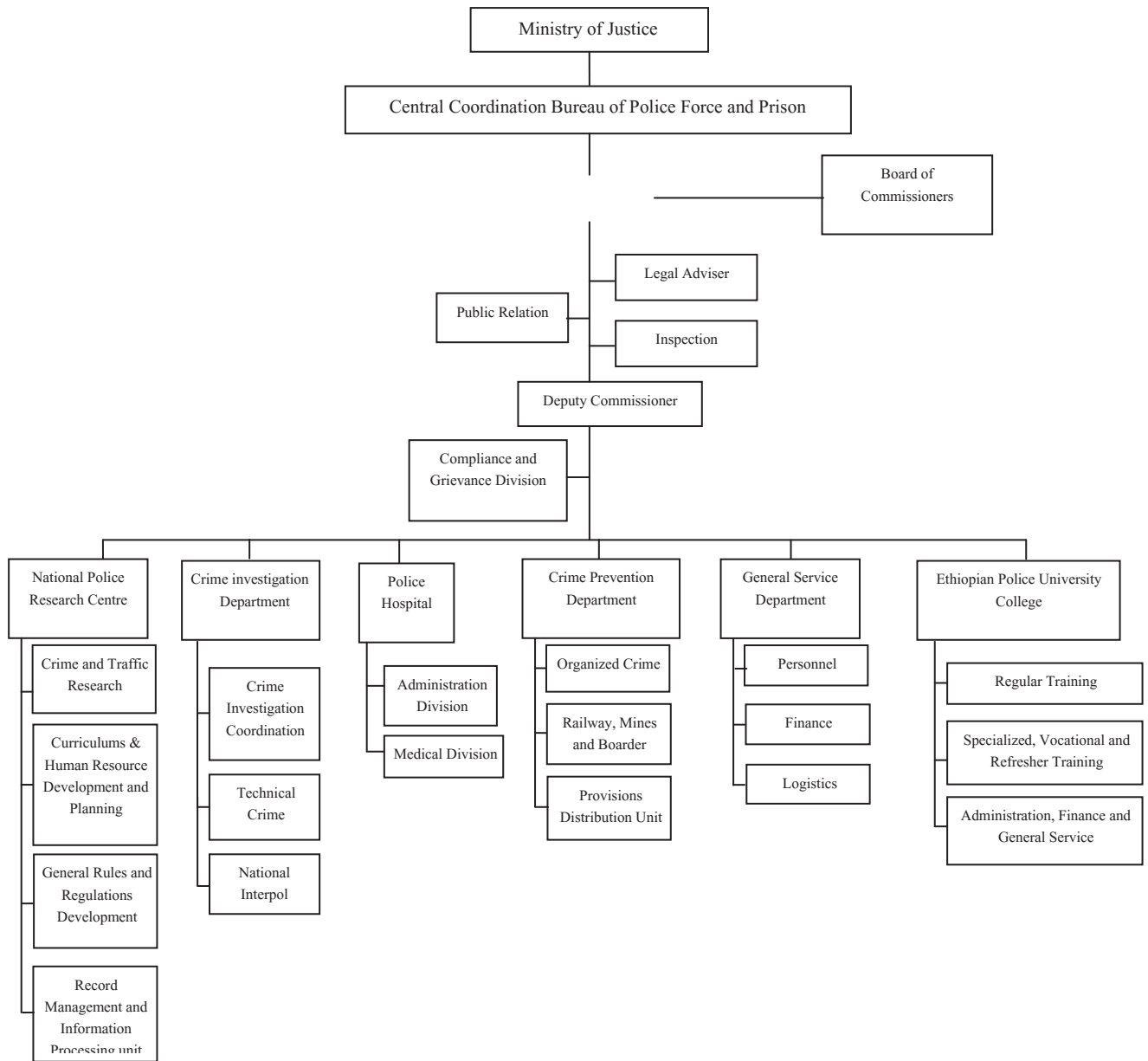
Consequently, 522 special police officers (*Adma Bitena*) were recruited in the year 1991 under the authority of the central transitional government. This special force was responsible for ensuring safety during protests, protecting institutions and building up of peace and security. In the year 1992, additional police officers (*Liyu Tibeka*) were recruited from Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front members and trained at Kolfe Police Training Centre. In most part of the country the police institutions began to operate with the acceptance of the society so that this could bring about relative peace in the country (Andargatchew, 2004: 26).

Figure 3 below depicts the organisational arrangement of Ethiopian Police Force from 1995 to 2003. After the FDRE's Constitution came into effect in August 1995, the Federal Government, by enacting a proclamation, established a Federal Police Force which was accountable to the Central Coordination Bureau of Police and Prison. The Bureau was responsible for coordinating all police and prison matters at federal level and directed both Central Police Force and Central Prison Administration. The Ministry of Justice was a responsible political organ for the Bureau.

The Central Coordination Bureau was headed by the Commissioner who was appointed by the Prime Minister upon the recommendation of the Minister of Justice. The Commissioner was accountable to the Ministry of Justice. He was responsible for managing and coordinating the activities of the Police Force and Prison Administration. The commissioner had three offices and six departments that were accountable to him. In addition, the Bureau had Deputy Commissioner and Assistant Commissioners who assisted the commissioner in his function.

There was also a Board of Commissioners which was composed of the Central Police Commissioner (Chairperson), Deputy Commissioner, regional police force commissioners and central bureau assistant commissioners. The board was responsible for security issues and national standards of policing as well as any other common issues. It has to be noted that from 1991 to 1994 the *Dergue* regime structure was kept and Police was accountable to the Ministry of Interior Affairs.

Figure 3: Organisational Arrangement of Ethiopian Police Force from 1995 to 2003



4.4.1 The Organisation and Administration of the Federal Police Commissions

Through time, it became necessary to have a strong civil police institution which is loyal to the Constitution and respectful to the laws enacted in accordance with the Constitution, equipped with adequate training and duly respect for human and democratic rights. Consequently, the organisation and administration of the Federal Police was enacted in 2000 by Proclamation No.

207 of 2000. The proclamation established the federal police commission as a federal organ with its own jurisdiction. The commission had its head office in Addis Ababa and branch offices in other places. It had a detailed and elaborate duties as opposed to previous proclamations.

Accordingly, federal police commission had the following powers and duties:

- to prevent and investigate any crime that fall under the jurisdiction of Federal Courts;
- to execute orders issued by courts having judicial powers and by the Federal Public Prosecutors; to safeguard the security of boarders, airports, railway lines and terminals, mining areas, and vital institutions of the Federal Government;
- to provide assistance in time of emergency and cooperate with concerned organs;
- to give protection to higher officials of the Federal Government and dignitaries of foreign countries;
- to render professional and technical advice and support to regional police commissions upon the requests of regions,
- to give assistance in the prevention and investigation of criminal cases;
- to issue certificate of no criminal record;
- to study causes of crimes and design the preventive methods thereto;
- to delegate the powers of investigation of federal offences to regional police Commissions as may be necessary;
- to collect, conduct research and distribute criminal information and statistical data;
- create a nationwide system for criminal data collection and processing;
- to delegate police powers to other organs or civil servants for the execution of certain activities as may be necessary;
- to carry out technical investigations and give testimony to federal and regional organs;
- to exchange information by establishing relationship with international police; and
- to enter into contracts, to own property, to sue and be sued in its own name (Proclamation No 207 of 2000).

The above goes to show the numerous tasks and mandate given to the police to function efficiently. The federal police commission is managed and coordinated by the commissioner, who is appointed by the Prime Minister upon the recommendation of the Minster of Justice.

Moreover, the Minister of Justice has the power to direct and supervise the Commission and to submit to the government the budget of the commission and follow up its implementation upon approval (Proclamation No 207 of 2000).

Another advancement brought by Proclamation No 207 of 2000 is the way a police officer is recruited. According to the proclamation, any Ethiopian citizen who is willing to serve as a policeman/woman shall be loyal to the Constitution of the current government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia; have the required educational standard and be physical fit; have good reputation in the community; have no previous record of participating in criminal activities; be not less than 18 years of age; not be a member of any political organisation. In addition, direction was given to take account for a balanced representation of gender and nationalities of people. Any member of the federal police had the duty to perform his activities by honouring human and democratic rights enshrined in the constitution.

The proclamation also stipulates the relationship between the Federal Police Commission and the Regional Police Commissions where the regional police organs are accountable to the Federal Police Commission when investigating federal criminal cases. The federal commission has the responsibility to give training and professional assistance and other supports to regional police Commissions, while the latter send reports and statistical data to the former to be commonly used for research and for general purposes. The two police agencies are obliged to hold a joint meeting at least once a year. But, it did not exclusively state who will preside over such meetings (Proclamation No 207 of 2000).

Based on this proclamation (No 207 of 2000), a cutting edge reorganisation of the Federal Police Commission was made in 2002. The Commission had established four organs with their own specific objectives and vision. The organs are; Crime Prevention, Crime and Forensic Investigation, Police University College and Human Resource Development. This organisational development equipped the Federal Police with the tools and knowledge necessary to better tackle the crime threats of the country. However, jurisdictional conflict was observed between the Federal and Regional Police Commissions.

4.4.2 The Relationship between the Federal and Regional Police Commissions

In 2003 the Federal Police Commission Proclamation No 313 of 2003 that clearly delineates the relationship between the Federal and Regional Police Commissions was passed. One of the new initiatives in this proclamation was the authority given to Federal Police Commissioner to preside over any meeting between the Federal and Regional police commissions. The Federal Commission also got the authority to establish the Federal Police Rapid Reaction Force, Crime investigation and other organs that carry out the powers and functions of the Commission in any region.

Another development was the establishment of the Police Commission of Addis Ababa City Administration and the Police Commission of Dire Dawa City Administration under the Federal Police Commission. The two commissions were accountable to their respective city administration through delegation by the Federal Police Commission whereas, the Federal Police Commission was restructured under the Ministry of the Federal Affairs. Delineating the role of federal and regional police, the federal police is responsible for controlling large criminal offences in accordance with existing laws for the support of state police in various regional areas and it is also responsible for basic and advanced training of police officers in general and for advanced training schemes in specialised training (Federal Police Commission Proclamation No 313 of 2003).

The organisational structure involves the top board of commissioners. Its objective is to increase mutual understanding and cohesion among regional police as well as between federal and regional police forces. The board of commissioners is composed of regional police commissioners and federal police commissioners departments. The board is chaired by the police force central bureau commissioner or by a person delegated by him. According to the Federal Police Commission Proclamation No 313 of 2003 the board is responsible for the following activities:

- To decide on plans and programmes to be implemented in the regions

- To decide on policy issues emanating from research and exert every effort for its implementation
- To involve in standard setting (training, uniforms, manpower quota etc.)
- To devote their time and knowledge for the proper application of the standards
- To create conditions that brings mutual and good relationship between regions
- Joint decision by the regions and federal police to decide on the selection of employees to be trained in higher educational institutions
- To conduct annual meeting to evaluate past experience and to plan for the future

As seen above, the duties and responsibilities of the federal police, the state police and the city are delineated. However, it has been noted that there are no legal or other procedures that regulate the execution of the decision taken together.

4.4.3 Re-organisation of the Ethiopian Federal Police Commission

With complex and intertwined crime of the 21st century and the development of democracy within the country, it had become necessary to reorganise the federal police again. As a result a new proclamation cited as the "Ethiopian Federal Police Commission Establishment Proclamation No. 720 of 2011" was enacted in 2011. This is the recent proclamation, on which the current Ethiopian Federal Police Commission is working on.

One can understand the sophistication level and the advancements reached by the Federal Police Commission by simply observing the additional duties of the commission incorporated in this proclamation. New duties like investigating crimes relating to counterfeiting currencies, tax laws, payment instruments, information network, computer system, human trafficking, abduction, hijacking and terrorism were included. In addition, this proclamation directs the joint council of federal and regional police commissions to hold ordinary meeting four times a year (Ethiopian Federal Police Commission Establishment Proclamation No. 720 of 2011). This can be seen as a desire to strengthen their relationship.

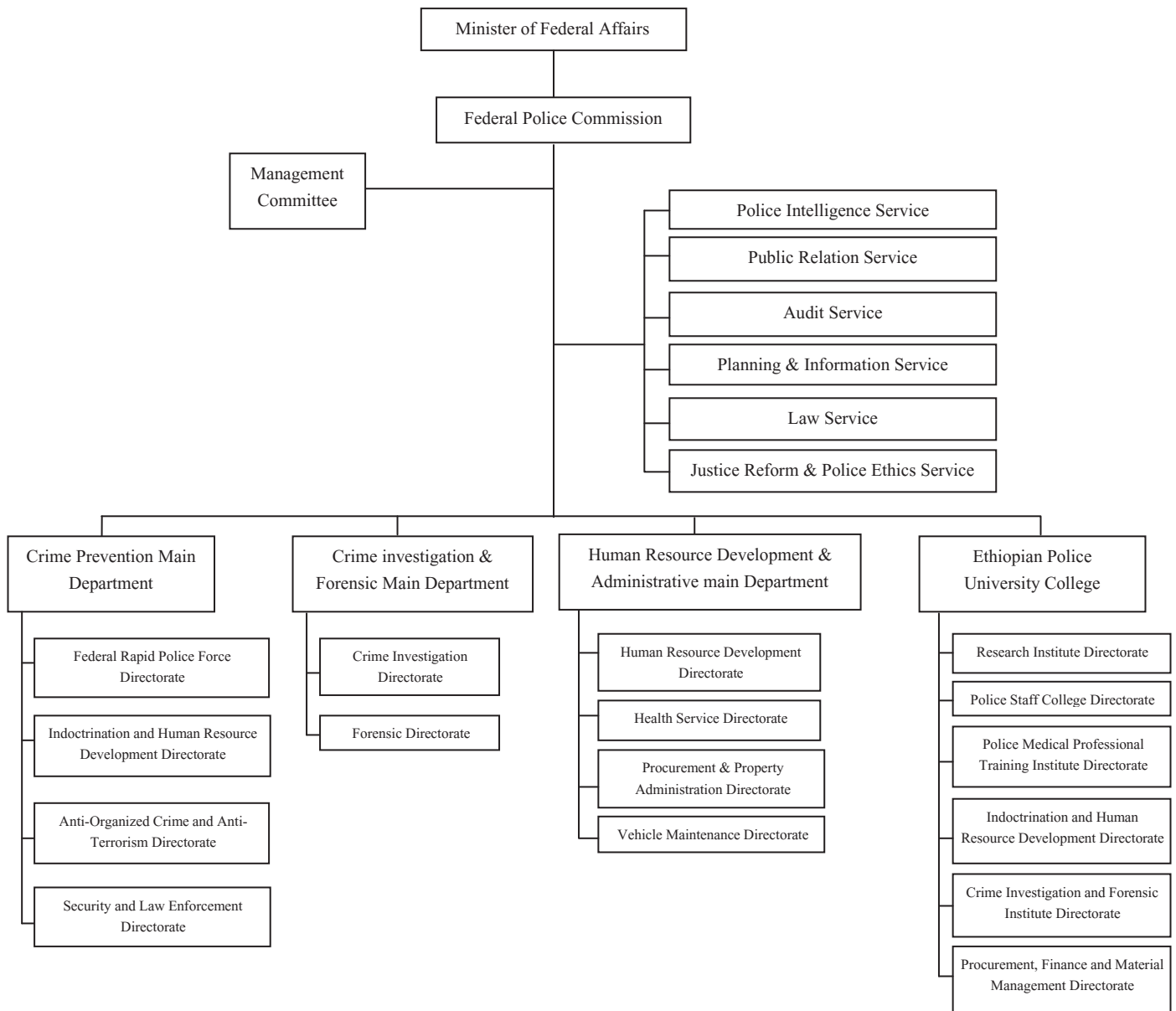
Figure 4 below depicts the organisational structure of the Ethiopian Police Force from 2004 to today. Reform programme upon the organisation and administration of the Federal Police was on progress to provide police services in line with the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia's Constitution. As a result, for the first time clear and detailed duties and responsibilities were declared on June 2000 by Proclamation No. 207 of 2000. The Proclamation consolidated the power of Ministry of Justice to supervise the Federal Police. Following to Federal Police Commission Proclamation No. 313/2003 (enacted on January 2013), the Ethiopian Federal Police Commission is accountable to the Ministry of the Federal Affairs. The Commissioner General is the chief executive officer of the Police Commission and directs and administers the activities of the Commission. Under the direction of the Commissioner General there are six service functions; Police Intelligence Service, Public Relation Service, Audit Service, Planning & Information Service, Law Service and Justice Reform & Police Ethics Service. These services will help, among others, to increase the effectiveness and economic efficiency of the Police Commission. They support the Commissioner General in avoiding and exposing weak points, faults and wrong reactions, and come up with recommendations and ideas for decision making.

Moreover, under the Commissioner General there are four Main Departments, namely; Crime Prevention, Crime Investigation & Forensic Department, Human Resource Development & Administration and Ethiopian Police University College. Each Department is led by Deputy Commissioner General who is responsible to oversee its respective department and assist the Commissioner General in planning, organising, directing and coordinating the activities of the commission. Then, each Department is sub-divided into different directorates with their respective heads and operational staff.

At the top the organisation the Police Commission have a Management Committee whose members are the Commissioner General (Chairperson), the Deputy Commissioner Generals and other officials of the Commission designated by the Minister of Federal Affairs upon the recommendation of the Commissioner General. The committee deliberates on issues that are referred to it by the Commissioner General. Figure 4 indicates that the organisational structure

has a broad based structure indicating decentralised execution of duties and clearly indicates a range of operations. Such type of organisational structures enables effective and efficient utilisation of man power and resources, as well as smooth cooperation with relevant stakeholders.

Figure 4: Organisational Arrangement Ethiopian Police Force from 2004 to today



4.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLICE AND POLITICS

The continuous changing of proclamations in Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front regime can be attributed to the dynamic behaviour of the Police Commission to learn from mistakes and adjust to new environments. This is a big improvement especially when compared with *Dergue* regime which had no Police Proclamation. Bringing good governance to the Ethiopian police involves reviewing and reforming the decision-making process in the force. It also means ensuring that the implementation of decisions reflect the principles of good governance. But, the change could also indicate that police have not been exempt from the political winds that have blown in different directions in the country. According to Kelling and Coles (1996:214), complete political neutrality cannot be possible in policing because the very same law that the police might be called upon to enforce might be political.

Although legislation is democratic in the sense that it is the outcome of a democratic process conducted by democratically elected representatives, even the most naïve observer of the legislative process knows that many laws reflect partisan values and interests, and that police will be expected to enforce at least some of these laws. Even the enforcement process might be influenced by ongoing political events and the expectations of an incumbent political power. Therefore, keeping politics out of policing is a wonderful gesture that is unrealistic in most instances. Shuffa (2005:25) states that this is largely because the police are accountable to the political power that controls the government.

The relationship between the political office bearers and the police is based on the principles of de-centralisation and self-government. While the regional police departments are directly responsible for the regional governments whereas the central police forces are responsible for the Federal government. The central police force is coordinated by Bureau created to coordinate the police force and correctional administrative services headed by a commissioner (Andargatchew, 2004: 29). The police force established both at central government and regional governments are thought to be independent of any political forces (Andargatchew, 2004: 28).

The reorganising process headed by the then Deputy Commissioner of the Ethiopian Federal Police Commission - Dr Abkadir Hassen Shuffa - in 1991 through a commission composed of eight senior police officers dealt with the reorganisation of the police that was based among

others on the principle of police decentralisation to ensure that the power to police is divided between the federal government and the regional states (Shuffa, 2014: 70). This was coupled with the decentralisation of functions such as management and resource utilisation, in order to devolve some decision making power (Hassen, 2002:39).

Although decentralising the police structure could be seen as a step in the right direction towards good governance, the question is whether the police are relating better to the public and if the change of structure has brought about a change of behaviour? The impartial enforcement of laws requires the operation of fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially, as well as the existence of an independent judiciary. It also requires the full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities and an impartial and incorruptible police force. Simultaneously, there should be decentralisation of functions such as management and resource utilisation, in order to devolve some decision-making power to the community (Hassen, 2005:45).

4.6 POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY

Various proclamations and the recruitment practices that were dealt with are designed to make the police to be accountable to the people of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The recruitment of new police officers is carried out with the full participation of the local community to ensure that undesirable individuals are not recruited. Police officers who were serving the previous regime were certified by the community to be free from any crime or wrong doing in the previous dispensation for them to continue to serve under the new dispensation (Andargatchew, 2004: 29).

From the above, it could be inferred that accountability of police force under the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is to the people. The accountability is both direct and indirect. Directly, police is responsible to the local community and the community gives its consent for the police officer to be a police officer. Indirectly, the police is responsible to the democratically elected government. The federal government and regional government set the policy of policing and demand the implementation to that effect. Therefore, these governments appoint police commissioners to make sure that the government security policy is implemented and the need of the people is satisfied by police services.

4.7 POLICE OVERSIGHT BODIES

Under the current federal government, the federal police is supervised by the Ministry of Federal Affairs as per proclamation No. 720 of 2011. The Ministry of Federal Affairs is headed by a civilian who is a member of the council of ministers. Thus the council of ministers is headed by the Prime Minister and it is the supervisory body of the Federal Police. In addition to this the Federal Police Commissioner General and Deputy Commissioner Generals are appointed by the ruling party. Hence it can be said that the ruling political party in power directly supervises the police organisation through its appointed commissioners. Moreover, the police is among the many agencies which ought to present its performance report to the People's Representatives House Legal and Administration Standing Committee. Thus, the standing committee is one of the over sight bodies (Ethiopian Federal Police Commission proclamation No 720 of 2011).

4.8 THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF POLITICAL INTERVENTION IN THE POLICE

The newly revised Ethiopian Federal Police Commission Proclamation No 720 of 2011 provides the nature and extent of political interventions. Accordingly, the current political intervention in policing environment is through the Ministry of Federal Affairs. Article 8 of the proclamation No 780 of 2011 provides that the Minister shall have the following powers and duties over the police:

- Approve the appointment of commissioners, deputy commissioners and assistant commissioners upon the recommendation of the Commissioner General of the Federal Police Commission.
- Examine and approve the Federal Police Commission annual plan and budget; and
- Evaluate the performance report and financial reports of the Federal Police Commission.

Moreover, Article 10/3(a) of the Ethiopian Federal Police Commission proclamation No 720 of 2011 provides that the Federal Police Commission management committee shall submit the commission's proposal on organisational structure, budget and performance reports to the

government. In cases of regional police institutions it is regional governments who have the responsibility to decide on the appointment of the commissioners of the regional police forces.

Therefore, from the above provisions it is clear that the minister (in most cases who is the member of the ruling party) is the one who has the responsibility to approve the appointment of the high ranking police officials and has great influence to approve police plan and budget. Thus, the Minister of Federal Affairs has significant impact on deciding the duty of police and its budget.

4.9 THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE POLICE DURING THE STATE OF EMERGENCY

Police involvement was observed during the participation of young people in the riots of 2001 and 2005. In April 2001, protests occurred after students demonstrations in Addis Ababa and in the months following the national elections held in May 2005, young people took to the streets in support of the opposition. To the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front leadership, these events suggested a dangerous alliance between opposition politics and ordinary street crime, which needed to be addressed energetically. They called them names such as gangsters and dangerous vagrants; and responded by unleashing the police on them. Some people interpreted the use of the police in dealing with this as periodical shift of the police work to attend to the political strives (Toggia, 2008b:36).

But one may also argue that such a response by the police is quite common and universal in stable democracies. Even modern democracies are not immune from becoming police regimes in specific periods of recurring state crises as in the United States in the 1960's and in France in 2005. What matters is the degree of accountability in the use of force.

4.10 THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE ON POLICING

Another related development worth noting is the commencement of community policing which started way back in 1997 when members of the Ethiopian Federal Police undertook community policing training that was provided by British trainers in Addis Ababa. Subsequently, following this, some senior officers travelled to Europe to undertake further training and returned to

sensitise other members about the community policing approach. This sparked an interest within the Federal Police and key individuals began to read more about the approach and to articulate how it could be shaped to help address the challenges faced by policing in Ethiopia. It is important to note that the development and implementation of community policing was happening within the context of the dramatic 2005 elections, as well as increasing crime rates in the country (Lisa and Demelesh, 2013: iv).

After 2005, the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front made efforts to expand its structures of mobilisation and control, and to prevent future political unrest. Community policing and development programmes focusing on the youth were part of its broader political strategy to secure peace (Aalen & Tronvoll, 2009a). Community policing involved the creation of a network of informers through which the police collected information about the activities of individuals or groups on the streets and in the communities. From the way in which the police manage to get information from communities, it would seem that the launch of the practice of community policing has strengthened the effectiveness of the police through the improvement of relations between the force and the community at large.

Meanwhile, programmes and interventions with street youth operationalised a sort of Aristotelian syllogism that linked crime, political dissent and unemployment. Engaging with crime was believed to be a consequence of unemployment, and unemployment was what moved young people to protest. Street protests were thus an expression of criminal attitudes of the unemployed youth. Hence, providing employment would not just tackle crime and dissent; it was also a tool for political mobilisation (Marco, 2014: 46).

4.11 CONCLUSION

It is clear that the Ethiopian Police Force had evolved from a simple Civil Police functioning into an advanced institution in the last 60 years. Especially a tremendous growth has been achieved since the year 2000. However, it can also be observed that the police function was not free from the influence of the state in all three regimes, even though the level of involvement or interference differs.

It is evident that the Ethiopian police force, since its inception in 1942 had attained, though not perfect, a certain level of standard that needs to be reckoned with. The continuous changes that were done on the police due to the change of the political rulers of the country stifled the rapid development of a professional policing in Ethiopia. This is the cost that has to be paid when the police force falls under the control of interest groups or that of a political party. The police force should be made up of independent civil servants, serving the people, under the law, no matter who holds the reign of power.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to chronologically identify the influence of politics in policing, interviews were conducted with police officers and reputable public members who experience policing prior to 1991 and after 1991. Questionnaire was also distributed to the current serving members of the Ethiopian Police Force to thoroughly understand the influence and the impact of politics in policing and its impact thereof. The thorough understanding of the current influence of politics in policing is essential in order to make recommendations that are current and usable to the Ethiopian Police Force.

This chapter outlines the research methodology that was used in this study to indicate the appropriateness of the methodology used in answering the research questions and determining the achievement of the objectives stated in this study. The demarcation and the sample of the study are given to ensure that the scope of the study and the sample used is well understood. The validity and reliability of the collected data and the manner in which it was analysed is dealt with to indicate the trustworthiness of the findings of this study. Lastly, the extent to which ethics has been observed in the collection of data, analysis of the collected data and the presentation of the findings is given.

5.2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology encompasses a philosophy of the research process that is undertaken to explore, describe or explain a phenomenon. It is a body of information and way of thinking about the principles underlying a sound research practice which includes the assumptions and values that provide the demarcation, data and the sample of the research. It offers research principles that are linked to the paradigm which serve as a strategy of acceptable research practices (Babbie & Mouton, 2010:103). In other words it provides direction to the entire research and ensures the systematic investigation of the phenomenon to arrive at valid findings.

Mouton (2013:33) and De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delpont (2005: 73) state that there are three known research approaches, namely; qualitative, quantitative and mixed method. This research will use all the three approached for triangulation and to ensure that comprehensive information that will lead to valid findings is collected.

Qualitative research: Qualitative research seeks the meanings and motivations behind behavior as well as a thorough account of behavioural facts and implications via a researcher's encounter with people's own actions, words and ideas. This method also encompasses a variety of approaches, methods and techniques for understanding and thoroughly documenting attitudes and behaviour. It employs small samples but detailed description in data collection and it can also use group discussions and non-standardised interview techniques. Matthew and Ross (2010: 142) describe it as consisting of detailed descriptions of situations, events, participants, interactions, observed behaviours from people.

Since the objectives of the research are to describe and understand the phenomenon it used descriptive research method in order to critically assess, evaluate and interpret facts and the attitudes and opinion of respondents on the influence of the politics in policing in Ethiopia. It examined the institutional relationship between Ethiopian police vis-à-vis politics based on established constitution and convention and how they are put in practice using an empirical approach. This is assessed within the framework of bureaucratic environment by way of evaluating the comments and opinions of the interviewees.

It is also vital to understand the chain of responsibilities and hierarchical set up in the Ethiopian police in order to understand the relationships better. Furthermore, it looked at the relationship in Ethiopian context examining the political and social basis, the extent of capabilities and skills of

Ethiopian police and its performance seeking to understand how far and to what extent independence of police from politics is feasible. By this manner unravelled the relationship and extent of independence of the police force.

Quantitative research: Quantitative research on the other hand uses statistics to prove or disprove a point thus making the quality of the study to be premised on the effectiveness of data processing, analysis and interpretation. Gunter (2015:210) states that in quantitative research, measurement is conducted through numbers. Questionnaire was used and answered by the identified police officers

Mixed research method: Mixed method is where more than one research method is used and it assists in triangulating the research. This method recognises that both the quantitative and qualitative research are important and useful thus using both these approaches (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2015:14).

Interviews and questionnaire were conducted and distributed respectively by four fieldworkers, one per region. These fieldworkers were given an eight hour on the background and objectives of this study. This was done to enable them to have contextual understanding of the data that they were collecting. They were also trained on the interview schedule that they were to conduct and the questionnaires that they were to administer. They were briefed in details on how to record the interviews and pose the follow-up questions. Fieldworkers have their own time to visit study subjects at the most convenient time (Diall; Ceesay; Gosling; Alessandro & Baltzell, 2014:6)

5.3 RESEARCH DEMARCATION

Demarcation and limitations set parameters in a research project which establish the boundary, exceptions, reservations, and qualifications inherent in the study (Mwanje, 2012: 81). It narrows the scope of the research and clarifies the focus of the study by outlining relevant aspects of the research problem that is required to be covered in the study, during that study period. This research basically focused on influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia from the evolution of policing in Ethiopia until now. Hence it investigated administrative and operational relationship factors that enhance or minimise the influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia.

This research adopted policing as an activity or service and was not aimed at studying any police individual as such and hence the focus was on police force in its mandated areas. Therefore, it identified factors that have a role in shaping the performance of Ethiopian police in fulfilling its mandate. Focus was given on institutional aspects of policing, role and functions of Ethiopian police in various delegated areas and its professional competence in executing its mandate. These were analysed through various political eras that Ethiopia went through indicating how different administrations influenced the police and policing in Ethiopia. The imperial study was conducted in Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz, Oromia and Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional States. These four regional states were selected for the study because they represent regions that are still at the lower levels of development and those that are at the higher levels of development in Ethiopia. This was done to ensure that the sample is the true reflection of what is happening or experienced in Ethiopia as a whole.

5.4 RESEARCH SAMPLE

Generally sampling is a process of or method used to draw conclusions about the larger population by observing only a few units or few individuals of the population (Borse, 2005: 159; Tansey, 2006: 768). Making decision about study populations are central to methodological considerations since adoption of any crude sampling technique affect the data and thereby the

validity and reliability of the entire research. However, in qualitative research the purpose of sampling is to obtain representative units that could assist in the explanation or the comprehension of the phenomena under study.

Hence, for qualitative researchers the motivation is to obtain in-depth information of the issue through open ended unstructured questionnaires or interviews methods so as to help the researchers to understand the phenomenon being researched. As this research aimed at both explaining and understanding the influence of politics in policing both qualitative and quantitative paradigms were used which culminated into mixed method approach as stated above. Purposive sampling, which is a sampling method used for selecting respondents that the researcher considers as representative of the population who are deemed to have the information or experience that could be valuable in answering the asked questions and the stated objective of the study. According to Suri (2011: 65) the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research project.

Interviews were conducted with the identified informed members of the public and the police officers in all the four regions until the saturation point. For the informed members of the public prior to 1991 (these are literate people who are deemed to be aware of the political situation in the country) the saturation point was reached as follows: In Afar the saturation was reached at number 5 and the interviews were stopped after interviewing number 7; in Benishangul-Gumuz saturation was reached at number 7 and interviews were stopped after interviewing number 9; in Oromia the saturation was reached at number 11 and the interview was stopped after interviewing number 13; and in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples the saturation was reached at 6 and the interviews were stopped after interviewing number 8.

For the informed members of the public post 1991 (these are literate people who are deemed to be aware of the political situation in the country) the saturation point was reached as follows: In Afar the saturation was reached at number 7 and the interviews were stopped after interviewing number 9; in Benishangul-Gumuz saturation was reached at number 16 and interviews were stopped after interviewing number 18; in Oromia the saturation was reached at number 8 and the interview was stopped after interviewing number 10; and in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples the saturation was reached at 11 and the interviews were stopped after interviewing number 13.

For the police officers prior 1991 the saturation point was reached as follows: In Afar the saturation was reached at number 11 and the interviews were stopped after interviewing number 13; in Benishangul-Gumuz saturation was reached at number 9 and interviews were stopped after interviewing number 11; in Oromia the saturation was reached at number 11 and the interview was stopped after interviewing number 13; and in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples the saturation was reached at 15 and the interviews were stopped after interviewing number 17.

For the police officers post 1991 the saturation point was reached as follows: In Afar the saturation was reached at number 6 and the interviews were stopped after interviewing number 8; in Benishangul-Gumuz saturation was reached at number 10 and interviews were stopped after interviewing number 12; in Oromia the saturation was reached at number 14 and the interview was stopped after interviewing number 16; and in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples the saturation was reached at 9 and the interviews were stopped after interviewing number 11.

Quantitative research: A total number of 450 police officers participated in this study and they were selected for study based on simple random sampling method. These 450 respondents consisted of 403 males constituting 89.6% and 47 females constituting 10.4% as indicated on table 1 and figure 1 below. This extreme under representations of female police officers in the selected regional refute the claims by most police agencies in Ethiopia that there is a significant improvement in addressing gender parity in Police Departments and Ethiopian society in general. The total establishment of the police force in the entire Ethiopia is 88% males and 12% females. To get more comprehensive information on the influence of the politics in policing in Ethiopia it was necessary to solicit the experiences/views of the entire levels of the members of the police department. To this end of the 450 respondents their operational categorisation is as follows: 15.3% is top management; 38.6% is middle management; and 46.1% is lower management as indicated on table 2 below.

Table 1: Gender Composition in study areas

Gender	Number	Percentage
Male	403	86.6
Female	47	10.4
Total	450	100

Figure 1: Gender Composition in study areas

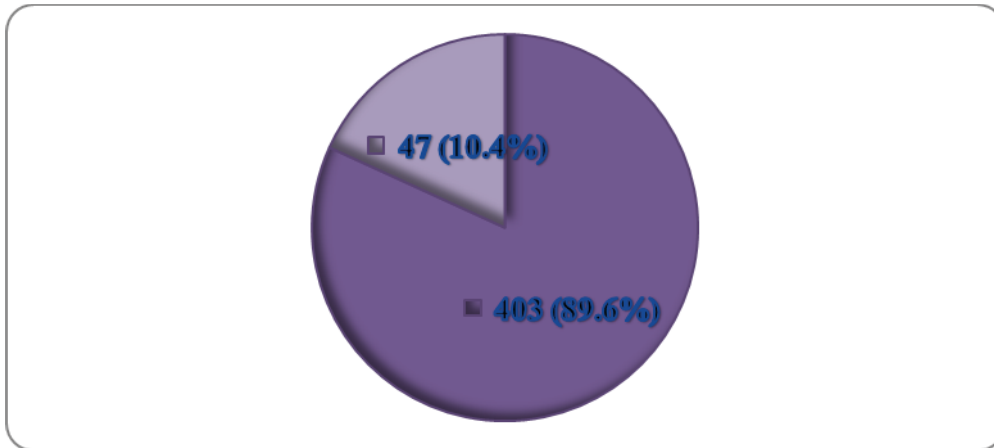


Table 2: Hierarchical Levels

Top Management		Middle Management		Lower Management	
Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
69	15.3	174	38.6	207	46.1

Table 3 illustrates the distribution of the police respondents disaggregated per the study regional state and gender as follows: Afar 17.7% males and 59.6% females constituting 38.8% to the total response rate; Benishangul-Gumuz 17.9% males and 6.4% females constituting 12.2% to the total response rate; Oromia 35.7% males and 12.8% females thus contributing 24.3% to the total response rate; and the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP) 28.5% males and 21.3% females, thus contributing 24.9% to the total response rate. These percentages are proportional to the composition of males and female police officers in these regions.

Ethiopia went through three political administrations as indicated in the literature chapters so it was important to get the experiences of these police officers some of which experienced the

influence of politics in the police while being members of the police force, others being ordinary citizens by then, while other could only attest to the present situation. Table 4 below indicates the age groups of the respondents that is categorised in a ten years life circle as follows: those who were 20 to 30 years old constituted 43.6%; those in the age bracket of 31 to 40 constituted 35.1%; those in the age bracket of 41 to 50 constitute 19.6% of the total response rate; and those in the age bracket of 51 to 60% constitute 1.8% of the total response rate. This is proportional to the composition of police manpower in Ethiopia as it has been indicated in the literature research that there has been the disbanding and re-organisation of the police force with every change of government. Although one can deduce that young and energetic police officers as indicated by this sampled population is important for the political power in the Ethiopian Government System and the country at large, one should also be mindful that these young police officers might lack the necessary experience in handling some complex and complicated policing issues in the country.

Table 3: Disaggregated respondents per region and gender

Region	Gender				Total
	Male		Female		
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
Afar	72	17.9	28	59.6	38.8%
Benishangul-Gumuz	72	17.9	3	6.4	12.2%
Oromia	144	35.7	6	12.8	24.3%
SNNP	115	28.5	10	21.3	24.9%

Table 4: Age Category and Region of the Respondents

Region	Age Category				Total
	20 – 30	31 – 40	41 - 50	51 - 60	
Afar	33 (7.3%)	43 (9.6%)	21 (4.7%)	3 (0.7%)	100 (22.2%)
Benishangul-Gumuz	26 (5.8%)	33 (7.3%)	13 (2.9%)	3 (0.7%)	75 (16.7%)
Oromia	88 (19.6%)	31 (6.9%)	31(6.9%)	0 (0.0%)	150 (33.3%)
SNNP	49 (10.9%)	51 (11.3%)	23(5.1%)	2 (0.4%)	125 (27.8%)
Total	196 (43.6%)	158 (35.1%)	88 (19.6%)	8 (1.8%)	450 (100.0)

Marital status of the respondents is as important as their age, gender and educational qualifications because they project a holistic profile of the type of people who are responsible for policing in Ethiopia. This is important because age and educational qualifications are normally associated with the capability of the individual to comprehend and account for certain actions. This is important as it could indicate police officers who are more cautious of the influence of politics to policing in Ethiopia. As reflected on table 5 below, 57.8% of the respondents were in a wedlock context as opposed 34% of those who were single or never married.

Table 6 below indicates that 60% have Grade 12 and lower while the other percentage has post-secondary school qualifications. Disaggregated into regional states it shows a fair spread of qualification profile of police officers in each regional state that indicate the investment that each regional state should invest in the up-skilling of police officers.

Table 5: Marital Status of the Respondents

Marital Status	Region								Total	
	Afar		Benishangul-Gumuz		Oromia		SNNP			
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Single/Never married	31	6.9	23	5.1	55	12.2	44	9.8	153	34.0
Married	59	13.1	44	9.8	85	18.9	72	16.0	260	57.8
Widower	6	1.3	3	0.7	3	0.7	5	1.1	17	3.8
Widowed	1	0.2	2	0.4	1	0.2	1	0.2	5	1.1
Divorced	3	0.7	3	0.7	3	0.7	2	0.4	11	2.4
Other(s)	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.7	1	0.2	4	0.8
Total	100	22.2	75	16.7	150	33.3	125	27.8	450	100.0

Table 6: Educational Status of the Respondents

Educational Status	Region				Total
	Afar	Benishangul-Gumuz	Oromia	SNNP	
Level Education (Grades 1-8)	23(5.1%)	7(1.6%)	1(.22%)	15(3.3%)	46(10.2%)
Grade 9	3(0.7%)	6(1.3%)	3(0.7%)	1(0.2%)	13(2.9%)
Grade 10	31(6.9%)	26(5.8%)	57(12.7%)	44(9.8%)	158(35.1%)
Grade 11	9(2.0%)	1(0.2%)	7(1.6%)	2(0.4%)	19(4.2%)
Grade 12	7(1.6%)	7(1.6%)	16(3.6%)	6(1.3%)	36(8.0%)
Certificate	7(1.6%)	6(1.3%)	14(3.1%)	7(1.6%)	34(7.6%)
Diploma	17(3.8%)	15(3.3%)	30(6.7%)	29(6.4%)	91(20.2%)
Advanced diploma	1(0.2%)	4(0.9%)	7(1.6%)	11(7.0%)	23(5.1%)
BA/BSc/Bed	2(0.4%)	1(0.2%)	10(2.2%)	7(1.6%)	20(4.4%)
MA/MSc/Med	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	4(2.2%)	2(0.4%)	6(1.3%)
PhD/DSW	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(0.2%)	0(0.0%)	1(0.2%)
Other(s): Grade (10+2)	0(0.0%)	2(0.4%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	2(0.4%)
Level IV (Grade 10+4)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(0.2%)	1(0.2%)
Total	100(22.2%)	75(16.7%)	150(33.3%)	125(27.8%)	450(100.0%)

Religion is another important dimension in the Ethiopian society as to some extent it regulates the social behaviour. Of those respondents who participated in the study 208 police officers constituting 46.2% were Orthodox Christians; 124 that constituting 27.6% were Muslims and 106 that constitute 23.6% were Protestants. Disaggregated per regional state the religious

affiliation as depicted on table 7 below is as follows: Afar has more Muslim police officers at 11.8% as compared to the Orthodox Christians who are 8.2%; Oromia has 18.4% Muslim police officers as compared to the 10.4% of Protestants; while in Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples had 10.7% were Orthodox Christians; 9.1% were Protestants; 6.9% were Muslims; and Benishangul-Gumuz had 8.9% Orthodox Christians and 5.3% Muslims. The analysis of this statistical information on religion indicates that there are more Orthodox Christians in Oromia than in other three regions.

Table 7: Religious Affiliation

Religion	Region							
	Afar		Oromia		SNNP		Benishangul-Gumuz	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Orthodox Christians	37	8.2	-	-	48	10.7	40	8.9
Muslims	53	11.8	83	18.4	31	6.9	24	5.3
Protestants	-	-	47	10.4	41	9.1	-	-

5.5 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection involves the actual process of collecting data as per the requirements of the research. In this study data collection involved the conducting of empirical and literature research. Empirical research was conducted with the identified sample as indicated above and literature research involved extensive search of documentary and electronic data of material that are relevant to this topic. Burnham (2014: 40) states that all research involves collection of documents and other literatures that serve the purpose of giving ideas and authenticity to the research and other primary sources that are collected directly from the people.

As indicated above this study utilized both primary and secondary data since both are necessary to fulfil the objectives of the research. Primary data are data that are collected to help solve a

problem or take advantage of an opportunity on which a decision is pending. They are information obtained directly from people who are identified and selected to be participants for the study. According to Zimmerman (2006:1) primary data may constitute audio data, video data, text data, and combination of these as well as any medium-generated data which may be in or converted to digital form.

Secondary data is the information that has already been printed or published. In this research, primary data was collected through questionnaires and interviews. **Questionnaires:** Questionnaires are research tools through which people are asked to respond to the same set of questions in a predetermined order (Dawson, 2002: 30-32). Questionnaires may be closed ended or open-ended questions. A closed question presents the respondent with a pre-determined selection of responses. Open-ended questions on the other hand give respondents the opportunity to give an answer to the question in their own words. Open-ended questions have an advantage in that they allow for elaboration in a response and so can provide insights into the meanings which respondents attach to their actions and beliefs (Miller & Brewer, 2003: 33). In this thesis both open and closed ended questionnaires were used to collect data from the respondents. These questions were first piloted with the similar population group to test whether they were indeed testing what they were designed to test and some minor alterations were made to some of them based on what was found during the pilot study.

Interview Guides: An interview is a conversation between people in which one person has the role of researcher (Dawson, 2002: 27-29). Very often, the interviewer will have on hand a set of written questions which are posed in a structured manner. In this study structured or semi-structured interview guides were used to collect data from the interviewees. According to Peabody (1990: 452) this types of questioning makes probing possible and gives the respondent considerable freedom to expand on a particular issue.

Document analysis- Documents are useful sources of information to understand the concept of police and politics, police independence vs. dependence and other related issues. Analysis was made from published documents such as policy documents, reports, manuscripts, statistic reports and other materials (Johnson & Reynolds, 2011: 178). Therefore, secondary data from books, articles, journals and website materials were analysed and relevant information were extracted from them and used to establish conceptual framework of the study.

5.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis depends very much on the adoption of research paradigms. It varies from positive connotations to post-positivist connotations and for quantitative research paradigm there are clear conventions that should be followed while in qualitative research there are no stipulated conventions (Burnham, 2014: 41). This makes the data analysis challenges of conducting rigorous and objective data analysis to be far greater (Punch, 2000: 198). This uses both quantitative and qualitative data does enabling it to use both deductive and inductive rigorous methods of data analysis that are applicable to these methods respectively.

Qualitatively, a thorough and comprehensive description of the phenomenon of the study was developed. This included information about the context of the study, its intentions and meanings. Primary data collected in the form of qualitative interviews from respondents was organised under the main themes of the research question and analysed accordingly. They were coded along themes and noticeable patterns so that they could be reduced and interpreted meaningfully (Morse & Richards, 2002: 111). Quantitative data was presented and analysed in the form of tables, percentages, ratios etc. Data collected in the form of numbers or data that can be organised in the form of numbers were analysed using descriptive statistics converting the raw data into percentages and averages and interpreted qualitatively.

5.7 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Brink (1993:35) states that validity and reliability are key aspects to a research and meticulous attention should be paid to these two aspects as they can make a difference between the good and poor research that could affect the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings. He further mentions that this is particularly vital in qualitative research where the researcher's subjectivity can cloud the interpretation of the data. Reliability deals with the consistency of the instruments in giving the same results when it is used over and over again, thus, enhancing the validity of the findings. Babbie and Mouton (2010:119) refers to it as the repeatability of the quality of measurement methods. To ensure reliability questions were phrased in a way that they conveyed the same meaning. The developed questions were also tested with various people to minimise their ambiguities before they were actually posed to the selected respondents.

Gravetter and Forzano (2009:157) state validity of research as the degree to which the study accurately answers the question it was intended to answer. They are supported by Babbie and Mouton (2012:122-123) who state that validity ensures that the selected research instruments measure what they are supposed to measure. Validity in this study was ensured by designing questions after intensive literature study to ensure that all the questions have applicability value to various categories of respondents and testing those questions to the similar population before they were applied to the sample of this study.

5.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study relates to sensitive matters that affect people and the running of a police organisation of a sovereign country, so it was of utmost importance that it adheres to ethical requirements to ensure that the entire study is above board. Reynolds (2009, 43) identifies the following factors as crucial ethical considerations in a research project: participation effects, overall distribution effects, consideration of participants' rights and welfare. Accordingly, this research ensured that these pertinent areas are taken care of. Adequate care was taken to ensure that the responses

given cannot be linked to respective interviewees. The tracking down of responses to certain individuals could have diverse effect on their standing and positions in their respective police departments. This was further enhanced by seeking consent from the interviewees as per the attached Appendix “E” and informing the interviewees that they can terminate the interview at any stage if and when they feel uncomfortable with it.

No undue promises were made to the respondents and they were also informed that their participation in this study is voluntary and they are under no obligation to answer any question that they are uncomfortable about. It was of critical importance to stress that respondents were doing so at their own volition because the four field workers were sent to do this on behalf of the Minister of Transport who is the former National Commissioner of the Ethiopian Federal Police Commission so without such emphasis the members might have thought that they are obliged to participate in this study and probably give the answers that they think will please their commanders.

The researcher adhered to UNISA’s Policy of Research Ethics by showing due consideration to the rights and dignity of all participants in the entire research process (University of South Africa Research, 2007: 3). All other ethical issues such as privacy, confidentiality and anonymity that has to do with the protection of participants against any harm that they might ensue during or after the study as stated by Leedy and Ormrod (2010:101) were strictly observed as stated above.

5.9 CONCLUSION

The research methodology that was chosen for this study was designed to make the study to answer the posed research questions and address the stated research objectives. The mixed research methods used assisted the study to triangulate the information obtained to enhance the

validity of the study and the reliability of the findings. This provided the researcher with an ideal opportunity to cross check the information provided to enhance the contextual interpretation of the given information.

To be able to generalise on the influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia it was important that the respondents are well sampled to be the true reflection on the general view that is held in Ethiopia on the influence of politics in policing. Ethics as the cornerstone of ensuring that the respondents are protected and the findings are the true reflection of the information obtained was meticulously adhered to. To ensure that the findings are the true reflection of what was obtained from the respondents the written findings were once more checked against the collected data before recommendations were made.

CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of the study that is characterised into literature and empirical findings. Indicating the extent to which the research questions are answered and the research objectives are achieved. Because the research questions are conspicuously answered and research objectives are conspicuously achieved in the context of the provided findings, there is no need to reinstate them but only a paragraph at the end of both the literature and empirical finding reinstate this fact.

The empirical study is categorised into the themes that groups certain similar factors together, while literature findings is related to specific findings that are repeated within the quotation marks in an italic writing as they relate to what was already been stated in the literature. The literature findings indicate how the politics was used to ensure that the police protect the interests of the specific political rulers than the interests of the public in general. Indicated in this section are also various laws, rules and practices that expedited the political influence in policing to the benefit of the rules.

6.2 LITERATURE FINDINGS

Paragraph 3 of section 1.2 indicates the perennial influence of politics in policing in Ethiopia when *“King Ziyon established a force called unity in 2575 BC to prevent theft (Nigusie, 1964:18). This force was later transformed as a mounted guard to serve the interests of the King although it was primarily meant to protect the interests of the subjects”*. This indicates that the authorities at different periods used the public police to safeguard their interests. This use of the police for the interests of the rulers rather than those of the public continued in different forms and character as indicated on paragraph 5 of section 1.2 that when *“Emperor’s rule was overthrown in 1974 by a military coup under Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam, the police force*

got revitalised as Ethiopia Revolutionary Force and was predominantly meant to serve the revolutionary regime at times against the larger interests of the people (Andargatchew, 2004:24)”.

The rulers were also using the police for their own political ends as reflected on paragraph 3 of section 1.3.1 where to ensure loyalty to himself the *Emperor set “the governors and the police commissioners to work at cross-purposes against each other (Andargatchew, 2004:20). Thus, it is clear that the role of the police became more than providing the safety and security to the public included spying on the behaviour of government officials, which is a clear misuse of the police for political ends”*. Shuffa (2005:79) as contained on paragraph 4 of 1.3.1 argued that the *“police served the emperor and advanced whatever the agenda he had. He further explains that the Imperial Ethiopian Force was constitutionally mandated to protect the King and the King possessed all rights to decide the direction and practice of policing. Shuffa is supported by “Beyene’s (1970:154-155) view that the police members were not trained to be a servant of Ethiopian people but that of the Imperial government”*. This reaffirms the misuse of the police for political interests.

The use of the police in the interests of the political rulers was firmly supported by various laws as indicated on paragraph 6 of section 2.6 that *“the Ethiopian police officers had no powers to investigate criminal cases against any white person. Such cases were to be dealt with by the British police officers”*. The Ethiopian Constitution that *“gave the ultimate legislative, executive and judiciary powers to Emperor Haile Silassie and the police was responsible to safeguard this supreme power of the emperor to ensure that every citizen and authorities abide with the provisions of these legislation”* as also indicated on this paragraph entrenched the influence of politics in policing. This was exacerbated by some *“provisions of the Imperial Ethiopian Government Police Force Act of 1942 provided that the police force is responsible to serve His Majesty’s will”*.

Appointments of senior police officers was also one of that factors that was grounding the influence of politics in policing as indicated on paragraph 2 of section 2.3.1 that “*The appointment of a person to the position of Major General or Lieutenant Generals was approved by the Emperor which largely depended on the relationship of such a person with the Emperor rather than the knowledge and expertise of such a person in policing in comparison with other people (Library of Congress, 1991)*”. Which is the situation that still persists even now as “*the Federal Police Commissioner General and Deputy Commissioner Generals are appointed by the ruling party*” as stated on paragraph 1 of section 4.7 above. This indicates that the ruling political party has a direct influence in policing by appointing people who they will control the police through.

It is important to note that the use of the police for political end continued in all the political dispensation in Ethiopia as indicated even under the current dispensation on paragraph 3 of section 4.2 that “*police crackdowns on political opponents of the ruling Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front indicate how the police can be used to severely curtail the exercise of civil and political rights*”. This has “*eroded the credibility of this new police force that was established under civilian control and was supposed to be accountable to the law of the land (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1997:3)*”. This is despite Proclamation No 8 of 1991 as contained on paragraph 6 of section 4.4 which “*clearly indicates that the established force should be independent of any political organisation and should be accountable to the Regional Transitional Self-Government*”.

It can be seen that in spirit there is the desire by the current government to limit or minimise the influence of politics in policing because the above proclamation was strengthened or complemented by Proclamation No 207 of 2000 that deals with the recruitment of non-political police officers by stating that “*any Ethiopian citizen who is willing to serve as a policeman/woman shall be loyal to the Constitution of the current government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia; have no previous record of participating in criminal activities;*

be not less than 18 years of age; not be a member of any political organisation can be recruited into the police force”, as indicated previously on paragraph 4 of section 4.4.1.

6.3 EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

Non-partisanship and Political Influence: Article 79 (1) of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia states that the Judicial Power, both at Federal and State levels, is vested in the courts. It also states that the Courts of any level shall be free from any interference or influence of any government body, government official or from any other source. Article 87 (5) states that armed forces shall carry out their functions free of any partisanship to any political organisation(s). Moreover, the Regional Police establishment proclamation no 313/2003, clearly states that the Regional Police are independent from any political organisation and shall be accountable to the regional government.

About seventy percent (69.3%) of police officers are aware of this article and to some extent on its impact to police operations. Almost nineteen per cent (18.7%) were not aware of this section so they could not give any opinion on its influence in police operations. When these findings are categorised by the study region, each region accounted for their awareness by less than 25.0% in that 22.0% in Oromia, 21.3% in SNNP, 14.7% in Afar and 11.3% in Benishangul-Gumuz regions. Thus, one can deduce that few police officers in these four regions are well-aware of the fact that police operations have to be performed without political interferences.

Political influence on operational matters: Two hundred police officers which constitute 44.4% of the total respondents expressed the absence of political influence in taking the arrested person to court within 48 hours of being arrested, but 183 (40.7%) stated there are at times political influence which make them not to take the arrested person to court within 48 hours of the arrest. The remaining percentage attribute the delay to take the arrested person to court within

48 hours after being arrested to negligence, inefficiency in obtaining sufficient information before arresting individuals, holidays and infrastructural challenges when transporting prisoners from police stations to courts. One can thus deduce that there is a potential threat in not respecting the law relating to bringing arrested persons to court within 48 hours in terms of the legislative requirements.

Guidelines on Policing and Politics: About fifty-six percent of police officers stated that there were policing guidelines in their regions to minimise undue influence of politics in policing, nineteen percent stated that there were guidelines for the police in their areas. The remaining percentage stated that they were not aware of whether there are guidelines or not while others did not respond to this question at all. This indicates that some regions have policing guidelines while other do not have. Some junior police officers are not aware of the guidelines while most senior police officers in these regions state that there are such guidelines.

Table 7 depicts regional responses of the respondents on the availability of the guidelines of minimising undue political influence in policing.

Table 7: Guidelines to minimise undue political influence on policing

Response category	Region				Total
	Afar	Benishangul-Gumuz	Oromia	SNNP	
Yes	38	31	84	81	234
No	45	18	39	29	131
I don't know	10	23	19	15	67
I have no idea	7	3	8	0	18
Total	100	75	150	125	450

Police Structure and Promotions: This section presents the findings on the political influence on the structure of the police and the promotion of the police officials. Of the 450 total respondents, 56.7% of them stated that there is a high degree of political influence on the structure of the police in the regions, while thirty-one percent of the police in the study were of the view that there is no political influence on the organisational structure of the police. There should be no influence of politics in the organisational structure of the police department as the police structure should be designed by career police officials based on the needs and demand of the police to meet the needs and expectation of the community that is based on the prevailing crime challenges.

About forty-seven percent (47%) of the police officers responded to the questionnaire stating that there are undue political influence that makes the promotion process to deviate from the promotion policy in the promotion of police officers at different rank levels in various regions. Thirty three percent (33.3%) mention that they are not aware of any political influence and of

importance to note is that most of these respondents are mostly at the lower rank levels. This could lead to the deductions that they might see things happening but not entirely sure on what influence such processes as compared to senior managers who might be dealing with such influences directly.

Almost two-third (286) of the interviewed police officers which is the number that constitute 63.6% stated that there is the screening and an evaluation process for police officers who apply for promotion to the next rank to ensure that people who are promoted are suitable and deserving. In this, about 133 police officers constituting 29.6% of the respondents were of the view that most police officers are promoted without being properly screened and their suitability to the higher rank evaluated. This could also be another aspect that makes some police officers to state that there is undue political influence in the promotion of police officers because they see some police officers promoted procedurally and others not so.

Obviously, this leads them to believe that police officers who are promoted without following the promotion policy are connected to some political figures who influence the police department to promote them. And this sentiment is supported by 173 police officers, which is 38.4% of the respondents who are of the view that the rules of the promotion policy are not uniformly applied to all police officers who apply for promotion. While 196 which constitute 43.6% of the respondents were of the view that promotion criteria is applied to all police officers who apply for promotion. The view of undue political influence in the promotion of police officers is mentioned by 307 police officers which constitute 68.2% of senior management level, while 90 (20%) did not believe that there is political influence in the promotion of senior managers. It is important to note that 83% of senior managers who are of the view that there is undue political influence in the promotion of senior officers are police managers who spent long period before being promoted to the next rank while 17% of the senior managers who are of the view that there is no political influence are the people who have grown quickly within the police ranks.

The interpretational dilemma that this present is that police officers who allege undue political interference in policing could be those who are frustrated by their slow upward mobility that could be caused by multiple factors that could vary from politics to non-performance. While on the other hand the reason for rapid promotion of the police officers who are of the view that there is no undue political influence in the promotion of police officers could vary from them being the beneficiaries of the undue political influence to them being real hard workers who deserve that rapid upward mobility.

Table 10 indicates the correlation between undue political influence and corruption where a significant majority of 340 respondents which constitute 75.6% are of the view that undue political influence contributes to corrupt practices in various regional states. A total of only 76 respondents that constitute 17% stated that police corruption had nothing to do with undue political influence in their respective regions. This could be showing that undue political influence could be making police managers to make decisions that are not in line with the policy and operational practice which are seen as corrupt because they do something that could not be justified by the police or practice thus leading to nepotism and corrupt practices.

Table 10: The correlation between undue political influence and corruption

Response	Region									
	Afar		Benishangul-Gumuz		Oromia		SNNP		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Yes	56	12.4	45	10.0	117	26.0	122	27.1	340	75.6
No	34	7.6	18	4.0	21	4.7	3	0.7	76	16.9
Don't know	10	2.2	12	2.7	12	2.6	0	0.0	34	7.5
Total	100	22.2	75	16.7	150	33.3	125	27.8	450	100.0

Majority of the respondents (290 police officers, which constitute 64.4%) are of the view that the police serve the interest of their respective communities and not the political interest of the ruling political party. The other 160 respondents, which is 35.6% were unsure whether the police were serving the interest of the community or of the ruling political party. The majority (93%) of the people who were not sure which interest the police are serving were lower ranking police officers with low educational levels. An inference that could be drawn from this finding is that junior police officers with lower educational levels could not comprehend the difference between the police agency that serves the interest of their respective community and those that serves the interest of the ruling political parties. This could be attributed to the lower levels at which they are operating and the fact that they might not be knowledgeable on the principles of professional policing.

Measures for Political Interferences: On how to minimise undue political influence in policing, 132 respondents constituting 29.3% were of the view that the police should strictly be made to work according to the law and not be allowed to be dictated to by the dominant political

party in the area. About 4% were of the view that the police in general and the political parties in particular should be taught about the role of the police and the police independence in society. Two percent were of the view that people who should be taught about police independence and the role of the police in society are police themselves so that they can know what is it that can be done in society and what is it that they cannot do. The remaining 45% which constitute the majority of police officials did not know what could be done to minimise undue political influence.

Responses from the respondents who served the police prior to 1991: They stated that the supreme power was vested on the Emperor and his family. The Emperor and his family had the power to directly influence all the facets of policing and this was also done by all other imperial class members as well. They further stated that the duties and responsibilities of the police were not known during the *Dergue* regime as there were no proclamations that were passed during this period. The police were operating on direct orders from the government as either the police or the armed members of the community could arrest and kill people who were supporting other opposition political parties.

They mentioned that the *Dergue* regime weakened the police institution by redeploying most police officers to other duties and failing to give the police as a whole operational guideline thus making them to depend on political instructions and this made the police to ignore regular criminal activities and focused on political activities. Some respondents stated that “*what the police was supposed to do was normally announced over radios*”. Some of the respondents stated that “*during the Emperor’s rule the constitution clearly articulated that the Emperor was the ruler of the land given by God. So it was impossible to accused imperial class of any criminal act because the constitution supported them to do whatever they wanted*”.

They also stated that during the *Dergue* regime, police officers were frequently told that they were the servants of the then ruling socialist party. Any member of society who was seen to be affiliated or sympathetic to the opposition political party was vulnerable to arrest or murder. Policing was about being obedient to the directives of the ruling party and this was the most dehumanising experience to most police officers as they had no discretion or independent police powers.

Responses from the informed public members on the influence of politics in policing prior to 1991: They concurred in many essential respects with the responses given by police officers who served during this period as stated above. They further stated that during the *Dergue* rule there was terrifying mass murders and severe torture including amputations of the members of the opposition political movements. There was no police presence on the streets and law and order was totally in the hands of the cadres and defence squad who were arresting and killing people without any repercussions.

They are of the view that the Emperor's reign was much better than that of the *Dergue* because during the reign of the Emperor there was at least institutions of state laws, both civil and criminal although the police were used to serve the interest of the Emperor. They further state that during this period (prior 1991) no one had protection from the police or any legal rights whatsoever. One respondent captured it by stating that "*no one had any protection except the mercy of God*". The police spent a lot of time dealing with politics rather than preventing and investigating crime and this led to the huge distrust between the public and the police.

Responses from the respondents who served the police post 1991: According to some respondents there is no political party related influence in the day to day activities of the police. However, it can be said that the ruling political party influences the police organisation through its appointed commissioners and the allocation of the budget. One can take the years before 2002

as good example as it is the period in which the amount of resources given by the government to the police force was so scanty to the extent that it was difficult for the police to control and prevent criminal activities. This was just the sign that if the police do not toe the political line they could be crippled financially and finally side-lined.

Most respondents believe that there is no political party influence in the day to day activities of the police although the ruling party is involved in the police organization through its appointed commissioners. They state that there are some political party members and leaders who expect the police to work for the interest of the ruling political party. They also stated that the current police rules and regulations prevent or minimise the influence of politics in policing.

Some respondents who are of the view that there is political interference, interpret police activities such as the policing of demonstrations by the opposition political parties as being influenced by politics rather than being the normal police operation in dealing with riots and protests. These are the sentiments that were rife during the policing of demonstrations in 1992 by Addis Ababa University Students; the protest by Addis Ababa University students in 2001; and the conflict over the 2005 election results. It is important to note that this is the matter of different interpretations as some people regarded these incidents as the normal policing of riots that can happen in any country. This interpretation could also be something that is informed by the political affiliation of the respondents. These response correlate to a large extent with the quantitative responses from the respondents as indicated above.

Responses from the informed public members on the influence of politics in policing post 1991: The majority of respondents are of the view that even though some people believe that the police are doing a great job in preventing and investigating criminal activities, they still regard policing as an instrument of the current ruling political party. They blame the political system for not addressing the display of force and arrogance by the police. They are however of the view

that the police are far better compared to the previous periods but they can be more trusted if they can act more transparently and accountably.

Some respondents are of the strong view that the police do operate under the political directives of the ruling party citing the policing of protests that is already covered above. This belief is fuelled by the suspicion that most senior police officials are members of the ruling political party and gives instructions that favour their political party.

Both the literature and empirical findings of this study indicates the extent to which the posed research questions are answered and stated research objectives are achieved. The context of these findings indicates the influence of politics in policing, how it is done, and its impact on the police and policing in Ethiopia.

6.4 CONCLUSION

The Emperor used the police for his own political end and the *Dergue* ruled in an uncontrolled, cruel, and dictatorial manner. The police were operating outside legality in most of the time thus being a threat to the people that they were supposed to protect and serve. Law and order was totally in the hands of defence squads that could take direct orders from government officials or can directly arrest, kill or do whatever they want. The *Dergue* was totally untouchable and anybody who was taught to be in opposition was liable to unpredictable consequences. Membership or any kind of political affiliation to opposition political forces was certain to lead to arrest or murder.

There is a positive move post 1991 to make both the federal and regional police commissions to be nonpartisan and have a certain level of independence from political influence. The Federal

Police Commission Proclamation No. 720/2011 clearly states that the Federal Police Force is independent of any political interference and liable to the constitutional order. This and other measures will gradually address the prevailing perception within the informed public members that the police are not as free from the influence of politics as they claim to be.

Generally, when compared to the previous periods, the current police force is to a large extent better in terms of being nonpartisan in achieving its objectives. It has grown to be largely independent, better organized and stable institution as compared to previous police agencies.

People who served the police during the imperial regime and informed public members who lived during that period in chorus agreed that the supreme power was vested on the Emperor and his family. The Emperor commanded the police and retained exclusive executive powers to determine its size, organisation, and cost; to establish the law governing its leadership and discipline.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RECOMMENDATIONS AND THE CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This is the last chapter of the study that provides recommendations based on the findings in the previous chapter. The recommendations are designed to address the existing or perceived challenges because even if what the police themselves and the public perceive to be present does not exist as a matter of fact, there is a need to deal with those perceptions for the betterment of service delivery and the effectiveness and efficiency of the police system in the country. It is important to note that police officers will give their total commitment to the police department if they believe that the department is judging and assessing what they are doing objectively without favouring certain individuals who are perceived to be politically connected. The same applies to the public who will only support the police if they believe that they are doing their work independently without being influenced to do certain things or work in a manner that advances certain political interests.

Lastly the chapter gives a conclusive view of the entire study by indicating the findings and the challenges with certain findings and interpretations in this study. The conclusive view attempts to give an overall picture of the study and how the shortcomings identified in the thesis impact in the policing in Ethiopia and the effect of such impact. This is done to contextualise the proposed solutions and indicate how they can be used as a stepping stone to professionalising policing in Ethiopia. Broad parameters of behavioural and structural factors in policing are also dealt with to indicate their impact on the police and policing in Ethiopia.

7.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The roles and the responsibilities of the police as now inscribed in various proclamations are designed to ensure that the police fulfil their responsibilities in a professional and non-partisan manner. The proclamations serve as a point of reference should there be an attempt by the politicians to want to use the police for their own political ends as what happened during the *Dergue* rule. Where the police were just used for political ends and there were no legislative

guidelines that could be used as their grounding legislation. There is need for intensive education/awareness of the public as well as the police themselves to be conscious of what the police should and should not do.

It was clear particularly during the students' protests in 2001 and the conflict that erupted after the disputed election results in 2005 that most people interpret the policing of politically inspired demonstrations or riots as being the influenced of politics in policing rather than the basic responsibility of the government to ensure law and order in the country. As such maintenance is entrusted on the police they have to do everything in their power to police them effectively and efficiently. It is important to note that demonstrations whether they emanate from politics or societal need, if not effectively policed leads to the destruction of the public property and even to the deaths of innocent people. Restoring and maintaining law and order irrespective of the source for such disruption is the fundamental responsibility of the police all over the world and it is in line with the international principle of policing.

The mechanism that could be used to monitor police actions during the policing of such protests and public violence to ensure that they do not use those incidents to brutalise and abuse the public is by way of establishing an independent police oversight body. This body could be used to investigate the abuse of powers by the police during the policing of volatile situations and their hostile actions during peace times when normal policing is expected to take place. This could be strengthened by the oversight role that is played by the social media in reporting the misuse of the police for political ends, which is something that the government should acknowledge and encourage.

Another important issue is to make police officers to be aware of the laws of the land. Police officers should be taught the relevant legislation that demands them to be non-partisan in their approach and act within the ambit of professional policing principles. This will empower them to understand undue political influence on police operations even if it could be emanating from their seniors or dominant political parties. It is through a well-educated and skilled police force that the Ethiopian police force will be able to detect undue political influence and dispel such notions in the larger public through their actions and behaviour.

There should be an objective and transparent criteria that is used to appoint the Commissioner General and his/her Deputies. This will assist in ensuring that the appointed person has the necessary skills and expertise to run the Police Department and this will go a long way in dispelling the notion that Commissioners General of the Police serve as the extension of the political control of the police by the ruling political party. This will ensure that the ruling political party still appoints the person that they could trust as this is essential for the security of the country, but that person will be professional enough not to pursue party political interests once appointed in that position. He/she should be able to uphold the constitution of the country and act within the rule of law to safeguard the safety and security of all the inhabitants.

To dispel or address the perceived political interference in the promotion of police officers there is a need to develop objective promotion criteria that will be known by all police officers. This will enable them to plan their career progression in the police as they will know what is exactly required of them to be eligible to be promoted to the next rank level. There should be a properly constituted promotion panel that will be entrusted to screen the applicants to ensure that those who are more deserving in terms of the set criteria are the once who are likely to be promoted. This will make their peers to know that skills, capability and competence are critical factors for advancement and this will bode well for the professionalisation of the entire police force.

7.3 CONCLUSION

The nature and the operation of the police as the state organ makes the influence of politics in policing to be a relative concept which becomes more evident when the influence is made by political parties to pursue their own political ends. In some situations the police are perceived as government machinery that is used to advance the interest of the ruling political party or any political interest. This is despite the fact that the police are regarded as independent executive arm of the government that is designed to uphold the laws of the country. As the social agents in society the police work closely with communities for the maintenance of social order. This makes them to be caught between the government that compels them to perform in accordance to the direction of the executive and the public who expect the police to be the agent of social peace that maintains order and peace in society.

The evolution of policing in society is predicated on the need for safety and security. This presupposes that the main function of the police should be the safety and security of the society, thus making the police to be accountable to the communities that they serve. The use of the police for political ends deviates from this basic principle, thus making the police to be the agent of the ruling political party. Ethiopia is no exception, prior to 1991 the Ethiopian police force was overtly used as an instrument of state control. These regimes used the police force as an instrument to maintain their political ascendancy. The original function of the police force was essentially the political one and often subjugation of the suspected political enemies. While one expects the police to be trained professionals, the police during this era was characterised by patterns of human rights abuse and police brutality that was designed to enforce political obedience to the regime of that time. In various ways their conduct helped to generate popular mistrust of the legal system.

After 1991, with the new government under the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front, changes took place in the organisation. Each nine regions were made to have their own police force, while the Federal Police have control over the two administrative zones of Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa. Moreover, the constitution clearly stated that the police force must be independent of any political interference and be accountable to the constitutional order. These changes in addition to other structural and functional changes helped both the Federal and Regional police to gradually evolve into to be responsible and accountable police agencies in the last 24 years.

Despite these, the extent of their independent functioning both at the regional and at the federal level provides ample scope for debate. It should be noted that there is no one answer, one simple magic formula or one explanation for the influence of politics in policing because this is a complex phenomenon. Thus, this research got into that complexity and identified how politics and police could interrelate without politics unduly influencing the police.

Based on the primary data collected from four regions of Ethiopia, i.e., Oromia, Afar, Benishangul Gumuz and the Southern Nations Regional State, an in-depth analysis of the

mutually reinforcing aspects of police and politics was made. The finding of the study can be classified into two major aspects; the behavioral aspect and the structural aspect.

The behavioural aspect: The findings of the study indicated that the majority (69.3%) of the police officers in those four regions are well-aware of the constitutional order and the fact that police operations have to be performed without political interference. Moreover, a significant proportion (70.7%) of the police officers in the study confirmed that they were non-partisan and they were championing the dominant interests of the majority of the people. Even if the high percentages can be considered as an indication that the regional police have been of and for the public at large, the remaining percentage is also an indication that there is a lot to be done. Since the major objective of the police force is serving the constitutional order, it is a scale that one expects to be at 100%.

The police officers have political free guidelines for carrying out their day-to-day activities in maintaining peace and order. Policemen and policewomen are accountable for whatever they have been performing in the operations of their assigned duties. They may use legally mandated force to realise internal security in the country. Similarly, the analysis showed that in general there is no political intervention to delay the taking of arrested persons to court.

The structural aspect: At regional level Regional Council have powers to legislate on matters falling within their jurisdiction and the Federal Government respects those powers which also affect policing in those regions. Meaning, the regional police are to a large extent accountable to regional states who also appoint regional police commissioners.

One may deduce that there is due attention by Regional Governments in introducing and putting in place up-to-date policing strategies to control crimes, and maintain peace and order in their respective areas. The existing political organs both influence and determine the number and quality of police personnel at different levels in the police system. They also participate in expanding the police's ability to record and report crimes committed. In addition, Regional Governments determine the budget allocated to the respective police institutions. However, if

these are done in bad faith, they could be used to unduly influence the police and policing in the region.

The respective Police Commission Offices of the four regions have a centralised organisational structure and policing decisions are made at the apex of the police structure. This makes the police to be more accountable to the organisation rather than the community and as indicated before, the appointment of a political partisan regional commissioner could serve as a conduit for the politicians to have undue influence on the police. It has also become clear that some police officers do not have a clear understanding of the police function and to who they should be accountable to. Both quantitative and qualitative findings indicate that the police are regarded as accountable to the public, but there are also indicators that police are accountable for the ruling party and its allies.

Generally, decentralising the police structure after 1991 could be seen as a step in the right direction towards good governance by offering the authority to the regional governments. But, the critical effect is the relative change in the way normal police activity is done at every level. It was observed that the police are relating better to the public and this is paving the way for an independent police institution that preserves constitutional order. However, this does not mean that police activities are free of political influence as it was found that there are behavioural and structural factors that indicate undue political influence.

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APPENDIX “A”

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: PEOPLE WHO SERVED THE POLICE PRIOR TO 1991

QUESTION 1: The Influence of Politics in Policing

1.1 What was the influence of politics in policing during this period?

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1.2 What laws or standing orders were making this possible?

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1.3 What types of interventions were experienced?

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1.4 How were they enforced?

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1.5 What challenges was the police experiencing as a result of the political interference?

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1.6 What impact were they having on police operations?

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QUESTION 2: The Influence of the Police in Politics

2.1 What was the influence of policing to politics during this period?

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2.2 What laws or standing orders were making this possible?

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2.3 What types of interventions were experienced?

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2.4 How were they enforced?

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2.5 What challenges was this posing in politics?

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APPENDIX “B”

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: PEOPLE WHO SERVED THE POLICE POST 1991

QUESTION 1: The Influence of Politics in Policing

1.1 What is the influence of politics in policing?

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1.2 What laws or standing orders are making this possible?

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1.3 What types of interventions are experienced?

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1.4 How are they enforced?

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1.5 What challenges is the police experiencing as a result of the political interference?

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1.6 What impact are they having on police operations?

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QUESTION 2: The Influence of the Police in Politics

2.1 What is the influence of policing to politics during this period?

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2.2 What laws or standing orders are making this possible?

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2.3 What types of interventions are experienced?

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2.4 How are they enforced?

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2.5 What challenges is this posing in politics?

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APPENDIX “C”

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: INFORMED PUBLIC MEMBERS

QUESTION 1: The Influence of Politics in Policing Prior to 1991

1.1 What was the influence of politics in policing during this period?

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1.2 What laws or standing orders were making this possible?

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1.3 What types of interventions were experienced?

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1.4 How were they enforced?

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1.5 What challenges was the police experiencing as a result of the political interference?

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1.6 What impact were they having on police operations?

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QUESTION 2: The Influence of the Police in Politics Prior to 1991

2.1 What was the influence of policing to politics during this period?

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2.2 What laws or standing orders were making this possible?

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2.3 What types of interventions were experienced?

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2.4 How were they enforced?

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2.5 What challenges was this posing in politics?

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QUESTION 3: The Influence of Politics in Policing Post 1991

3.1 What is the influence of politics in policing?

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3.2 What laws or standing orders are making this possible?

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3.3 What types of interventions are experienced?

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3.4 How are they enforced?

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3.5 What challenges are the police experiencing as a result of the political interference?

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3.6 What impact are they having on police operations?

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QUESTION 4: The Influence of the Police in Politics Post 1991

4.1 What is the influence of policing to politics during this period?

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4.2 What laws or standing orders are making this possible?

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4.3 What types of interventions are experienced?

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4.4 How are they enforced?

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4.5 What challenges is this posing in politics?

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APPENDIX “D”

QUESTIONNAIRES

SECTION 1: BIGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Instruction: Tick on the appropriate block below the correct answer that you want to give

Region												
Benishangul- Gumuz		Oromia			SNNP				Afar			
Level of Operation												
Top Management				Middle Management					Lower Management			
Gender												
Male		Female	Male		Female		Male		Female			
Age Category												
20 – 30			31 – 40			41 - 50			51 – 60			
Marital Status												
Single/Never married		Married			Widower		Widow		Divorced		Other(s)	
Educational Status												
Grades 1-8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12	Certificate	Diploma	Advanced diploma	BA	MA	PhD	Grade1 0+2	Grade 10+4
Your Religion												
Orthodox Christian					Muslim					Protestant		

SECTION 2: QUESTIONNAIRE

Instruction: Tick on the appropriate block below the correct answer that you want to give

Question 1: Are you aware of the Regional Police Establishment Proclamation No 313 of 2003, which states that the Regional Police are independent from any political organisation and shall be accountable to the regional government?

Yes	Uncertain	No

Question 2: Do you experience any political influence that makes you not to take the arrested person to court within 48 hours of being arrested?

Yes	Uncertain	No

Question 3: Are you aware of policing guidelines in your regions that are designed to minimise undue influence of politics in policing?

Yes	Do not know	Have no idea	No

Question 4: Is there undue political influence on how the structure of the police in the regions should be?

Yes	Uncertain	No

Question 5: Is there undue political influence on who should be promoted to the next higher rank in your police department?

Yes	Uncertain	No

Question 6: Is there a screening and an evaluation process for police officers who apply for promotion to the next rank to ensure that people who are promoted are suitable and deserving?

Yes	Uncertain	No

Question 7: Is the promotion criteria uniformly applied to all police officers who apply for promotion?

Yes	Uncertain	No

Question 8: Is undue political influence in the police contributing to police corruption in your police departments?

Yes	Do not know	No

Question 9: Is the police in your region serving the interest of their respective communities and not the political interest of the ruling political party?

Yes	Uncertain	No

Question 10: How to you think undue political influence in policing can be minimised?

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Question 11: Any other matter that you will like to state on the influence of politics in policing in your department?

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APPENDIX “E”

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Affiliation: Unisa Student

Researcher:

Title of Study: **AN ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICS ON POLICING IN ETHIOPIA**

Purpose of Study:

(Discuss the purpose of the study)

Procedures:

The researcher will be conducting an interview with the help of an interview schedule. The researcher may also make use of a tape recorder to record conversations. The interviews will not be longer than three hours, but may end sooner by natural process or on request of the respondent or researcher, depending on the circumstances.

Risks and Discomforts:

The respondent may become tired or feel emotional discomfort at which point a break may be requested or the interview may be postponed to a later date or terminated if so desired. The researcher will make every effort to ensure the comfort and minimize the risks for the respondent.

Benefits:

It is my hope that the respondents partaking in this study will feel the satisfaction of contributing to solving a social problem and facilitating in illuminating the problem for those studying the

phenomena, which may help others in the future. The respondent shall also assist in providing insight into the problem, which can stimulate future research, and thus be of even greater help in the future. On a personal level, it is the hope of the researcher that the respondents will obtain personal satisfaction once they have discussed certain issues with the researcher and thus gaining personal insights that were not gained prior to the interview.

Respondent’s Rights:

Participation in this study is voluntary and may be withdrawn at any time without negative consequences for the respondent. All information is treated as confidential and anonymity is assured by the researcher. The data shall be destroyed should the respondent wish to withdraw. The researcher (and his study leader) is the only individuals who will have access to raw data from interviews, and hereby ensure that data will be treated as stipulated above.

Right of Access to Researcher:

Respondents are free to contact the researcher at the telephone number as stipulated on this form, at a reasonable hour, in connection with interview particulars, if they so wish.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY.

I, the undersigned, agree to participate in this study voluntarily without duress.

Signed aton this.....day of20.....

Signature: (Print Name.....)

APPENDIX “F”

CERTIFICATE OF EDITION



University of Madras

School of Politics and International Studies

DEPARTMENT OF Defence and Strategic Studies

THOLKAPPIAR CAMPUS, CHEPAUK, CHENNAI - 600 005

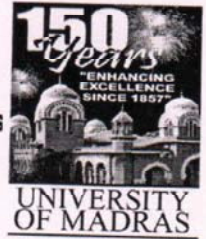
Phone : 91-44-25399635

Fax : 91-44-2539 9635

Email : drvenkat65@gmail.com

Mobile : 09043515944

Telex : 41-6376-UNOM IN



Dr. M. Venkataraman

26 November 2015

To Whom it May Concern

This is to certify that I have read through the Ph.D draft thesis submitted by Mr. Workneh Gebeyehu Woldekidan entitled "AN ANALYSIS OF POLICING AND POLITICS IN ETHIOPIA" to the University of South Africa for the award of Doctorate of Literature and Philosophy.

I have checked through the thesis for language and editorial issues and have corrected them accordingly.

Sincerely,

(Dr. M. Venkataraman)



Dr. M. VENKATARAMAN, M.Phil., Ph.D.,
Assistant Professor
Dept. of Defence & Strategic Studies
University of Madras
Chepauk, Chennai - 600 005