



مركز البحوث والدراسات
التشريعية والسياسية

Reforming the Police: How and Why?

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Introduction

There is no doubt that the excessive use of violence by the Interior Ministry hastened the outbreak of the revolution. As a result, reforming the police will be one of the most important ways to meet the goals of this revolution. Usually, new democracies face a dilemma whereby two tasks are required of the security services simultaneously. On one hand, the security services are asked to preserve security in the context of a fragile security situation, and on the other hand demands are made for institutional and culture reforms in the police that will bring the institution into line with the principles of human rights and basic freedoms. The delicacy of this stage means that one of these tasks cannot overwhelm the other, as there is no reform without respect for human rights and there is no reform without the adequate and professional provision of security for society and its citizens.

Gradual Reform

It is inevitable that police reform will be a gradual and extended process, which will occur on several levels. There are some states, such as the Czech Republic, that chose to dismiss all workers in certain state security institutions at once. They completely dissolved the political security apparatus, rebuilding it from scratch by hiring new workers so as to guarantee their loyalty to the new doctrines of the police. The Czechs also dismissed a large number of employees in General Security and Central Security.¹ However, the high social cost of this decision makes its application impossible in Egypt, particularly since the idea of social justice and the demand for dignity were at the heart of the revolution's goals. As a result, gradualness must define the process of reforming the police and assisting them with the integration of new police doctrines, including education and training, which will be connected to a system of sanctions and incentives.

It is possible to learn from Poland's experience with police reform, in which police employees were divided into three groups.² The first group consists of those clinging to old doctrines and blocking change, usually in the higher ranks and small in number. They can be dismissed immediately, with their retirements settled in an appropriate manner that takes into account their trusted relationship inside the ministry, since their students and close friends might still be in the service. The second group consists of a small group of officers who are susceptible to learning and developing and who possess ambitions to advance up the career ladder in accordance with a system of incentives that encourages the assimilation of new doctrines. As a result, it is necessary to train them, develop their capabilities, and rehabilitate them so that they can receive executive leadership assignments in the police. This development must occur under the condition that they were not involved in previous human rights violations and that they were not classified in the first group of officers, with emphasis on their trials if physical evidence was provided confirming these violations.

The third group does not initially exist, and as a result their hiring must be completed quickly. They are the civilians who are specialists in the law and human rights, and they are pledged to the important task of designing general policies for the police and training the police in new doctrines that respect the rights and lives of the country's citizens. Here we must distinguish between the general administrative employees in the ministry and this last group, whose work is needed and for whom it is necessary to be a good trainer while possessing a specialization in the law.

Finally, it is necessary for the police to avoid feeling that they are an exceptional group that is above society. Rather, the situation should be completely opposite. Society should feel that it owns the police, that the police work to protect society, and that any citizen who finds within himself the capabilities needed by the police is able to proceed with this work, contributing to the protection of his homeland whether as a civilian or a policeman.

Changing the Culture of the Egyptian Police: A New Doctrine

The Egyptian police force is a noble force with an honorable history of preserving the sovereignty of the country. National Police Day is fundamentally linked to the refusal by police officers in the

governorate of Ismailia to surrender to British forces in the canal region, choosing instead to fight until their ammunition ran out and they achieved martyrdom. We must therefore return to this tradition, while completely getting rid of the use of excessive violence and violations of citizens' rights and dignity. For that, the police force needs to form new doctrines based on respect for the constitution, the law, human rights, and public freedoms, in parallel with a commitment to professionalism in their police work in accordance with global standards. In that context, it is necessary to give priority to the concept of human security, which means protecting human lives because they are people deserving of protection, rather than only protecting the interests of the hegemonic state. It is also necessary to establish the principle that the police force is an institution for preserving the state's internal security, not a tool of the government or ruling party for controlling their opponents in the opposition, and thus it goes without saying that the police must stay out of political and partisan employment. Achieving these goals will require formulating a code of behavior for the police, which should be explained to the officers on the basis of their rank and salary, and developing training and cultural programs for them that will guarantee their absorption of the police's new orientation. Wages should also be gradually increased to spur their commitment to the new doctrines. Finally, there must be a restructuring of training curriculums, admissions system, and general studies at the Police Academy, including study of the law, modern criminal investigatory techniques, modern programs of tracking and archiving, and other such modern sciences of police work.

Reforming the Structure of the Police

In 1968, the interior minister SharawiGomaa militarized the interior ministry to deal with increasing protests, breaking them up forcefully. Since then, the ministry has continued to function in this militarized framework. When the military police took over some of the tasks related to the provision of security after the revolution, it reminded people of the concept of civilian police. It is time for the law to describe the police as a professional civilian force, and it is time to end the use of military organization inside the police, reorienting the force toward the concept of security as a public service for Egyptian citizens.

Additionally, it is necessary to restructure views held by some segments of the police that are based on the military, of which the most prominent are the Central Security Forces (CSF). It should be possible to rehabilitate and train the CSF in the tasks of security on the basis of professional employment rather than forced conscription. It should also be possible to break the force up into mobile patrols that can preserve security in different areas, rather than accumulating large numbers with low efficiency. Furthermore, while riot police are necessary in any police force in the world, Egypt needs to reduce their numbers and its interest in keeping several different types of these units, and their training needs to be carried out in a way that allows them to deal with riots without violating the fundamental human rights of Egyptian citizens.

It would also be useful to separate police tasks from the non-police tasks inside the interior ministry. The ministry deals with several such tasks, such as the issuance of passports and national identity numbers, civil defense, and others. A sizeable amount of police resources are focused on these tasks, even though they can be completed by trained civilians, and policemen should be oriented toward police work only.

Regarding the establishment of local democracy and decentralization, it is necessary to think seriously about founding a local police force for the governorates. It should be effective at police work and in accordance with national standards, so that the forces are capable of taking on tasks of everyday police work such as the implementation of laws and working as crossing guards. In such a system, the power of the central police related to criminal investigations and other issues that require more capabilities and resources would be preserved. For these changes to work, it would be necessary to increase acceptances into the Police Academy, taking into account geographic

distribution of all sons of the republic and observance of conditions of competency and loyalty to the nation. Officers should also be given a chance to serve in their own governorates, after spending a period of time rotating between different governorates (perhaps between 5 and 7 years). The purpose of this policy would be to guarantee family and personal stability for the officers so that they are capable of performing their duty at the highest standards.

Reforming Police Methods

In parallel with the reforms discussed above, it will be necessary to focus on drawing up periodical plans for the police, to be announced loudly in a way that does not interfere with performance, about public involvement with protecting national security and fighting crime. Voluntary cooperation by citizens with the police will not occur except through their engagement with a specified goal that is divorced from the goal of building the nation.

In this context, it is necessary to create a new promotion system for officers that is not linked to their number of registered cases but to their contributions to the process of reorienting and rehabilitating suspects for legitimate work. The issue assumes the establishment of a partnership with civil society organizations focused on rehabilitation, so that fighting crime is not limited to movement after the crime occurs but includes prevention and the neutralization of suspects by rehabilitating them or removing them from the circumstances that push them to commit crimes.

Additionally, it is necessary to restructure thinking about how to carry out criminal investigations, so that there is movement away from a dependence on violent interrogations of the accused and witnesses, and it is also necessary to reform procedures in regulations and the legal corpus so that they do not contradict standards of human rights. Here, we can see the importance of creating a special research center inside the ministry, consisting of the best people from the last fifteen classes (for the importance of the youth factor) who are proficient in foreign languages, for the purpose of getting to know the methods of modern police work in democratic states that respect human rights. This center would be charged with distributing its operational knowledge to decision makers in the ministry. It would also handle the drafting of the ministry's plans for restructuring its required and periodical training programs for officers for the sake of improving their capabilities. It would also be important to encourage officers to send suggestions about the development of their work to this center, since, they have connections to the reality of daily work on the ground.

Reforming Police Working Conditions

It is not possible to expect successful police reform without looking to the human factor that carries out the goals of this institution and providing appropriate work conditions that help these officers to improve their work. From here, it is necessary to determine precise hours for work and precise calculations for overtime work in a situation where officers are forced to work extra hours. It is also important to reduce work-related pressures on the officers by recruiting new contingents that can be absorbed into the force in accordance with its new principles and doctrines. It is possible that such an action would open the door to acceptance of studying the rights of the police, after they have applied the required conditions to their institution and subordinated their training programs to the science of police work, criminal investigations, and new police doctrines. This development will be reflected in the increased number of officers and their improved absorption of the new doctrines, in view of their background in human rights. Issuing a new law that rewards enrollment in the Police Academy with a Bachelor's of Law rather than a high school diploma...³ Here, it is necessary to highlight the utmost importance of improving the capabilities, education, and security training of the police, parallel to an increase in their wages, since the majority of police work on the ground is of low culture and education and the level of security service will fall rather than improve.

Furthermore, it is necessary to focus on improving work conditions, healthcare, and the awards system for employees in the police. There is also a need for providing psychological services to the

officers to help them to stay psychologically balanced, particularly for those who have lost a colleague during work or caused the death or maiming of an innocent citizen (and perhaps even those accused of doing so) due to the dangerous politics of the former regime. It is important to encourage them to resort to psychological help without embarrassment to guarantee their ability to do their work better and for longer. Additionally, police officers should be considered civilian employees, able to organize themselves in a syndicate or Police Officers' Club, built on the model of the judges' clubs. The purpose of this development would be to provide the officers with legal channels outside of the official hierarchy to express their opinions about developments in their work and improvements in their circumstances or to choose alternative styles of work and develop their profession.

Parliament's Role in Police Reform

- Enacting a new law for the police that clearly includes the establishment of a new doctrine that respects the constitution, the law, and human rights, to be completed after extensive negotiations with the interior ministry, the coalitions formed by young officers in the police after the revolution, civil society organizations interested in human rights and evaluating police work, and law professors. The law should clearly lay out the conditions and general standards of duty, providing them to employees of the police whether they are civilians or police officers, and making it clear that they will be scrutinized in accordance with these standards, so that those who apply them are kept on the force and those who violate them are let go.
- Pursuance of a total transformation of regulation of the interior ministry and its internal rules in a way that guarantees the precise application of the new law.
- Activate the role of the Supreme Council of the Police by expanding its membership to civilians who specialize in law, human rights, and institutional reform, along with former judges, so that it can become a collective that makes decisions in the ministry regarding oversight of the reform process.
- Introduce a new and permanent oversight body in the parliament to follow up with the police about improving their performance and respecting human rights. This action should be carried out in coordination with the National Council for Human Rights, and the body's functions should include receiving and investigating complaints, establishing committees to determine the truth of the complaints, and from there referring the issue to the judiciary. Usually, such oversight bodies are called the legation for human rights or the ombudsman. Of those states that practice this oversight at the national level, Sweden uses its parliament and Poland relies on its government, while of those states that practice this oversight at the local level, the Netherlands provides a strong example.⁴ It is absolutely necessary for such oversight to cover all institutions, but at the top of the list are the police, who must provide total cooperation with the body whether in regards to the issuance of official documents, visiting police departments and prisoners, or other issues. Additionally, this oversight body must be responsible for providing legal protection to officers that bring complaints to it, so that those officers are not hindered by their colleagues or superiors.⁵
- Precise tracking of the budget of the interior ministry to cut off financial and administrative corruption and to guarantee the fairness of the police, including a lack of political and financial assistance to any faction.
- Changing the structure of wages in the interior ministry to guarantee complete equality between similar ranks in all sectors of the police, taking into account the reduction in the gap between the leadership ranks and the working executive ranks on the ground with the public. SENTENCE NOT UNDERSTOOD

- Requiring the interior ministry to release a yearly plan that defines its goals, with follow up on the execution of this plan by parliament, civil society organizations, and the media to guarantee that the capabilities of the police will continue to improve.

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