Police Reform in Egypt?
- A Case Study
Abstract

This paper studies the police reform in Egypt in the light of the revolution 2011. The ousting of the authoritarian president Hosni Mubarak was the beginning of the transition towards democracy. Within 15 months both parliamentary and presidential election had taken place. The political leaders were new and the transitional process had begun however the institutions where still the same and one feature of the revolution was to reform the police since the police was hated as the oppressive power it was. Transition from totalitarian regime to democracy is more than elections it is about reforming the institutions and especially the security sector hence they often play a significant role in oppressing the citizens in an authoritarian state. The police in Egypt used repressive methods to control the citizens. Therefore it is interesting to investigate whether the police are beginning to transform along the principles of democratic policing, a specific part of security sector reform focusing on the reformation of the police. The notion of human security with the people at the centre lay as a foundation of the theoretical framework. The material consists of in-depth interviews with leaders and active people in the civil society and their view regarding police work and police reform after the revolution. The conclusions drawn from the study is that the police lack capacity, understanding and training to reform. The reformation has to be influenced by political will from legislative and institutional level as well from the police officers themselves. There are challenges if a reform of the police will be successful and some of them are connected with national and international circumstances.

Key words

Democratic Policing, Security Sector Reform, Police-Public relationship, Human Security, Civil Society Organization, political will, corruption
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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>CAT</td>
<td>Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment</td>
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<td>CSF</td>
<td>Central Security Forces</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organization</td>
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<td>CTG</td>
<td>Counter Terrorism Group</td>
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<td>BPUFF</td>
<td>Basic Principles on the use of Force and Firearms</td>
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<td>DCAF</td>
<td>Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces</td>
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<td>FJP</td>
<td>Freedom and Justice Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICCPR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>MENA</td>
<td>Middle East North Africa</td>
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<td>NATO</td>
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<td>NDP</td>
<td>National Democratic Party</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
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<td>National Security Agency</td>
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<td>UDHR</td>
<td>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</td>
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1. Introduction

The events of the Arab Revolution which started in late 2010 have created dramatic changes throughout the Middle East North Africa region (MENA), including the fall of long-standing dictators in four countries\(^1\) to date. For a region with a high degree of regime stability under authoritarian rule, these protests represent a watershed moment. Following these events the balance between state and society has been redefined and these revolutions mark the possibility of democratic reform. MENA is a region characterized by lacking transparency, poor following of human rights and is plagued by growing poverty, unemployment and wide economic inequality. The revolutions carried a signal for democratic changes and features of civil liberties, although these in some cases have been followed by significant violence and disruption in social and economic life. (Björklund, Gardell, Hammargren and Hjärpe 2011) There are no guarantees against totalitarian backlashes. In primarily Tunisia and Egypt the post-dictator period has been centered on building a new political structure with democratic parliamentary election as a main goal. Mohamed Morsi became the first democratically elected on presidential post in Egypt on the 30\(^{th}\) of June in 2012. It has not yet been a year and what are the incitements for a long-lasting development of democracy, particularly interesting regarding institutional reform?

In Egypt the revolution broke out on the 25 of January, the national holiday commemorating the Egyptian police force in an act of sending a message reflecting the great extent of police brutality the Egyptian people had suffer for decades. For this reason, some protesters targeted and attacked police stations during the height of the revolution in an attempt to avenge their suffering. (NE; Landguiden; Stork 2012, 464) The military has a different status amongst the people, and became extremely popular when they with crucial measures ousted President Hosni Mubarak in 2011. Egypt has the largest population in the region and is considered as a central, influential and powerful geopolitical actor in MENA, this primarily based on a strong military power. (Eriksson 2012; 20-22) The Egyptian military has been very powerful and influential in Egyptian politics and together with an authoritarian police force, the monopoly of violence has been exercised primarily to control people. The police have

\(^1\) Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen and Libya.
used brutal violence, torture and psychological threats in order to maintain its power and control. (Stork 2012, 465-470; Marfleet 2009)

The overall situation in Egypt after the revolution is rather unique and the security sector is not exceptional. This elected government has inherited institutions full with norms, structures and resources from a 30 year long dictatorship. This transitional period has just begun and is a complex and challenging task for the government. Interviews within the civil society\(^2\) are an important aspect for input on people’s perceptions and in how to develop a long-lasting democracy with a focus on human security (Pino and Wiatrowski 2006; Hettne 2009). The civil society is an arena where interaction between people occurs and the democratic norms and values are being shaped (Hooghe and Stolle 2003, 22-23; Putnam 2002, 6). The civil society has an educational role through promotion of civil values such as tolerance, acceptance, honesty, trust and transparency, and is therefore vital for a democratic society (Boussard, 2003, 80). The short time that has passed since the Egyptian revolution means that very limited research has been done and there is a need to investigate this phenomenon further, to elaborate a transitional state developing democracy by the insight of the civil society.

1.1 Research problem

One of the fundamental parts of a democracy is security and functioning security institutions working to serve the people, making them feel safe. Human security is largely about including security for the individual from political, social and economic threats, with a primacy of human rights (UNDP report 2004, 24). The emerging political situation in Egypt still has the old security institutions intact, with totalitarian values and structures (Brumberg and Sallam 2012; Lutterbeck 2012, 2 & 4). Security sector reform is a significant step in order to create a path towards development and human security, democracy. However, the transition from authoritarian security

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\(^2\) We have used The World Bank’s definition of the civil society and civil society organizations. “the term civil society to refer to the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) therefore refer to a wide of array of organizations: community groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations”. (World Bank Last updated: 2013-07-22)
institutions with low or no accountability or transparency towards security institutions working in compliance with democratic values is a complex and lengthy process.

Research shows that the role of the police is essential when societies are in transition from war to peace and from totalitarian to democratic rule. The way the police operate and their relationship with the public they serve is fundamental for the enforcement of human security (Harris 2005, 9-10). A growing field of research discusses and analyses the potentials of democratic policing, organizations like the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe publish handbooks on the subject with principles of democratic policing. (Harris 2005, 8-9; Pino and Wiatrowski 2006; Manning 2010) In transitional Tunisia the new government has started a process of security sector reform including a reform of the police institution and established partnerships with international agencies such the UNDP and DCAF. But to what extent is democratic policing on the agenda in Egypt; and further, what foundation exist for a reformation of the police?

1.2 Aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the extent to which the Egyptian police are being reformed along the lines of democratic policing and to examine possible challenges for such a reform. The analysis consists of two parts; the first concerns political measures taken to reform the police and the second part of the analysis will be made through the lens of perspectives and experiences provided by Egyptian Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). Following research questions will further specify and fulfill the thesis aim.

- After the revolution, what political measures have been taken to reform the police?
- How are the police perceived from the civil society?
- Are the police operating compliant to the principles of democratic policing?

1.3 Delimitations

The time period for this study is after the resignation of President Mubarak in February 2011 until May 2013 and during that time as stated in the introduction a transition process had begun with parliamentary and presidential elections. One year
after the inauguration of Mohamed Morsi protests started with the aim to remove Morsi from the president post (The Economist 2013; BBC 2013). The campaign Tamarod had collected 22 million of signatures demanding Morsi to step down and Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) set an ultimatum for the president (Al-Masry Al-Youm 2013). He had 3 days to resign which Morsi did not do and the military took over and put Morsi in house arrest on the 3rd of July. Supporters of Morsi called it a coup d’état and started to protest at two places in Cairo (The Economist 2013). The empirical material in this research was accomplished between March and June 2013 therefore it is not possible on basis of the interviews to analyze or draw conclusions on the present or the future situation. The interviews were conducted under the circumstances prevail then and due to the changed setting the analysis will not be based on anything after May 2013.

This thesis will cover the reform of the police as one part of the security sector, and will not address reformation of other security institutions such as armed forces, judiciary and unofficial institutions. However the judiciary will partly be involved in the thesis due to its importance in (re) shaping laws and institutions that regulates the police. The security concept is broad, however due to the focus on the police and the police-public relationship this study emphasis on human security and not geopolitical security. We do not diminish the importance of geopolitics; however the police work is mainly executed within the state boarders and should be focusing on working for and with people.

**1.4 Outline**

This study examines the police reform in Egypt; to what extent the police are reformed during the transitional period since the revolution and what the challenges for a reform are. This study is divided into four main chapters: theoretical framework, methodology, empirical findings and analysis. First is the theoretical framework of the thesis presented. The main theory being used is Democratic Policing which is described. In order to have a background to democratic policing a short section about Human Security and Security Sector Reform is leading to the principles of democratic policing. Further the relationship between the state, public and police is described and the challenges to reform will last be deliberated. Secondly, the methodology is presented which is a case study of police reform in a
transitional state. The context for the study is Egypt and the researchers did a field study where the empirical material will mainly consist of in-depth interviews, but also additional documents. In the methodological section the sampling method and obstacles encountered during the field study will be discussed. After knowing the basis of the study the empirical material is presented. The material is divided into a background of Egypt, background of the police before the revolution and a description of the police after the revolution until May 2013. In order to have a little background knowledge regarding the law that regulates some of the police work a short section with international and national law is explained. Later on the researchers answer the question what political measures have been taken to reform the police and thereafter the material from the in-depth interviews with CSO’s will be presented. The CSO’s give their views on the police work in Egypt. The analysis is divided after the three levels in the theory of democratic policing; legislative, institutional and attitudes and cultures. In order to reform the police the legislative level have to reform some laws and regulations related to the police, the institutional level have to increase the transparency and accountability and the third level have to change the culture and attitudes among the police officers. Thereafter the researchers answer the question if the police are being reformed along with the principles of democratic policing? Concluding, the challenges of police reform will be discussed followed by some final remarks of the thesis and the situation in Egypt today.
2. Theoretical framework

A framework of theoretical approaches that are being used with the meaning of fulfilling the aim of this thesis will be explained in this chapter. First will the concept of Human security be presented as the fundamental ground of value that this thesis rest upon. Secondly, useful knowledge about security sectors reform and its actors, in order to fully understand the concept of democratic policing, which is the main theory of the thesis. The meaning, relevance and interaction of democratic policing will be specified. Lastly, some important challenges of the theory will be discussed.

2.1 Human Security

"Security nowadays is more complex then only external military threats, due to the changed nature of the threats" (Hettne 2009, 22-23).

During the 1990’s the security concept started to evolve from the traditional realist state-centric point of departure which emphasizes external military threats, to an individual-centric perspective through the development of the concept human security (Kaldor 2007, 182-184; Kerr 2007, 92). UNDP’s Human Development report about Human Security which was published in 1994 became the milestone for the concept of Human Security. The report pinpoints two basic changes of the focus on security, the stress from territorial security to people´s security and from security through armaments to security through sustainable human development (UNDP report 1994, 24).

Human security is currently a mainstreamed concept and fundamental in UN resolutions such as the Responsibility to Protect, Women, Peace and Security, and the Millennium Development Goal Report etc. This demonstrates the international community's standpoint on the importance of focusing on people’s security. The concept has according to Kaldor (2007, 183) developed in to two approaches, one that highlights the security of the individual and the primary focus is on providing security by facing political violence. The other approach highlights the correlation between different types of security and the importance of socioeconomic development in order to provide long-term security and a strong security strategy. Kaldor advocates a combination of the two approaches; Security is about confronting extreme vulnerabilities, in war, natural- and manmade disasters, and in everyday life;
development should be about something more than a decent standard of living, it should be about feeling safe on the streets or being able to influence political decision-making. Likewise, a human security approach would aim to protect humanitarian space rather than to distinguish it from military space.

The state-centric security has continuously a large relevance for the security concept, even with an individual approach (Alkire 2003, 16-17). The security concept is broad, however due to the focus on the police and the police-public relationship this study emphasis on Kaldor's definition of human security and not geopolitical security though still geopolitics is important. However the police work is mainly executed within the state boarders and ought to be focusing on working for and with people. Hence human security is a more appropriate approach when examine the police.

2.2 Security Sector Reform

The inclusion of human security in the security concept together with a changed and more diverse definition of threats makes the tasks of the security system more complex and challenging. The government of a state cannot solely protect and control a state in line with the traditional security concept since it is obliged to protect all civilians and meet their needs. In a totalitarian or authoritarian state there is often a lack of human security and the state’s security (i.e. its territorial integrity and the ruling regime’s monopoly of power) is the main task for the security sector. The security sector works in compliance with the orders from the government even though it is not in accordance with the rule of law and might only benefit the government. Security Sector Reform addresses these types of security issues and tries to solve them through institutional reforms. However it contains not merely security issues in need of reform it also correlates with political, economic, social and institutional dimensions. A successful reformation of the security sector has a positive spillover effect on the other institutions and therefore it is of greatest importance to reform the security institutions. Due to the position the security institutions have in non-democratic countries as an oppressive power working in compliance with the ruling regime reforming the security sector is vital to create a democratic and sustainable state (Wulf 2004, 4-5; Anderlini and Conaway 2004, 32).
The actors within the security sector can be divided into four categories: the core security institutions such as the military, police, intelligence service; oversight bodies as legislatures and legislative bodies; non-core institutions such as judiciary, customs etc.; and finally non-statutory security force institutions such as guerilla, political party militias and private security companies (Wulf 2004, 5; Anderlini and Conaway 2004, 31-32). Security sector reform is a transformation of all of the above mentioned security related actors where they have to alter their responsibilities and actions in compliance with democratic norms such as obeying the rule of law, serving the people and performing good governance. The goal is to create a well-functioning security system working to provide human security in its broadest sense. Through an accountable and responsible security force the risk of conflict will be reduced and a sustainable development will succeed (Wulf 2004, 3). At least in theory international actors and the civil society have to be involved in the process. The security sector reform is often donor driven through assistance and support from international actors for example from NATO, aid agencies or IMF, and a reform can be an obligation to get aid or other type of assistance (Wulf 2004, 4). The tricky part is to ensure local ownership of the process, and have a balance of involvement of international actors that are working in compliance and coordination with the local actors. It is also especially important to address and involve all groups within the society for a sustainable development. The civil society has to be included in the process and contribute with their knowledge and opinion. Advocacy groups such as human rights’ or women’s organization can raise important issues and for instance stress the importance of transparency. Trade unions, community groups and neighborhood association can raise important questions for example about violence and disarmament of former combatants. The voice of both women and men need to be highlighted, women and men face different kind of threats which needs to be taken in to consideration and not just threats regarding men which often is the case today. Advocacy is central and women’s organization is particularly important due to the lack of women participation in the society and especially within the security sector. (Anderlini and Conaway 2004, 36-37)

2.3 Democratic Policing
As mentioned above, one of the core security actors is the police and how to reform the police will further be developed below through the theory of democratic policing
which is one part of security sector reform. Democracy and democratization theories has been studied and developed for a long time within the academic field of political science. Though the role of the police and policing in democracy theories are limited, especially the role of policing in transitional states and developing democracies. Democracy theories often implicate that police could be included in the institutional structures and are a significant foundation in a democracy however the role of the police is not clearly specified. Democratic policing is a fairly new academic field and area of recognition. Mostly international organizations such as the UN and the EU have been predominant in the development of the field together with a variety of scholars. George Barkeley was one of the first scholars discussing the relationship of police and democracy when he wrote the democratic policemen in 1969 (Manning 2010, 4-5). He investigated the character of democratic policing in western states and he pointed out the importance of a democratic internal structure with centralization, political participation, equality, legal practice and education to create a democratic policeman. Today there is several legitimate models of democratic policing, defining the concept of democracy and policing in different ways, though there appears to be a general notion that there is no one-size-fit-all model (Harris 2005; Pino and Wiatrowski 2006; Manning 2010). Harris (2005, 16) pinpoints that whatever model or parts of different models is chosen it must be profoundly adopted within the organization in transition, as within culture, expectations and structure. Pino and Wiatrowski (2006, 71) require a holistic approach, containing a large commitment from the police, the public, the government and the whole formal justice system for a successful and long-term productive activity. There is also a common understanding amongst scholars that a complete shift from one model of policing to another takes time and that it is unrealistic to expect a sudden reform in a period of a few years (Harris 2005; Pino and Wiatrowski 2006, 71; Nield 2001). The complexity of and the difference amongst states in transition makes democratic policing an academic field in constant motion and in need of further illumination and research.

2.4 The principles of Democratic Policing

As mentioned above, there is no unanimous definition of Democratic Policing though the principles are quite similar between scholars. As the term democratic policing indicates, the principles are consistent with democratic values based on human rights, such as life, liberty and the quest of happiness. The police in a democratic society
have the role of minimizing physical and psychological threats to safety and controlling crime, in order to maximize the democratic values such as life and liberty (Pino and Witarowski 2006, 81). Democratic institutions must be transparent, accountable, legitimate, and subordinate to civil authority and the rule of law; this is the core principles of democratic policing according to Pino and Witarowski (2006). Bayley (2001) is an often referenced scholar within this field, and he defines the principles of democratic policing with:

- Serving the needs of the citizens;
- Be accountable to the law rather than to the government;
- Protect Human Rights especially political rights;
- Be transparent.

Harris (2005, 17) another prominent scholar, characterizes the democratic policing principles with three categories:

- "Accountability - the degree to which the organization subordinates itself to the authority of the law and society;
- Congruence - the degree to which the organization’s values correspond to those of society;
- Community-centricity - the degree to which the organization’s achievements correspond to and meet the needs of society.”

All these scholars basically address the same principles and with the choice of Pino and Witarowskis naming, will these principles be further specified below.

**Subordinate to rule of law**, means that laws and legal institutions should be used to regulate individual, systematic and organizational behaviour and resolve disputes. The police must be accountable to the law rather than to the government or particular parties. The police respond, investigate and precede arrest according to legally defined criteria, and do not adjudicate or punish. It is important the police understand that their authority is derived from democratically endorsed laws, and that democratic policing is concerned not only with the results of crime control but also with the means used to achieve those ends, for instance minimum use of force and a non-corrupt policy. Subordination to rule of law also means for the police to protect civil activity in accordance with democracy, such as freedom of speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest. The principles of legitimacy, transparency and accountability are all connected with the relationship between the police and the public; the necessity of the
police to have legitimacy of the people, being transparent towards the people, and being accountable of the people. **Legitimacy** is the perception that those exercising authority are doing so in accordance with the defined purpose of a social institution or a law. The police earn their legitimacy through practice and performance, and that is of importance in order for the public to comply willingly with police orders. **Transparency** means that decision making is transparent for the public, that there is an open dialogue with the public. Therefore, the police needs to be approachable and open towards input of the people that it serves. Media is a useful tool to inform and communicate with the public, and it is of importance with good listening of and empowering of the people. **Accountability**, the police need to be accountable for their plans and actions and therefore answerable towards the public, and be open to accusations of violations of rules, laws and civil and human rights (Harris 2005). Further, accountability is interlinked with police behaviour and attitudes in the streets, the police’s everyday contact with the citizens. It is of importance that the police for instance provide a reason for stopping and searching someone and not just a hunch or distrust based on for instance ethnic background (Pino and Witarowskki 2006). **Subordination to civil authority** specifies what should be the highest operational priority of the police, namely that the needs of the individual citizens and private groups are to be served. The police organization needs to be autonomous of state control, which then improves the legitimacy of government by demonstrating that state authority will be used in the interest of the people. The understanding and recognition of this principle is of importance both for the police and the military, this is the ability in democracies that limits the military and police to take over and maintain control of societies. Due to the concept of democratically elected public officials that derives their authority from the citizens, and are legitimate to construct the police and military framework.

All these principles confront and challenge the culture and working practices of the police organization, and particularly one that has had a history of close alignment with the state or a political regime. In Tunisia the government has started a reformation process of the police and established partnerships with international agencies such the UNDP and DCAF, with the purpose of working with police reform in accordance to international directives. Lutterbeck (2012, 16) has written a report of Security Sector Reform in Tunisia after the fall of Dictator Ben Ali, and highlight that
democratic policing or reforming the police require changes at three levels, the legislative level, the institutional level and the level of attitudes and culture of police forces. At the legislative level, there is a need to establish clearer regulations for practically all areas of police work and organization, as well as to abolish repressive laws of the former regime. At the institutional level, reforms should focus on the establishment of greater transparency and accountability of police forces. Finally, there is a need to change the “culture” of police forces from a culture of repression and abuse with impunity to a culture of the rule of law and respect of citizens’ rights. (Lutterbeck 2012, 16). There must be a conviction of the need of this reform on all levels and an understanding of democratic policing’s core values and the purpose of the reform. The core value is community-centric policing instead of state-centric policing (Harris 2005).

2.4.1 State, police and community relationship
As mentioned above, commonly agreed upon amongst scholars regarding primary elements of democratic policing is the development of a good relationship between police and community (Nield 2001; Manning 2010). Pino and Witarowski (2006) highlight the fact that in transitional states the police and the military are not the sole determinants of social order, the community are as important and in a democratic society the population creates the institutions and its mandate. There is a corresponding relationship between the public’s confidence in and expectations of the police and police performance. If the standard of police performance is below public expectations there is a following absence of public confidence and trust towards the police amongst the public. This follows in a negative circle, where the public’s suspicion, mistrust and fear of the police increase the police’s detachment from the public and then instead closeness towards the organization and the state. Harris (2005) argues that a distant police ignores the concerns of the public which the public see and become less likely to cooperate with the police in any concerns and issues. Without the support from the public it is problematic for the police to fulfill their policing duties, they become frustrated and more likely to use non-democratic methods that are conflicting to established laws and human rights. This negative process has a destructive effect on both police performance standards and public confidence and trust in the police. Harris and others are unanimous that a police organization cannot perform effectively without the trust and support of the public and breaking this
negative process and reversing the forces that drives the police and the public apart is the central challenge of the reform process.

2.5 Challenges and criticism of democratic policing

As indicated above, there is some difficulty and some challenges with the implementation of democratic policing and these are being discussed within the literature. Pino and Wiatrowaski (2006, 32) pinpoint the fact that transitional and developing states have several obstacles to reform, such as “insecurity, poverty, economic underdevelopment, pressure from foreign states, a lack of social cohesion, and political instability”. They mean that these problems reduce legitimacy and that a lack of state capacity affects policing because of shortages of resources and working equipment. Further, these shortages affect training, morale, operations, indifferences and the temptation of corruption; and weak police institutions within weak states become the result, which creates further instability in a transitional state.

The political will of a reform and of the implementation of democratic policing are crucial for a successive outcome. The political will are connected with the structure of the governing and the history of the structure of the governing, if there has been democratic features earlier it of course is much easier than if there has not been any. There are different levels of democracy and democracy may not be applicable to all countries, throughout history it has been countries emerging from totalitarian, authoritarian or military rule where despite elections and democratic structure the state is not a democracy. Hence some scholars separate democracy and democratization. Where democratization is the transition period and the most important feature of this phase is for the government to adhere the rule of law (Kratcoski 2000, 34). It may be that the new regime may oppress the people the same way the old regime did and the old structures and institutions may be intact. Old regime structures are challenging to change, if there is no political will. The new political administration may want to preserve the same police structure due to their need of law and order that the police can maintain. Independence or revolutions can have limited impact on the police and its function. They processed the same work however they now obey another government or power and due to insecurity that follows revolutions the police is asked to perform the same function as before; to keep civilians under control. (Kratcoski 2000, 32-33)
2.6 Summary of the theoretical framework

Human security, Security Sector Reform and Democratic Policing, constitute the theoretical framework of this theirs. Human security builds the fundamental standpoint of security, where focus is both on the security of individuals and communities, and with human rights and human development. This is of importance in order to fully understand the significance of good relations between the police and the citizens; In order to implement strategies with a focus on the individual rather than the state, and in the service of the people. Providing human security is the goal of SSR and democratic policing. SSR is the wider approach of transforming the whole security sector along the lines of human security. And democratic policing is then used as the overall viewpoint of the thesis. The principles of democratic policing explain the focus of a police reform and these will be used to collect empirical material. Furthermore, the theoretical framework will support the analytical results. For a comprehensive operationalization of theories see chapter 3.6 Operationalization.
3. Methodological approach

Subsequent chapter contains the design chosen to answer the aim and questions of this study. This study is a single case design of the reformation of the police as one part of security sector reform. This will be examined in a transitional state. The chosen context to study the case is Egypt where in-depth interviews with civil society activists and different civil society organizations leaders were conducted during March- May 2013. Further the chapter consists of obstacles concerning a field study, the difficulties faced and how we chose to encounter them.

3.1 Case study

Merriam (1988, 6) describes research as “systematic inquiry”. One of the designs to study a phenomenon systematically is with a case study (Merriam 1988, 6). A case study can focus on examine a real-life phenomenon relevant for individuals and focus on exploring processes connected with individuals (Yin 2009, 17-18). This thesis aims to examine the case of a security sector reform in a transitional state. In the MENA-region the freedom of expression was limited over the years of totalitarian rule and the Arab awakenings were exceptional events where people protested in the streets and demanded change. They wanted increased liberties and improvement of the economic, political and social situation. The phenomenon occurred in different shapes around the Arab World but in only four countries, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, the states dictators were overruled and a transition process towards democracy has started. When only a few cases available it is better to examine a single case then multiple cases (Yin 2009, 47-49). In Egypt the demands of the people in the revolution were increased liberties, better economic situation and proper rule of law. The protesters made this clear through shouting chains such as “freedom, bread and social justice”. Hence the transitional process should be based on these criteria, the demands of the revolution. Therefore it is interesting to examine the reformation of the security sector, which is highly interlinked with freedom and social justice that the protesters demanded.

The choice to examine the security sector in Egypt rest on the significant role Egypt has in the MENA-region. Egypt has a long history of being a hub for political matters as well as trade and economic transition, and Egypt has today the strongest military capabilities among the Arab states (Eriksson 2012, 10 & 47). The context in which
the case is studied is in its present state rather unexplored. Under Mubarak’s regime the security sector was inaccessible for investigation and there were no attempts to reform the sector. Besides that inaccessibility to the security sector speaks for a single-case design it is also more appropriate due to the fact of a revelatory case is easier to study with a single-case design (Yin 2009, 47-49).

Further, Egypt is an accessible state for the researchers; the security situation is more stable than in Libya and the language barriers are less than in Tunisia where the second language is French. Egypt as a former English colony has English as second language. As stated before in the theory (2.2) the security sector consists of several actors including the police. As Yin says case studies are appropriate when examining a process and real-life phenomena connected with individuals. The police should serve the people and is therefore highly connected to individuals. The police was the brutal force oppressing the people and reports about torture and lethal violence was common during Mubarak’s regime. Further the police brutality and oppression is viewed as one reason to the outbreak of the revolution. The Facebook-group “we are all Khaled Said” was created after the murder of Khaled Said in Alexandria 2010 and the group demanded the police to be responsible for the murder (Stork 2012, 464). The group is viewed as one factor for the huge amount of protesters that showed up on 25th of January, which is the day of the police in Egypt. The role of the police in a democratic state is to be a guardian for people’s security and to work in the service of the people consequently reforming the police in Egypt is significant because they worked with opposite methods. However to create security for the people the people and police have to trust each other which cannot be made in Egypt without reform. The reformation of the police is therefore a process crucial for the safety of individuals. For this reason the focus is to examine how the civil society view the police and how they experience the police work in Egypt. Without reformation the probability of having a police force still oppressing people is an impending risk. Single-case studies are not applicable to generalize on other cases; there is no transferability hence the results cannot be transferred to other studied cases. However theoretical deviation is applicable hence the generalization does not refer to generalize to other cases but to the theory. (Lewis and Ritchie 2003 264-269; Yin 2009, 38)
3.2 Data collection

In order to answer the objectives of the study we have chosen to conduct a field study with in-depth interviews as the main data collection method. In a field study it is important to be prepared, be aware of the context and reflects over questions such as objectivity, self-representation, security and trust issues is of great importance before entering the field. Subsequent the data collection methods will be presented and what obstacles and advantages this field study implied.

3.2.1 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews are a relative new practice within social science however today frequently used to receive individual perspectives on a few themes consequently it creates a narrow picture on a certain area interesting for the researcher. Without investigating people’s viewpoint, those who are mostly affected, the real challenges may not be discovered. To gain understanding, in-depth interviews with the grassroots level can be conducted to see the risks, challenges and possibilities of for instance peace (Brounéus 2011, 131-132). For this study in-depth interviews are the best data collecting method because in every society the police should serve the people and therefore the people are the most affected by the activity of the police. The viewpoint of Civil Society Organizations will give a piece of information important to analyse if the police is being reformed or not. The study contains of twelve (12) interviews, which includes eleven (11) interviews with fourteen (14) persons, involved in CSO’s and one (1) interview with a police officer.

CSO’s are an important part of the policy chain and can fulfil assignments as oversight, information.Collectors, and contribute to the evaluation and implementation process. CSO’s are the link between the state and the society, and further, CSO leaders and activists are working with society related issues and can therefore see a broad picture. Even though it is individual views they will have more experience and can involve stories from all their meetings with people they been working with and for. (Yin 2007, 112) Still the CSO’s will have their own agendas and their answers may be angled, however through comparing various interviews with each other the credibility will increase.
Further the choice of representatives from the civil society rest upon the question of availability and reliability. The police was not for us available due to the time constrains the thesis had but foremost the contacts we had were not enough to focus on policemen. Harris (2005, 101) states that interviewing police can be difficult due to the role the police have and that they might not give honest answers. As Harris stated above the police might have to give incorrect information. Notwithstanding the importance of trying to interview policemen we could not depend on that factor succeed in finding police officers that we could interview. Our personal security was also one factor to take into consideration. However we were aware of the quality improvement if both civil society and police would be present in the study. One interview was conducted with a policeman whose answers will be summarized last in the empirical material. An interview with one police officer is not representative for the whole police organization however the view of this policeman is not the ordinary view from the police that you can read about and completely the same view the CSO’s respondents had.

A good quality in-depth interview relies according to Brounéus (2011, 132-133) on two things: first the preparations made beforehand and secondly listening skills of the interviewer which the researchers in this study took into consideration especially since the interviews were conducted in a second language both for the interviewees and the interviewer. Even though the language barriers were greater than expected, it could seem that persons in the first contact knew more English then they actually did. In one of the interviews an interpreter was attending, who according to our previous talks had experience in interpretation. However the interpreter did not translate every word, were not entirely objective and did not translate exactly what the respondent said. The police officer we interviewed did not feel like he could formulate himself in the way he wanted and therefore we meet up again and he brought a friend to help him. Due to the fact the friend was not an interpreter we have only used the material from our first interview and the parts in the second interview were he spoke English.

Self-representation issues while conducting fieldwork will have impact on the study. What the researcher says, do and do not do and the background will affect the image people have. The activities we do except the study will reflect on the interviewee’s behaviour towards us (Brown 2011, 213-225). Further the researcher’s identity in
field research is of great importance. The society studied in a field research will probably have a vision of the researcher based on the appearance of the researcher. Sometimes it will be easier to access the field due to your characteristics and vice versa and their preconceptions about us will affect their answers (Radsch 2011, 197-200; Brown 2011, 213-225). In Egypt women and men are divided in the society and as women it is easier to access both men and women, which spoke to our favour. Further Sweden has a good reputation among the respondents, it was noticeably when they mention “The Swedish Institute”, talked about democracy and some had visit Sweden. Their attitudes towards the researchers were probably more positive and open due to the fact the researchers came from Sweden. Further when another participant in the study had recommended the interviewee most likely that interviewee already had information about the researcher however it was from the researchers’ point of view not a disadvantage for the study.

Having knowledge about the context and the present security situation is a part of the preparation. However other security-related questions as psychical and emotional security the researcher cannot always be in control of but needs to be aware of possible obstacles and reactions. (Ortega and Herman 2011, 235-240) The security sector reform is often sensitive matters especially in non-democratic countries. In Egypt the police force was during Mubarak’s regime highly correlated with authoritarian policing and violations against human rights, for example torture. Examining the perceptions about the police is a sensitive and delicate issue and can be emotional for the interviewees due to previous experiences they had. In spite of the positive image the respondents had of Sweden they still were reserved in talking about the police. The studied phenomena was uncomfortable talking about, which was noticed when four persons did not want to participate in the study due to discomfort, security concerns and/or fear. One of the persons was a police man who first approved on being interviewed however he later withdrew his acceptance of being part of the study due to fear of possible retaliation from the Ministry of Interior and senior police officers. It would be to prefer multiple meetings in order to first establish a relationship and build trust between the researcher and the respondent however in this study due to time constrains and little previous connection to Egypt it was not possible to establish such contacts. Despite only meeting one time the researchers tried to create a good atmosphere for the participant, with for instance
chit-chat before and after the interview. Moreover the respondents themselves could choose the place of the interview, where they felt comfortable and safe. It resulted in one occasion were friends interrupting and joining the interview and half of the interviews were taking place at cafes with loud music, however it did not affect the recording or the empirical presentation.

Veracity of the testimony can be rumours, silence, denial, inventions and evasions due to the settings in conflict and post-conflict societies (Fujii 2011, 148-149). The persons interviewed in this study were surprising open and shared their view. They could have invented statements however the questions were formed in order to have only their own thoughts and no questions were asked about special events or incidents. One notion the researches made, the young persons shared their views more openly then the older. This can maybe be due to age or due to the position they had in the organizations.

The following ethical considerations based on Ortega and Herman (2011, 229-230) and “The Swedish research Council” has been made. The interviewee has to know the aim and objective of the study, all the interviewees received prior to the interview an overview of the study, the interviews were voluntary and confidential further the focus was to form the study so no person would be offended or harmed. Further it was voluntary to be recorded or not and one woman did not want to be recorded therefore one researcher took notes and the other one asked the questions, which we consider did not affect the transcript.

3.2.2 Additional sources

There are several methods to collect data suitable within the framework of a case study. Interviews are one of the data collection methods adequate for a case study. Therefore in-depth interviews are an advantageous method to collect material since they are generating personal views on complex issues. (Yin 2007, 117-119) However to conduct a thesis with good quality the empirical material cannot solely consist of interviews. (Yin 2007, 113-114) In this thesis the main data method is in-depth interviews, with persons involved in the civil society both to receive reflections, emotions and facts about the plausible reformation of the police and the police work/behaviour. There is a limited written material about security sector reform in
Egypt hence the short transitional period. Notwithstanding the limited written material within the studied field, additional material such as documents is together with the interviews the empirical material. To assess the possible bias of sources some considerations are made after the criteria’s used by Dulic (2011, 43). Both primary and secondary sources have to be critically examined and in this thesis the sources has been examined through identification of the source, proximity, dependence and bias (Höglund and Öberg 2011, 188-191).

3.2.3 Sample

We assessed there was a greater accessibility to active people in the civil society then ordinary citizens or police officers. To conduct interviews with policemen is united with considerable difficulties without a wide network and contact with gatekeepers. Further they work in a governmental agency and the credibility of their words can be questioned. To speak to ordinary citizens is considered being difficult and dangerous but also the need of an interpreter is greater. It is also of greatest importance to find gatekeepers to gain access to plausible participants. (Höglund and Öberg 2011, 192-194) To find participants of the study amongst the civil society was not easy and the roles of the gatekeepers were significant. To find the gatekeepers and participants the informal networks such as friends, work and university was used. Radsch (2011, 95) stresses the importance of gaining access to interviewee’s in Egypt through informal networks and that the researcher should utilize any contacts he or she has. These persons can further advice and find potential interviewees. Radsch is suggesting a form of “chain” sampling (Radsch 2011, 95). This way of thinking was adopted in this study because without gatekeepers and chain sampling it would have been very hard to find participants. Through the university one contact was crucial in the initial phase, an Egyptian person working at an international organization in Cairo with good contacts in the civil society. He helped us further with five different organizations and 3 of these were interviewed. However the interviews did not lead to any further contacts, thereafter people the researchers meet in Cairo were contacted; interns at organizations, neighbours working in CSO’s, Swedish organizations working in Cairo and moreover searching different CSO’s in the internet. Contact with the police was received through a previous respondent. The police could have helped us with further contacts if we had have more time in Egypt.
All interviewees had to meet two requirements.

- Being active or leader in a civil society organization
- Speaking English

Further it was seen to try to get people with different age, sex and position. As stated earlier in the theory (2.2) a broad set of persons active in various organizations can give a more holistic and representative picture of the society. Therefore the interviews was planned to be focused on five (5) various kinds of organizations having diverse focus for their work: youth, women, human rights, environment and minority.

**Figure 1. List of Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of CSO</th>
<th>Sex/Gender</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Interview 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Project Leader</td>
<td>Interview 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Interview 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Rights</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Co-founder</td>
<td>Interview 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth, student</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Activist</td>
<td>Interview 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Co-founder</td>
<td>Interview 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration</td>
<td>Female, female</td>
<td>Interns</td>
<td>Interview 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Male, male, male</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Interview 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Co-worker</td>
<td>Interview 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Rights</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Head of dep.</td>
<td>Interview 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Rights</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Head/co-founder</td>
<td>Interview 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Low-rank officer</td>
<td>Interview 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Due to hardness in finding interviewees that were willing to be interviewed the persons approved on being interviewed had to be the focus and not if they represented one of the five above-mentioned groups or not. Even though the concept of having a broad representation was always in our mind and the participants in the study worked with youth, women, migration, human rights and environment, see figure 1. The sample is not representative for the civil society in Egypt; it is hard to overview the number of organizations in the Egyptian civil society. The former president limited and controlled the operations of NGO:s and in end of 2012 the Freedom and Justice Party drafted a law stating the funding of an NGO in Egypt was public funding, it was
forbidden to receive foreign funding and a NGO had to be registered. This means that quite many NGO:s is not registered and has underground activities.

3.2.4 Interview questions
Dependent on the objectives and research questions three types of interviews are commonly used in case studies: open, semi-structured or structured interviews (Yin 2007, 117-119). In this thesis the interviews are semi-structured since even if the questions are prepared beforehand there is a possibility to ask follow-up questions. The topic guide is based on what the thesis aims to answer through the research questions. The outline of the topic guide is based on Brounéus thinking of building the interview as a normal conversation following the subsequent steps; introduction, initial questions, mid-interview and closing the interview. This way of structuring the interview can be favourable in order to create a positive and comfortable situation for the interviewee, which we wanted to achieve (Brounéus 2011, 139-141). Due to the semi-structured layout of the topic guide it was possible to ask follow-up questions and change the order of the questions to get a more logical order. Dependent on the participant’s background some parts of the interviews were more focus on and other less. Some questions were open-ended and some not however the interviews strived to achieve the participants personal view on the subject. In some interviews there were a lack of understanding due to the deficient English knowledge however to conduct the interview in Arabic would involve an interpreter and more considerations had to be made to guarantee the confidentiality of the interviewee and the interpreter. Instead some questions had to be rephrased several times in order to make sure the interviewee understood the question and judging by the answers the interviewees understood the questions.

3.3 Reliability
A research should be available and replicable in the future therefore a proper documentation is significant (Höglund and Öberg 2011, 187). However Ritchie and Lewis (2003, 270-272) disagree and state that in qualitative research it has been questioned how well a study can be replicable due to an in-depth focus were the methods being used in specific contexts are hard to replicate and also due to the answers people give may change over time. Yin stress the importance of saving all documents, recordings and arrange it after a comprehensible pattern in order to easily
find them at a later time (Yin 2009, 118-120). Additional details regarding the interviews such as date, persons present and questions should be stored as well as written sources, search strings and sources not used and why (Höglund and Öberg 2011, 187). Even though this study would be hard to replicate because the interviews are founded on different peoples own views and human error, such as blackouts or leaving questions unanswered, above mentioned considerations have been made to make it possible to replicate. The names of the interviewees are not stored together with the other material due to the anonymity of the interviewee. The topic guide is official and as an appendix in the study. All interviews except one were recorded. The notes taken during interviews are decoded. The transcribed material is decoded and no names are available in the recorded or transcribed material.

3.4 Validity

“The validity of a measure is the degree to which it captures the essence of the concept it purports to measure.” (Höglund and Öberg 2011, 186) As Höglund and Öberg stated through the above quotation Ritchie and Lewis calls internal validity. However Ritchie and Lewis (2003, 273) further distinguish between validity through speaking about external validity. External validity concerns how the findings are applicable to other groups within the population.

In order to achieve validity in this thesis the different concepts that are being used are specified and defined, further the theoretical framework has been operationalized. It is important to clearly state and define concepts and how to use them (Höglund and Öberg 2011, 185-186). Another measure to achieve validity in this study has been to define and discuss the problems that have encounter during the course of the study and primarily the difficulty with collecting the empirical material. In order to secure, improve clarity and to validate the findings correctness of the study triangulation was used. Through triangulation the findings from one source was tested through comparison with other different sources (Yin 2003, 127-128). Dulic (2011, 38-42) suggest using secondary sources to triangulate the information gathered from primary sources. The main empirical material in this thesis consists of interviews and they will be triangulated with documents. The questions used to conduct the internal and extern evaluation in this thesis is based on questions set up by Dulic (2011, 38-39).
3.5 Analytical method

The collected empirical material for this thesis was well detailed and needed to be structured in order to create an oversight of the analytical process of the material. By interpreting the content and what was expressed in the interviews it brought meaning to the material (Ritchie and Lewis 2003, 210 & 220 – 221, 237). In this study the analytical method was based on the theoretical framework. First in order to create an overview of the material a transcription of the interviews was required. This study does not have a discourse or a textual analytical approach thus there was no need for transcription of pauses or hesitation. However a detailed transcription has been applied to make the remaining analytical process facile. The sincerity of the answers was taken in to consideration when transcribing the interviews and the conclusion of all interviews is that the answers were sincere. The second step was to use the theoretical framework. The transcribed material was organized by means of the five areas used in the theory and upon which the topic guide was based. These were subordination to the rule of law, legitimacy, transparency, accountability and trust and subordination to civil authority.

3.6 Operationalization of the theory

The theoretical framework contains three interlinked subjects, which are Human Security, Security Sector Reform and Democratic Policing. This framework is chosen to set the foundation of how the empirical material is being processed in this thesis. The theoretical framework will help us to build an interview guide, interpret responses and analyze the conditions for democratic policing in Egypt.

The concept of Human Security is a fundamental standpoint in this thesis; the focus is both on the security of individuals and communities and on the combination of both human rights and human development. The concept of human security is the stepping stone of the following approaches, because providing human security is the goal of SSR and democratic policing. SSR is the wider approach of transforming the whole security sector along the lines of human security. For a sustainable development with focus on human security SSR emphasizes the importance of:

- reforming the security sector
- a good relationship between the security sector and the population and
• involvement of different actors within the society

Furthermore, democratic policing is about what to focus on when reforming the police, what different principles and measures that are important. To collect the empirical material, the interview guide is built upon these principles of democratic policing and transformed into different themes:

- Subordination to the rule of law
- Legitimacy
- Transparency
- Accountability and trust
- Subordination to civil authority

The interview questions were designed to capture the essence of the theoretical framework (see Appendix 1). The described challenges, of understanding context of history, state-civil relations, religious variance etc. was taken in to consideration in the process. To explain further, for instance Transparency is about the interaction between the police and the public, about open dialog, open decision making processes and the extent to which the police are approachable; For example, in our interviews we ask the following questions in order to be able to describe and analyse how our respondents perceive transparency:

- Are the police interested in finding out what the public thinks?
- Are there channels for communication?
- Are the police approachable?
- Would you consider the police being transparent?

When the material was organized after the categories, the material was summarized. Through this approach the interviews were easily to compare, the similarities and differences among the respondents were detected. Citations are being used to highlight a coherent picture, that the majority of the respondents believe or to show a contradictory picture. The different aspects of the collected material were assessed and analyzed based on the theoretical framework. In order to answer the thesis aim of
analysing if there has been any reform of the police in Egypt; Lutterbecks (2012, 16) notion of the three levels that all demands change for a sustainable development of police reform was used, the legislative level, the institutional level and the level of attitudes and culture.
4. Background

The empirical material collected for this thesis is presented below and it will be the basis for the analysis. First an historical background about Egypt is presented in order to have some fundamental facts about the state Egypt and its history. Thereafter the focus will be on the police, the role the police have played historically and the structure it had and mainly still have. Further on the police will be described through the transitional period and what political measures been taken to reform the police. In order to understand the current police structure, police “culture” and the challenges of reform a historical background related to the police is necessary.

4.1 Egypt before the revolution

In Egypt the population of 85 million lives on less than 5 % of the land surface, primarily along the river Nile, the remaining 95 percent of the country is desert (Mirkin 2010, 11). The capital Cairo is by far the largest city with approximately 15 million inhabitants. The urbanization has drastically increased during the last decade and Cairo has expanded in an uncontrolled manner, hence the uncertain estimate of the size of the population (Mirkin 2010, 5). Other big cities are Alexandria and Port Said in the north and Aswan in the south. In the world Egypt has a perception as the most industrialized, urbanized and economically most versatile Arab country. The major sources of income are oil - and gas export, tourism and income from the Suez Canal. The labor force is divided accordingly, 20 percent industry, 30 present agriculture and 50 percent services. Amongst the working-age population in 2010 the employment rate for males was 70 percent and for females only 19 percent. There was a total unemployment rate on 9.7 percent according to the International Labour Organization. (ILO 2011, Egypt) The majority of Egypt’s people are uneducated and access to higher education has been an elite privilege. (Mirkin 2010, 13; Arab Human Development Report 2009, 113)

The high urbanization has created socio-economic problems such as lack of housing, lack of jobs etc. in the cities (Landguiden, Egypten). Experts such as Berry Merkin (2010, 8) speaks of main challenges for Egypt based on demographic trends, “Among the challenges are unemployment and job creation, poverty alleviation, the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals, climate change, environmental degradation,
food and water shortages, scarcity of inhabitable land, rapid urbanization, and the provision of services (housing, education, medical care).”

Egypt became officially independent from Great Britain in 1952. The military then took control and created a strong authoritarian state with a strong presidential power with support from the military, and the military has since then retained its strong influence over the state. Egypt has been considered as one of the most stable states in MENA by the international community, but this stability has rested upon the strength and influence of the military and security services under a totalitarian regime. The political view was state-centric, which reflected on the notion of security and a focus on strengthening the state boarders instead of serving the security needs of the people.

Hosni Mubarak became president in 1981 and retained this position until the revolution in 2011. His term of office was characterized by ballot rigging, intimidation and electoral fraud but officially the government was committed to democratic development and respect for human rights. The government favored neoliberal economic reform, so there was a combined centralized control over economic and political affairs with encouragement of private capital (Marfleet 2009, 15-16 & 22). The influential military institution was and still is the largest in MENA region and their organization is an industry with enormous of assets and which benefitted from privatizations. In reality many Egyptians lived at the margin of survival, with a lack of basic human needs such as security, shelter and food. The inequality gap was getting wider and wider and in 2005 the population below poverty line was 20% (ILO 2012, Egypt Fact).

4.2 The police before the revolution
The police in Egypt can be dated back to 1805 when Mohammed Ali established the office of law and order, later named Ministry of Interior (Ashour 2012, 6). The Ministry of Interior was and still is the executive authority of all domestic security forces in Egypt (Brumberg and Sallam 2012, 5-6). Various political forces have been interested in controlling the powerful position as Minister of Interior because the role entailed the possibility of using the police force to control its political dissents (Ashour 2012, 6). During the past the Ministry of Interior have influenced the political power and worked to preserve the regime rather than protecting the citizens
in the Egyptian society. Brumberg and Sallam (2012, 6) describe the Ministry of Interior as “a highly sophisticated coercive apparatus that, covertly and overtly, penetrated all walks of Egypt’s political, social, and economic life.”

The police was responsible for implementing the emergency laws, which was almost consistent active between 1952 and 2011, and operated with strong authority as a prolonged arm of the government (Ismael 2001, 78-79). The Egyptian emergency laws did entail the police and other governmental officials’ extensive powers and could search individuals and places without permission by the criminal Procedure Code (Freedom House 2010, 23-24; The International Federation for Human Rights 2011). Moreover, the police utilized the emergency law to prevent any evocative attempts of democratization or of fighting corruption (Ashour 2012, 6-8).

Political pluralism was denied and political parties have been strictly stringed since 1952 until the Egyptian revolution. The Muslim Brotherhood, which was established in 1928, is an organization with an Islamist ideology and has been banned during most part of its existence. They have continually fought for influence and power, and have a history of advocating violence as a political tool but took distance of this long ago. Mubarak used the police to fight the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamists movements like his predecessor Sadat and Nasser also did. During the 1980’s and 1990’s Mubarak tried to control the Muslim Brothers activity through a specific unit at the State Security Investigations, SSI. (NE, Egypten)

The knowledge of the organizational structure of SSI was and still is very vague due to lack of transparency. Though, there were various units and groups within the police forces, especially SSI, which used brutal methods and were assigned to focus on only one type of person or group e.g. Human Right activists or Copts. The SSI was frequently accused for illegal detentions, torture and kidnapping, mostly accomplished by the SSI-branch Extremist Activity Administration and Counter-Terrorism Group (CTG). Further they participated in the rigging of elections (Ashour 2012, 6-7). They had responsibility for the internal security of Egypt and was estimated to have about 100 000 personnel. CTG were according to Amnesty International associated with the worst human rights abuses. (Amnesty International

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3 Copts is an Ortodox Christian Church, of which 8-9% of the population belong
The Central Security Forces (CSF) also known as the “riot police” are a paramilitary force where military personnel could participate if necessary. In 2010 the CSF comprised of 325 000 personnel. The primary tasks of the CSF are guarding public buildings and strategic infrastructure or carry out special operations. Furthermore, to prevent violence in demonstration and secure the protesters but over the years the CSF frequently abused the law, used disproportionally violence and lethal force. They are known to be involved in demonstrations, football matches and elections. (Amnesty International 2012b, 1-2; Ashour 2012, 7-8; Brumberg and Sallam 2012, 7)

The General Investigation Police was and still is working with detecting, investigating and preventing crimes and work almost solely within police stations. This branch has also been accused of torture, ill treatment and sexual harassments of detainees to extract confessions. Another group significant to the security of individuals, however not an official police branch within the Ministry of Interior is the paid thugs. It is viewed that the Ministry of Interior paid criminals to create violent incidents often during election times. These thugs wore civilian clothes and intimidated citizens during elections further they were employed under the revolution to create chaos. (Brumberg and Sallam 2012, 7-8)

These three police sectors described above worked under emergency laws and targeted the groups the government demanded e.g. Islamists and human rights activists. Consequently it shaped their work and affected the relationship with citizens’ which undermined trust and respect and created fear among the citizens.

Mubarak used the different police branches for various tasks and the confrontations between the government and Islamists demanded resources, therefore the ministry of Interior grew dramatically during Mubarak’s time in office. According to economic expert Abdel Khaleq Farouq, 1951 the Ministry of Interior employed 124 000 personnel and 20 years later the numbers grew to 200 000 personnel and in 2006, 800 000 personnel (Brumberg and Sallam 2012, 5-6). In 2009 the Ministry of Interior employed 1.7 million personnel out of which 850 000 were police and administrative staff (Brumberg and Sallam 2012, 5-6).

4 Of the 850 000 individuals 450 000 worked for CSF and 400 000 for SSI.
Prior to the revolution there was a lack of parliamentary oversight of the police. Hence the president was the Supreme Chief of the Police and Mubarak’s party the National Democratic Party (NDP) possessed the majority of the seats in the parliament. Further Roshdy and Montasser (2012, 2) describes a great lack of transparency within the Investigation and Oversight Department at the Ministry of Interior, also that the department had limited institutional independence and was subordinate to the Minister of Interior Affairs. The civil society has an important role as being a counterpart of the government and therefore plays an important role in overseeing the security sector; however in Egypt the history of the civil society has been encountered with suppression and civil society organizations has and still have a hard time to exist due to the history of authoritarian ruling (NE Egypten; ICNL 2013).

To become a police officer there are a couple of different options. Firstly there is a possibility of applying to the Police College of Police Academy. The requirements are: a received high school degree, no previous criminal record and Egyptian parents. The education is four years in the academy. The police academy of specialized training is for people who want to become police officers and already have a university degree. The ministry decides within which field specialization is needed. Then the training is one year with police science, law and military training. Female university graduates can only be admitted to certain fields such as prison care, public relations, passports or medical care. To be admitted to other police institutes the candidates have to have a high school degree or equivalent. The police act provisions allowing the study period to be a part of the military service. The trainings include physical training, protection of vital installation, combat skills, shooting, police operations, criminal evidence and anti-narcotics and communication among other things. Further the Police Academy stress the significance of human rights in order to teach the police to protect fundamental civil liberties to maintain security. (Amnesty International 2012b, 39-40)

4.3 The transitional period in Egypt

The police brutality and oppression is viewed as one reason to the outbreak of the revolution. The Facebook-group “we are all Khaled Said” was created after the murder of Khaled Said in Alexandria 2010 and the Facebook-group demanded the police to take responsibility for the murder (Stork 2012, 464). The group is viewed as
one factor to the huge amount of protestors that showed up on the first day of the revolution, the 25th of January, which is the day of commemorating the police in Egypt (NE Egypten). However the socio-economic gaps, the human rights abuses and the corruption also created a growing discontent between the government and the population, which were reasons for the outbreak of the revolution. Before Mubarak was ousted the uniformed police withdrew from the streets on the 28th of January, which according to Brumberg and Sallam (2012, 6) was highly appreciated by the people because the police was a source of insecurity and humiliation for the Egyptian citizens.

During the revolution 840 protestors were killed and over 6600 injured (Amnesty International 2013, 5). After the ousting of Mubarak on the 11th of February the Supreme Court of Armed Forces (SCAF) was interim government until 30th of June 2012. SCAF have since a long time the respect of the people however the popularity sank during their interim governmental period due to their brutal methods against protesters, for instance virginity tests on women, torture and sexual harassments (Gahrton 2012, 67-69; Amnesty International 2012a, 27).

In March 2011, the police branch SSI’s headquarter was stormed by protesters. Later the ministry of Interior announced that the SSI was dissolved and replaced by the new-formed National Security Agency (NSA) and refers to them as Homeland Security. (Ashour 2012 6-7)

In the election to the people’s assembly in the end of 2011 the Muslim Brotherhoods “Freedom and Justice party” won 37,5 % of the seats and together with the Salafist party “al-Nour” they possessed the majority of seats (Gahrton 2012, 75-76). The time up to the presidential election was characterized by political struggle. The composition of the “Constituent Assembly of Egypt” and the writing of the constitution were edged by dissatisfaction and dissent between the revolutionists, SCAF and the Muslim Brotherhood (Gahrton 2012, 70-71). SCAF seized the opportunity before a new president was elected to increase their power and limited the power of the upcoming president through increasing their own independence by the possibility of dissolving the parliament etc. (Gahrton 2012, 70-71 & 79-83). In June 2012 SCAF lifted the state of emergency and the Police act was amended with an
article, which removed the president as supreme chief of the Police and instead the Minister of Interior as head of the police (Amnesty International 2012b, 28). However it was still after the revolution a lack of parliamentary oversight over the police and the parliament did not achieve to hold officers accountable according to Roshdy and Montasser (2012, 2). During 2012-2013 a NGO law was passed which prevent registered organizations to receive international founding and organizations that were not registered were not allowed to exist. Through this law the parliament limited the influence the civil society could have on politics including security sector reform.

The presidential election was held in the summer of 2012 and one of the Muslim Brotherhood candidates; Mohamed Morsi won the second round of the presidential election and was inaugurated on the 30 of June 2012 (Gahrton 2012, 79-83). After Morsi assumed office the killings have continued with impunity, some examples are the Maspero protests where Copts were assaulted and killed, Abbaseya sit-in and the football match in Port Said where 74 Ultras Ahlawy members were killed (Amnesty International 2012a, 11-16 & 23-26). One year after the Port Said football match people were sentenced with death penalty but not one police was sentenced. This created unrest and president Morsi declared state of emergency in Port Said, Ismallah and Suez.

During the beginning of March 2013 some police officers from the CSF went on strike and their demands were resignation of the Minister of Interior Mohammed Ibrahim, new modern weapons and better working conditions. The police officers complained about being trapped between the protesters and the Ministry of Interior. The revolution and the continued turbulence thereafter has led to an uncertain security situation, decreased tourism, bad economy, higher food prices and an increased poverty. (Striking Egypt police close security HQs in Ismailia, Kafr Al-Sheikh, 2013; Egyptian police strike against interior ministry policies, 2013)

4.4 International principles and national law of the police

The police are subordinated to the rule of law both national and international laws. There are several international conventions that are related to the police and the “Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR)” is the first and main UN convention from which all subsequent conventions derive from. The international
principles that are specifically important for the police in Egypt are presented below. These principles specify dealing with present problems in Egypt, such as demonstrations, religious tension, torture etc.

- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)
- The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT)
- Basic Principles on the use of Force and Firearms (BPUFF)

According to ICCPR everyone shall have the right to peaceful assembly. A violent isolated incident does not necessarily impinge the assembly’s peaceful character. However restrictions may be placed on the assembly if it is illegitimate and/or become a threat to the public security. In case the police have to use force it has to be with the appropriate measures and proportionate to the threat (Amnesty International 2012b, 27). Moreover in article 9.1 in ICCPR the following is stated, “No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention”. According to this covenant, which should pervade the work of the police, no one should be arrested based on sex, religion, ethnicity etc. The second significant convention which police work must work compliantly with is the CAT. According to this convention, which Egypt signed in 1986, all individuals that are responsible for torture, attempted torture or complicity in torture shall be brought before criminal court. The state should apply the convention into its own criminal law and work preventive regarding torture. (Amnesty International 2012b, 31-32)

The Basic Principles on the use of Force and Firearms (BFUFF) is not legally binding however the police should operate in compliance with it. BPUFF recognize the work of law enforcement officials to be a social service of great importance therefore it is significant to maintain and improve the working conditions for the law enforcement officials. To meet that goal the police ought to use non-violent means, not use force if it is not required and if required use minimum/with proportional means use of force. Force can be used in Self-defense or defense of others in threat of death or serious injure. In order to be able as a law enforcement official to fulfill the goal by the

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5 In CAT torture is defined as “any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity.”
correct means they have to receive proper training and be equipped with various kinds of weapons including non-lethal weapons and be selected after a proper screening process. Further a proper reporting system shall be established in order for law enforcement officials to report incidents. (UN Crime Congress 1990, 1-4)

The above-mentioned laws and principles focus on the individual. The law enforcement officers should work in complains with the law to secure the citizens, prevent crime and work to create order. In the new constitution from 2012 it is stated that the police “shall perform its duty in the service of the people, its loyalty being to the Constitution and the law, and its responsibilities to preserve order, public security and morality, to implement laws and regulations, and to safeguard the peace, dignity, rights and freedoms of citizens, all as regulated by law and in a manner that enables Police personnel to carry out their duties.” (Egypt Independent, Constitution 2012 article 199) Moreover the Police Act states that the police responsibilities are to prevent and control crime, maintain order and public security and secure the citizens. The police institution is a civilian agency under the control of the Ministry of Interior. Further they have to work under the constitution and safeguard Human Rights. (Amnesty International 2012b, 29)

Some national laws violate the rights of the citizens in Egypt and are contradictory to the constitution and international laws which affect how the police operate. There are a law regarding restriction of how many people that can assemble at once, a law giving the right to dissolve any protest that endanger public order, laws which criminalize sit-ins’ and peaceful strikes, and the law that gives permission to the use of live ammunition. (Amnesty International 2012b, 29)

In Egyptian law torture and ill treatment is forbidden however torture is narrower defined than in CAT. The penalty for torture is up to ten years in prison for a person ordering torture, five years for an employee and up to one year for a person how witnessed or were aware of torture but did not report the crime. According to Amnesty International the national law is lacking in the definitions regarding torture and ill treatment (Amnesty International 2012b, 32-33). Further in 1998 the People's Assembly passed Law 6, known as the Baltaga law. Through Law 6 the police received powers of arrest and detention of citizens suspected of undermining public
order. Causes could be physical strength, aggression or intimidation of the intention of causing harm (Ismail 2006). By orders of the Ministry of Interior the police conducted, in accordance with the emergency laws, detentions without charges or trial for up to 45 days and it could be indefinitely extended. Furthermore civilians could be trialed before military and/or special emergency courts without the possibility to appeal. The police did work under the emergency laws and conducted arbitrary arrests, detentions, and torture in the police stations and in the streets. The emergency laws violate freedoms and rights guaranteed by the Egyptian constitution and international principles. (Freedom House special report 23-24, 30; Emergency law in Egypt, 3 February 2011)
5. Political measures taken to reform the police

The responsibility of initiating and developing a police reform lies with the Egyptian political community and there must be a will to reform in order to succeed. The transition process in Egypt did early encounter problems related to policing, since the police being a target of the people’s dissatisfaction and wrath in the revolution which resulted in a vacuum of no police presence at the streets and the criminality increased (Björklund, Gardell, Hammargren and Hjärpe 2011, 35-37; Eriksson 2012). This urgent security issue raised attention amongst the leadership. The appearance of street crime and a growing sense of personal insecurity were major issues in the Egyptian presidential campaign in 2012 (Planty 2012, 4).

The appointed Minister of Interior in the first government after the revolution Mansour El-Essawy made rather large institutional changes. He created the Homeland Security Sector (HSS), which replaced SSI. HSS was going to work with counterterrorism and national security without using the abusive tactics, which the SSI was known for. Moreover reconstructions were made in the staff when 82 colonels and 505 generals, including 27 accused of killing protesters, were retired (Brumberg and Sallam 2012, 8; Ashour 2012, 10). However, later on El-Essawy was replaced as Minister of Interior by Mohammed Ibrahim and further replacements of both high and low ranking officers were made during Ibrahim’s short time as a minister. In February 2012 the FJP launched a plan in order to start a process to reform and reconstruct the Egypt’s security sector. The Minister of Interior was asked to devise a strategy for reform, which he never delivered which may be due to conflicted interests between SCAF-supported government and the FJP dominated parliament. Gamal Eddin replaced Ibrahim after eight months in office. (Brumberg and Sallam 2012, 8-9).

When President Morsi was elected he presented a 100-day plan of initiatives to rebuild Egypt, this was categorized with 5 topics and security was one of the priorities; the other four was traffic, bread, cleanliness and fuel. According to the plan, security initiatives with a particular focus on returning police presence to combat the security vacuum was top priority. Overall, to further develop the security sector the President’s initiatives considered:
• Amending and developing the Police Act with consideration of social living conditions and a commitment to both transparency and popular oversight.

• Establishing proper legal frameworks, clarify and define roles of the various security bodies and their duties, and define the roles of the institutions that direct and oversee these bodies.

• Re-planning human resource management within the Ministry of Interior, on material, moral, and psychological levels, and providing them social support from the government, parliament, and media.

• Restructuring the organization of general departments and administrations subjected to the Ministry of Interior.

• Reviewing the curricula of both the police academy as well as different police institutes.

• Updating equipment and supplies of the police and providing a beneficial work environment for police officers. (Roshdy and Montasser 2012, 3-4; MorsiMeter 2013)

Over 100 days have passed since the president launched the plan and there is not much that has been executed accordingly. The police presence at the street has increased together with some implementation of benefits, rewards and promotions tied to performance (MorsiMeter 2013). The government presented an amending of the Police Act of 1971, which was approved by Parliament’s Defense and National Security Committee. This draft law dealt with the living conditions of police officials and affirmed their rights, such as five pay schedules, which raise the annual basic wage, and providing annual bonuses for all employees within the police force. Though, this law does not address the critical issue of improving the relationship between the police and the public. (Ashour 2012, 11; Roshdy and Montasser 2012, 2)

The parliament has additionally presented in collaboration with civil society organizations some drafts of new laws regarding reformation of the police. Though, the Ministry of Interior has not been involved in the process. The drafts are considering the elimination of military trials for civilians and replacing these trials with disciplinary boards. Another suggested restructuring regards the Supreme Council of the Police and expanding civil participation in decision making inside the
Interior Ministry; yet another suggestion improving work conditions inside the force, limiting discrimination, codifying the use of force and firearms while restraining the use of weapons for the purpose of killing or shooting to disperse demonstrators. (Ashour 2012, 11; Roshdy and Montasser 2012, 2-3) The Ministry of Interior is working on restructuring efforts of the institution however according to Roshdy and Montasser (2012, 2-3) they are doing so without any involvement from external parties and has not provided the parliament with any reports on the progress.

5.1 The civil society’s perception of political measures taken to reform the police

Reforming the police was one of the demands that were chanted during the Egyptian revolution and it is of interest to present the civil society’s view of what is happening on the political level regarding reforming the police. This relates to the implementation of imposed measures, additionally the importance of support and legitimacy of the people. The general opinion amongst the respondents, regarding If reforming the police is on the political agenda in Egypt?, were that there is some talks of reforming the police but that the measures that has been taken are too small and insignificant for an actual change of the police institution.

“Since day one they been speaking about reformation but nothing happens. Ex-minister of Interior trying to do things in favour of the people and they kicked him out. The police do not work to protect the people they protect the regime.” (Interview 3)

“No, I don’t think so. Reforming maybe people, reforming different people, but the system and the police thing I don’t think so.” (Interview 4)

“After the revolution, a few months after it, the Ministry of Interior or police they started new media campaigning through making TV advertising. Showing the police protecting people...the police officers also got new uniforms...” (Interview 5)
6. The civil society’s perception of the police

The five areas of democratic policing that this study examines are all interlinked with each other and all have major issues and flaws, which are all interlinked with the history of emergency laws in Egypt. Notwithstanding the problem within all areas, there are differences among them (see following chapters).

6.1 Subordination to the rule of law

According to theory of democratic policing, the legal framework and the police as a legal institution should regulate individuals, organizations and systematic behavior. After the ousting of Mubarak, SCAF resolved the emergency laws. After 30 years of emergency laws the police in Egypt are incorporated how to act and work in accordance to them, which could include arbitrary arrests, torture and inadequate investigations among other things. Now the police have difficulties to know their responsibilities and what laws they should work under. All respondents pointed out the laws as the substantial problem to solve in order to create a functional law-abiding society. In the past the police have been a powerful tool for the government and the lack of law enforcement in the past means the police now has limited institutional memory how to enforce the law properly. Three interviewees were very clear about the police still being accountable to the government instead of the law as it should be, “The police are targeting people the regime wants them to target“ (Interview 3), “The regime is now using the police as Mubarak did” (Interview 5). A few viewed the attempt from the police to work under the rule of law, however it is difficult hence the law is unclear. All the respondents acknowledged the limited implementation of laws within the whole state of Egypt not only the police. The police need to be accountable and work under the rule of law, though very few or no institution at all is working in compliance to the rule of law and the police are not an exception. Furthermore, the interviewees express the relationship between the judicial and the police as undermining the police’s liability of being subordinate to the rule of law when the judicial can vindicate every action of the police, “They have to work under the rule of law and they do. However the legal process can be interpreter by lawyers in different ways and in favor of the police” (Interview 10).

The respondents’ answers were unanimous about the lack of law enforcement and the deficient laws related to the police although some dissimilar aspects were raised.
There were a division between those respondents who considered the police trying to work legally and those who thought the police do not endeavor enough. But all interviewees agreed that the police do not succeed in enforcing the law and the reasons according to the respondents were diverse. The main reasons mentioned were lack of training, lack of clarity of responsibilities, deficient laws and lack of understanding of them. The shortages imply as stated in the following sentence “They don’t have the understanding they don’t have the capabilities, they don’t have the support from the society and they don’t have the support from the media.” (Interview 6). For most of the interviewees the problem with law enforcement appeared to be lack of understanding and training. Furthermore the police are still operating as before the revolution due to lack of political will to change the way of implementing the law as well as a lack of understanding how to work in a different way. “They plant evidence. They torture you to confess. This was under the emergency laws. And it is still like this even though there is no emergency laws any more” (Interview 4). “They are trying to work under the rule of law however there is a lack of training for the police officers” (Interview 1). “The police do not understand the law. They think they are doing it the right way” (Interview 3). Another respondent had a friend how attended the police academy and viewed the deficiencies within the police academy as “they don’t know what human rights is because they had bad training in the academy” (Interview 4).

The police should respond and arrest according to the law. One respondent brought up that the police are conducting arbitrary arrests, when being asked how the police are working at the streets and how they interact with the citizens. “Arbitrary arrest still happens” (Interview 2). Notwithstanding only one mentioned arbitrary arrest but several spoke about the lack of crime response from the police. There were several respondents who never reported crimes because they did not feel it was worth it. “My bag was stolen … I didn’t go to the police.” (Interview 7 female 1). There were many examples of friends or the respondents themselves being robbed and never went to the police. Two persons had gone to the police station and the police suggested the victims to contact thugs in order to receive the stolen goods back. “I know countless cases of friends of mine or acquaintances that have their cars stolen and they went to the police, and they know who stole their cars ... help me get my car and they say no. The police in certain occasions tell the people, go hire a couple of thugs and go get
your car by force. This is happening on countless occasions, so who is responsible for peoples own security, I guess people are left defending of them self” (Interview 2).

It is not only important to control the crime rate it also matters if the police officers enforce the law by fair means, for example the use of force should be minimum, corruption should not exist and means should comply with human rights standard. In general the respondents viewed problems of how the police implement laws, thus viewed the police as corrupt and to violent. Yet some of the respondents had a more accepting approach of the police, speaking of how it has been better since the revolution and that the police needs training and mentoring. The majority of the interviewees stated that force is the first step and that the police are using force if it is favorable to him/her. Following are two quotas from respondents explaining further, “In protest you see the people just standing there, peacefully protesting and it is on the other hand the police are firing guns, people are getting shot, teargas, I don’t know if teargas is minimum resource but the way they use it amount of teargas they use” (Interview 7). “All the force being used is not appropriate to the reason to the protest and what the protesters are doing” (Interview 9). Merely the interviewees considered the police to abuse Human Rights and said there is lack of respect and implementation of human rights hence there is a limited knowledge and understanding about what human rights is and how to incorporate the conventions into the police daily work. One respondent said “We have been teaching police officers and sergeants about human rights before the revolution by 5-6 years and they know by heart the human rights conventions/declaration, everything, but it is a matter of understanding it.” (Interview 6). One respondent deliberated on a time frame for a change to respect human rights hence Egypt is a developing country the time frame is longer. Two interviewees said it is better not to mention Human Rights to have a smoother contact with the police and that the police consider Human Rights to be western ideas.

The police are not enforcing the law in accordance to international principles or Egyptian law because they lack several critical capabilities to enforce the law in a law-abiding way. Some policemen are therefore not motivated to work and very few police officers are visible in the streets, which certainly affect their capability to perform their work. One interviewee expressed the same view through stating “it is
mutual the police not motivated to work because the people are disrespectful but the people disrespect because the police didn’t protect them” (Interview 7).

6.2 Legitimacy

Within the principles of democratic policing legitimacy is about the police having legitimacy or compliance from the public when performing their duty as a security institution and authority. After the revolution in 2011 the polices’ role in Egypt has changed and the respondents speak of a vacuum of disappearance were the police disappeared from the streets for several months, “After the revolution the police was afraid even to appear the street with their uniforms so there were no policemen in the streets... I personally know many policemen who left their own homes to live in another city for like 6 months because their neighbors and people around them are not respecting them anymore” (Interview 5). What the duty of the police is in Egypt today is a complicated question and the situation is confused. One respondent explaining the work conditions for the police, “It is very bad, very bad; first it’s a psychological pressure they are under. Second, the un-clarity of their roles and responsibilities which is very difficult, nobody can work when they don’t know what their role is.” (Interview 6) Since the revolution there has been an unclear political situation in Egypt and at the Ministry of Interior there has been a multiple change in people. The strong ruling directions of Mubarak are gone but the mentality and structure is still there. The public’s perception of attitudes and performance amongst the police is reflected upon this. The primarily opinion amongst the respondents about policemen’s attitude and performance is generally very negative and there is very little trust in how the police conduct their job. “... this is the police show in Cairo at the moment, imposing or preventing demonstrations and protests and protecting public institutions. Other than that you hear some Stories of how criminal investigations taking place, and how traffic police trying to do their job and things like that but it is minimum.” (Interview 2) When describing the attitudes on the street between the police and the public one respondent says, “The people don’t respect the police and the police don’t respect the people and are afraid of the people. Every day I see some clashes between people and police in Egypt.” (Interview 8, Man 1) Another respondent is describing the current situation where the revolution has damaged the police, “. so the police is walking around on crutches but they still have their gun and the same mentality, and they are not working they are not doing their
job under the excuse that people aren’t letting them do their job, and it is true to some extent that after the 2011 this fear that people had have turned in to hatred and then hatred has turned in to bravery and challenging the police. So now you have lots of people challenging the police in the street, in both circumstances when the police are wrong, which is most of the time, but the police are still wrong when the police are right sometimes…” (Interview 2)

When describing who is responsible for the security of people in Egypt today the most part of the respondents believe that the official responsibility lies with the president and the Ministry of Interior. But they are also saying that the actual situation is somewhat different and there is almost an unanimous belief that people are left to defend themselves, … “All people who are feeling the sense of the rise of crime, or feeling the sense of insecurity and they don’t feel the police is doing anything to protecting them… they cannot really rely on having anything backing them up and it is not achieving justice for them.” (Interview 9) The respondents pinpoint the fact that it does not look the same throughout Egypt or Cairo. It differs between city areas and neighborhoods. That in richer area such as Zamalek, Maadi and Heliopolis, there is another approach from the police and attitude of the public towards the police. In these areas the police are more present and the public feel that they can approach and communicate with the police when there is a need of it. “In privileged neighborhoods like Zamalek, the police regularly go round with their trucks and give ticket and put that thing, they put on the tire so it won’t move or it sticks there. So in a place like Zamalek they implement things but I’m sure if you go across the bridge in Bevan, they are never there.” (Interview 2)

There are primarily men working within the police institution in Egypt and the recruitment system of new police officers are working the same way as before the revolution. The respondents cannot tell if there have been any campaigns within the police force to recruit more women, ethnic minorities or socially marginalized groups of people to the force. “I haven’t heard about anything like that.” (Interview 9) Some tell of higher presence of women at the airport control but they have not seen with their own eyes of for instance more women working in the force at the streets. One respondent who is a former police officer explained the recruitment process, “We have women within the police, maybe not many but we don’t have, from my point of
view, that minority’s has been banned to enter into the academy. It has always been open, and a lot of people have applied. Whether they are accepted or not is questioned, some people accuse this of corruption…” (Interview 6)

The notion and definition of corruption is important in order to establish a correct judgment of corruption in Egypt and within the police force. The Corruption Perceptions Index measures the perceived levels of public sector corruption in countries worldwide. Based on expert opinion, countries are scored from 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean). Egypt scored 32 in 2012 and is therefore seen as a highly corrupt country (Transparency International 2012, 21). Corruption appears when politicians put their own interests above those of the public, when officials demand money and favors from citizens for services that should be free. According to the Corruption Barometer on most corrupt institution in each country, in Egypt the police and the media are the institutions scoring highest on perceived level of corruption among a set of 12 major institutions. The third highest scoring on corrupt institutions in Egypt was political parties (Transparency International 2013, 17 & 35). Among the respondents this is a common understanding of not only the police institution but of every institution in Egypt, “I think that corruption is not just in the police, the corruption is really in the country, and it is everywhere.” (Interview 4) The corruption is present not only by giving money in exchange of favors but also when for instance promotion is given through using contacts or due to nepotism. One interviewee speaks of the two-way problem with corruption in the system “People are used to bribe the traffic police to let them go... In the beginning (after the revolution) some officers were afraid of taking money but in a way the people where pushing them to take, I saw it myself.” (Interview 4)

6.3 Transparency

Transparency means that decision-making is transparent for the public and that there is an open dialogue between the police and the public, and with this definition none of the respondents think that the police in Egypt are being transparent at the moment or ever has been. “No, not transparent at all, not now, they were never transparent and I don’t know if they will be able to have it soon.” (Interview 4) Another respondent, “I don’t think the police are transparent at all. We don’t know how many policemen work in which area, we don’t know the budget of the police, we don’t know what’s
their plan or what is the role of the citizen to help or support, this is an area that need a lot of work honestly and lots of work, but I don’t think it’s a priority at the moment, it should be but it’s not.” (Interview 1)

The communication between the police and the public is almost non-existing according to most of the respondents; a common statement amongst the interviewees was “I don’t think there is much communication between the police and the citizens in general” (Interview 1). The communication is one-way, from the police to the public, primarily through traditional media and press releases but also through social Medias such as Facebook and Twitter. After the revolution it seems to have been an increase in media-communication from the police, several of the respondents has noted commercials, messages and requests from the police. Though, many of the respondents see this as a symbolic attempt, “...Twitter, Facebook, press conferences, press releases from the spokes persons, there is always things happening with the news, you find it every week, and into the small segment show you the activity of the police, they get the camera standing with the police in check-points getting drugs and doing all these things. Again I think it is all symbolic.” (Interview 2)

Being approachable is one aspect of transparency, which signifies that the police are available, accessible, and present on the streets. After the ousting of Mubarak there has been according to all respondents a low presence of the police at the streets and the approachability of the police in Egypt seem to be limited, “If you have money, power or connection, I would say yes. If you don’t have one of these three or anyone of the three, which is the majority of the Egyptian population, then no the police are not approachable. You can go to them with anything, but they will probably ignore you.” (Interview 2) Another respondent answers, “Yes at the police stations, the police men are there” (Interview 10), on the question - Is the police approachable if you want to report a crime? Though, there is often long waiting and little available information regarding for instance reported crimes at the police stations. “…you go to the police station, stay there for like 3-4 hours, waiting in line to file a police report and in the end nothing is going to happen.” (Interview 7, female 1) One respondent explain regarding submitting a notification of complaints, “what is happening now and what happened before the revolution is that they have an office within the ministry of interior were you can go and submit your complaint and they will investigate it,
they will check it and then they will replay back to you whether action has been taken or not. But this is a very routine thing that usually doesn’t lead you to take your rights; it’s just a routine thing, just formalities.” (Interview 6)

Many of the respondents pinpoint the fact that the approachability varies between living areas, in some more privileged living areas one respondent explain that “...there is sometimes individual requests or group request made by specific people, but this is within more privileged neighborhoods not in the main Cairo or Giza areas, the head of the Zamalek police office and you call him up and you tell that we have this problem please do something about it, like that and it is not a formal forum.” (Interview 2)

6.4 Accountability

When asking questions whether the police can be held accountable for their actions and plans the majority of the respondents’ stated with certainty that within the police force there is a lack of accountability. Four respondents mention clashes with protests during the 18 days of revolution in 2011 as examples of how elusive accountability is in Egypt. Thus few policemen have been trailed and sentenced for killing demonstrators or for using excessive violence. The respondents assert for a high rank officer or an officer with connections the risk of being convicted is less than for a low-rank officer with no senior-officer contacts. Thus the policemen convicted are low-rank officers. One interviewee expressed this phenomenon by stating, “The policemen being sentenced after the revolution are policemen not appreciated by the regime and therefore this is a way of getting rid of them. The people being sentenced are often people the regime wants to calm down and to show the people they have arrested a high rank officer” (Interview 2). On the contrary two respondents’ had partly or totally different opinion. One respondent has the view of the police as accountable for their own behavior and actions, by answering the following on the question whether a police can be held accountable “Yes for example the policeman “eye hunter” after the Mahmoud Mohammed clashes”(Interview 5). The respondent refers to a policeman convicted with jail for shooting and hitting protesters in their eyes during the Mahmoud Mohammed clashes in November 2012. Another interviewee brought up the problem regarding holding police officers accountable when the law is inadequate, “there is no law, no parliament”(Interview 3). The
respondents’ were speaking about the police in general however they all too various extent made clear they were aware of the distinctive between individuals within the police and the police force as a whole. Further they mentioned that the low-ranking police officers have less or none power to affect their work. One interviewee stated this clearly through saying, “Accountability has to have a political will” (Interview 2).

When asking questions regarding the behavior of the police in the streets the interviewees were unified in their opinion; the people do not respect the police officers. The police behavior in the streets is beneath contempt hence after the revolution many police men were afraid of the people, thus they are afraid of working and engaging. Merely all of the interviewees brought up the issue of trust and communication between the citizens and the police. The police work under Mubarak was brutal and therefore people see the police as enemies whom cannot be trusted. This leads to people being disrespectful and the police do not want to work under those work conditions. One interviewee expressed it when saying “before the revolution people had no faith in the police and then after the revolution the very, very small faith they had was gone” (Interview 7). Furthermore one respondent stated similar “The link of trust between people and police is lost” (Interview 10). Three interviewees said some people do not go to the police station even if there is a crime to report because the victim does not know how they are going to be approached; they could be viewed as a criminal, be sexual harassed, not believed in etc. One interviewee said if a crime is committed and the police would arrest three persons. The interviewee would not be sure if it is one of these arrested persons guilty and would rather drop charges instead of sending someone innocent to jail. The interviewees reasoned that the police could have arrested anyone without further investigation because the police still approaches people in arbitrary ways based on appearance, clothes and profession6 etc.

Thus the police under the rule of Mubarak supported the president, tortured and abused the rule of law so people have little faith in the police. The police had high authority and was feared amongst the public up until the revolution. One interviewee

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6 The profession is written in each person’s ID-card
expressed the same view through stating “it is mutual the police is not motivated to work because the people are disrespectful but the people disrespect because the police didn’t protect them” (Interview 7). Despite the changed behavior from the citizens the police are still implementing arbitrary arrests and treat the citizens differently depending on the appearance, power, money and look. However according to interviewees the police are recognizing that there is a problem with cooperation and communication with people on the streets. “The police don’t treat people the same way and police officers say that the relation with the people are getting worse and worse” (Interview 6). They stated that the policemen are not motivated to work because of the relationship with the public, the work conditions in the streets and their lack of authority. Some interviewees mention the strikes the police are launching in order to receive better working conditions as indications of a growing problem for the police working in the streets.

The majority of the interviewees considered the police to abuse human rights and said there is lack of respect and implementation of human rights. Hence there is a limited knowledge and understanding about what human rights is and how to incorporate the conventions into the daily police work. One interviewee deliberate on the time frame needed to create respect for human rights and he makes the conclusion hence Egypt is a developing country the transformation into respect of human rights will be longer. Some emphasize the significance of changing the police training and developing the academy. “They are thought to beat, rape and humiliate” (Interview 4). Two interviewees said it is better not to mention human rights due to misconception regarding human rights and that it is viewed as an enforced western concept.

As a part of accountability, within the principles of democratic policing, the police should be available and approachable. Regarding this issue the interviewees stated there is a lack of approachability though it depends on how you are and what connections, power and appearance you have. Further the geographical area you are in also influence on your ability to contact the police and how willing they will be to listen to you. “In some geographical areas the police will probably ignore you” (Interview 1). For further elaboration of approachability of the police see previous 6.3 Transparency.
6.5 Subordination to civil authority

One of the main operational priorities amongst the police according to the principles of democratic policing should be to serve the needs of individual citizens and private groups. For the police to serve the citizens they need to discover what the citizens needs are and therefore communication is necessary between them and the public. But as stated earlier under transparency there is very little communication between the public and the police. When specifically asking of communication channels or forums that allow communities to have an input on how their neighborhood is policed and what issues are important to their safety, the respondents do not understand the question or start speaking of the one-way communication. “I feel like the police can communicate to the people because it is a governmental entity they have state media and they can always send up-dates, announcements what has happened or what is happening” (Interview 9). As mentioned earlier, there is an office within the Ministry of Interior where you can go and file complaints. However it do not seem to be any official communication channels were the public could present input or proposals on police matters.

On the question, if the respondents think the police are interested in communicating and finding out what the public thinks the respondents had different responses. The more optimistic respondents believes that some police officers, primarily the young and newly graduated officers, definitely have a will of doing a good job in the service of the people, that they want to be present at the streets and communicate with citizens. Though, there is also a belief that the police officers are inhibited by their superior and the present structure of the police, and therefore unable to do a good job. Others who were more pessimistic spoke of no will at all amongst either police officers or the police institution to communicate with the citizens.

Some of the respondents said that the police only speak with citizens when they need information related to a crime. Two different respondents, “When they want to catch some criminals, they speak to the people in the community. But they don’t work with the community itself to have this, no official way.” (Interview 8, Man 2) “They would be interested to know what is happening around them. They don’t care what you think
or how you are, but they want to know more information about you to be able to defend, to work or to attack.” (Interview 4)

The attitude of the police towards the public is described in a variety of ways, “I would say it is a bit hostile. It is not a friendly place (the police station) to visit.” (Interview 7) “Some police officers are very kind, they ask you in a kind way... and they speak to you in a very kind way. But some people (police officers) when they stop you they speak in an aggressive way.” (Interview 8, Man 2) Some respondents problematize the communication between the police and the public by explaining that the public are often not interested in talking with the police or they have a very negative attitude towards the police, which complicates the communication.

In order for a strong legitimacy of government the state authority need to be used in the interest of the people and therefore the police organization need to be autonomous of state control but according to the respondents this is not at all the case in Egypt today. There is a strong belief amongst the respondents that the Ministry of Interior and the police institution is restricted under government control and works on the orders of the president. One respondent working in a NGO that focuses on the relationship between the police and the public pinpointed the problem with governmental control over the police institution, but also the fact that the police officers want to do something about it. The respondent, who has regular meetings with police officers, says, “When we talk with them, when we have meetings with them they say that their relation with the people is getting worse and worse, they see that their involvement in so much politics they don’t need to be a part of, they see that they enforce the law on some people of the society and they don’t enforce it on others because of political reasons, and they need to take their role as appropriate.” (Interview 6)

6.6 The view from a policeman

One of the respondents (Interview 12) is a police officer working at the streets in Cairo, he started the police academy when he was 17 years old and says “The police academy is 4 years and they learn us how to be a soldier like the army for example, how to format... I was trained about obeying orders and not to shoot a gun or how to treat the public.” The respondent confirms the notion amongst the other respondents
of the importance of following order, “Being a policeman it is all about obeying the order from my leader.” Regarding the rule of law the policeman states as the previous respondents also did “what I wanted to say is the base of the problem is the law. The law makes everything for himself not for the people.” The working conditions of police officers is very poor he pinpoints, there is a psychological pressure from both the leadership and the people. From the leadership by an existing structure of not getting paid if you do not follow orders; he himself had been in that situation “Just because he felt I don’t agree with him in one case he took 1000 LE away from my salary.” After the revolution he explains that the working conditions became very bad, “I work 18 hours a day after the revolution.” and many of his colleges stayed at home for being afraid to go out on the streets. The respondent’s point of view confirms most part of how the civil society perceives the police institution and its procedures, and he pinpoint that “The structure (within the institution) is the same as before the revolution.” There is no transparency and the corruption is a notion within the system, within the mind of the people both officers and citizens. His perception of the will of reforming the police amongst the officers, “Only junior officers are talking about reform. It is weak amongst the older officers, they don’t know another way then the one it is.”
7. Analysis

In subsequent chapter the empirical material will be analyzed into three different levels: legislative, institutional, and approach and culture. The levels are based on the theory and in order to succeed in reforming the police all three levels have to possess the will to reform moreover each level have specific goals they need to reach. The legislative level has to introduce clear regulations for the police work and organization and abolish repressive laws. The institutional level has to establish accountability and transparency within the police organization and the third level, the approach and culture of the police officers, need to change from oppressing the citizens into working in service of the public.

7.1 Legislative level

To reform the police the legislative level can contribute through creating the right conditions for enabling reform by instituting clear regulations for the police work and the police organization and also by eliminating repressive laws.

Throughout the history the police have been a prolonged arm of the government and the actual regulations were the orders from the superior and not the legislative laws and regulations. Transparency, legitimacy or/and accountability has been very limited within the Ministry of Interior. After the revolution the political landscape changed and the Muslim Brotherhood, whom been oppressed by the police, started to govern Egypt. Even if the political landscape alters there will be no change within the police force if there are no new guidelines on how to work, the police will most probably continue to oppress the citizens as they used to because they have limited knowledge on how to work in the service of the people. Although some new guidelines have been introduced, education is required on how to implement the regulations. Further it has to be incentives to work in accordance with the regulations.

The interviewed CSO’s inquired clearer responsibilities of the police related to human security and a proper definition of a foundation of working regulations; this in order to clarify responsibilities of the police institution, and additionally give knowledge of their rights and obligations in order to increase legitimacy, transparency and accountability. The respondents reasoned that the police today have limited understanding about human rights and it is of importance to incorporate this in the
curricula in order to achieve basic human security. Until now there have been no legislative measures taken in order to make the regulations regarding police work or organization clearer. However some police officers have initiated strikes and they were partly commenced because they regarded themselves as trapped between the government and the people and their work was not considered sufficient enough. With clearer guidelines the police would know their rights and responsibilities, now due to lack of regulations the police are facing difficulties on how to conduct their work, which deteriorate their working conditions and diminish their motivation.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which Egypt has signed, include articles stating the right to peaceful assembly. However in the Egyptian national law there are restrictions regarding assembly and the brutal methods the police use during demonstrations are evidences of a national law not compatible with ICCPR. Further it is not compatible with the Egyptian constitution stating that the police should work under the rule of law in the service of the people. The same contradiction applies to The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) and Egyptian national laws. Both respondents and documents show that the different police sections frequently use torture. Therefore the legislation regarding the police has to be clearer and the laws altered in accordance with international conventions. There have been some minor changes at the legislative level and those been made refer to the working conditions of the police. The implementation of international laws will be hard to incorporate if there is no political will to change. So far the police have in some extent shown that they want a change and have the will to do so, however regarding laws it is the political and judicial levels that have to show the will and so far there are few signs indicating these levels will to change the current system. The challenges regarding institutional change are to create clearer regulations in order to facilitate the work of the policemen. The repressive laws have to change in order to be conformed to international conventions and the Egyptian constitution. The police have to work under the rule of law but if the laws are contradictory the longer period of time a reform process will take. Further, emergency laws shall only be used in case of emergency and not as they have been used for the last 30 years. The misuse of emergency laws has led to a police force where arbitrary arrests, oppressive and law breaking methods now is custom. Therefore it is not sufficient to only introduce new
laws; the policemen have to be educated in order to understand the meaning of new regulations and new laws and consequently implementing the law. Because as it is today the majority of the policemen are used to working under emergency laws and the lack of understanding of how to work with Human Rights or in accordance with ICPPR. In order to get this education the police academy has to provide a broad education including better law enforcement education.

7.2 Institutional level
Reform of police at the institutional level requires, according to the theory, a focus on the establishment of greater transparency and accountability of the police forces, and the possibility to reform requires a will of change amongst all parties involved. It is also of importance that there is a legitimacy of the public towards the police. Egypt has a long history of authoritarian rule, where institutions were operating on direct directives of the government with very little transparency. There were a state-centric point of view, which was reflected on the notion of security and the negligence of serving the needs of the people. Official institutions were compliant with high level of corruption and low level of accountability. The police institution was no exception and the ousting of Mubarak does not seem to have made a huge change in today’s prevailing structures and customs. There has been an unclear political situation with multiple changes of people at the Ministry of Interior and the strong commands of the authoritarian Mubarak are gone but the mentality and structure is still there. The relationship between the police and the public is to great extent reflected upon this and there is in general a very negative attitude amongst the citizens towards the police. There is very little trust amongst the public in how the police conduct their job. There is a strong belief amongst the civil society that the Ministry of Interior and the police institution at large is still restricted under government control and are not autonomous of state influence, which diminishes the legitimacy of the police institution. Of what the civil society can see at the streets, this prevailing situation has created confusion amongst the officers. The people they are supposed to serve and who have a strengthened influence have one directive of justice, and the leaders have another directive based on old structures. It is a situation of confusion for the officers, but in most cases it seems to be following the leaders’ orders that are prevailing. The relationship between the police and the public is of course reflected upon this.
The transparency within the police institution today in Egypt is being described as non-existing; there is no insight in plans, rules or regulations in the police budget or in how many police officers working in which area. The dialog between the police and the public is very limited. The police use mostly traditional media to communicate with the public and to some extent social medias, which however have increased after the Egyptian revolution. Though, there is distrust amongst the civil society regarding the effort and the content of the messages, weather it is just for show and not in the best interest of the people this shows the strong disbelief that exist in the civil society towards the police today. Corruption impregnates large parts of the Egyptian society, in private and official institutions, which complicates the business of the police institution and the measures of developing a higher level of transparency. This is affecting the will amongst those in charge of making the necessary changes, but also the will to implement established changes amongst the officers at the street and those on the levels between. What are the incitements for corruption in Egypt? The structure of the institution, everything from how decisions are made, how rules and regulations are created, to working conditions and salary are incitements for corruption. To address this problem of the structure of the institution are fundamental for lowering the incitements of corruption. Today the working conditions of the police are very poor and lacks in many respects. The low salary is a concern for the officers, which weakens the incentives not to take bribes. Though, a law has been approved with the aim of improving the conditions of all employees at the police institution for instance raising the salary. The results of this political measure are still early to assess, and there is little acknowledgment about it in the perceptions of the civil society.

Accountability is another important component within the police institution and is primarily about the police being accountable for plans and actions and therefore answerable towards the public. That there is an institution that is open to accusations of violations of rules, laws and civil and human rights. There has been a lack of accountability during the Mubarak era and it still is today. This is connected with the low transparency, high corruption and poor regulations within the institution and this has not yet been reformed. There is witness of nepotism and protecting those around you instead of letting the law have impact, however the non-existing laws, as was
discussed previously, are also a huge factor that diminishes the possibility of getting prosecuted as a policeman.

Some rather large institutional changes were made by the first appointed Minister of Interior El-Essawy after the revolution, when the police branch SSI with a history of severe violations against human rights was replaced by the new force HSS. They got the official task of working with counterterrorism and national security without using abusive tactics, however the result of this is not evaluated but the notion amongst some parts of the civil society is that the police is still the police regardless name of the branch. Moreover, El-Essawy reconstructed amongst the staff and retired a bunch of bad apples; though he himself was replaced which could indicate that the political leaders not yet was ready to loosen the grip of power.

In order for a change at the institutional level the political will is of greatest importance, that there is a will amongst the leaders to reform the police and develop democratic long-lasting structures. What we have seen in this short timeframe since the revolution is not as hopeful as the civil society would have hoped. There have been some changes regarding appearance such as new police uniforms but there is a lack of larger institutional changes noticed in the practice at the streets. It is a large challenge of the police in Egypt to become more transparent and improve the accountability, though very important in order to increase legitimacy among the population but also in order to develop a sustainable institutional development where resources and strategies can be made more efficient and profitable.

7.3 Level of Attitude and Culture
The third level to reconstruct in a police reform is the attitude and culture of the police officers. The culture of being a repressive power with impunity has to change into a force respecting rule of law and working for the citizens. Egypt is known historically of having an oppressive police force working for the government under emergency laws instead of serving the people. Still today to some extent there is a use of repressive methods like discrimination, arbitrary arrests and torture. Despite the history the police have partly changed. After the revolution police officers feared the reprisals from the people and they temporarily stopped working. The approachability of the police, the availability, accessibility and presence at the streets, declined as a
result of the police disappearing from the streets. Since then the presence has gradually increased due to political measures focusing on restoring the security however there is still a huge distrust towards the police’ means and actions, which could oppose the restructuring measures being taken. The availability and accessibility of the police for citizens was poor before the revolution and the citizens are still dependent on connections, power and appearance to access the police. Approachability is of importance for transparency but also for accountability of the police institution. Police behaviour and attitude in the streets should be according to rules and regulation for instance the police have to provide a reason for stopping and searching someone and not just a hunch or distrust based on ethnic background, which was standard procedure before the revolution. The civil society perceives that the police still approach people in arbitrary ways based on the person’s appearance, clothes and profession but are more cautious than before the revolution. The 100-day plan of initiatives that President Morsi launched included changes concerning security and the restoring of safety, which indicates on a political will to reform. Though, this will is questioned by the civil society due to the history of abuse and lack of trust in the relationship. The initiatives had to some extent a larger focus on the security needs of the individual instead of the old totalitarian state-centric view. However, the initiatives were mainly concerning the restoring of security in Egypt through a strengthening of the security institution itself, in order to supply safety of the people and not so much of building and strengthening the police-public relationship. Even though the police now working again they lost the respect of the people. Citizens view them as unable to fight criminality and not giving the legitimacy a police institution is in need of. If the police are unlawful the people should not follow their orders however if a policeman has worked under the rule of law it is a problem if the people do not respect the police authority. The police notice this and feel the situation is getting worse by the day. To establish trust between the people and the police is a major challenge because over the years the police gradually decreased the faith the people had in the police through arbitrary arrests, violent force and corruption. There are few policemen being sentenced for the killing of demonstrations in the revolution and crimes concerning torture. The policemen know they can commit a crime without being sentenced especially senior police officers. Corruption within the police is massive however even if it may be the worst sector in Egypt regarding corruption there is corruption in every state institution in the country. To get rid of corruption is
an issue not only connected with the police but with the whole state which needs a new non-corruption culture. Further the work conditions for the police has to be improved both regarding the approach with citizens, salaries, equipment etc. As long as the government is using the police as a tool for executing their power the change within the police culture will not alter. A law was, after the revolution, adopted containing articles concerning better working conditions and wages for the police officers; the strikes the low-rank police officers started in spring 2013 may have given result. The strike, the interview with the policeman and the former policeman indicates that the low-rank police officers do want a reform. However they do not have the power to proceed with their demands and influence the future of the police. The policeman interviewed in this study wanted to work for the people and according to him the problem is the law. Even if he worked under the rule of law he was not working in the service of the people. Moreover the civil society also recognized the law as the greatest problem. Values and norms are not going to change overnight it will take a long time because the police has been working like this for decades. There has to be a massive will and understanding why they should think in a different way. Even if the repressive laws were abolished and new laws were adopted the lack of training and understanding is still present and must be addressed. Today the police academy taught law and human rights during the four yearlong police training however still many CSO’s and even the police man himself claim there is a lack of understanding how to implement laws including Human Rights. Further the principles on the use of Force and Firearms must be taught and understood in order to meet the needs of civilians. The police already received trainings in Human Rights from several different CSO’s. There has to be more incentives to make the police want to stop humiliating people, using force and taking bribes. The challenges of corruption trust and bad working conditions are deep-rooted challenges at a national level. These problems are present within many different state sectors and cannot only be addressed within the police.
8. Are the police operating in compliance with the principles of democratic policing?

The answer to the question could be an easy no, but it is not that simple. Due to the historical context and relations between different political levels, the picture is more complex. Even if the police officers would try to reform they will not be succeed. The police officers do want to reform but on the institutional and legislative level the discussion does not exist in to the same extent. For instance working under the rule of law and not violating human rights will be tricky because Egyptian national law is not compliant with international standards of human rights for instance the right to assembly. Moreover, if the police continuously adhere to the government they will most likely not cohere to the principles of subordination to the rule of law or subordination to the civil authority, and thereof violate the rule of autonomy and diminish the legitimacy of the police institution. Very few attempts have been made to alter the legislative framework. One exception worth to mention is the law about better working conditions and wages for the police officers. However the restriction in the right to assembly is still intact and little progress has been made in allowing protests, both under the presidency of SCAF and Morsi protests got crushed down. Due to the history where the police have been violating the peoples’ life and freedoms it would be a miracle if the perception of the police were changed overnight, it is a long-term commitment to reverse these perceptions. After the revolution the people had a lack of respect and faith towards the police. However the perception of the police has degraded since the revolution. This affects the police forces ability to work, when they are not appreciated and constantly discouraged of course they lose interest in work and the motivation of reform decreases. The police are still using disproportionate amount of violence and lacks the ability to communicate. Traditional and social media has been used in Egypt to increase the communication between citizens and the Ministry of Interior, but it is seen as a one-way communication that is propaganda. Morsi addressed the lack of legitimacy and security in his 100-day plan however not many areas in the plan was accomplished. Though, it shows a will that is necessary to start a reformation.

Further there is a lack of both accountability and transparency both within the Ministry of Interior and the various police sectors. There has been limited
accountability for the killing during the revolution and the Mahmoud Mohammed clashes. However reorganizations of the staff within the Minister of Interior during the transitional period both senior and low rank officers have been forced to retire. It has been some attempts to reconstruct some parts of the police sectors for example the HSS was established to replace the brutal SSI force though it seems like the greatest difference is the name. There is no more transparency then before. Due to the lacking of communication and trust between the citizens and the police there is a problem for the police to know what the demand and desires of the people are and the police are consequently not serving the people’s needs.
9. Challenges of Police Reform

In previous chapters the views of the civil society and different CSO’s have been presented and analyzed along with the background material on the situation in Egypt with emphasis on the police. With this material as a foundation the challenges for police reform can be distinguished and these challenges will be formulated and presented below. To remember reading subsequent chapter is that democratic policing is not one model that will fit all states. The principles have to be developed and adopted with the states history, - context - and political setting in mind, and after that the actors involved in a security sector reform can accept it. First and foremost the foundation of every society is the law system. Without laws no one, not the police, not the citizens, not the parliament can be aware of its responsibilities and obligations. The parliament enacts the laws and so far in the transitional period of Egypt there have been suggestions to amend the Police Act from 1971. However laws used by a totalitarian regime are they an appropriate foundation for a state to build its future on? Especially in regards of the police, that was a repressive power in Egypt. The hatred against the police in Egypt is extensive and therefore the most suitable solution would be to write new laws and apply them. Here comes the next consideration. Even if the laws are re-written the police have to receive the proper education and training in order to enforce the laws. As it is today police officers get human rights training from the police academy and CSO’s however it is still viewed that the police do not have an understanding of the meaning of human rights. Consequently if there is no training and education on how to implement new laws, the need of re-writing laws is unnecessary.

The political power struggle between the military and the Muslim Brotherhood complicate the reform process. The military have extensive power and are not so willing to back down, and if someone interferes with the power of the military it can be devastating for them. The FJP and President Morsi were politically elected and when they possessed both the presidential post and the majority of the seats in the parliament they had the possibility and the prospect to launch a reform of the police but they did not. Morsi did launch his 100-days plan where security was one of the prioritized areas. This was a good first step to take however the process was stalled and the achievements were small. The parliament had a law suggestion for improved
working conditions for the police, which was passed. However any major changes are yet to come. Another crucial actor in the police reform is the Minister of Interior where he has his loyalties will be crucial if a reformation will take place or not. The internal political forces have to be united, with the common goal to reform the police in order for a reformation to start.

Still the corruption and lack of transparency in Egypt is high within all state sectors and why should the Minister of Interior reform the ministry if it was creating a loss. In order to make the Minister of Interior willing to reform incentives has to be created, for example with engagement in the operational level. The Minister of Interior have done minor changes since the revolution to start the police reform however it is not a sufficient reform and it does not exist any coherent plan for such a reform.

The history of Egypt has been edged with emergency laws and therefore there is a huge lack of institutional memory regarding law enforcement within the police force. The police had through the emergency laws extensive powers to commit what in international law are regarded as crime. Now the police will face harder resistance if they are trying to enforce the law in the same way. A serious challenge to address is the trust relationship with the public. The public was exposed of the arbitrary and brutal violence the police used in accordance with the emergency laws therefore the hatred towards the police is massive. To gain trust from the people will take years and is probably the largest challenge and probably not possible to gain without a massive reformation with huge groups of senior and low-ranking leaders being dismissed. Especially the senior officers have to be fired though it is often the low-ranking officers who will be the victims within the police. They are the ones the people approach on the streets, and they are the ones implementing the rules of the government but they are also the ones being punished for it. In the present day they are the ones who are being held accountable. Furthermore the political will has to be honest both from the Ministry of Interior, President and the judicial because it will create a feeling of a problem being addressed. The police should according to international law, the Egyptian Police Act and the Egyptian constitution work in the service of the people. In order to know what that means education is of importance. It is also important to know what people find important for their own safety and thereof communication channels have to be prominent. The Ministry of Interior need to
accept the challenge of letting the citizens, the civil society and other actors being involved in the reformation process, in order to collect knowledge about what people prioritize and need.

All above mention challenges are not possible to resolve if the finances are poor or the corruption is high. After the revolution Egypt is in severe economic crisis due to bad management, shrinking amount of tourists, an unstable political scene etc. There have been few visible attempts from the political leadership in Egypt to cooperate with international actors within the field of security sector reform. From other transitional states there is “lessons learned” from which Egypt could benefit however there is not a “one-way-fits-all” solution. Egypt has to develop the best path forward with their unique circumstances. Regardless of how the reform will appear it has to comply with international laws and declarations with the focus on human security and the individual.
10. Final remarks

When leaving for Egypt in March the situation was calm, there were political disputes, some minor sit-ins and frequently discussions about the Muslim Brotherhood. After some time of acclimatization the Tharir-Square was approached and we felt pretty calm and safe, though in our encounters of discussion with people there was an excessive sense of frustration bubbling under the surface. Two months after leaving Egypt president Morsi was ousted by the military after refusing to step down. SCAF is now leading the country.

Before going to Egypt, we were aware of the short timeframe the study was aiming to examine. Only 26 months since the revolution started and of which the military ruled for almost 17 months, however the study is explorative and gives new information to an almost unexplored field due to the short timeframe. Moreover the two months spent in Egypt was too short of a time for interviewing both police and civil society and we choose representatives from civil society because it was easier to access the civil society. The civil society organizations have their own agendas and the criticism they uttered about the police was not a surprise. However the respondents had surprisingly different views. If staying more than two months the study could go deeper and also investigating the police view of a possible police reform, and maybe identify another set of challenges. It would also have been advantageous to meet all the respondents’ one-two times before the actual interview but in this case it was not possible.

For the moment police reform is not on the daily agenda in Egypt because they are facing greater issues. After the ousting of President Morsi, his followers arranged two enormous sit-ins calling for his readmission. President Morsi was elected president in free and fair elections in 2012. However instead of Morsi coming back into power the military cleared the two sit-ins and hundreds of people were killed and during continuing clashes the numbers of dead have increased tremendously. Since the sit-ins were cleared the polarization have grown between the Muslim Brotherhood and the military and the military trying to ban and control the Muslim Brotherhood in the same manner as former totalitarian regimes have done. The role of the police has been side by side with the military. When the political situation has stabilized a bit a
reformation of the police will most likely be requested from the Muslim Brotherhood and from the people participating in the revolution in 2011. Their revolutionary goals of bread, freedom and social justice have not yet been achieved.
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List of respondents

**Interview 1:** Male, Head of Youth organization. Cairo. 2013. Interview 9 April 2013.

**Interview 2:** Male, Project leader in an environmental organization. Cairo 2013. Interview 12 April 2013

**Interview 3:** Female, Head of Youth Organization. Cairo 2013. Interview 15 April 2013.

**Interview 4:** Female, Co-founder of a Women Rights organization. Cairo 2013. Interview 17 April 2013

**Interview 5:** Male, Activist in a Youth organization. Cairo 2013. Interview 22 April 2013

**Interview 6:** Male, Co-founder of an inter-dialogue organization. Cairo 2013. Interview 23 April 2013.

**Interview 7:** Female, Female, Interns at a migration organization. Cairo 2013. Interview 23 April 2013.

**Interview 8:** Male, Male, Male, Activists in Youth organizations. Cairo 2013. Interview 23 April 2013.

**Interview 9:** Male, Co-worker at a migration organization. Cairo 2013. Interview 29 April 2013

**Interview 10:** Female, Head of department at a women rights organization. Cairo 2013. Interview 30 April 2013

**Interview 11:** Male, head and co-founder of an human rights organization. Cairo 2013. Interview 1 May 2013

**Interview 12, Police:** Male, Low-rank officer. Cairo 2013. Interview 30 April 2013
Appendix

Interview guide CSO’s Egypt

Introduction
- Introduce ourselves
- The aim of the research
- You have the right to end the interview if you like, without being questioned why.
- Permission of recording the interview
- Data will be used in a master thesis at Umeå University.
  The interview will be confidential (presented as youth organization in Cairo)
- Approval of participation
- Any questions?

Initial questions
- Can you tell us a little bit about yourself?
- Short summary of the organizations work and aim
- Your roll in the organization
- How do you perceive the revolution?
- According to you, what has the revolution meant for Egypt?
- What has the revolution meant for your organization?

Middle section
When a state is going through a transition towards more democratic structures, reforming the police is considered of great importance for this transition; changing norms, values and structures within the police and the relationship between the police and the public are fundamental for this type of reform. We are therefore interested to hear how you consider such changes in Egypt and your comment of these.

- Do you think that reforming the police is on the political agenda in Egypt?
- Who is responsible for the security and safety of people in Egypt?
- How would you describe police work in Cairo right now?

Accountability and trust
Accountability means that the police are accountable of the law and the society

- In your opinion, can police officers generally be held personally accountable for their actions?

According to democratic principles and to the Egyptian constitution article 199 “the police should perform its duty in the service of the people”.
- Do you think this is the case in Egypt?
- Do the police work to serve the people?
Transparency,
Transparency means that decision making is transparent for the public, and that there is an open dialogue with the public.

- Would you consider the police being transparent?
- According to you how does the interaction –in general terms - between the police and the society look like?
- In your opinion are the police interested in finding out what the public thinks?
- Are there channels for communication, where the police can inform the public?
- In general, are the police approachable? If so, how? If not, why?
- For example, are they available, accessible? Are they present on the street?
- Do you in your organization have any experience regarding contact with the police? If so, would you like to describe them?
- Are the police open towards complaints?
- Do civil society organizations try to cooperate with the police?
- E.g. have you heard about any projects launched by CSO’s in co-operation with or focused on the police?

Legitimacy
- In your opinion, how does the police treat/approach/interact with the public?
- How would you describe the general police attitude towards the public?
- Would you say that the police are targeting some groups and individuals rather than others, in their activity?
- Have the police embarked on any campaigns in order to recruit women, ethnic minorities, socially marginalized groups etc to the force
- Corruption is a difficult problem in several countries. In our opinion to what extent does corruption exist in Egypt?
- And to what extent does corruption exist in the police force?

Subordination to civil authority,
- Do the police work with the community to help them in preventing crime?
- Is there a forum that allows communities to have an input into how their neighborhood is policed and what issues are important to their safety?

Subordination to the rule of law,
In the Egyptian constitution it is stated that the police should be loyal to the Constitution and the law.
- What is your reflection upon that statement? How do the police perform under the rule of law?
- Is there a respect for human rights?

In the UN “international human rights standards for law enforcement” is stated that law enforcement such as the police should first attempt non-violent means, force is to be used only when strictly necessary and in a minimum extent.
- In your opinion how do the police use force in Cairo?
- Do you have trust in the police to conduct their job?
Ending

In Tunisia the government has started a reformation process of the police and established partnerships with international agencies such as the UNDP and DCAF.

- Have you heard about similar efforts or partnerships in Egypt?

- Is there anything you would like to add before we end?
- Do you know any person that you think we should contact for an interview?

Thank you for taking your time.
This information will be analyzed together with other interviews in order to answer our aim of the research.

Can we contact you if we need to ask some follow-up questions?
Do you like to have a copy of the thesis?