

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



**“THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PRIVATE SECURITY COMPANIES IN ETHIOPIA
POST-2018: THE CASE OF ADDIS ABABA”**

BY OLYAD ABDISA

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ADVISOR Dr. YOHANNES TEKALIGN

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APPROVAL

This thesis, entitled “The Political Economy of Private Security Companies in Ethiopia Post-2018: The Case of Addis Ababa” by Olyad Abdisa, is recommended for acceptance by Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts Degree in Peace and Security Studies. It has been examined and approved by the undersigned, who certify that it complies with the university’s regulations and meets the standards of originality and quality expected of scholarly work.

Advisor: Yohannes Tekalign (PhD)

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Academic Coordinator of IPSS: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Internal Examiner: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

External Examiner: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AU: Africa Union

AAP: Addis Ababa Police

CN: Commercial Nominees

EFPC: Ethiopian Federal Police Commission

FGD: Focus Group Discussion

FDRE: Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

HPR: House of Peoples Representatives

ICRC: International Committee of Red Cross

ICoC: International Code of Conduct

ICCPR: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICoCA: International Code of Conduct for Association

KII: Key Informant Interview

NGO: Non-Governmental Organizations

PSC: PSCs

PSA: Private Security Agencies

PSI: Private Security Industry

PMSC: Private Military and Security Companies

UN: United Nations

USA: United States of America

Abstract

This study investigated the legal, political, and economic aspect of the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018 with particular emphasis on Addis Ababa. To acquire the relevant data for the study, the researcher employed mixed method research approach which more emphasis on qualitative and supported by quantitative survey. Pertinent data was collected using key informant interviews, focus group discussion, and survey questionnaire. Using purposive, snowball and stratified sampling techniques, interview was made with ten key informants and two focus group discussion, which include twelve participants, survey questionnaire was also conducted. The sampling techniques were used to choose fitting people who knew of the issue, were well - versed in the subject and felt connected to it the researcher was looking for. The data collected with questionnaires analyzed by descriptive statistics through SPSS 26 software while the data collected with interview and focus group discussion was analyzed through thematic analysis, typically explanatory sequential analysis. Accordingly, the research identifies several significant obstacles to developing a robust legal framework. Key challenges include a lack of political will, limited resources for regulatory bodies, complex government-private security relations, negative public perceptions, inadequate understanding by policymakers, and a state-centric political culture. The study found a strong need for a clear legal framework, with 97.5% of respondents acknowledging its importance for ensuring accountability, standardizing practices, and improving public trust. Furthermore, political changes since 2018 have influenced the sector, by introducing both opportunities for growth and significant operational hurdles. The study also highlights the substantial economic contributions of private security companies, including job creation, community investments, and support for local businesses. It is important to address challenges and leverage the sector's potential for future research directions including evaluating the impact of specific regulations, technological advancements, political changes, public perception, and international best practices on the private security industry.

Key terms: Private Security Companies, legal Framework, Political Dynamics, Economic Contributions, Political Economy, and Ethiopia

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Security has been vital to humanity since ancient times and its importance cannot be over-emphasized. (Dempsey & Keen, 2008) notes that people have had the right to protect themselves against any threat since immemorial. According to (Fischer R.J. & Green, 2010), the government has limited resources. It thus cannot provide one hundred percent security for its people hence a dire need for Private security companies (PSCs) to complement governments' efforts in crime mitigation. This argument is further supported by (Ekhomu, 2004) who further notes that no single government can provide one hundred percent security to its people. Additionally, (Mayah, 2003) argues that the need for PSCs may result from citizens' fear of crime and awareness that the public police cannot effectively control crime by themselves. Therefore, this mandates greater cooperation with the private security sector and its resources to jointly forge a partnership for crime prevention and reduction.

Following this, our world today is characterized by the trading of every kind of item and the privatization of public goods, including security matters. The emergence of a legitimate private security industry, and private non-state security-providing actors, apart from the state, is a significant development for the state system and international relations. Over the past decades, private security has been significantly on the rise worldwide. Furthermore, with the emergence of modern statehood, the security understanding and practices have changed over time this is done due to states' fulfillment of their duty of providing security to the public and growing private concerns (Mbadlanyana et al., 2011). The safety of both private and public life is essential to human existence, survival, and development (Okereke, 2014).

However, the effects of the Cold War varied, one of the most important was the growth of PSCs around the world. (Idowu, 2018) argues that this increase in numbers is a global phenomenon with far-reaching economic, political, and social implications. Globally, the process of privatizing security companies is going through a period of rapid growth.

The growing demand for PSCs globally reflects that there is a serious gap in the provision of public security, mainly public police forces, to control threats, crime, and insecurity (Salisu, 2019).

It has been suggested in some countries authorized bodies responsible for providing security to their citizens are no longer able to do so. Not only this but also to the extent that it is considered a threat by the people. (Kinsey, 2007), linked the case to a lack of democratic institutions, unlike the West. He further argued that democratic stability can only be achieved by democratic practices including the professionalization of the state military and independence.

Despite this,(Abrahamsen et al., 2011), points out that the growth of PSCs is not a reflection of weak states. They argued that although this was true for some war-torn states, it was inappropriate to conclude weakness or failure. On the contrary, globalization has led to their proliferation. The privatization of security can be seen all over the world, but the reason behind the expansion of PSCs differs from one country to another. The roles they play, the functions they provide, the regulations they are directed to and manage their business also differ from country to country. With around 20 million registered private security guards worldwide, the number doubles that of public security forces (Centre, 2011). The main customers of PSCs range from industries, banks, government agencies, and commercial firms to embassies, international organizations, NGOs, and refugee camps (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2005b).

Despite this, Africa as a continent is riddled with a range of conflicts where both the state and non-state parties are involved. These conflicts have been triggered by religious tension, tribal rivalries, political problems, unequal distribution of scarce resources, climate change, and natural disasters (Arduino, 2020). According to, Strange (1996), Musah, and Fayemi (2009) as cited in (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2007) in Africa, when PSCs are regarded as non-state authorities there is a tendency to associate them with the corresponding erosion of states' sovereignty and they are perceived as illegitimate actors and mercenaries. (Gumedze, 2008) also argued that in Africa, conflict is seen as a legitimate source of business. He further argued that it makes private military and security companies (PMSCs) engaged in military coups and mercenary activities. According to, (Cilliers, J., & Mason, 1999) private security and military companies are highly associated with the context of weak or conflict-prone states, particularly states on the African continent. Even if studies in Africa show this charter of private military and security companies.

On the contrary, in Ethiopia, a reform made in 2018 brought Abiy Ahmed to power and created widespread euphoria. Nonetheless, this soon relapsed and resulted in the prevailing turmoil in which the country has been embroiled.

Although it began long ago, citizens are now living in fear, facing an unprecedented level of insecurity concerning their lives and property (Bayeh, 2022). Furthermore, the state's failure to uphold law and order, coupled with the growing reliance of citizens on their own means of protection, has made Ethiopia's domestic politics resemble the dynamics of realist international politics.

Since Abiy's government has faced a severe challenge in exercising a monopoly over the legitimate use of force, as discussed above, it has failed to properly serve its vital purpose, which is the security and protection of the people (Bayeh, 2022). Since the local government security apparatuses are weak in many parts of the country the local people are vulnerable and insecure. To sum up, it seems that ensuring the security of the people remains challenging (Bayeh, 2022).

Ethiopia has been recognized as the stabilizing factor in the Horn of Africa; nevertheless, since 2017, the country has been facing security and political crisis. The security threats toward the life and property of the people have increased due to ethnic and political conflicts. Governmental efforts and public security forces have not been sufficient to adequately address the situation. This has created an increased need for private security services. Nevertheless, the private security sector has been ignored by regulators and no legal or policy framework regulates the industry (Private Security Governance Observatory, 2023).

This research delves into the complex interplay between political changes, economic transformations, and the growth of PSCs in Ethiopia. Following this, government historical reliance on state-controlled security forces has been challenged by a growing demand for the industry. This stems from factors such as economic expansion, increased investment, a rise in crime, and the need for specialized security solutions. In a nutshell, the post-2018 reforms have facilitated the expansion of the industry, this has led to a rapid increase in the number and scope of private security companies, operating in various sectors like banking, telecommunications, construction, and even government-related activities.

Overall, the rapid growth of the industry has outpaced the development of a comprehensive legal framework to regulate the sector. This creates concerns about accountability, transparency, potential for abuse, and the lack of standardized training and licensing for security personnel. On the contrary, the absence of clear regulations can lead to a fragmented and potentially unstable market, as PSCs operate without sufficient oversight, raising, security breaches, and human rights violations.

Despite this, the research seeks to unravel the political economy of this burgeoning industry, focusing on the following specific objectives, first exploring the obstacles to creating a robust legal framework system for the industry, including bureaucratic hurdles, conflicting interests, and the lack of expertise in formulating effective legislation.

Second, it analyzes how the ongoing political reforms, democratization process, and economic liberalization influence the private security sector. This includes evaluating the changing role of state security agencies, the emergence of new business opportunities, and the potential for political influence and manipulation. Thirdly, assessing the economic impact of PSCs on job creation, investment, and revenue generation, while also considering the potential for social and economic inequality arising from industry growth. Therefore, this research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the role of PSCs in Ethiopia's evolving political and economic landscape. The findings can inform policy decisions, strengthen the regulatory framework, and ensure the responsible development of a burgeoning sector.

In general, Ethiopia's political landscape has undergone a dramatic transformation since 2018, marked by the rise of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and his ambitious reform agenda. This period of transition, characterized by a shift towards democratic governance and economic liberalization, has had profound implications for the security sector. Notably, the growth of PSCs has become increasingly prominent, raising crucial questions about their role in a rapidly changing society. This study explores the intricate political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018, examining the complex interplay between political dynamics, economic forces, and the burgeoning private security sector, the study guided by three specific objectives, sought to explore the challenges to establishing a legal framework to govern or regulate the industry, to analyze the implications of post-2018 political dynamics on the industry, and to assess the economic contribution of the industry.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The expansion of PSCs in Ethiopia no doubt contributes to the bolstering of public safety in some respects. It fulfills some of the security gaps left by the overstretched nature of the public security sector. Security is a critical component as declared by John Stuart Mill, “security is the most vital of all interests and security of person and property are the needs of society” cited in (Acton, 1972). There are various debates in the literature about PSCs in Ethiopia especially related with their activities, roles, challenges, opportunities, human rights and public and private partnership. According to, (Solomon, 2010) the development of the private security sector is relatively recent, and linked with the change of government in Ethiopia early 1990s which was marked by a high number of demobilized soldiers and high rates of unemployment due to unstable socio-political situations; This period was followed by 2005 by national economic growth and a wave of privatization in Ethiopia, which, led to the entry of PSCs into the market, the demand for private security services then continued growing, due to an increase in development and international actors in the country (Solomon, 2010).

In a nutshell, Ethiopia has been recognized as the stabilizing factor in the Horn of Africa; nevertheless, since 2017, the country has faced a security and political crisis. The security threats toward the life and property of the people have increased due to ethnic and political conflicts. Government efforts and public security forces have not been sufficient to adequately address the situation. This creates an increased need for private security services (Private Security Governance Observatory, 2023). In the face of an increasing economic boom and the growing trend of outsourcing of security provision to private actors, the Ethiopian private security sector is fast growing and has become a multi-million birr industry. On the contrary, Ethiopia is facing rising security threats for the last 6 years. There were increased assassinations, robberies, destruction, and vandalization of properties. Furthermore, arms trafficking and possession of illegal weapons are widespread. The government is unable to provide protection or prevent these security threats. Thus, there is a high demand for private security for the protection of persons and properties in Ethiopia (Private Security Governance Observatory, 2023).

In Ethiopia, there are at present no restrictions on the formation of PSCs and there are no stated pre-conditions or requirements for their foundation (Solomon, 2010). Other scholars, on the other hand, according to (Mahader, 2021), one of the most alarming aspects of Ethiopian PSCs is that although they are increasing in number, they are completely unregulated. Currently, there is no regulation or policy framework relating to the legal and procedural operations of private security companies, there appears to be little or almost no monitoring standards in the sector. Possibly present a grave danger to the security and stability of Ethiopia.

Then, why there was no comprehensive legal framework for the private security companies? Also, following the 2018 political reform, there have been new political dynamics. Hence how political economy of private security has been navigated? This is the central puzzle addressed by the study. Limited research has been conducted on the PSCs in Ethiopia, yet this subject merits further study. Some of these studies include, for example, the following: the roles and challenges of PSCs in the case of Addis Ababa by Mahader in 2021; PSCs in Ethiopia the case of Addis Ababa their activities, challenges and opportunities by Munira in 2016 and the role of PSCs in enhancing human security and their relationship with public security institutions by Desta in 2011. However, none of these works investigated, in detail, the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia- Addis Ababa understudied.

Therefore, Scholars pursuing different research questions tend to talk about a past on another, leaving under-explored a number of important issues such as the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia especially post-2018, the case in point is different researchers left many areas of the political economy of PSCs under-explored. The purpose of this research is to develop such an agenda. Following this, the central problem of this study lies in the gap between the rapid growth of PSCs and the absence of a comprehensive and effective regulatory framework, this creates a complex situation characterized by the lack of a clear legal framework for industry results in a fragmented market with varying levels of professionalism, accountability, and transparency. This creates potential risks for security breaches, human rights violations, and abuse of power. Second, the ongoing political reforms and evolving relationship between the state and the industry create uncertainty for private security companies.

The potential for political influence and manipulation within the industry remains a concern, as does the need to navigate the shifting power dynamics and access resources, while Security is no ordinary commodity and the marketization of this fundamental public good has been a deeply contested political Process (White, 2012).

In response, the executives of successful PSCs have been forced to act not only as astute businessmen quickly responding to shifts in supply and demand, but also as skilled political strategists, carefully guiding their companies through the complex political terrain of the contemporary security sector (White, 2012). Without an in-depth understanding of these distinctly political processes, it is not possible to fully comprehend the rise of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018. Thirdly, while PSCs contribute to economic growth and job creation, their rapid expansion raises concerns about potential social and economic inequalities, particularly regarding the distribution of resources, access to employment, and the potential for labor exploitation.

Therefore, this research addresses the problems by focusing on investigating the obstacles or challenges to creating a comprehensive regulatory framework for industry, including bureaucratic hurdles, conflicting interests, and a lack of expertise in developing effective legislation: Analyzing how the ongoing political reforms, the democratizations process, and economic liberalization impact the industry, including the evolving role of the state security agencies and the potential for political influence and manipulation: Assessing the economic impact of the industry on job creation, investment, and revenue generation while considering potential social and economic inequalities and the need for responsible and sustainable practices within the sector. By investigating these interconnected issues, this research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia and provide valuable insights for policymakers, researchers, industry stakeholders, and CSOs seeking to shape a more stable, secure, and equitable future for the country.

1.3 Objective of the Study

1. General Objective of the Study

The overall objective of this study was to assess the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018, with a particular emphasis on Addis Ababa.

2. Specific Objective of the Study

Specifically, the study is intended.

- To explore the challenges of establishing a legal framework to govern PSCs in Ethiopia.
- To analyze the implication of post-2018 political dynamics on private security companies.
- To assess the economic contribution of private security companies.

1.4 Research Question

This study attempts to answer the following key questions.

- What are the challenges to establishing a legal framework to govern private security companies?
- What are the implications of post-2018 political dynamics on private security companies?
- What is the economic contribution of private security companies?

1.5 Scope of the Study

In the wake of the 2018 political reforms in Ethiopia, the landscape of PSCs has experienced significant transformation, warranting an in-depth investigation. The scope of this study was limited to PSCs operating in Addis Ababa only. It focused on some selected private security companies' i.e. Commercial Nominees S.C, TAG Security PLC, Assefa Security PLC, Vital Security PLC, and HAB Security PLC, the respondent was selected purposively. All interviews and focus group discussion was conducted in Addis Ababa.

The study covers the challenges to establishing a legal framework to govern or regulate private security companies, the implications of post-2018 political dynamics on private security companies, and assesses the economic contribution of private security companies, aims to provide a holistic understanding of their influence on the nation's political economy. To give context, the research made a look at the years preceding April 2, 2018, G.C. when the new government came to power in Ethiopia, to the present.

1.6 Significance and Implication of the Study

The study on the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018 holds substantial significance and implications across multiple domains, encompassing legal framework, post-2018 political dynamics, and economic contributions of private security companies. This study stands to offer valuable insights with profound implications. First, understanding the legal framework governing PSCs is paramount for the enhancement of regulatory measures and governance mechanisms. By scrutinizing the regulatory changes and ramifications, the research can shed light on potential areas of improvement within the legal framework. Consequently, this could aid policymakers in devising more effective and adaptive regulations ensuring the accountability, ethical conduct, and overall compliance of PSCs with the evolving legal standards.

Secondly, examining the implications of post-2018 political dynamics on private security companies, uncovers the impact of post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia on these companies, addressing changes in regulations, market trends, and operational strategies. Understanding these implications is crucial for policymakers, investors, and stakeholders in the security industry. This research can guide policymakers in formulating effective regulations, assist investors in assessing market risks, and help security companies navigate the shifting political environment. By delving into these issues, the study can contribute valuable insights to both the academia and business sector. Thirdly, exploring the economic contributions of PSCs can yield significant implications for employment, investment, and macroeconomic development. By comprehensively assessing their economic role, the research holds the potential to offer nuanced perspectives on the interconnectedness between PSCs and broader economic activities.

This understanding can support policymakers, investors, and economic planners in leveraging the potential of PSCs to foster employment opportunities, attract investments, and contribute to economic growth and resilience. Meanwhile, this research could be used for academic studies, further explorations, policy formulations, and other purposes i.e. efforts to create a safer and more secure environment for citizens and businesses in Ethiopia.

This research aims to provide valuable insights for policymakers, researchers, and stakeholders seeking to promote a responsible and sustainable private security sector in Ethiopia. By understanding the intricate relationship between political dynamics, economic factors, and the growth of private security companies, the study contributes to informing policymaking, fosters a more secure environment, and promotes a more equitable future for Ethiopia.

1.7 Ethical Consideration

Certain ethical considerations are required and expected from one researcher during the research. First, the researcher presented an official letter to the selected relevant body requesting interviews and access to certain available documents that could serve as sources.

During the interviews, the researcher asked questions that were neutral and did not offend either the interviewee or the institution they belong. Furthermore, the researcher made an effort to analyze the provided information objectively, without bias or attachment to a political point of view or ideology. The researcher also made every effort to present the findings as accurately as possible, with no false alterations. However, the researcher believes that PSCs are a threat that presents a grave threat to peace, stability, security, and development of Ethiopia in general and Addis Ababa in particular if not regulated or governed by a comprehensive legal framework. I would like to state unequivocally that this is my personal bias regarding private security companies.

1.8 Organization of the Paper

The research is organized into five chapters. Chapter one deals with the introductory section that includes the background, statement of the problem, the objective of the study, research questions, Scope/delimitation, significance and limitations as well as organizational structure of the thesis. The second chapter deals with the review of related literature in the area of the political economy of private security companies, which is relevant to the researcher's study. In this section, theoretical and conceptual frameworks regarding legal framework, political dynamics, and economy are included.

The third chapter covers the research methodology and design, which are applied to conduct the study. The fourth and most significant chapter examines the data presentation and analysis of the research, as well as the study's findings. Finally, chapter five presents the research conclusions.

1.9 Limitation of the Study

The study's subject matter (matter of national security and human security) falls within the category of sensitive topics; hence the researcher was constrained in several ways. Due to the nature of the subject under study, the principal limitation was that all pertinent data for the study were not readily available. The study's participants were somewhat constrained in how they could articulate their thoughts because the subject matter was so delicate. The study is also limited in how it incorporates the voices of all banned PSCs because it is difficult to reach them for interviews. To compensate for the above limitations, the researcher interviewed two banned private security companies' owners, and government officials with detailed knowledge of the subject and analyzed documents such as the Ethiopian Herald newspaper, which is rich in information about the topic under study.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Related Literature

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a literature review, derived from the existing theoretical literature, a critique of existing literature about the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018. Research gaps and a critical literature review summary are also presented. The purpose of this literature review is to offer a comprehensive examination of the current research and understanding surrounding the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018: particularly within the context of the legal framework, implications of post-2018 Ethiopia's political dynamics, and the economic contribution of private security companies. The literature review explored a wide range of sources, including academic articles, research papers, and government reports, to gather a holistic understanding of the subject matter. By analyzing these sources, the review identified the key themes, theories, and empirical evidence that have been examined for private security. Furthermore, the literature review identifies any gaps or limitations in the current literature.

1.2 Conceptual Issues

1.2.1 Security Defined

There is no doubt that security is one of the most important concepts in International Relations since it is related to the safety of states and their citizens and their very survival. However, defining security is not an easy matter, since the term has had many different meanings to different people in different places and at different times throughout human history. The obvious consequence is that there are many different ways to think about security. There has been a never-ending debate on its nature and dimension since there is not a broad consensus on its meaning. The very important thing in the concept of security studies is whose security?

Security has to do with the process connected with assuaging any kind of threat to people and their precious values. This is why (Buzan, 1991) asserts that security is about freedom from threat and the ability of states to maintain independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile while its bottom line is survival (BODUNDE et al., 2014).

From the foregoing, security is generally agreed to be about the feeling of being safe from harm, fear, anxiety, oppression, danger, poverty, defense, protection, and preservation of core values and threats to those values. According to, (P. D. Williams, 2012) equally submits that security is most commonly associated with the alleviation of threats to cherish values, especially those threats that threaten the survival of a particular reference object. In line with the above, Imobighe states that,

“Security has to do with freedom from danger or threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interest, and enhance the well-being of its people. Thus internal security could be seen as the freedom from or the absence of those tendencies, that could undermine internal cohesion, the corporate existence of a country, and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values and socio-political and economic objectives, as well as meet the legitimate aspirations of the people (Ogaba, 2010).

Following the above, It could therefore be inferred that security, be it classical, state-centric traditionalist, or non-traditionalist, is all about the protection of assets including living and non-living resources against loss or damage. Thus, in this study, the researcher focused on or dealt with the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018.

1.2.2 Privatization of Security

Privatization refers to the transfer of ownership of an enterprise, business, or service from the public to the private sector or the delegation of former government functions to the private sector (H. B. Feigenbaum & Henig, 1994). In the security field, though, Security privatization is a global phenomenon, and worldwide private security actors play prominent roles across a spectrum of activities, ranging from the daily protection of public spaces to engagement in international war (Abrahamsen et al., 2011). The rise of private security cannot automatically be equated with state weakness or failure. This view overlooks how security privatization reflects contemporary transformations in governance and the extent to which private security actors are part of networks of security governance (Abrahamsen et al., 2011).

Following this, the privatization of security refers to the outsourcing of internal or external security functions from the government to private security providers, either domestic or foreign this trend has gained significant momentum globally, particularly in the post-Cold War era, driven by the perceived benefits of efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery.

According (Thompson & Calabresi, 1996) to understand the notion of security privatization more fully, it seems important to place it in the context of broader privatization trends in the post-Cold War era. This is truly the "age of privatization," where "communities are hiring for-profit firms to perform the tasks that have traditionally fallen to government—educating children, running prisons, and even building and maintaining highways."

Generally, the rationale for the spread of privatization is maximizing efficiency, output quality, and effectiveness in services, accentuated by the declining quality and funding of public services provided in many areas. Aside from the direct provision of security to populations in need, privatization has spread in recent years to many other sensitive areas traditionally under governmental control, including the closely linked defense industry (militarily-oriented multinational corporations), telecommunications industry (especially telephone companies), and transportation industry (particularly the airlines). Even though the results of privatization have been decidedly mixed, (H. Feigenbaum et al., 1998) the attraction to it as a panacea has not seemed to diminish in the slightest.

Finally, turning to the purpose of privatized security, the most important distinction is between offensive and defensive aims. Although in security circles making a clear-cut offensive-defensive divide has become quite difficult (for example, now it is virtually impossible to separate definitively offensive from defensive weapons), differentiating between the two here appears crucial here because of the different baggage associated with each in the security privatization context. In particular, many make a moral distinction between protecting people and attacking people for money: with defensive tasks constituting the vast majority of what PSCs handle these days, they appear much more palatable to those with these scruples (Shannon, 2013).

1.2.3 Private Security Companies

Private security refers to security services provided by non-state agencies to clients, encompassing safeguarding individuals and properties, conducting investigations, and protecting assets. These services can include security guards, surveillance, and physical site security, among others, and are crucial in both public and private sectors for protecting lives and property from various threats like theft, vandalism, and violence. Private security personnel, such as security guards and private investigators, play a vital role in maintaining public safety, although they do not possess the same powers as law enforcement officers and are subject to specific industry regulations that have grown significantly, necessitating robust regulation to ensure compliance with human rights and legal standards.

PSCs are businesses that provide security services on a for-profit basis to paying customers. They come in a great variety of forms from small local businesses to large multinational corporations and are hired by members of the public, other businesses, and also the state. The demand for private security companies' services has increased significantly over the last decades and private security companies' employees now outnumber public security forces in a significant number of countries

On the contrary, (Holmqvist, 2005) explains that the services provided by private security and military companies are military training and consulting, security services, crime prevention, housing, and communications services. (Makki et al., 2001) also calls a private security company a service that provides defensive capabilities and is intended to protect individuals and property. There is a supply and demand factor that leads to the rise of private security. A private security company is considered a private organization that provides security such as guarding, patrol, and investigation (Kakalik & Wildhorn, 1971). Private security in World War II was considered an unreliable and unpleasant profession. This is mainly due to the private security images acquired as poorly trained gangs hired by private businesses to do their job like suppress labor (Bayley & Shearing, 1996).

Despite the time gap, to different scholars, a private security company has a similar definition and job description. The reason for the growth of private security can be seen in three points. The first is the post-Cold War era, which led to the traditional government organizations being outsourced.

The second is after the end of the Cold War, which led to a reduction in the number of military personnel to recruit military personnel into private security and military companies. The third is the disagreement of the major powers from the developing countries (Spearing, 2001).

1.2.4 Political Economy of Private Security Companies

According to Adam Smith's the concept of political economy emphasizes the intricate relationship between economic systems and political structures. He viewed political economy as a discipline that examines how individual self-interest drives economic activity while also acknowledging the broader social, moral, and legal contexts in which this activity occurs and political economy is a holistic study that integrates economics with political and social factors, aiming to understand how they collectively influence wealth creation and societal welfare. Domestic security provision is undergoing a significant transformation. In advanced democratic countries across the world, monopolistic and state-centred systems of security provision are increasingly giving way to more pluralistic systems in which public police forces and PSCs work alongside one another in fragmented security networks (White, 2011). This transformation affects the delivery of many core human goods including peace, democracy and human rights on a daily basis.

White argued that the majority of empirical research on domestic private security has (implicitly) been conducted within *either* an economic context which focuses upon the laws of supply and demand *or* a political context which emphasizes the deeply embedded cultural belief that security is an inherently governmental function (Ibid). Consequently, it is reasoned that one of the main challenges in this field is to put together an agenda which encourages researchers to investigate how *both* of these contexts serve simultaneously to shape the everyday conduct of domestic private security actors. Following this from a political economy perspective, however, it is possible to identify two meta-trends: the first relates to the economic context of domestic private security and the second relates to the political context.

Economic Context

Economic context refers to the shifting laws of supply and demand in the domestic security sector (White, 2011). Research conducted in relation to this context tends to produce an economic narrative in which private security providers are conceptualized as economic actors whose primary motivation is to take advantage of market fluctuations so as to expand their commercial operations.

During the middle decades of the 20th century, domestic security sectors in many advanced democratic countries were dominated by well-resourced public police forces. In accordance with post-war Keynesian economic policy, rising demand for domestic security was, at this time, usually met with an increase in the supply of public policing resources (Lynn & James, 2010) (Braithwaite, 2000) As such, there was little demand for private security. However, cracks in this monopolistic system began to emerge in the 1970s and 1980s with the onset of fiscal crisis in many advanced democratic (Keynesian) states. As investment in public services declined in line with resource constraints and an emergent neoliberal governing mentality, public police forces were no longer sufficiently well-resourced to satisfy demands for domestic security, in turn creating a security vacuum which was duly exploited by business-savvy private security providers (Jones & Newburn, 1998).

This explains not only why demand for security was increasing in general, but also why a sizeable proportion of this demand was being satisfied by private security providers, for the services delivered by these flexible market-based organizations could (in theory at least) be more effectively tailored towards the localized and particularistic security needs which were resulting from these trends (Wood & Shearing, 2007). These economic fluctuations in supply and demand have a profound impact upon the conduct of private security providers. Although this often cited scenario has a great deal of analytical purchase, it does not provide the full picture.

Political Context

Political context refers to the deep-rooted political norms which are centred on the idea that domestic security ought to be exclusively provided by the state, entirely free from the interference of commercial interests (White, 2011). Research conducted in relation to this context tends to produce a political narrative in which private security providers figure as political actors seeking to navigate their way through this complex political terrain in an effort to legitimate and thereby enhance the appeal of their commercial operations. Despite on this, no state has ever actually exercised a true Weberian-style monopoly over security provision, a number of advanced democratic states came close enough to this ideal type institutional arrangement during the mid-20th century to give the broad impression of one. Furthermore, the discourse of political leaders in these countries frequently drew upon the idea of a state monopoly in order to justify the state's activities, in turn serving to further reinforce this broad impression (Shearing, 1992).

Following the above, For example, many providers have openly sought to recruit into their ranks moonlighting and retired public police and military officers in order to incorporate (former) representatives of the state monopoly into their commercial operations. In addition to these largely symbolic strategies, private security providers have also made great efforts to develop legally grounded relations with state institutions through statutory regulation (White, 2011)

This in turn allows private security providers to market themselves not as commercial organizations working in line with private goods and profit margins, but rather as state-deputized institutions functioning in accordance with the state-guaranteed public good (Ibid). The political context of domestic security shapes the activities of private security providers to a significant degree. From a political economy standpoint, however, it is critical to recognize that in reality this political context runs alongside and overlaps with the economic context examined above. Consequently, one of the key challenges in this field is to develop an agenda which encourages researchers to investigate how both the economic context and the political context of domestic security have the effect of jointly shaping the conduct of contemporary private security providers. Therefore, the purpose of this section is to map out such an agenda in the form of the political economy of private security. This will be done by setting down a series of research questions, methodological techniques and analytical propositions which can be used to study the political economy of private security in a systematic, balanced and integrated manner. This process of integration should proceed in line with two key analytical propositions. First, it is important to recognize that the conduct of private security providers in advanced democratic countries is not generally constituted in relation to a singular rationality, but is rather pushed and pulled in accordance with (at least) two different rationalities: one economic and the other political.

1.2.5 Legal and Regulatory Framework of PSCs

Private security entails different forms of security provided by individuals, companies, and other organizations to a client at a fee as opposed to public security which is a public good provided by the state (Wairagu & Singo, 2004). The industry fills the gaps that the government may be unable to bridge using their conventional security architecture which typically includes policing, military, and intelligence institutions. The government also contracts private security firms where the option is cost-effective.

Following this, a comprehensive regulatory framework at the national level is essential for both achieving public oversight and control over the private security sector. Many states portrayed an increasing tendency toward the establishment of comprehensive legislation to govern and control the work of PSCs (Button & George, 2006). However, there are still many states where such a framework is either flawed or lacking. According to (Button & George, 2006), all states should develop a national policy on the regulation of the private sector as well as its rapport with the state security providers.

The policy should be designed to ensure the highest possible standards in both spheres and be supplemented with appropriate primary legislation and regulations. Locally operating companies and those operating beyond the country should be regulated by national legislation (Button & George, 2006).

In some countries, such as the United States of America (USA), Canada, and Australia in which the state or province is responsible for regulating private security, their systems tend to be relatively minimal, the lowest category, in terms of the classification of regulatory systems developed by (Button & George, 2006). In the USA, the training hours necessary to become a security officer vary by the state from no to 16 hours (North Dakota) to 40 hours (California). In Canada, mandatory training standards have only recently been introduced and there are many provinces that still do not have a mandatory training course. In the case of Australia, employers and employees are required to meet the standards based upon the charter of the services they provide, including the absence of a criminal record as a basic requirement for all cases (Button & George, 2006).

On the other hand, Europe has maintained a quite high level of regulation in the industry. The (UK) standards are relatively low compared with other European countries and this was probably one of the main reasons the UK introduced the Private Security Industry Act in 2001 in order to regulate and improve the quality of private security (Button & George, 2006). The regulation of private security in the UK was significantly enhanced with this Act. The Act sought to shift the industry into the mainstream of UK policing services and introduced licensing schemes such as Compulsory Licensing and Approved Contractor Schemes to regulate the personnel and companies in this industry.

The Act also established the Security Industry Authority (SIA) in 2003 to license and regulate all 'contract' private security providers by encouraging a higher degree of standards and professionalism (Crawford & Lister, 2004).

There are numerous forms of regulation in Africa, such as Angola (the law of 30 July 2014 on Private Security Companies); Cameroon (the Decree of 2005 Implementing the 1997 law on Private Guarding Services); the Democratic Republic of the Congo (1998 Ordinance on Private Security Companies); Lesotho (the Private Security Officers Act of 2002); Mozambique (the Constitutional Accord on Regulating Private Security Companies); Namibia (the 2002 Security Officers and Security Enterprises Act); Swaziland (the Regulation of Wages of the Security Services Industry, Order 2011); Uganda (the Police Act of 1994); and Zimbabwe (the Private Investigators and Security Guards (Control) Act of 2001, Chapter 27:10) (Private Security Monitor, 2012).

(Abrahamsen & Williams, 2005) suggested self-regulation as a possible way of introducing minimum standards in the private security industry in Sierra Leone but they concede that it would not solve all its problems, in particular as far as the enforcement of labor laws is concerned. One of their key demands was therefore that the private security sector be incorporated into ongoing security sector reform (SSR) programs, not least because PSCs could potentially have a major impact on the improvement of Sierra Leone's security situation.

In Ethiopia, there is currently no law that specifically regulates private security companies. The Ethiopian Trade Proclamation No.020/2/6056/2008 is used to register PSCs as any ordinary business entity. However, as per Federal Negarit Gazeta Proclamation No. 720/2011 Article 28, the Federal Police can issue certificates of competence to private institutions wishing to engage in providing security service. The request to get a license has to be submitted to the Federal Police Professional Counseling and Arms License Division together with a form prepared to this effect. Once the Federal Police issues the certificate of competence Addis Ababa Labor and Social Affairs Bureau registers as a business entity. Licenses of PSCs like those of any other business organization, should be renewed every two years by written application to the Federal Police and Addis Ababa Labor and Social Affairs Bureau. However, many companies continue to work without a license, a problem that is recognized by those that are legitimate.

1.2.6 Regulation

1.2.6.1 International Regulation

The international regulation of PSCs refers to the efforts to establish legal and policy frameworks to govern the activities of private security companies' providers operating across national borders. Following this, the Montreux Document was launched by the Switzerland government and the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC). The Montreux document led to the establishment of the International Code of Conduct for Private Security Service Providers Association (ICoCA). The Montreux is the result of an initiative launched by Switzerland and ICRC. The document was developed with the participation of governmental experts, civil societies, and private military and security companies (Kálmán, 2014).

The document provides the clearest legal standards and business administrative and regulatory procedures that shape the relationship between states and private security providers (Cockayne, 2008). Currently, there are fifty-seven (57) states and three (3) international organizations which are the European Union, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) support the Montreux Document. (Montreux Document, 2021), Angola, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Uganda, and Madagascar are the only supporter countries in the African continent. The Montreux Document focuses mainly on the operation of private security and military companies during armed conflict. This hinders the document from being comprehensive because it does not discuss the operations of private military and security companies under normal circumstances.

The Montreux document focuses mainly on the operation of private security and military companies during armed conflict. This hinders the document from being comprehensive because it does not discuss the operation of private military and security companies under normal circumstances. However, it is important to note that the Montreux Document is highly drawn from International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Agreements. There are international laws that can refer to private security firms. The first is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948. The Declaration includes the right to life, prohibition on torture, equal protection under the law, prohibition on arbitrary arrest and detention, and presumption of innocence (Assembly, 1948).

The other is the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). These rights are the prohibition of torture, equality before the courts, and the right to liberty and security (ICCPR, 1996). These rights that are given to every human being could be violated by anyone including private security companies. Even though there will not be any law that is specifically drafted on private security companies. So even if there is no international regulation on private security companies, these laws could be used to regulate their actions. The International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing, and Training of Mercenaries was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1989 and came into force in 2001. This convention attempts to give a broad concept of mercenaries. It prohibits recruiting, financing, and training mercenaries.

Having the Montreux Document as its foundation, the Swiss Government and ICRC launched the International Code of Conduct for Private Security Services (ICoC) in 2008. This code of conduct also articulates based on international human rights and international humanitarian law. It also has a mechanism to sanction those who violate the code of conduct (Buzatu & Buckland, 2015). In 2013, to promote, govern, and oversee the implementation of the implementation of ICoC, the International Code of Conduct for Private Security Service Providers' Association was established. (Kálmán, 2014), emphasized that while these international initiatives are important steps, they do not address important issues like accountability. Since it is not legally binding it cannot address human rights issues that should be the core responsibilities of private security and military companies.

The international community has been investigating the privatization of security, but African states, have not given it much attention. This is mainly due to a lack of sufficient research on private security and military providers especially in conflict and post-conflict zones (Gumedze, 2008a). In private security, regulation is defined as “the presence of formal, direct mechanisms of control established with the intent of preventing or reducing injustice, corruption, negligence, and incompetence”(O'Connor et al., 2004).

(Richards & Smith, 2007) bulleted specific points that could be included in the regulation of private security companies. These are;

- To have professionalization and ensure a high standard of their activities, licensing should have a limited duration of time.
- Relationships between political parties and PSCs should be prohibited.

- Private security company personnel should be licensed to work in the field.
- As a country's military is neutral, there should not be a relationship between political parties and private security companies.

In Kenya, the Private Security Regulatory Authority is the licensing body for a private security company to provide security services. The licensing authority complies with the rules and laws of the Private Security Regulations Act (Private Security Regulation Acts, 2016). The Kenya Regulation Act includes important rules that can guide Private security companies, how they should work with the police force, and the code of conduct.

In a nutshell, Ethiopia is not a participant in the Montreux Document, International Code of Conduct Association (ICoCA), and Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights. So, Ethiopia can learn from Kenya's experience to draft a working code that can serve all concerned bodies.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

Security as a Contested Concept

The concept of security has long been a source of academic debate among scholars. Because it can be associated with a variety of concepts that function across multiple analytical levels, making it challenging to precisely define scope. For this reason, some scholars described security as “essentially contested concept”(Buzan, 1983). However, other scholars like Wolfer and Gallie, as cited in David A. Baldwin (1997), argue that the concept of security does not qualify as an essentially contested concept. Baldwin argues that the concept of security does not satisfy two of the most important qualification, being ‘appraisive’ and ‘the defining character must generate a vigorous dispute’, to be classified as an essentially contested concept (Baldwin, 2018).Despite this, essentially contest or not, security generally entails threat and the feeling to be secure; hence the meaning per se is not much contested. However, the questions of ‘whose security’ and security from what’ are paramount and where the disagreement lays as the definition of threat and the value threatened differs empirically (Ibid).

Following this, Neoliberal Theory and Corporate Governance Theory, were applied in this study. The theory relates with this study in that, As a result given the dynamic nature of security this study employed the aforementioned theoretical lenses.

1.3.1 Neoliberal Theory

To assess the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018, the study considers the neoliberal theory on security. In contrast to Weberian view of security, the neoliberal theory opposes the idea of state monopoly of violence and instead claims that promotes the role of the capitalist states in the privatization of security. It also assumes that contemporary policing practices involve “a plethora of public, commercial and voluntary agencies” which are increasingly driven by “people’s willingness and ability to pay” (Loader, 1997; see also Bayley and Shearing, 2001; Liwes and Wood, 2006; Shearing and Stenning, 1981).

Private security is conceived as a neoliberal form of regulation operating on the basis of individual responsibility and freedom there by functioning as a strategy of “governing at a distance” (see Burchell, Gordon and Miller, 1991; Rose, 2000; Miller and Rose, 2008; Ruben and Maskovsky, 2008; Yardimci, 2009). Following this, neoliberal situates human activity within an economic calculus. It relocates activities from the public realm to the market by means directly privatization, public-private partnerships, outsourcing, the creation of new markets, the making of internal markets and establishment of condition for competitive success (Clarke 2004, 35-6). Despite this, neoliberal govern mentality in the field of security is consequently being implemented with the zealously of the newly converted (Markusen 2003). Moreover, the self-reinforcing nature of the process equally important for the scope and speed of change. The mobilization of insecurity and a fear are open to the construction of the new problems and marketing of new solutions.

The market of security generates its own demand insofar as the social perception of threat, created through the marketing of security solutions which also the production of fear becomes a function of the security mobilization itself (Leander, 2005). The neoliberal approach to the assessment of the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018 would focus on market-oriented legal framework, market based completion, public-private partnerships and limited stated intervention, this approach aims to foster an environment where PSCs can operate efficiently, competition drives innovation and collaboration between the state and private sector enhances security outcomes.

1.3.2 Governance Theory

The concept of corporate governance can be traced back to the 19th Century period in the United Kingdom (UK) when the Joint Stock Companies Act (1844) allowed the registration of companies. According to (Masulis & Mobbs, 2014), this registration led to the birth of the modern company. The registration of a company meant the separation of ownership from the control where professional managers were the ones to run the business (Tricker, 2015);(Masulis & Mobbs, 2014)). Whereas the birth of the company reduced the owners' liabilities in the company, it also created conflicts between owners and managers. Consequently, a corporate governance framework was necessary to protect owners from the actions of the managers who had the advantage of running the company. In developing countries, corporate governance practices became prominent in the 1980s after the storm of corporate failure sweeping across the developed world had calmed down ((Tricker, 2015);(Field et al., 2013).

The role of good corporate governance in the control of corporate organizations cannot be underestimated (Du Plessis et al., 2018);(Minnis, 2011). Today, good corporate governance is no longer an option but a benchmark to measure the success or failure of any institution. According to (Masulis et al., 2012), investors are willing to commit more money to companies that are well-managed because they provide surety and security for their money. In addition, professionals would want to work for organizations that have good reputations and not those that have corporate governance issues. Corporate governance is concerned with how companies are directed and controlled; therefore, influencing an organization's growth and development ((Tricker, 2015);(Field et al., 2013). Because of this, most world economies have undertaken new initiatives and reforms to improve their corporate governance systems (Tricker, 2015);(Masulis & Mobbs, 2014). There is also a consensus that corporate governance is a management philosophy and a way of managing organizations to improve their overall effectiveness and performance (Cashman et al., 2012). In today's business environment, corporate governance is used as a powerful tool to quantify the way a business functions (Minnis, 2011);(Tricker, 2015).The performance of private security firms is one of the key areas that need urgent research on viable ways to revamp and re-engineer them (Krahmann, 2012).

Their future lies in dilemma, owing to the fact that most of them face stiff challenges, some of which have their background from government interference, lack of right personnel, conflicting interests between organizational objectives and individual needs, lack of proper statutes of total quality management among other related managerial needs and challenges (Krahmann, 2012). In most countries, private security firms are under pressure to deliver quality services (Berndtsson, 2012). An improvement in private security sector performance and quality service delivery in any country requires a clear understanding of corporate governance as well as the current working of the private security sector systems (Joachim & Schneiker, 2012);(Berndtsson, 2012).

In Ethiopia, the private security industry is one of the fastest-growing sectors of the economy and it is a significant employer with over 375 security companies operating. The industry was valued at Some of the big companies have an annual cash flow of 40 to 50 million birr (USD 1.8 million-2.3 million) each and provide employment to about 200,000 Ethiopians. It spreads across the country, although it is much more visible in urban centers than in rural areas (Private Security Governance Observatory, 2023). The private security industry fills the gap that the government may be unable to bridge using its security architecture. Currently, in Ethiopia, there is no comprehensive legal framework or government oversight body that regulates the private security industry. Following this Private security market has grown to prominence out of increased crime rate and proliferation of small arms, fear by citizens of insecurity, distrust, and lack of confidence in government security agents. This has resulted in the purchasing of security services from private security firms (Oketch, 2018). The shift has redefined private security as a demand-based service as compared to the previous view of the general public utility service only provided by the state (Ambogo, 2014).

1.4 Empirical Literature

1.4.1 Evolution and Development of PSCs in Ethiopia

Contemporary African private security sector characteristics differ from region to region and from country to country. There are discussions about the growth of the private security sector in Africa. These arguments state that this growth is a sign of the state weakness of the state and the failure to provide physical security to its citizens (Holmqvist, 2005). Ethiopia's government faced a lack of funding, making it difficult to have an adequate police force and armed forces (Mahader, 2021).

Although it was a challenge for the government, there was an opportunity for PSCs to proliferate in Ethiopia (Munira, 2016). Interestingly, in Ethiopia, most private companies in Ethiopia claim to be the first in the country. This strategy is used to attract customers and gain legitimacy in their customer's eyes (Solomon, 2010). Some argue that in the time of emperor Haileselassie, an Italian citizen owned the first private security in Ethiopia named Securicor, but it was closed after Derg took Power (Solomon, 2010). Since there is no clear evidence for this, it is believed that PSCs emerged and expanded in Ethiopia after 1991 (Solomon, 2010).

Following this, Ethiopia's PSCs grew in two phases. The first phase is in the early 1990s after the Derg regime lost its power and the demobilization of military armies of the Derg regime. The second phase was in the Ethiopia Millennium when the economy of the country was showing success and inclusion of privatization in its economic policy (Solomon, 2010). He explains that an atmosphere of anxiety and fear among the rich people has helped increase private security in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa. Government and non-governmental organizations leave their security needs to private security companies. The main clients of PSCs are from the commercial sector. It ranges from small to large companies, embassies, NGOs, international Organizations, and banks. This shows that the trace of PSCs is visible in almost all aspects of the country's economic sphere. One of the main reasons is the responsibility for any human rights violations and the consequences of operations. The Ethiopian government, facing a lack of funding has made it difficult for the police and the armed forces to suffice. Nevertheless, it is a challenge for the government (Solomon, 2010).

Like any business venture, (Solomon, 2010) argued that economic benefits are the reason why PSCs are in business. Like other countries, the main agenda of Ethiopia-based PSCs is economic gain. Ethiopia's stability, peace, and security have not received much attention from the industry. The absence of legislation, regulation, and neglect from the government has greatly contributed to this attitude of the private security companies. However, the presence of regulations that guide these companies will help to contribute to the peace and security of the country. The security vacuum filled by PSCs is clear, but some study in Ethiopia shows that private security companies' staff mainly the security guards are unhappy, uneducated, and poorly paid people whose career is considered uncertain.

This is because of four main reasons. First, they are retired security personnel, fired from public security service personnel, PSCs do not see their security guards employees as permanent, and lastly lack of code of conduct (Munira, 2016).

Despite this, there is no association of PSCs in Ethiopia. The main reason for this is that they see each other as competitors rather than security providers (Solomon, 2010). This demonstrates that providing security to customers with extensive operations across the country is not perceived as a responsibility and is a threat that can result in a lot of insecurity and loss if not well-regulated.

PSCs in Ethiopia have some failures. There is a lack of transparency in the payment of wages. This shows private security company's security staff are being exploited because their payment does not match the service they provide and cannot guarantee a decent life for workers and their families (Kenna, 2017). While this is the case in many countries, possession of weapons in Ethiopia is also a complex issue. Very few organizations allowed to use weapons like international organizations, banks, and embassies. To overcome these constraints, PSCs began to arm their security personnel with individual firearm licenses (Munira, 2016). The private and public security sector does not have a formal relationship. Their relationship has been mostly ad-hoc. The private sector seeks help from the public sector when the incidents are beyond their control, such as the use of a weapon. However, it takes formalized and documented cooperation between these sectors to see better security outcomes (Solomon, 2010). The training of private security company's personnel is an issue. Despite the various roles they play and the responsibility they assume, most private security companies, prefer ex-soldiers to be employed (Solomon, 2010). This shows that these industries are not seeking to provide professionalized personnel, or they are only focused on profit. On the other side, PSCs seek professionalization rather than having a civilian with no military background.

1.4.2 Roles and Challenges of PSCs in Africa

Africa, as a continent, has always had a series of conflicts in which both state and non-state actors are involved. These conflicts have been triggered by religious tensions, tribal rivalry, political problems, unequal distribution of scarce resources, climate change, and natural disasters (Arduino, 2020).

(Gumedze, 2008b) also argues that in Africa, conflict is seen as a legitimate source of business. This makes private military and security companies (PMSCs) engage in military coups and mercenary activities. (Sellers, 1999) private security and military companies have a lot to do with the context of weak or conflict-prone states, especially those on the African continent.

(Hollemans, 2005) listed a few points on how PSCs in Africa have been facilitated. The first is burden-sharing. This means that the government wishes to share the responsibility of protecting its citizens with non-state security organizations. Second, the government lacks enough resources to provide security to the people. These are intended to reduce the burden on the state agencies in protecting their citizens. Finally, to attract investment, the government should need a secure environment. Even as studies in Africa show these characteristics of private military and security companies (PMSCs), they are still in number and participating in their client protection system. Even so, contemporary PSCs in Africa are working to distinguish themselves from post-colonial mercenaries (Arduino, 2020).

1.4.2.1 The Case of Nigeria

Before the establishment of PSCs in Nigeria in 1965, it was customary to use security guards as guards of individuals or organizations (Mohammed et al., 2016). Over time one of the notable growths and expansion of PSCs is in Nigeria, which has undergone a quiet revolution. The reason behind its development is the fear of crime in society. People are no longer content to leave security matters to police and public authorities. This is mainly seen in the northeastern part of the country, where hunters and civilians have taken this action to catch terrorists in the area (Hollemans, 2005).

Although Nigeria's constitution has made it clear that the Nigerian police will be the only police force in the country, private security companies, ethnic militias, and vigilante groups share responsibility for ensuring security. It is not just companies that need additional security through private companies today, but the rich, poor, local, NGOs, and public authorities (Mohammed et al., 2016). Even so, the presence of private security firms has played a role in reducing crime, and private security companies' clients have benefitted from their presence (Idowu, 2018).

Some studies show that in 2015, the number of private security organizations was estimated to be 1500-2000 having more than 800,000 employees. With this, we can understand that these private security industries play an important role in the Nigerian economy (M. C. Williams, 2015).

PSCs in Nigeria contribute to economic growth and development as worker employers (Idowu, 2018). Private security is the country’s second-largest source of income after oil and gas. Private security personnel of almost every business, embassies, non-governmental organization (NGO), and residential complex employees (van Steden & Sarre, 2010).(Mohammed et al., 2016), explained that in Nigeria, the main actors in private security companies, the guards have six major functions in ensuring the protection of lives and properties. First, prevention the security guards are in a prevention business where they prevent crime, risk, and threat on those people and properties whom they are paid to protect. Second, a team player is when those guards are ordered by their supervisor to play a miscellaneous rule. Third, getting help is in times of robbery, crime, and so on. Fourth, observe, and report. Fifth, is vigilance which indicates being alert.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

The framework examines first, Legal Framework Challenges; analyzing the difficulties in establishing a comprehensive and effective regulatory environment for PSCs, considering state-society relations, governance, and accountability concerns. Second, Political Dynamics; exploring how evolving political landscapes, power struggles, and state patronage influence the operations, growth, and influence of PSCs. Thirdly, Economic Contributions; evaluating the economic impact of PSCs, including job creation, economic growth, and their role in promoting private sector participation in security.

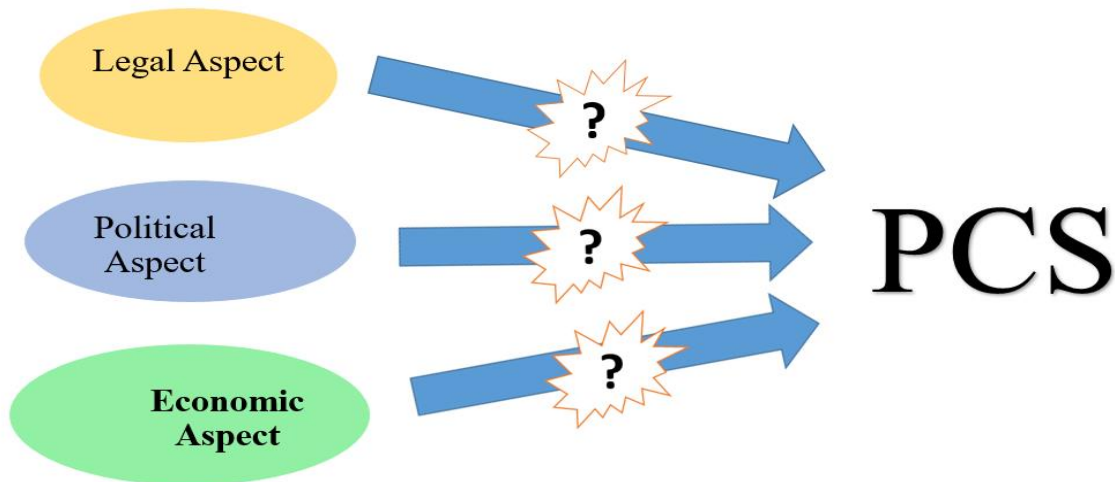


Figure: 1 Conceptual Framework

The lack of a comprehensive legal framework poses significant challenges. The absence of specific regulations often leads to unregulated growth of PSCs, which can result in operational inconsistencies and potential abuses of power, without proper oversight, effectiveness and accountability of these companies can be severely compromised. Following the above, political stability or instability directly influence the demand for PSCs, for instance, in politically volatile areas, there is typically an increased reliance on PSCs for safety, which can lead to a flourishing market for these services. Conversely, political efforts to regulate or control PSCs can shape their operational landscape significantly, influencing everything from licensing requirement to operational practices. Lastly, Economic condition a pivotal role in shaping the private security landscape. Economic growth often correlates with increased investment in security services as businesses seek to protect their assets. In Ethiopia, rapid economic expansion has led to a burgeoning PSCs amid rising security threats. The commodification of security transforms it into a marketable service. Where customers actively choose their providers based on perceived needs and financial capabilities.

Framework serves as a guide to conduct a comprehensive and nuanced analysis of the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018, providing valuable insights for policymakers, researchers, and stakeholders involved in the sector. In general, PSCs play a significant role in maintaining public safety and security in Africa, but their growth and operations are not without challenges. Effective regulation, capacity building, and adherence to international standards are crucial to ensuring that PSCs operate in a way that respects human rights and promotes stability in the region.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the philosophical foundation being considered, the methodology and research design employed, the sampling techniques selected, the data sources and collection tools used, data analysis and interpretation, and ethical consideration sections. Specifically, this chapter presents an explanation of how the study was conducted. It presents the research plan, which includes the research design, how the data was collected and from whom, and the data analysis technique used to analyze the data to generate the study's findings.

3.2 Philosophical Foundation

The underlying beliefs (i.e. world view) regarding how data about a phenomenon should be gathered, analyzed, and used are referred to as research philosophy (Grad Coach, 2019). Positivism, Critical Realism, Constructivist, Postmodernism, and Pragmatism are research philosophies used in various studies (Mark, 2019). The Pragmatist research paradigm was used in this study.

According to (Saunders et al., 2009) Pragmatism is a research philosophy based on the epistemology that there is no single way to learn but rather many ways or points of view because there are multiple realities. Thus, knowledge of various realities is gained through the integration of hybrid research methods, which include both qualitative and quantitative research methods. In contrast to positivism and interpretivism, pragmatism research philosophy allows for the integration of multiple research approaches, research strategies, and research methods (qualitative and quantitative) within the same study (Ibid).

The researcher used a pragmatist research philosophy to achieve the goal of this study. This is done to see or acquire realities from the various experts' and stakeholders' perspectives on the stated problem and objectives of the study. This is based on the pragmatism philosophy of observing different realities from various points of expertise.

Through this philosophy, the researcher hopes to gain a better understanding of the problems under study from the perspectives of various people, the private security companies' managers, and police officers from various offices, community members, government offices and security institutions, and security personnel from different stakeholders. Therefore, the researcher used pragmatism as the philosophical foundation, as it integrates both perspectives.

3.3 Research Approach

While researching the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018, the researcher used a case study as a research design and a mixed research approach to collect and analyze both qualitative and quantitative data. A mixed methods case study design is a type of mixed methods study in which quantitative and qualitative data collection, analysis, and integration are used to provide detailed evidence for conditions or to develop cases for comparative analysis”(Creswell et al., 2003).

In other sayings, using mixed research approaches allows researchers to answer research questions with sufficient depth and breadth (Enosh et al., 2015) and aids in generalizing the findings and implications of research issues to the entire population. The researcher employs a qualitative approach to gather detailed information from key informants such as private security company managers, government officials, and regulatory agencies. The researcher used a quantitative approach to collecting data from security personnel, which was relatively large, and increased the likelihood of generalizing findings to a larger or entire population of private security in the study area. Furthermore, quantitative findings can be triangulated with qualitative results, and vice versa.

3.4 Research Design

Research design implies the crafting of the conceptual structure within which research will be conducted in a way that is as efficient as possible, the collection of relevant evidence with minimal expenditure of effort, time, and money (Ethiopian Civil Service University (ECSU), 2018). The type of research design was determined by the research problem (De Vaus, 2006). MC Milan and Schumacher (1984) also stated that it implies the way the study is planned and conducted, the problems it will encounter, and the techniques it will employ to answer the research questions.

According to Kumar (2011), a case study is a research design where a single case serves as the foundation for the research in drawing assumptions through in-depth studies of that single case. Because this case is thought to be “peculiar”, it can be appropriate to draw assumptions in cases that are associated with it. As a result, the researcher in this study employed the Convergent Parallel Mixed-Methods Design. A convergent design is an efficient and popular approach to mixing methods research (Clark et al., 2022). Two different approaches namely qualitative and quantitative methods are analyzed independently using quantitative and qualitative analytical approaches. In the analysis phase, a researcher can always look for common concepts across both sets of findings.

Following this, Integration in convergent design can be done in two ways: a) by presenting findings of the quantitative study followed by the qualitative study or vice versa or b) by transforming the qualitative data into counts and integrating the transformed qualitative dataset into quantitative data (Ibid). In the latter case, a researcher can count the identified codes or themes. Thus, the researcher collected the qualitative data by conducting an in-person interview and focus group discussion and collected quantitative data from a survey to examine the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018 and analyzed concurrently or parallel.

3.5 Sampling Methods

Sampling is defined as the selection of some parts from aggregate or whole based on various attribute criteria that may be influenced by judgments according to Vogt as cited (Abreha Gebru, 2022). On the other hand, defined sampling as the process of obtaining information by examining only a subset of the entire population. The sample aims to ensure the representation, diversity, and relevance of the sample within the study scope (Kothari, 2004).

The approach that is used in this research is probability and non-probability sampling. From probability sampling the researcher used stratified sampling divides the population into “strata” (Blair & Johnny, 2014) and then deliberately select units (e.g., individual people, events, or objects) that are best suited to allow researchers to address their research questions using the judgment sampling technique (Ibid). On the other hand, the purpose of using non-probability sampling is that it is a sampling method that does not use the chance to select a section of a population, but rather the researcher deliberately selects the a section of the population to gather information (Kothari, 2004).

According to (Morse, 1994) Purposive sampling assists in identifying respondents who have relevant knowledge and experience and are ready to engage in the inquiry. Due to the nature of this study, the researcher chose non-probability sampling, especially purposive sampling, which comprises picking instances based on the researcher's judgment of which will be the most beneficial (Bloor & Wood, 2006). The snowball method is used as a networking technique that expands from a specific individual, group, or organization to multiple other informants, it is chosen to obtain additional data (Kumar, 2018). This was because a knowledgeable individual with the requisite competence would be appropriate for the task at hand. As a result, this sampling method is pertinent to many fields of research. The purposive sampling method and the stratified sampling method, which are non-probability and probability sampling, respectively, were used in this study. After taking into account the nature of the research and other pertinent factors, the researcher selected the aforementioned sampling techniques for this study. Therefore the researcher used purposive and snowball sampling for qualitative data and stratified sampling for quantitative data.

Under this sampling, the researcher selected Addis Ababa due to the fact that most of the international institutions, and commercial institutions are located there, and most of the private security is found in the city. Based on this, the researcher selected five PSCs such as Commercial Nominees S.C Commercial Bank of Ethiopia head office branch, TAG Security and Assefa Security PLC Addis Ababa University FBE campus and main campus branch respectively, HAB and Vital Security Megegnagna branch. Security through purposive sampling technique considering their greater experience, the large number of their employees, and the large number of business they protect. The study participants were selected using stratified sampling techniques.

In most cases, security personnel are stationed here and there. For example, if one security personnel works in one branch today, He or she may switch to another work site tomorrow, or even to another site of their client's work site. Due to the lack of permanent working areas, it was impossible to conduct any sort of probability sample; therefore, two hundred (200) security personnel, were purposefully selected based on expert opinion. The researcher then used the purposive sampling method to distribute and collect two hundred (200) surveys to and from security personnel working in the selected study area (five Agencies), and questionnaires were distributed to security personnel. Within each Agency, a total of 40 questionnaires were to be collected.

This is due to the underlying principle of purposive sampling being the researcher's judgment as to who can provide the best information to achieve the research objective within the time and budget constraints. Furthermore, the respondents who were purposefully chosen had the knowledge, position and experience that the study required.

3.6 Sample Size

Sample a predetermined number from a larger population and find some way of reducing the number of participants included in the survey without biasing the findings in any way and ensuring internal validity (Mathers, Fox, and Hunn, 2007). In addition to the purpose of the study and population size, three criteria usually will need to be specified to determine the appropriate sample size: the level of precision, the level of confidence or risk, and the degree of variability in the attributes being measured (Miaoulis & Michener, 1976).

The sample size required from the total targeted or given population for this study is decided by using the scientific statistical method formulated by Yamane (1967:886) provides a simplified formula to calculate sample sizes. According to him, for a 95% confidence level and $p= 0.5$, the size of the sample should be

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where,

n: is the sample size

N: is the population size, and

e: is the level of precision.

Let this formula be used for our population, in which $N=400$ with $\pm 5\%$ precision. Assuming a 95% confidence level and $p=0.5$, we get the sample size as

$$n = \frac{400}{1 + 400(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{400}{1+400(0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{400}{2} \quad \underline{\underline{n = 200}}$$

Therefore, the sample size involved two hundred (200) respondents of security personnel who are responsible for and have expertise in the provision of security services. A questionnaire was distributed to those who were able to read and write, were willing to respond, and were accessible and had time to respond to the questions.

3.7 Methods and Instruments of Data Collection

To gather the pertinent data for the study, the researcher has employed primary as well as secondary sources of data. In mixed-method research, key data collection instruments include questionnaires, in-person interviews, and focus group discussions (Zohrabi, 2013). According to the authors, semi-closed ended questionnaire provide quantitative or numerical data to the inquirer, whereas open-ended questionnaire provide qualitative or textual information. (Creswell, 2013) states that mixed research should include several sources of data where the researcher examines documents, observes behaviors, and interviews participants to obtain rich information rather than relying on a single source.

The researcher used mixed data collection tools to get the required data. The required data was collected using a Key Informant Interview (KII), Focus Group Discussion (FGD) as well a Survey Questionnaire. Mixed methods is a procedure for collecting, analyzing and “mixing” or integrating both quantitative and qualitative data at the same stage of the research process within a single study for the purpose of gaining a better understanding of the research problem (Tashakkori et al., 2008). The rationale for mixing both kinds of data within one study is grounded in the fact that neither quantitative nor qualitative methods are sufficient, by themselves, to capture the trends and details of a situations. When used in combination, quantitative and qualitative methods complement each other and allow for a more robust analysis, taking advantage of the strengths of each (Greene & Caracelli, 2003).

Regarding interview with key informants and conducting focus group discussions, two FGD (that comprises twelve people) and Interviews with the Key Informants (which include ten people) was made.

According to (Jw, 1998), the primary data collection tools in a qualitative approach are interviews and focus group discussions. As a result, a case study design entails detailed, in-depth data collection tools that draw on multiple sources of information (Clark et al., 2022). In this study, data collection methods or instruments used included questionnaire, in person interviews, and survey questionnaire was conducted. Basically, the primary data was collected through the above mentioned tools.

3.7.1 Primary Data Sources

3.6.1.1. Questionnaires

Questionnaires as one of the primary sources of obtaining data in any research endeavor. The importance of making use of a questionnaire is that it helps the researcher ask the same questions in the same manner to all respondents (Davies, P., Francis, P. &Jupp, 2011). As pointed out by (Kothari, 2004), this method has its own merits; it is free from bias, it gives time for the respondents to give more thought; and larger samples can be made use of, so the results can be made more dependable and reliable.

In this study, the questionnaires were administered to private security personnel, mainly to explore and analyze their understandings, and experiences as well perception towards the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018. The questionnaires were prepared and distributed in Amharic with the sole intention of effective communication with all participants. Finally, the responses from the survey were categorized and translated into English for analysis.

3.6.1.2. Interview

One of the data collection methods used in qualitative research techniques is the interview. It is a useful tool for gathering detailed information about one's perceptions, views, experiences, and impressions on specific issues. Interviewing allows the researcher to determine whether the answers obtained are the result of respondent or interviewer characteristics (O'Sullivan, E., Rassel, G., Berner, M., & Taliaferro, 2017).

The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with key informants (which include ten people) was made with the Ethiopian Federal Police Commission, House of Peoples Representative Members, Private Security Company managers/ Owners, as well as Addis Ababa Police, Addis Ababa Labor and Social Affairs Bureau, and Academia. In addition, interview was conducted with legal experts. These interviews included semi-structured questions that aided in eliciting the participants' intended responses to the issue under investigation. First, the researcher prepare an interview guide in English based on the basic research questions and specific objectives. The interview was then conducted in Amharic with the sole purpose of ensuring effective communication with all participants. Based on their responses, the interviews were typed into the textbook and recorded on an audio recorder based on their consent. Finally, the recorded responses were carefully transcribed into written notes in Amharic and then translated into English for analysis.

3.6.1.3. Focus Group Discussion

One of the instruments that collect primary data is a focus group discussion. Focus group discussions are a data collection method that data is collected through a semi-structured group interview process (Yayeh, 2021). Following this, focus group discussion is a technique where a researcher assembles a group of individuals to discuss a specific topic, aiming to draw from the complex personal experiences, beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes of the participants through a moderated interaction (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). A focus group discussion is a loosely structured discussion among six to ten individuals that is used to gather information on a particular research or program topic (Debus, 1998).

From the above concepts, we can understand that a Focus Group Discussion, two FGD (that comprises twelve people), is qualitative research data collection technique in which a selected group of people discusses a given topic or issue in-depth, facilitated by a professional, external moderator. The researcher conducted two focus group discussions with different stakeholders i.e. Experts from the Federal Police Commission, the Minister of Peace, the Minister of Justice, and PSCs Managers. First, the researcher prepare a focus group discussion guide in English based on the basic research questions and specific objectives. The focus group discussion was then translated into and conducted in Amharic with the sole purpose of ensuring effective communication with all participants.

Based on their responses, the discussions were typed in the textbook and recorded on an audio recorder based on their consent. Finally, the recorded responses were carefully transcribed into written notes in Amharic and translated into English for analysis.

3.6.2. Secondary Data Sources

Secondary data tends to expand the data set from which specific generalizations can be made. In general, collecting first-hand information using secondary data is much less expensive than using primary data (Kothari, 2004). Furthermore, because the researcher obtains the necessary information easily at one point, this data collection method saves time. In this study, the researcher reviewed various published and unpublished proclamations, and reports related to the objective and provided solutions to the problems stated.

3.8 Data Analysis Methods

After data has been collected in various ways, the question of how to analyze it arises. The information gathered is unprocessed. Following data collection, the data must be analyzed using the outline established for the research proposal. Technically, collected data was edited, coded, classified, and tabulated before being analyzed and presented in both qualitative and quantitative ways. Thematic data analysis was used for the research, (Braun & Clarke, 2006) contends that thematic method of analysis is the best way to identify, analyze, and report data because it organizes and describes it in detail and interprets the various aspects of research. This is the reason why the researcher preferred thematic analysis from other methods of data analysis.

Using thematic analysis, it is possible to associate different ideas and points of view of participants and compare them to data gathered in different situations and at different times from other or the same participants during the project (Alhojailan, 2012). As a result, the researcher used a thematic type of explanatory sequential analysis, which is used when the researcher wants to follow up on quantitative findings with qualitative analysis (Stick & Lincoln, 2006)

Qualitative data from in-person interviews and focus group discussions were analyzed by carefully interpreting meanings and contents about thematic issues. Quantitative data from the questionnaire were also analyzed quantitatively using Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) to encode and analyze frequencies and percentages. Description tables were used to present the analyzed data.

3.9 Validity and Reliability

Expert reflection was added by security officers and private security company workers in the preparation of the questionnaire, interviews, and focus group discussions to ensure the validity of data collection instruments. Constructive criticism from security and research experts helped the researcher identify flaws and provided an opportunity to modify and improve the instruments. Following this, the researcher administered and collected all instruments. In all types of research, establishing the scientific usefulness of findings and the validity of research instruments is critical. Before conducting the survey, the researcher discussed the content of the questionnaires to ensure that they were worded. To be sure, questions that were vague or unclear were removed and corrected after feedback was received.

The reliability of a research instrument refers to how often the instrument produces the same or similar results. However, there might be some uncertainties, the results of a quality instrument gathered at different times from both primary and secondary sources were generally consistent. Some enumerators were also trained to ensure quality data or instrument efficiency and to collect data from security personnel.

Despite on this the researcher used Cronbach's Alpha Model to test Survey Questionnaire, the results of reliability analysis revealed acceptable reliability for each of the constructs in the study. Results are summarized in table 1.

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.757	.827	24

Source: Own Survey (2024)

CHAPTER FOUR

4. RESULT, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses and discusses the findings of data gathered through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and survey techniques. Following data collection from respondents, the data was edited, classified, coded, and tabulated. The findings were organized according to the study's objectives and presented in the form of tables and percentages. The data was analyzed using the research objectives and questionnaire. Under the subtopics, both quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed, interpreted, and presented. Because the numbers of quantitative information did not have sufficient meaning on their own, qualitative information based on the description was used to supplement them. Quotations were used to validate what respondents said about the issue under consideration, thereby supporting the statistical data. The analysis included an explanation of the assessment of the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018.

4.2 Respondents' Information

Table 1: Respondents' Information

Biographic variables	Measures	Frequency	percent
Age of respondents	>=56	3	1.5
	18-25	13	6.5
	26-35	81	40.5
	36-45	72	36.0
	46-55	31	15.5
	200	100.0	100.0
Sex of respondents	Female	68	34.0
	Male	132	66.0
Private Security Professional	200	100.0	100.0
	Bachelor's or Equivalent Level	22	11.0

Educational status of respondents	Lower Secondary Education	3	1.5
	Post- Secondary Non- Tertiary Education	66	33.0
	Primary Education	8	4.0
	Short-Cycle Tertiary Education	33	16.5
	Upper Secondary Education	68	34.0
	Total	200	100.0

Source: Own survey (2024)

The age distribution of respondents shows a diverse range of experience levels. The majority, comprising 40.5%, are between 26 and 35 years old, indicating a relatively young and potentially dynamic workforce. A significant portion, 36.0%, falls into the 36-45 age range, suggesting a stable group with considerable experience. The 46-55 age group represents 15.5% of respondents, adding a layer of seasoned professionals. Younger respondents, aged 18-25, make up 6.5%, while those aged 56 and older constitute just 1.5%, reflecting a smaller presence of older individuals in the field.

The gender distribution among the respondents reveals a clear majority of males, accounting for 66.0% of the sample. Females represent 34.0% of the respondents. This disparity highlights a male-dominated sector within private security, though a substantial proportion of female professionals are also present, indicating ongoing diversity and opportunities for gender balance in the industry.

The educational background of the respondents is varied, with a notable concentration in upper secondary education, which encompasses 34.0% of the sample. Post-secondary non-tertiary education is also prevalent, representing 33.0% of respondents, indicating a significant number of individuals with additional specialized training beyond high school. Short-cycle tertiary education contributes 16.5% to the educational composition, while bachelor’s or equivalent level education accounts for 11.0%. Lower secondary education and primary education are less common, at 1.5% and 4.0%, respectively. This diverse educational profile suggests a range of qualifications and training levels among private security professionals.

4.3 The Legal Regime for Regulating Private Security Companies.

There is no a legal regime established to regulate the working of PSCs in Ethiopia. This is due to the various challenges that are encountered to establish such legal framework. The items used to assess these challenges were designed in different response forms to use the advantage of doing so enabling the researcher to get more real information and to cross-check it.

4.3.1 Assessing Level of clarity of the legal framework

The researcher assessed the level of clarity of the legal framework using a dichotomous type of question as “yes” or “no”.

Table 2: Level of clarity of the legal framework.

1. Do you believe that the lack of a clear legal framework poses risks to the private security industry in Ethiopia?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid yes	190	95.0	95.0	95.0
no	10	5.0	5.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Source: Own survey (2024)

The provided data indicates that a large majority (95%) of respondents believe that the lack of a clear legal framework poses risks to the private security industry in Ethiopia. Only 5% disagree. The perceived risks highlighted by this finding are likely significant and multifaceted. Without a clear legal framework, there is potential for regulatory ambiguity, lack of accountability, competition issues, and security threats.

In line with this quantitative responses from interviewees and FGDs indicated that there were challenges related to the existence of regulatory ambiguity. In this case, the participants explained that companies may face uncertainty regarding operating requirements, licensing procedures, and standards of conduct, leading to operational challenges and potential legal disputes.

The other challenge the qualitative data indicated was lack of Accountability in the absence of a defined legal framework, it can be difficult to hold PSCs accountable for their actions, particularly in cases of misconduct or breaches of security. This could erode public trust and confidence in the industry. In addition, competition issues were also what the participants mentioned. About this, they explained that unregulated competition could lead to a race to the bottom in terms of pricing and standards, potentially compromising the quality of security services. Moreover, security threats were also mentioned as a challenge. This was particularly raised in the sense that a lack of oversight and regulation could create vulnerabilities that could be exploited by criminal elements or other security threats.¹

It can be inferred from the discussion made above that, there is a need to have a clear legal framework to address the perceived risks and ensure the responsible and effective operation of the private security industry in Ethiopia. Such a framework should provide clarity on regulatory requirement, established mechanisms for accountability, promote fair completion, and contribute to overall security.

Table 3: Descriptive Results Regarding Major Challenges

2. Descriptive results regarding major challenges for having legal framework

Variables Items	Scale Values									
	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Lack of political will or support	5	2.5	22	11.0	75	37.5	86	43.0	12	6.0
Limited resources for regulatory bodies	2	1.0	15	7.5	24	12.0	42	21.0	117	58.5

¹ *KII with Experts at Ethiopian Federal Police Commission Head Office April 2, 2024, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*
FGD with Commercial Nominees PLC Business Manager, April 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

The complex relationship between government and PSCs	30	15.0	47	23.5	97	48.5	17	8.5	9	4.5
Public perception and trust issues	30	15.0	47	23.5	97	48.5	17	8.5	9	4.5
Inadequate understanding of the private security industry by policymakers	2	1.0	15	7.5	24	12.0	42	21.0	117	58.5
State centric Political culture	21	10.5	42	21.0	88	44.0	24	12.0	25	12.5
Mean	3.22									
Standard Deviation	0.770									

Source: Survey data (2024)

The results in Table 4.3 show the major challenges faced in establishing a legal framework to govern PSCs in Ethiopia. The most significant challenges identified by respondents include:

Lack of political will or support; a significant number of respondents believe that there is insufficient political will or support to establish a legal framework, indicating a potential lack of commitment from government officials.

Limited resources for regulatory bodies; another major challenge is the limited resources available to regulatory bodies, which could hinder their ability to effectively develop and implement a legal framework.

Complex relationship between government and private security companies; The complex relationship between government and PSCs can also pose challenges, as there may be competing interests and differing perspectives on the need for regulation.

Public perception and trust issues; Public perception and trust issues can also hinder the establishment of a legal framework, as negative perceptions of the private security industry may make it difficult to gain public support for regulation.

Inadequate understanding of the private security industry by policymakers; A lack of understanding of the private security industry by policymakers can also be a challenge, as this can lead to the development of ineffective or irrelevant regulations.

State-centric political culture; The state-centric political culture in Ethiopia can also present challenges, as this may make it difficult to establish a legal framework that promotes private sector participation and competition.

Overall, the results in Table 4.3 suggest that there are a number of significant challenges that need to be addressed in order to establish a legal framework to govern PSCs in Ethiopia. These challenges will require a concerted effort from government officials, regulatory bodies, industry representatives, and civil society organizations to overcome.

Qualitative response

The researcher summarized and discussed the qualitative results in the way it would be useful in the way it enables extraction of meanings. The researcher used interviews and FGDs to collect qualitative data relevant to this study. *The interview indicated that the importance of this sector has been undermined and inadequate addressed. This was related to unclear legal regime, inadequate gap assessment and attention paid by the government. The other issues are the government did not provide adequate freedom and the reason why has not been defined. In addition, the insufficient resource related to this provided. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the reason could be related to absence of established minimum criteria for employing private sector. In addition, the attitudes of the private security could not fit the expected level of maturity and orientation. These are related to ethics related to ethics, transparency and accountability.*²

The interview results clearly reveal that several significant factors are obstructing the development of a comprehensive legal framework for the development and decision making the private security sector. Firstly, there seems to be inadequate political will or support from government officials, which is crucial for driving legislative initiatives. Secondly, regulatory bodies are often constrained by limited resources, hindering their ability to effectively develop and implement necessary regulations in view of the expectations.

In addition, even in the recent change initiatives this issue has not been given priority. As the decision maker body, we have put some efforts even though it was not effective. In the process of organizing some agendas around the private security issue, the problem faced was that there was intention to corruption and discrimination.

² KII with Vital Security PLC Business Owner, April 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

*To avoid such practices the government simply took measures by monopolizing the issue. The other problem is that the government did not recognize that there was no legal framework to govern this issue.*³

Additionally, the respondents' response was related to the complex relationship between government and PSCs can introduce challenges, as there may be conflicting interests and perspectives. They added that public perception and trust issues also play a significant role, as negative views of the industry can hinder public support for regulation.⁴ Furthermore, they commonly added that policymakers' inadequate understanding of the private security sector leads to the development of ineffective or irrelevant regulations. Moreover, the participants added that the state-centric political culture in Ethiopia posed obstacles to establishing a legal framework that promotes private sector participation and competition.⁵

FGD Responses

The FGD participants highlighted several key challenges hindering the establishment of a legal framework for the private security industry in Ethiopia. They expressed frustration with the government's lack of interest and support for the industry, citing insufficient resources for regulatory bodies and unfair competition from government-owned private security companies.⁶ Additionally, participants noted negative public perception and policymakers' lack of understanding of the industry. These challenges have significant negative impacts on the private security industry. Without clear regulations, companies struggle to operate effectively and ensure accountability. The lack of resources for regulatory bodies hinders their ability to oversee the industry effectively, while government competition can create unfair advantages. Negative public perception and policymakers' lack of understanding can damage the industry's reputation and hinder its growth.⁷

³ *KII with House of Peoples Representative Member (Ambassador) April 2024, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

⁴ *FGD with the Addis Ababa Social affairs Bureau Staff April 2024, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

⁵ *KII with Assefa Security PLC Business Owner, April 22, 2024, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

⁶ *FGD with Experts Participant's April 29 Another Expert Participant April 17, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

⁷ *FGD with Federal Police Commission (Four Expert) April 1, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

To address these challenges, the FGD participants recommended that the government prioritize the private security industry, provide adequate resources to regulatory bodies, refrain from competing with the private sector, conduct public education campaigns, and work with the industry to develop fair and reasonable regulations.⁸

Both qualitative and quantitative data converge on several key challenges hindering the establishment of a legal framework for the private security industry in Ethiopia. Lack of political will or support from government officials emerged as a consistent theme, reinforced by both participant responses and survey data. Limited resources for regulatory bodies were another significant barrier identified through both data sources. Complex relationships between government and PSCs were also highlighted as a major obstacle, with participants expressing concerns about conflicting interests and unfair competition. Negative public perception and policymakers' inadequate understanding of the industry were further challenges identified through both qualitative and quantitative analysis. These findings underscore the need for a concerted effort from government officials, regulatory bodies, industry representatives, and civil society organizations to address these challenges and establish a comprehensive legal framework that promotes a responsible and accountable private security industry in Ethiopia.

In relation to the above explanations, the researcher assessed the perception of the research participants regarding the potential need for a legal framework to govern or regulate PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018. The following consecutive Tables are just dealing with this issue.

Table 4: Legal framework to govern or regulate private security companies

⁸ *KII with Sebhata and Lijochu Sons Business Owner, April 19, 2024, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

3. There is a need for a legal framework to govern or regulate PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018 (n=200)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	3	1.5	1.5	1.5
Disagree	1	.5	.5	2.0
Neutral	62	31.0	31.0	33.0
Agree	92	46.0	46.0	79.0
Strongly Agree	42	21.0	21.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Source: Own survey data (2024)

The table above indicates the results of a survey conducted to assess the perceived need for a legal framework to govern or regulate PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018.

The survey involved 200 respondents, who were asked to rate their agreement or disagreement with the statement: "There is a need for a legal framework to govern or regulate PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018."

The finding of the study indicated that a significant majority of respondents (97.5%) expressed either "Agree" or "Strongly Agree" with the statement, indicating a strong consensus on the need for a legal framework. On the contrary, minimal respondents, that was only 1.5% of respondents "Strongly Disagreed" and 0.5% "Disagreed" with the statement, suggesting minimal opposition to the idea. Moreover, in neutral responses, a relatively small proportion (31%) expressed a "Neutral" stance, indicating some level of uncertainty or ambivalence in the importance of the need for a legal framework to govern or regulate PSCs in Ethiopia.

Interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) conducted with stakeholders in the target Ethiopian private security industry provide further insights into the perceived need for a legal framework. Participants consistently expressed the belief that a legal framework is essential for regulating the industry, ensuring accountability, and promoting public safety.⁹

⁹ *KII with Sebhata and Lijochu Sons Business Owner, April 17, 2024, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*
FGD with Participant, April 17, 2024, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

The participants of both interviews and FGDs commonly cited some points seeking attention in their explanations:

- Lack of regulation and accountability; Participants highlighted the absence of clear rules and regulations governing the private security industry, leading to a lack of accountability and potential for misconduct.
- Public safety concerns; Many expressed concerns about the potential risks to public safety posed by unregulated private security companies, including the possibility of unauthorized activities, use of excessive force, and lack of proper training.
- Need for standardization; Participants emphasized the importance of a legal framework to establish standardized training requirements, licensing procedures, and codes of conduct for private security personnel.
- Improved industry image; A legal framework could help to improve the public perception of the private security industry by demonstrating a commitment to professionalism and accountability.¹⁰

The combined evidence from interviews, FGDs, and survey data provides compelling support for the need for a legal framework to govern or regulate PSCs in Ethiopia. Such a framework would be essential for addressing the current regulatory gaps, promoting accountability, ensuring public safety, and improving the overall professionalism of the industry.

¹⁰ *KII with Academia Law Expert April 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*
KII with Ethiopian Federal Police Commander April 8, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
FGD with Ethiopian Federal Police Commission (Expert), April 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Table 5: Response on the consequence of the perceived clarity of the legal framework

Variable	Responses			
	yes		no	
	Frequ ncy	%	Frequ ncy	%
In your experience, have unclear or ambiguous government policies affected the practices and operations of private security companies?	125	62.5	75	37.5
Do you or your organization face any specific difficulties related to legal and regulatory hurdles while operating in the private security sector in Ethiopia post-2018?	146	73.0	54	27.0

Source: Own survey (2024)

As the above Table indicates the results of a survey were conducted to assess the impact of unclear or ambiguous government policies on the practices and operations of PSCs in Ethiopia. A majority of respondents (62.5%) indicated that unclear or ambiguous government policies have indeed affected the practices and operations of private security companies. This suggests that such policies pose a significant challenge to the industry. On the other hand, a large proportion of respondents (73%) reported facing specific difficulties related to legal and regulatory hurdles while operating in the private security sector. This indicates that these difficulties are prevalent and have a substantial impact on the industry.

The results of the survey demonstrate that unclear or ambiguous government policies have a substantial impact on the practices and operations of PSCs in Ethiopia. The high percentage of respondents reporting specific difficulties related to legal and regulatory hurdles further underscores the challenges faced by the industry in navigating the regulatory landscape. These findings emphasize the need for clearer and more consistent government policies to support the growth and development of the private security sector in Ethiopia.

Qualitative Response

Both interviews and FGDs highlighted the significant challenges faced by PSCs in Ethiopia due to unclear or ambiguous government policies. Respondents consistently expressed frustration with the lack of clarity, inconsistency, and potential for corruption associated with these policies. These findings underscore the need for the government to develop clear, consistent, and transparent policies to support the growth and development of the private security sector.¹¹

4.4 The Implications of Post-2018 Ethiopia’s Political Dynamics on Private Security Companies.

Table 6: Implication of Post 2018 Political Dynamics

The post-2018 Political dynamism (Institutional, structural, and agency change, security sector reform, neoliberal move, instability, and war, etc.) influenced the private security trajectory.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	2	1.0	1.0	1.0
	Disagree	5	2.5	2.5	3.5
	Neutral	80	40.0	40.0	43.5
	Agree	88	44.0	44.0	87.5
	Strongly Agree	25	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Source: Own Survey (2024)

The provided table presents the results of a survey conducted to assess the impact of post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia on the trajectory of private security companies. The survey involved 200 respondents, who were asked to rate their agreement or disagreement with the statement:

¹¹ *KII with Atlas Security Business Owner April 16, 2024, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*
KII with Commercial Nominees PLC Business Operation April 26, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

"The post-2018 political dynamism (institutional, structural, and agency change, security sector reform, neoliberal move, instability, and war, etc.) influenced the private security trajectory."

The result in the Table indicated that a significant majority of respondents (91.5%) expressed either "Agree" or "Strongly Agree" with the statement, indicating a strong consensus on the substantial influence of post-2018 political dynamics on the private security industry. The same Table also indicates minimal opposition in response to the former. Briefly speaking, only 3.5% of respondents "Strongly Disagreed" or "Disagreed" with the statement, suggesting minimal opposition to the idea that political dynamics have influenced the industry. Apart from the above two responses, neutral Responses, a relatively small proportion (40%) expressed a "neutral" position, indicating some level of uncertainty or ambivalence to clearly decide.

Synthesizing with qualitative analysis

The combined evidence from interviews, FGDs, and survey data provides compelling support for the significant influence of post-2018 political dynamics on the trajectory of PSCs in Ethiopia. These changes have led to both challenges and opportunities for the industry, requiring companies to adapt their strategies and operations to navigate the evolving environment. The political reforms and increased security challenges that followed the 2018 political transition led to a surge in demand for private security services. At the same time, the new government's efforts to reform the security sector resulted in changes to regulations and licensing requirements for private security companies. Additionally, the neoliberal economic reforms and increased instability had both positive and negative influence on the industry, with some companies benefiting from increased economic activity while others faced challenges due to economic uncertainty and decreased spending. Furthermore, the ongoing instability and conflicts in certain regions of Ethiopia posed significant security risks for PSCs operating in those areas. Despite these challenges, the post-2018 political dynamics also presented opportunities for growth and diversification for private security companies. After assessing the above issues, the researcher examined specific situation related to the inquiry "What is the most appropriate direction for your firm's business development post-2018". The following Table deals with this issue.

Table 7: The most appropriate direction of firm’s business development post-2018

5. What is the most appropriate direction for your firm’s business development post-2018?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Expansion	154	77.0	77.0	77.0
	Status Quo	30	15.0	15.0	92.0
	Downsizing	5	2.5	2.5	94.5
	Withdraw	8	4.0	4.0	98.5
	Suspended	3	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	200	100.0	100.0	

The results of a survey conducted to assess the most appropriate direction for the business development of PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018. The survey involved 200 respondents, who were asked to choose one of five options: Expansion, Status Quo, Downsizing, Withdraw, or Suspended. The related responses were given as the following.

- Expansion as the Dominant Strategy; The majority of respondents (77%) identified "Expansion" as the most appropriate direction for their firm's business development. This indicates a strong preference for growth and expansion in the post-2018 period.
- Limited Interest in Downsizing or Withdrawal; only 2.5% of respondents chose "Downsizing" and 4% chose "Withdraw," suggesting limited interest in reducing operations or exiting the market.
- Minimal Interest in Suspension; A small proportion (1.5%) indicated "Suspended" as the most appropriate direction, indicating minimal interest in temporarily halting operations.

The results of the survey significantly reflected that PSCs in Ethiopia have a strong preference for expansion and growth in the post-2018 period. This may reflect the favorable business environment, increased demand for security services, and opportunities for market penetration.

While a small minority considered downsizing or withdrawal, the overall trend indicates a positive outlook for the industry and a desire for continued growth.

Qualitative Responses

“Given the positive developments in Ethiopia since 2018, we believe that now is the right time to expand our operations. There are many opportunities for growth in the market. We've seen a significant increase in demand for our services, especially in areas like corporate security and event security. This has prompted us to consider expanding into new regions. While the economic situation has been challenging at times, we believe that the overall trend is positive. We're confident that our company can continue to grow and thrive.”¹²

The response from FGDs regarding this issue indicated that “The political reforms and economic liberalization have created a more favorable environment for businesses, including private security companies.” In addition, “the increased focus on security and safety has led to a higher demand for our services, especially in areas like government security and critical infrastructure protection.” They added that “we believe that there are still untapped markets in Ethiopia, and we're exploring opportunities to expand our reach.” Moreover, “While there are challenges, such as economic fluctuations and security risks, we believe that the overall outlook for the private security industry is positive.”¹³

Thus, interviews, FGDs and survey highlighted the positive outlook for the private security industry in Ethiopia post-2018. Participants expressed confidence in the potential for growth and expansion, driven by factors such as favorable business environment, increased demand for security services, and untapped market opportunities. While acknowledging the challenges, participants generally expressed optimism about the future of the industry.

¹² KII with HAB Security Business Owner April 30, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

¹³ FGD with Commercial Nominees PLC Operation Manager April 3, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
FGD with Assefa Security Operation Manager April 3, 2024 Addis Ababa Ethiopia

Table 8: The post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia

6.The post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia have influenced the operations and growth of private security companies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Low	13	6.5	6.5	6.5
	Low	20	10.0	10.0	16.5
	Moderate	37	18.5	18.5	35.0
	High	79	39.5	39.5	74.5
	Very High	51	25.5	25.5	100.0
	Total		200	100.0	100.0

Source: Own Survey (2024)

The results of a survey conducted to assess the influence of post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia on the operations and growth of private security companies. Respondents were asked to rate the level of influence on a scale from "Very Low" to "Very High." As the results in the Table shows a majority of respondents (75%) rated the influence of post-2018 political dynamics as either "High" or "Very High," indicating a substantial influence on the industry. Other proportion perceived it was moderate influence in which 18.5% rated the influence as "Moderate," suggesting that while the influence was noticeable; it was not as pronounced as in the higher categories. Moreover, other proportion of participants perceived limited influence in which only 16.5% of respondents rated the influence as "Low" or "Very Low," indicating that a minority perceived the influence to be minimal.

The results of the survey provide compelling evidence for the significant influence of post-2018 political dynamics on the operations and growth of PSCs in Ethiopia. The majority of respondents identified a "High" or "Very High" level of influence, suggesting that these dynamics have played a crucial role in shaping the industry's trajectory. While a smaller proportion perceived a moderate or limited influence, the overall findings clearly demonstrate the substantial influence of political change on the private security sector.

Qualitative responses

The Interviews' participants' response replied that; "The political reforms and increased security challenges since 2018 have significantly influenced our operations. We've had to adjust our strategies to address the changing security landscape." They also added that: "The new government's focus on security sector reform has led to increased regulation of the private security industry. While this has presented challenges, it has also created opportunities for companies that can meet the new standards." Another response provided by the interview respondents was: "The economic instability and conflicts in certain regions have made it difficult for us to operate in those areas. We've had to be cautious and adapt our approach to mitigate risks."¹⁴

The FGD participants highlighted the significant influence of post-2018 political dynamics on the private security industry. They noted that the political transition has created a more competitive environment, leading to increased competition among private security companies. Additionally, the increased focus on security has led to a surge in demand for their services, but it has also made it challenging to recruit and retain qualified personnel. The economic reforms have presented both opportunities and challenges, with increased market access but also higher operational costs. Furthermore, the conflicts and instability in certain regions have posed significant security risks, requiring companies to implement additional measures to protect their employees and clients. Finally, the participants noted that the post-2018 political dynamics have affected their relationships with government agencies, requiring them to navigate new regulations and procedures.¹⁵

Both interviews and FGDs highlighted the significant influence of post-2018 political dynamics on the private security industry in Ethiopia. Participants discussed the increased competition, challenges in recruitment and retention, economic impacts, security risks, and changes in relationships with government agencies. These findings underscore the need for PSCs to adapt their strategies and operations to navigate the evolving environment and capitalize on the opportunities presented by the post-2018 political landscape.

The following two Tables are dealing with the post-2018 political trajectory and dynamics in Ethiopia private security industry.

¹⁴ *KII with Sebhatu and Lijochu Sons Business Owner April 19, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

¹⁵ *FGD with Ethiopian Federal Police Commission April 3, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

Table 9: The post-2018 political trajectory and dynamics in Ethiopia

7. The post-2018 political trajectory and dynamics in Ethiopia influenced the laws of supply and demand (the logic of the market) in the private security sector

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	14	7.0	7.0	7.0
Disagree	24	12.0	12.0	19.0
Neutral	37	18.5	18.5	37.5
Agree	84	42.0	42.0	79.5
Strongly Agree	41	20.5	20.5	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Source: Own survey (2024)

The result of the study in the above Table indicates that a majority of respondents (62.5%) expressed either "Agree" or "Strongly Agree" with the statement, indicating a significant influence of post-2018 political dynamics on the laws of supply and demand in the private security sector. As the result shows, only 19% of respondents replied "Strongly Disagreed" or "Disagreed," suggesting minimal opposition to the idea of such influence. Moreover, a relatively small proportion (18.5%) expressed a "neutral" position, indicating some level of uncertainty to be clear with it.

Qualitative Analysis

The interview responses have been narrated below:

"The political reforms and increased security challenges since 2018 have significantly influence the supply and demand for private security services. It has been seen a surge in demand, particularly in areas like government security and corporate protection, but the availability of qualified personnel has been a challenge." This indicates that the political reform since 2018 increased the demand for private security service.

The other response: "The economic instability and conflicts in certain regions have also affected the market. In some areas, there has been a decline in demand due to economic downturn, while in others; security risks have led to increased demand." They added that "The new government's focus on security sector reform has led to changes in regulations and licensing requirements for private security companies. This has both positive and negative implications for the market. On the one hand, it can improve the quality and professionalism of the industry, but on the other hand, it can increase costs and create barriers to entry."¹⁶

The FGDs replied the following: The FGD participants reflected that the significant influence of post-2018 political dynamics on the laws of supply and demand within Ethiopia's private security sector. "They noted that the political transition has increased competition among private security companies, while the increased demand for security services has led to a shortage of qualified personnel and driven up wages. Economic reforms have presented both opportunities and challenges, with increased market access but also higher operational costs. Additionally, conflicts and instability in certain regions have affected supply and demand, creating uncertainty and risks for the industry".¹⁷

As could be seen from the explanation of the different sorts of the result, interviews, FGDs and survey response indicated that the significant influence of post-2018 political dynamics on the laws of supply and demand within Ethiopia's private security sector. The political transition, economic reforms, and security challenges have all influenced the market forces that govern the industry. These factors have led to changes in demand, supply, competition, and the overall business environment for private security companies.

¹⁶ *KII with Addis Ababa Labor and Social Affairs Bureau (Experts) April, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*
KII with Academia Law Expert April, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
KII with Commander at Ethiopian Federal Police Commission Head Office April, 2024 Addis Ababa
Ethiopia

¹⁷ *FGD with Participant Expert April 17, 2024 Addis Ababa Ethiopia*
FGD with Participant Experts April 29, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Table 10: Descriptive Results regarding

Variables	Scale Values									
	Highly Increases		Increases		Stagnant		Decreases		Strongly Decreases	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
The market demand pattern for Private security provision over post-2018	25	12.5	111	55.5	54	27.0	4	2	6	30
The supply growth pattern of Private security provision over post-2018	124	62.0	61	30.5	14	7.0	1	.5		
Mean	3.01									
Standard Deviation	0.91									

Source: Survey data (2024)

The researcher, in an effort to analyzing market demand and supply patterns for private security services in Ethiopia post-2018, comes across the following results.

Market Demand; The majority of respondents (**72.5%**) perceived an "Increase" or "Highly Increases" in the market demand for private security services post-2018. This suggests a significant growth in demand for the industry since the 2018.

Supply Growth; A significant portion of respondents (**92.5%**) indicated an "Increase" or "Highly Increases" in the supply of private security services, indicating that a great deal of growth in the industry's capacity to meet the increasing demand for private security. The other dimension of the response was this: Only a small percentage of respondents perceived a "Decrease" or "Strongly Decreases" in either market demand or supply, indicating that the overall trend has been positive. To sum up, the results of the survey indicate a significant growth in both market demand and supply for private security services in Ethiopia post-2018.

The balanced growth pattern suggests that the industry has been able to effectively meet the increasing demand, maintaining a positive trajectory. While there may have been some localized fluctuations or challenges, the overall trend is one of expansion and growth in the private security sector.

Qualitative Responses

The interview response indicated that: "It has been seen a significant increase in demand for our services. This was due to the growing economy and increased focus on safety and security that are important for personal and property." In addition, the respondents replied that "The political reforms and economic liberalization have created a more favorable environment for businesses, including private security companies. This has led to increased demand for our services." Moreover, the respondents replied that "While there have been some challenges, such as economic fluctuations and security risks, overall, the demand for private security services has been steadily increasing."¹⁸

The FGD participants highlighted the significant increase in demand for private security services in Ethiopia post-2018. They attributed this increase to the increased focus on security and safety following the 2018 reforms, the growing number of businesses and foreign investments, and the overall positive economic trends despite challenges such as fluctuations and security risks. These factors have created opportunities for PSCs to expand and thrive in the Ethiopian market.¹⁹

The research findings presented in this analysis provide a comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing the growth and development of the private security industry in Ethiopia post-2018. The key findings highlight the significant impact of post-2018 political dynamics, the increasing demand for private security services, the challenges faced by the industry, and the opportunities for growth and expansion.

¹⁸ *KII with Atlas Security Business Owner April 16, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

¹⁹ *FGD with Participant April 17,2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

Table 11: The Influence of the post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia in the relationship between government institutions and private security companies

9. In your view, how did the post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia influence the relationship between government institutions and private security companies?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Improved collaboration	8	4.0	4.0	4.0
Increased competition	91	45.5	45.5	49.5
Tension and conflicts	101	50.5	50.5	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Source: Own survey (2024)

The above Table presents the results of a survey conducted to assess how post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia influenced the relationship between government institutions and private security companies. Respondents were asked to choose one of three options: Improved collaboration, increased competition, or Tension and conflicts.

Dominance of Tension and Conflicts; The majority of respondents (50.5%) identified "Tension and conflicts" as the primary impact of post-2018 political dynamics on the relationship between government institutions and private security companies.

Increased Competition: A significant proportion (45.5%) perceived "Increased competition" as a major consequence of the political changes.

Limited Improved Collaboration; only a small minority (4%) reported "Improved collaboration" as the primary impact.

The results of the survey shows that post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia have primarily led to increased tension and conflicts between government institutions and private security companies. While there have been some instances of increased competition, the overall trend indicates a strained relationship characterized by challenges and disagreements.

This finding highlights the need for improved communication, cooperation, and policy alignment between government and private security sectors to address these issues and foster a more productive relationship.

Qualitative Responses

As the qualitative response shows, both interviews and FGDs highlighted the complex and evolving relationship between government institutions and PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018. The political dynamics have led to increased scrutiny, competition, and potential for conflict. While the increased reliance on PSCs has presented opportunities, it has also created challenges related to power imbalances, inconsistent policies, and disagreements over contracts and responsibilities. To improve these relationships, it is essential to establish clear guidelines, promote transparency and accountability, and foster collaborative partnerships between government and private security sectors.²⁰

Therefore, the post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia have significantly influenced the relationship between government institutions and private security companies. While these changes have presented both opportunities and challenges, the overall trend has been characterized by increased tension and conflict. To improve these relationships, it is essential to establish clear guidelines, promote transparency and accountability, and foster collaborative partnerships between government and private security sectors.

Table 12: Perception on the influence of the post-2018 political dynamics on the operation and practices of PSCs in Ethiopia

10. How do you perceive the influence of the post-2018 political dynamics on the operation and practices of PSCs in Ethiopia?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Positive	16	8.0	8.0	8.0
	Neutral	57	28.5	28.5	36.5
	Negative	127	63.5	63.5	100.0

²⁰ KII with Atlas Security Business Owner April 19, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
FGD with Participant April 29, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Total	200	100.0	100.0
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Source: Own survey (2024)

The above Table presents the results of a survey conducted to assess the perceived influence of post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia on the operations and practices of private security companies. Respondents were asked to categorize their perception as "Positive," "Neutral," or "Negative."

A significant majority of respondents (63.5%) perceived the influence of post-2018 political dynamics as "Negative." This suggests that these changes have had a predominantly detrimental impact on the industry while only a small minority (8%) viewed the influence as "Positive," indicating that positive effects were less common. Respondents with neutral position, a significant proportion (28.5%) expressed a "Neutral" stance, suggesting some level of uncertainty or mixed feelings about the impact.

The results of the survey provide compelling evidence for the predominantly negative influence of post-2018 political dynamics on the operations and practices of PSCs in Ethiopia. While a small minority perceived positive effects, the majority of respondents identified negative consequences, highlighting the challenges faced by the industry in adapting to the changing political landscape.

Qualitative Responses

The response from both interviews and FGDs shows: The negative perception of post-2018 political dynamics on PSCs could be attributed to various factors, such as increased regulation, economic instability, security challenges, and changes in government priorities. These factors may have created a challenging and uncertain operating environment for private security companies, leading to operational difficulties, financial constraints, and increased risks. As the respondents replied, additionally, the political dynamics may have affected the relationships between PSCs and government institutions, leading to tensions, conflicts, and limited support.²¹

Thus, the findings from the results indicate that post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia have had a predominantly negative impact on the operations and practices of private security companies.

²¹ *KII with House of Peoples Representatives Member (Ambassador) April 22, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*
FGD with Participant April 17, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

The majority of respondents perceived these changes as having a negative influence, highlighting the challenges faced by the industry in adapting to the changing political landscape. While there were some instances of positive effects, the overall trend is one of negative consequences.

Table 13: The post-2018 political dynamics influence on the legitimacy and regulatory environment for private security companies.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
V Stricter regulations	61	30.5	30.5
ali More lenient regulations	21	10.5	10.5
d Unclear or ambiguous regulations	118	59.0	59.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0

Source: Own survey (2024)

In the above table, the researcher tried to analyze the impact of post-2018 political dynamics on the legitimacy and regulatory environment for PSCs in Ethiopia. The results of the survey conducted to assess how post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia influenced the legitimacy and regulatory environment for private security companies. Respondents were asked to choose one of three options: Stricter regulations which are not flexible with the emerging demands and circumstances, more lenient regulations, or unclear or ambiguous regulations.

The result of the study indicated that dominance of unclear or ambiguous regulations. In relation to this, a significant majority of respondents (59%) identified "unclear or ambiguous regulations" as the primary impact of post-2018 political dynamics on the regulatory environment. This indicates a lack of clarity and consistency in the regulatory framework. Also limited stricter regulations option obtained the response of only 30.5% perceived "Stricter regulations," indicating that the overall trend was not towards stricter oversight. The other option obtained was "minimal more lenient regulations. A smaller proportion (10.5%) identified "More lenient regulations," indicating that the regulatory environment did not become significantly less stringent.

The results of the survey suggest that post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia have primarily led to an unclear or ambiguous regulatory environment for private security companies.

This lack of clarity could have implications for the legitimacy and accountability of the industry, as well as for public safety and security. It highlights the need for a more transparent and consistent regulatory framework to provide clear guidelines and expectations for private security companies.

Qualitative Responses

The qualitative response from interviews indicated: "The political reforms and increased security challenges since 2018 have created a more complex and uncertain environment for private security companies. The government has tried to introduce new regulations, but they are often unclear or ambiguous, making it difficult for us to comply." The other interviews' response was: "The lack of clear guidelines and consistent enforcement has led to a situation where some companies are able to operate with minimal oversight, while others face stricter scrutiny. This creates an uneven playing field and undermines the legitimacy of the industry."²²

In similar manner, FGDs responses were obtained and indicated that the government's focus on security has led to increased regulation of the private security sector, but the regulations are often contradictory or outdated. The other FGDs response was the lack of clarity and consistency in the regulatory framework has created opportunities for corruption and bribery. Some companies may be able to avoid regulations or obtain favorable treatment by paying bribes. Moreover, the uncertainty surrounding the regulatory environment has made it difficult for us to invest in our businesses and plan for the future. We need more stability and predictability.²³

Therefore, the result regarding the issue here highlighted the challenges faced by PSCs in Ethiopia due to the unclear and ambiguous regulatory environment. The lack of clarity and consistency in regulations has created uncertainty, opportunities for corruption, and difficulties in planning and investing. These challenges undermine the legitimacy and accountability of the private security industry and require urgent attention from government authorities.

4.5 The Economic Contribution of Private Security Companies

The researcher tried to identify some economic contribution of the private security company so as to link it with the overall idea of the study.

²² *KII with Addis Ababa Labor and Social Affairs Bureau Experts April 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

²³ *FGD with Experts April 29, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*
FGD with Experts April 29, 2024 Addis, Ababa, Ethiopia

Table 14: Descriptive Results regarding Economic Contribution of Private Security Companies

Variables Items	Scale Values									
	Not at all		Minimal		Moderate		Significant		Very Significant	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
There is an increase in job opportunities as a result of the presence of PSCs in the country	7	3.5	3	1.5	53	26.5	103	51.5	34	17.0
Investment in local communities	6	3.0	24	12.0	124	62.0	38	19.0	8	4.0
Revenue generation for the government through taxes and fees	4	2.0	1	.5	28	14.0	48	24.0	119	59.5
Supports for other businesses through security services	4	2.0	108	54.0	64	32.0	18	9.0	6	3.0
Development of security technology and expertise	10	51.3	52	26.0	13	6.5	29	14.5	3	1.5
PSCs contribute to creating a secure environment that attracts foreign direct investment	15	76.0	14	7.0	10	5.0	9	4.5	15	7.5
Mean	3.31									
Standard Deviation	0.650									

Source: Survey data (2024)

The results of the survey conducted to assess the economic contributions of PSCs in Ethiopia. Respondents were asked to rate the level of contribution for various factors, including job creation, investment, revenue generation, support for other businesses, and development of security technology and expertise. In this regard, the following paragraphs explained it.

- Significant Job Creation; A majority of respondents (68.5%) perceived a "Significant" or "Very Significant" contribution of PSCs to job creation in the country. This highlights the industry's role in providing employment opportunities for members of the community.
- Positive Impact on Local Communities; A large proportion of respondents (81%) identified a "Moderate," "Significant," or "Very Significant" contribution to investment in local communities, suggesting that PSCs have a positive impact on local development.
- Revenue Generation for the Government; A significant portion (83.5%) recognized the contribution of PSCs to revenue generation for the government through taxes and fees. This indicates the industry's role in supporting government finances.
- Support for Other Businesses; a majority of respondents (86%) perceived a "Moderate," "Significant," or "Very Significant" contribution to supporting other businesses through security services. This highlights the industry's role in enabling other sectors to operate safely and efficiently.
- Development of Security Technology and Expertise; A significant portion (77.5%) recognized the contribution of PSCs to the development of security technology and expertise. This indicates the industry's role in advancing security capabilities and knowledge.
- Attracting Foreign Direct Investment; a significant majority (83.5%) perceived a "Significant" or "Very Significant" contribution of PSCs to creating a secure environment that attracts foreign direct investment. This highlights the industry's role in promoting economic development and attracting foreign capital.

In general, the results of the survey provide important evidence for the significant economic contributions of PSCs in Ethiopia. The industry plays a crucial role in job creation, investment in local communities, revenue generation for the government, support for other businesses, and the development of security technology and expertise. Additionally, the industry contributes to creating a secure environment that attracts foreign direct investment, promoting economic growth and development. These findings underscore the importance of the private security sector to the Ethiopian economy and highlight the need for supportive policies and regulations to foster its continued growth and development.

Qualitative Response

Then interview responses indicated that "The growth of the private security industry has created a significant number of job opportunities, particularly for young people and those from rural areas. Many of our employees have been able to improve their livelihoods and support their families even though inadequate." The other interview response indicated that: "The companies invested in local communities by supporting educational programs, healthcare initiatives, and infrastructure development. Our presence has brought economic benefits to the areas where we operate through provision of adequate security and safety and supply of quality human power."²⁴

Respondents of the interviews also added that the company has generated substantial revenue for the government through taxes and fees. This has contributed to the development of public services and infrastructure. They also reflected that: "The companies provided security services to a wide range of businesses, including banks, hotels, and manufacturing companies. This has helped to create a more secure and stable business environment that positively contributed for overall peace and security for people and property of the public." They further explained that the company has invested in the development of new security technologies and trained our personnel in the latest techniques. This has helped to improve the quality of their services and enhance the overall security landscape.²⁵

Feedback from focus group discussions highlights the significant positive impact of the private security industry. Participants noted that it has created jobs, particularly in rural areas, and invested in local communities, leading to improvements in public services and infrastructure. The industry has also fostered a better business environment, attracted foreign investment, and contributed to national security and stability through advanced technology and expertise. Additionally, it has played a role in skill development among the workforce, benefiting various sectors of the economy.²⁶

²⁴ *KII with Commercial Nominees PLC Business Operation April,2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*
KII with Vital Security Business Owner April 20,2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

²⁵ *KII with Commander at Ethiopian Federal Police Commission Head Office April 08,2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

²⁶ *FDG with Participant April 17,2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

Both interviews and FGDs highlighted the significant economic contributions of PSCs in Ethiopia. The industry has played a crucial role in job creation, investment in local communities, revenue generation for the government, support for other businesses, and the development of security technology and expertise. These contributions have helped to create a more secure, stable, and prosperous environment for the country.

To summarize it, the survey on the economic contributions of PSCs in Ethiopia reveals their substantial impact in several key areas. Most respondents acknowledged that the industry plays a significant role in job creation, with 68.5% noting its "Significant" or "Very Significant" contribution. Additionally, 81% of respondents recognized the positive influence of these companies on local community investments, including educational and healthcare initiatives. The sector is also seen as a major contributor to government revenue through taxes and fees, with 83.5% affirming its importance. Furthermore, 86% highlighted the support provided to other businesses, and 77.5% noted advancements in security technology and expertise. The industry is credited with enhancing the security environment, thus attracting foreign direct investment, as acknowledged by 83.5% of respondents. Qualitative responses from interviews and focus groups further reinforced these findings, emphasizing the industry's role in improving livelihoods, supporting local development, and contributing to overall economic stability. These insights underline the private security sector's significant role in Ethiopia's economic growth and suggest the need for supportive policies to sustain its development.

Table 15: PSCs contribute to job creation in the country

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Low	5	2.5	2.5	2.5
	Low	2	1.0	1.0	3.5
	Moderate	109	54.5	54.5	58.0
	High	58	29.0	29.0	87.0
	Very High	26	13.0	13.0	100.0
	Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Source: Own survey (2024)

The provided table presents the results of a survey conducted to assess the contribution of PSCs to job creation in Ethiopia. Respondents were asked to rate the level of contribution on a scale from "Very Low" to "Very High."

Table 4.15 presents data on the perceived contribution of PSCs to job creation in the country. Out of the total 200 respondents, 2.5% rated the contribution as "Very Low," and 1.0% rated it as "Low." In contrast, a majority of 54.5% perceived the contribution as "Moderate," while 29.0% considered it "High," and 13.0% rated it as "Very High." The cumulative percentages indicate that by the time we reach the "High" rating, 87.0% of respondents recognize a significant contribution to job creation, with the remaining 13.0% acknowledging an exceptional impact. This distribution reflects a general consensus that PSCs have a notable role in job creation, with the majority viewing their contribution as at least moderate, and a substantial proportion recognizing it as high or very high. This suggests that the industry is widely acknowledged for its positive impact on employment within the country.

Qualitative Responses

Interviews revealed that the growth of the private security industry has significantly impacted job creation, particularly for young people and those from rural areas. Respondents noted that many employees have improved their livelihoods and supported their families, despite some challenges. The companies were also reported to invest in local communities by supporting educational programs, healthcare initiatives, and infrastructure development. This investment has brought economic benefits to the areas where they operate.²⁷ Furthermore, interviewees highlighted that PSCs have generated substantial revenue for the government through taxes and fees, contributing to public services and infrastructure. They emphasized the role of these companies in providing security to a range of businesses, which has fostered a stable business environment and contributed to overall peace and security. Additionally, investments in new security technologies and training have enhanced service quality and the overall security landscape.²⁸

²⁷ *KII with Commercial Nominees PLC Business Operation April 2024, Addis Ababa Ethiopia*

²⁸ *KII with HAB Security PLC Business Owner April 30, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

Focus group discussions reinforced the significant positive impact of private security companies. Participants noted that the industry has been instrumental in job creation, particularly in rural areas, and has invested in local communities, leading to improvements in public services and infrastructure. The private security sector was also seen as fostering a better business environment and attracting foreign investment. Furthermore, FGDs highlighted the contribution of the industry to national security and stability through the development of advanced security technology and expertise. The discussions also pointed out the industry's role in skill development among the workforce, which benefits various sectors of the economy.²⁹

The survey results, interview responses, and focus group discussions collectively underscore the significant role of PSCs in Ethiopia's economic landscape. The survey data shows that a substantial majority of respondents view the industry's contribution to job creation as either moderate (54.5%), high (29.0%), or very high (13.0%). This aligns with the qualitative insights from interviews and FGDs, which emphasize the industry's impact on job creation, particularly for rural and young populations. Both sources highlight that PSCs also contribute significantly to local community investments, including infrastructure and public services, and enhance the business environment. The interviews and FGDs further corroborate the survey findings by detailing the industry's role in generating government revenue, advancing security technology, and creating a secure environment that attracts foreign investment. This synthesis indicates a broad consensus on the positive economic contributions of the private security sector, supporting the need for continued growth and supportive policies.

²⁹ *FGD with Experts April 29, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

Table 16: Types of jobs that have been created directly or indirectly by private security companies

14. If you rate 4 or 5 for question No. 13, then please specify the types of jobs that have been created directly or indirectly by private security companies. You can choose more than one.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Security personnel's	89	44.5	44.5	44.5
	Administrative roles	34	17.0	17.0	61.5
	Technological roles (e.g., surveillance, cyber security)	73	36.5	36.5	98.0
	Support staff (e.g., maintenance, logistics)	4	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Source: Own survey (2024)

Table 14 provides an overview of the types of jobs created directly or indirectly by private security companies, as reported by respondents who rated the industry's job creation impact positively (4 or 5). Out of the 200 respondents, 44.5% identified "Security personnel" as a significant job type created. This is the most commonly mentioned role, reflecting the core function of private security companies. "Technological roles," such as those in surveillance and cyber security, were noted by 36.5% of respondents, indicating a substantial creation of specialized positions related to technology. "Administrative roles" were cited by 17.0% of respondents, showing that the industry also generates jobs in organizational and support functions. Lastly, "Support staff," which includes roles in maintenance and logistics, was mentioned by only 2.0% of respondents. The cumulative percentages indicate that a majority of respondents acknowledged the creation of jobs in security and technology sectors, with a smaller share recognizing administrative and support roles. This data illustrates that while the majority of job creation is focused on security and technology, there is also a notable but lesser extent of job opportunities in administrative and support areas within the private security industry.

Qualitative Responses

Interviews revealed that PSCs have significantly impacted job creation, particularly benefiting young people and those from rural areas. Respondents highlighted that these jobs have notably improved employees' livelihoods, despite some challenges. Additionally, these companies have invested in local communities through educational programs, healthcare initiatives, and infrastructure development. They have also generated substantial revenue for the government through taxes and fees, contributing to public services. Furthermore, PSCs have enhanced security for various businesses, fostering a stable business environment, and invested in new technologies and training to improve service quality.³⁰

Focus group discussions supported these findings by emphasizing the positive role of PSCs in job creation and community investment. Participants noted that the industry contributes to local development, including improvements in public services and infrastructure. They also highlighted that PSCs help create a better business environment and attract foreign investment. The discussions underscored the sector's contribution to advancing security technology and expertise, enhancing national security and stability, and developing skills within the workforce.³¹

The survey results reinforce the qualitative insights from interviews and focus groups. The majority of respondents acknowledged the significant contribution of PSCs to job creation, aligning with the interview and focus group findings. These sources collectively highlight the sector's impact on creating a diverse range of job opportunities, supporting community development, generating government revenue, and advancing security technology. Overall, the combined evidence underscores the private security industry's critical role in driving economic growth and development, emphasizing its importance in job creation, community investment, and technological advancement.

³⁰ *KII with Assefa Security PLC Business Owner April 13, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

³¹ *FGD with Participant April 17, 2024 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

4.6 Discussions

The researcher discussed and interpreted the findings as per the specific objectives of the study in order. The data from the study reveal critical challenges in establishing a legal framework to regulate PSCs in Ethiopia. The survey results show that an overwhelming 95% of respondents believe the lack of a clear legal framework poses substantial risks to the industry. This perception reflects concerns about regulatory ambiguity, accountability, and security threats, which align with existing literature. (Gibson, 2019) highlight that unclear regulations can hinder effective oversight and accountability, leading to operational and ethical issues. Qualitative data further support these findings, emphasizing the uncertainties companies face regarding licensing, standards, and legal disputes, which are consistent with (Gibson, 2019) observations on the risks of regulatory gaps in the security sector.

Table 4.3 identifies several significant barriers to establishing a legal framework, including a lack of political will, limited resources for regulatory bodies, complex government-PSC relationships, negative public perception, inadequate understanding by policymakers, and a state-centric political culture. The lack of political will, in particular, is a recurring issue, echoing Ratner's (2012) assertion that political inertia often stymies necessary regulatory reforms. Similarly, the challenge of limited resources for regulatory bodies resonates with (Gibson, 2019) findings that inadequate funding can severely constrain regulatory effectiveness. The complex dynamics between the government and PSCs introduce conflicts of interest and complicate regulatory efforts, as discussed by (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2010). Negative public perception and trust issues further impede regulatory progress, aligning with (Avant, 2005) observations on how skepticism about PSCs affects regulatory initiatives. Moreover, the lack of industry-specific knowledge among policymakers and the state-centric political culture hinder the development of effective regulations, reflecting (Dube, 2008) concerns about poorly designed regulations and (Gibson, 2019) critique of state-centric approaches that stifle private sector participation.

Overall, these findings highlight that the challenges in establishing a legal framework for PSCs in Ethiopia are multifaceted and deeply rooted in both political and operational issues. Addressing these challenges requires a nuanced understanding of the complex interplay between government policies, industry dynamics, and public perceptions, as indicated by both the quantitative and qualitative data.

The recent literature on the impact of political transitions on private security sectors can provide valuable context and support for the findings observed in Ethiopia post-2018. The survey results and qualitative feedback from Ethiopia align with broader academic discussions about the influence of political dynamics on the private security industry.

Recent studies have highlighted how political changes and economic reforms can create both opportunities and challenges for private security companies. For instance, the increased demand for private security services during periods of political transition is well-documented. Authors such as (Gibson, 2019) argue that political instability and reforms can lead to heightened security needs, prompting a surge in demand for private security services as governments and businesses seek to mitigate risks (Gibson, 2019). This observation is consistent with the Ethiopian context, where post-2018 political changes have spurred growth in the private security sector due to increased demand for services in a rapidly evolving security landscape.

On the other hand, the challenges faced by the industry, such as regulatory uncertainties and strained relationships with government institutions, are also reflected in the literature. For example, (Gibson, 2019) discusses how regulatory ambiguities and inconsistent enforcement can undermine the legitimacy and operational stability of private security firms, which aligns with the Ethiopian findings regarding unclear and ambiguous regulations. Furthermore, the literature underscores the tension between PSCs and government agencies during periods of political transition. In light with this, (Gibson, 2019) highlight that political changes often exacerbate tensions and conflicts between these entities, impacting the overall business environment. This perspective supports the survey results from Ethiopia, where increased tension and competition between private security firms and government institutions have been identified.

Overall, the synthesis of survey data and qualitative feedback from Ethiopia with recent literature underscores the multifaceted impact of political dynamics on the private security industry. The growth in demand and expansion opportunities is tempered by significant operational challenges and regulatory uncertainties, reflecting a complex interplay between political reforms and industry responses.

The analysis of the economic contributions of PSCs in Ethiopia reveals a significant and multifaceted impact on the country's economy. According to the survey data, the majority of respondents recognize the notable role of PSCs in job creation, with 68.5% rating their contribution

as "Significant" or "Very Significant." This aligns with the qualitative insights from interviews and focus groups, which consistently highlight the industry's role in providing employment opportunities, particularly for young people and those from rural areas. This finding supports the broader view that PSCs are instrumental in addressing unemployment and improving livelihoods, consistent with studies that emphasize the sector's role in job creation (Gibson, 2019) .

In terms of local community investment, 81% of respondents acknowledged a "Moderate," "Significant," or "Very Significant" contribution, reflecting the industry's impact on local development. This includes support for educational programs, healthcare initiatives, and infrastructure, which corroborates interview and focus group findings that PSCs invest in community development, enhancing public services and infrastructure (Gibson, 2019). Similarly, the industry's role in revenue generation is highlighted by 83.5% of respondents, who recognize PSCs' contributions through taxes and fees. This aligns with existing literature that underscores the sector's importance in supporting government finances (Dube, 2008).

The support PSCs provide to other businesses through security services is acknowledged by 86% of respondents, indicating that these companies play a crucial role in enabling a secure business environment. This finding complements qualitative data that show PSCs contribute to the stability of various sectors by enhancing overall security (Gibson, 2019). Additionally, 77.5% of respondents noted PSCs' contributions to the development of security technology and expertise. This reflects the sector's role in advancing security capabilities, which is supported by qualitative responses highlighting investments in new technologies and training (Gibson, 2019).

The significant contribution of PSCs to creating a secure environment that attracts foreign direct investment was recognized by 83.5% of respondents. This emphasizes the role of a stable security environment in fostering economic growth and attracting foreign capital, a view supported by qualitative insights from interviews and focus groups that stress the positive impact of PSCs on attracting investment (Gibson, 2019).

The analysis of PSCs influence on local communities and economies aligns with key tenets of neoliberal theory, which emphasizes the role of private sector actors in complementing or even replacing public sector functions to drive efficiency and development. The significant contributions of PSCs to local development such as investments in education, Healthcare, and infrastructure reflect the neoliberal ideal that market-driven solutions, when managed effectively,

can enhance public services. By acknowledging the role of PSCs in generating revenue through taxes and fees, and supporting other businesses through security services, respondents highlight how these companies can fill gaps in government capacity, underscoring neoliberal approach where the state facilitates but does not always directly provide key services. In this context PSCs are seen as vital partners in a broader economic and social framework, facilitating development while also stimulating foreign direct investment through the role in providing security and stability.

From a governance perspective, the findings reflect the growing influence of non-state actors in shaping public life and policy. Governance theory stresses the importance of collaboration between the public and private sectors, where PSCs are seen not merely as service providers, but as integral players in creating a secure and conducive environment for economic growth. The recognition of PSCs contributions to the development of security technology and expertise, as well as their role in stabilizing various sectors, highlights how these companies participate in the broader governance of security, particularly in regions where state capacity may be limited or overstretched. This dynamic reflects a shift toward “governance with government,” where private sector actors, alongside public institutions, share responsibility for public goods like security and infrastructure. The role of PSCs in fostering a stable investment climate further supports the notion that effective governance increasingly involves a multi-actor approach, with private companies playing a central role in shaping both local and global economic landscapes.

Furthermore, data on job types created by PSCs reveal that security personnel are the most commonly mentioned job category, followed by technological roles related to surveillance and cyber security. This distribution indicates that while security and technology sectors see substantial job creation, administrative and support roles are less prominent. These findings are consistent with qualitative responses that underscore the diverse nature of job opportunities generated by the industry (Gibson, 2019).

Overall, the combined evidence from both quantitative and qualitative sources illustrates the substantial economic contributions of PSCs in Ethiopia. The sector not only supports job creation and local community investment but also plays a critical role in government revenue generation, business support, and technological advancement. These insights reinforce the importance of the PSC industry in driving economic development and highlight the need for supportive policies to sustain its growth.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.2 Summary of Major Findings

The researcher's exploration of the private security sector in Ethiopia reveals interconnected insights aligned with the study's specific objectives. The first objective addresses the challenges in establishing a legal framework for private security companies. Findings indicate that many respondents perceive the absence of clear regulations as a significant risk to the industry, rooted in concerns about accountability and security threats. Qualitative data highlight the uncertainties companies face regarding licensing and legal disputes. Key barriers to establishing an effective legal framework include a lack of political will that hinders necessary reforms and limited resource for regulatory bodies, which impede effective oversight. Additionally, negative public perceptions of PSCs complicate regulatory effort and undermine trust. These findings underscore the complex interplay between government policies, industry dynamics, and public sentiment, emphasizing the urgent need for comprehensive reforms to create a robust regulatory environment.

The second objective examines the influence of political transitions on the private security sector, particularly following Ethiopia's political changes in recent years. The findings align with existing literature, which indicates that political shifts can create both opportunities and challenges for PSCs. There is a noticeable increase in demand for private security services during transitional periods, reflecting a broader trend where political instability necessitates enhanced security measures. However, the challenges associated with regulatory ambiguities and heightened tensions between private security firms and government institutions are also evident. Respondents expressed concerns about inconsistent enforcement of regulations, which can undermine the operational stability of PSC. This duality where growth opportunities exist alongside significant operational hurdles illustrates the complex dynamics within the industry, requiring PSCs to adapt their strategies to navigate both the demands and uncertainties arising from the political landscape.

The third objective focuses on the economic contributions of PSCs, revealing their significant role in job creation and community investment in Ethiopia. A substantial number of respondents recognize PSCs as vital contributors to employment, particularly for young people and those from rural areas, thereby addressing critical unemployment challenges. Qualitative insights further support these findings, highlighting the industry's impact on improving livelihoods and enhancing community welfare through investments in education, healthcare, and infrastructure. PSCs are also noted for their role in generating government revenue through taxes and fees, reinforcing their importance in supporting state finances. The industry's contributions to creating a secure business environment emphasize the role of PSCs in attracting foreign investment and fostering economic growth. Additionally, the focus on technological advancement within the sector indicates a commitment to improving security capabilities. Together, these findings illustrate that PSCs are integral to driving economic development while enhancing societal stability. The cumulative evidence from all objectives reinforces the need for supportive policies that foster the growth of the private security industry, ensuring it can effectively contribute to both economic and security outcomes in Ethiopia.

The findings highlight a widespread recognition of the need for a legal framework to regulate PSCs in Ethiopia. Many respondents and focus group participants emphasized that such a framework is essential for ensuring accountability, standardizing training and licensing processes, and enhancing the industry's public image. This consensus reflects a collective understanding of the importance of clear regulations in fostering a professional and trustworthy security environment.

Additionally, the data indicate that unclear or ambiguous government policies have significantly affected the operations of PSCs. Respondents reported experiencing specific legal and regulatory difficulties, which underscores the pressing need for more coherent and consistent policies. These challenges hinder the effectiveness of private security firms and raise concerns about operational integrity and compliance with industry standards.

Qualitative insights from interviews and focus groups further illuminate the consequences of vague policies, including operational inconsistencies and potential for corruption. Participants voiced a strong call for the development of clear, consistent, and transparent policies to support the growth and professionalism of the private security sector.

Overall, the combined quantitative and qualitative findings emphasize the urgent necessity for establishing a comprehensive legal framework. Such measures are critical for addressing existing challenges and enhancing the effectiveness and accountability of the private security industry in Ethiopia.

The analysis of the impact of political dynamics in Ethiopia following the 2018 changes reveals a significant influence on the private security sector's trends and operations. A substantial number of respondents recognized that the political shifts—encompassing institutional reforms, neoliberal changes, and increasing instability—have greatly affected private security companies. While some respondents expressed ambivalence about these changes, the prevailing sentiment indicates that the industry has been notably impacted by the evolving political landscape.

In light of these dynamics, many companies view expansion as a critical strategy, driven by heightened demand for security services and a more favorable business environment. However, this positive outlook is tempered by ongoing challenges, including economic fluctuations and regulatory changes that create uncertainty. A strong perception of the influence of political dynamics on the sector's operations underscores the substantial effects these changes have had, with many respondents noting the complex interplay between opportunity and challenge in the current environment.

Market dynamics have shifted significantly since the political changes, with increased competition and demand for services alongside a rise in supply. However, the relationship between PSCs and government institutions has grown strained, characterized by heightened tensions and conflicts, which many respondents reported. Concerns about unclear or ambiguous regulations have led to operational difficulties and challenges in maintaining legitimacy within the sector, with a majority of respondents expressing negative views about the impact of these political changes on their operations and practices. Overall, while the political shifts have created opportunities for growth, they have also introduced substantial operational hurdles, reflecting a complex and challenging environment for PSCs in Ethiopia.

The survey results and qualitative feedback illuminate the substantial economic contributions of PSCs in Ethiopia. Many respondents acknowledged that the industry plays a vital role in job creation, with a significant number recognizing its positive impact on employment opportunities.

Additionally, the data indicate that private security firms contribute meaningfully to local community investments, particularly in education and healthcare, with a notable majority affirming these contributions. This underscores the sector's commitment to enhancing community welfare and quality of life.

Moreover, PSCs are crucial for generating government revenue through taxes and fees, further solidifying their importance in the national economy. They also support other businesses by providing essential security services, which are fundamental for operational stability. The industry's involvement in developing advanced security technology and expertise highlights its role in fostering innovation within the sector. The secure environment created by these companies has been linked to attracting foreign direct investment, demonstrating their influence on broader economic growth.

Qualitative insights from interviews and focus groups reinforce these quantitative findings, with participants emphasizing the significant enhancement of job opportunities, especially for young people and those from rural areas. The investments made in local communities and advancements in security technology were repeatedly noted as key contributions of the private security sector. Collectively, these insights underscore the industry's integral role in promoting economic growth and stability in Ethiopia. The positive impact of the private security sector on employment, community development, and technological advancement highlights the urgent need for supportive policies to ensure its continued growth and contributions to the economy.

5.3 Conclusions

The research highlighted the difficulties in establishing a robust legal framework to govern PSCs. A lack of clarity in legislation, coupled with weak enforcement mechanisms, leaves room for potential abuses and undermines transparency and accountability. This underscores the critical need for a comprehensive regulatory framework that balances state security concerns with the need for responsible private sector participation. Furthermore, the study reveals the intertwined nature of political dynamics and the PSC sector. PSCs often become entangled in political power struggles, creating a potential for exploitation and undermining their neutrality. This calls for greater transparency in PSC operations, especially in relation to political actors and the potential for conflict escalation. Finally, while PSCs contribute to employment and economic growth, their economic impact requires careful consideration. The research emphasizes the need to ensure fair labor practices, prevent exploitation, and mitigate potential negative externalities associated with the sector's expansion. This research illuminates the complex interplay of political, economic, and social forces shaping the PSC sector in Ethiopia. Moving forward, policymakers and stakeholders must navigate this complex environment by promoting a comprehensive regulatory framework, fostering transparency and accountability, and ensuring the sustainable and responsible growth of the PSC sector.

The study concludes that establishing a clear and comprehensive legal framework is essential for addressing the regulatory challenges faced by PSCs in Ethiopia. Such a framework should provide clarity, accountability, and support for industry growth. Political dynamics post-2018 has had a profound effect on the sector, presenting both opportunities and challenges, particularly in terms of regulatory uncertainty and strained government-business relations. The private security sector plays a crucial role in the Ethiopian economy, contributing significantly to job creation, community investments, government revenue, and technological advancement. Addressing the identified challenges and supporting the sector's growth will be vital for maximizing its contributions to Ethiopia's economic stability and development.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study the researcher provided recommendations for different concerning bodies.

1. Government Authorities

Develop and Implement a Clear Legal Framework; the government should prioritize the creation and enforcement of a comprehensive legal framework for private security companies. This framework should clearly define operational requirements, licensing procedures, standards of conduct, and accountability mechanisms. The aim is to address regulatory ambiguity, enhance accountability, and mitigate security risks.

Allocate Resources to Regulatory Bodies; Increase funding and resources for regulatory bodies to enable them to effectively oversee and enforce regulations within the private security sector. This includes investing in training for regulatory staff and developing systems for monitoring and evaluation.

Foster Better Government-Private Sector Relations; Improve communication and cooperation between government institutions and private security companies. Establish formal channels for dialogue and collaboration to address conflicts of interest and ensure fair competition.

Address Political Dynamics; Develop strategies to minimize the impact of political changes on the private security sector. This includes ensuring policy consistency and stability despite political transitions and promoting a business-friendly environment.

Promote Public Awareness; Launch public education campaigns to improve the perception of private security companies. Highlight the sector's contributions to job creation, community safety, and technological advancement to build public trust and support for regulation.

2. Private Security Companies

Adhere to Best Practices; PSCs should proactively comply with existing regulations and adopt best practices in their operations. This includes ensuring transparency, accountability, and high standards of conduct in all business practices.

Engage in Policy Advocacy; actively participate in advocacy efforts to support the development of a robust legal framework. Engage with policymakers and industry associations to provide insights and recommendations for effective regulation.

Invest in Training and Development; invest in the training and professional development of security personnel to ensure they meet industry standards and are well-prepared to handle various security challenges. This includes establishing standardized training programs and certifications.

Strengthen Internal Controls; Implement and maintain robust internal controls and compliance mechanisms to manage regulatory risks and ensure adherence to legal requirements. Regularly review and update these controls to address emerging challenges.

3. Regulatory Bodies

Enhance Regulatory Frameworks; work closely with government authorities to refine and implement the legal framework for private security companies. Ensure that regulations are clear, comprehensive, and aligned with international standards.

Conduct Regular Inspections; perform regular inspections and audits of PSCs to ensure compliance with regulations and identify areas for improvement. Use findings to inform policy adjustments and enforcement actions.

Facilitate Industry Dialogue; organize forums and workshops to facilitate dialogue between regulators and private security companies. This can help address regulatory challenges, share best practices, and gather feedback on regulatory effectiveness.

4. Policymakers

Increase Industry Understanding; develop a deeper understanding of the private security sector's operations, challenges, and contributions. This will enable the creation of more effective and relevant regulations that address the sector's specific needs.

Support Evidence-Based Policy Making; base policy decisions on comprehensive research and evidence gathered from industry stakeholders, surveys, and studies. This approach ensures that regulations are well-informed and responsive to real-world conditions.

Encourage Private Sector Participation; promote private sector participation in the development of regulatory policies. This collaborative approach helps to ensure that regulations are practical, feasible, and aligned with industry realities.

5. Industry Associations and Civil Society Organizations

Advocate for Policy Reforms; Advocate for the development and implementation of a legal framework that supports the private security sector. Engage in public awareness campaigns and work with stakeholders to promote policy reforms.

Provide Support and Resources; offer support and resources to private security companies, particularly smaller firms, to help them comply with regulations and adopt best practices. This can include training programs, compliance tools, and guidance on regulatory requirements.

Monitor and Report; monitor the implementation of regulations and report on their effectiveness and impact. Provide feedback to regulators and policymakers to help improve the regulatory environment and address emerging issues.

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Appendices

Survey Questionnaire

Section A: General information about the research study

1. Survey Questionnaire

Thank you for taking part in this survey. This survey aims to collect insights on the political economy of PSCs in Ethiopia Post-2018. Your input will help enhance our understanding of the challenges, implications, and economic contributions of private security firms in Ethiopia.

Demographic Information

No	Tick in the box provided in front of the option you think is most appropriate to you”
1	What is your sex? A) Male [] B) Female []
2	What is your age category? A) Between 18-25 years old [] B) Between 26 -35 years old [] C) Between 36- 45 years old [] D) Between 46-55 years old [] E) 56 years and above []
3	What is your occupation? A) Government Official [] B) Private security professional [] C) Business owner [] D) Academia/Researcher [] E) Other (please specify)
4	What is your educational status?

	A) Primary Education [] B) Lower Secondary Education [] C) Upper Secondary Education [] D) Post- Secondary Non- Tertiary Education [] E) Short-Cycle Tertiary Education [] F) Bachelor’s or Equivalent Level []
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Section B: Challenges to Establish Legal Framework to Regulate or Govern Private Security Companies.

1. Do you believe that the lack of a clear legal framework poses risks to the private security industry in Ethiopia?

Yes No

2. Indicate your extent of agreement with the following item related to challenges faced in establishing a legal framework to govern PSCs by ticking appropriately using the scale below where Strongly Disagree = 1; Disagree = 2; Neutral = 3; Agree= 4; Strongly Agree = 5.

S/N	Item	Rate				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	Lack of political will or support					
2	Limited resources for regulatory bodies					
3	The complex relationship between government and PSCs					
4	Public perception and trust issues					
5	Inadequate understanding of the private security industry by policymakers					
6	State centric Political culture					

3. Indicate your extent of agreement with the following item by ticking appropriately using the scale below where Strongly Disagree = 1; Disagree = 2; Neutral = 3; Agree= 4; Strongly Agree = 5.

S/N	Item	Rate				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	There is a need for a legal framework to govern or regulate PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018					

4. In your experience, have unclear or ambiguous government policies affected the practices and operations of private security companies?

Yes No

5. Do you or your organization face any specific difficulties related to legal and regulatory hurdles while operating in the private security sector in Ethiopia post-2018?

Yes No

Section C: The Implications of Post-2018 Ethiopia’s Political Dynamics on Private Security Companies.

4. Indicate your extent of agreement with the following item related to political dynamisms’ by ticking appropriately using the scale below where Strongly disagree =1; Disagree =2; Neutral =3; Agree =4 & Strongly agree=5

S/N	Item	Rate				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	The post-2018 Political dynamism (Institutional, structural, and agency change, security sector reform, neoliberal move, instability, and war, etc.) affected the private security trajectory.					

5. What is the most appropriate direction for your firm’s business development post-2018?

Expansion Status quo Downsizing Withdraw Suspended

6. Indicate your extent of agreement with the following item by ticking appropriately using the scale below where Very low =1; Low =2; Moderate =3; High =4 & Very high =5

S/N	Item	Rate				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	The post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia have influenced the operations and growth of private security companies					

7. Indicate your extent of agreement with the following item by ticking appropriately using the scale below where Strongly disagree =1; Disagree =2; Neutral =3; Agree =4 & Strongly agree=5

S/N	Item	Rate				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	The post-2018 political trajectory and dynamics in Ethiopia influenced the laws of supply and demand (the logic of the market) in the private security sector					

8. Indicate your extent of agreement with the following item related to demand and supply by ticking appropriately using the scale below where Highly Increases=1; Increases=2; Stagnant=3; Decreases=4; & Highly Decreases=5

S/N	Item	Rate				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	The market demand pattern for Private security provision over post-2018					
2	The supply growth pattern of Private security provision over post-2018					

9. In your view, how did the post-2018 political dynamics in Ethiopia influence the relationship between government institutions and private security companies?

Improved collaboration Increased competition Tension and conflicts

10. How do you perceive the influence of the post-2018 political dynamics on the operation and practices of PSCs in Ethiopia?

Positive Neutral Negative

11. How do the post-2018 political dynamics influence the legitimacy and regulatory environment for private security companies?

Stricter regulations More lenient regulations Unclear or ambiguous regulations

Section D: The Economic Contribution of Private Security Companies

12. Indicate your extent of agreement with the following item by ticking appropriately using the scale below where Not at all; Minimal =2; Moderate =3; Significant =4 & Very significant =5

S/N	Economic contributions of private security companies?	Rate				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	There is an increase in job opportunities as a result of the presence of PSCs in the country					
2	Investment in local communities					
3	Revenue generation for the government through taxes and fees					
4	Supports for other businesses through security services					
5	Development of security technology and expertise					
6	PSCs contribute to creating a secure environment that attracts foreign direct investment					

13. Indicate your extent of agreement with the following item by ticking appropriately using the scale below where Very Low=1; low=2; Moderate =3; High=4 & Very high=5

S/N	Item	Rate				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	PSCs contribute to job creation in the country					

14. If you rate 4 or 5 for question No. 13, then please specify the types of jobs that have been created directly or indirectly by private security companies. You can choose more than one.

- A) Security personnel's []
- B) Administrative roles []
- C) Technological roles (e.g., surveillance, cyber security) []
- D) Support staff (e.g., maintenance, logistics) []
- E) Other (please specify) [] _____

Guiding Interview Questions for Key Informants

1. How do you perceive the regulatory environment for PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018?
2. Considering the post-2018 political context, what are the main challenges encountered in establishing a comprehensive legal framework to regulate or govern PSCs in Ethiopia?
3. How the post-2018 political dynamism, including institutional, structural, and agency changes, security sector reform, neoliberal moves, conflicts, and war, impacted the trajectory of private security?
4. How have political factors, such as government policies and regulations, influenced the operations and growth of PSCs in Ethiopia since 2018?
5. How have political changes or instability influenced efforts to develop and enforce regulations governing PSCs in Ethiopia?
6. Have you observed any changes in the relationship between the state and PSCs since 2018?
7. How do you think political dynamism has influenced the legitimacy, accountability, and oversight mechanisms of private security companies?
8. Have you observed any shifts in market dominance or the emergence of new players following the political changes?
9. Have there been any specific challenges or opportunities arising from the political changes that have affected the way your company conducts its business?
10. From your viewpoint, what economic impacts do private security firms have on Ethiopia after 2018?
11. How do you compare the pre-2018 and post-2018 market situation of PSCs in Ethiopia?
12. How do political dynamics, such as government policies and political instability affect the economic contributions and viability of PSCs in Ethiopia?

13 How do you perceive the role of PSCs in fostering economic growth and stability in Ethiopia?

Focus Group Discussion Guiding Questions

Two focus group discussion was held with twelve participants who are relevant to the information the researcher was looking for. The discussion points were;

1. Let's discuss your experience with challenges in establishing a legal framework to regulate or govern PSCs in Ethiopia post-2018. Are there legal gaps that hinder the private security sector? If so, what prevailing interests and factors stand against establishing a progressive private security legal framework?
2. Considering the political dynamics post-2018 (institutional, structural, and agency change, security sector reform, neoliberal moves, instability, war, etc.), how would you discuss the relationship between PSCs and government security forces in the post-2018 period? How efficient are the power relations between the government and private security firms in expanding supply and fulfilling demand?
3. What are your thoughts on the role of PSCs in Ethiopia's economy considering the post-2018 period? Please discuss the possible job opportunities, investment in local communities, economic growth, revenue generation for the government through taxes and fees, support for other businesses through security services, development of security technology and expertise, and foreign direct investment.

Declaration

This thesis titled, "**The Political Economy of Private Security Companies in Ethiopia Post-2018: The case of Addis Ababa**" is a new contribution of mine. The sources of all the information utilized in the thesis are properly cited, and it has not been presented for a degree at any other institution.

Declared by:

Name of the student: _____

Signature: _____

Date of submission: _____

Approved by:

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

Name of Advisor: _____

Signature: _____

Date of submission: _____