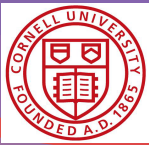


Consequences of the Militarization of Law Enforcement for Human Rights: An Evaluation of The Middle East

By Aina Rabinowitz



Abstract and Background:

This research project provides a definition of militarization that fits the context of the Middle East. I evaluate the cultural and historical forces that have led to extreme militarization in Israel and Egypt. I categorized the levels and types of human rights violations present in each to see the extent to which constabularization shapes daily life of citizens. Ultimately, I discover that human rights violation exists across the spectrum of militarized security forces and take on different forms in Israel and Egypt. The larger goal of this project is to contextualize the militarization of law enforcement as a global and historical phenomenon.

A Post-Colonial Analysis of Global Militarization: Some Core Themes

(1) Militarization is not a binary, but rather is more flexible and forms a moving spectrum. (2) Scholarly research on the militarization of law enforcement has often been built on the Western experience of militarization. (3) Militarization in the Middle East has been shaped by colonialism, the Cold War, and the War on Terror. Internationally, it has also been shaped by terrorism, human trafficking, trade in weaponry and drugs, criminality, etc.

Defining Militarization

Militarization of law enforcement: “the process through which government agencies tasked with providing public safety adopt the weapons, organizational structure, and training typical of the armed forces” (Flores-Macias and Zarkin 2020, “The Militarization of Law Enforcement: Evidence from Latin America”)

Constabularization: armed forces take on public safety tasks. This includes crime prevention, crime fighting, crop eradication, drug and arms seizures, searches and arrests, prison security, etc. They still, however, operate under military law.

Spectrum: Non-militarized police → Militarized Police → Paramilitary Police → Constabularized Military

Israel

Key Turning Points and Culture Shifts in the 21st Century

- The Second Intifada: Security issues and terrorism concerns leads IDF to more aggressively police the West Bank. Military logic and aggression is prioritized over civilian logic.
- Palestinian issue becomes an irresolvable and existential conflict. This leads to the development of a “gray war doctrine” in which there is no war but no peace; many Israelis see this as the failure of the “Iron Wall.”

Egypt:

- 2011 Arab Spring, Fall of Mubarak, Fall of the Muslim Brotherhood, Rise of Abdel-al-Sisi.
- Military at first an ally of the revolution; in reality, continue to possess extreme political powers. Police and military officials continue to face impunity.

Categorization of Human Rights Violations Due to (1) Increased Militarization (2) Increased Policing by Military Units (Focus on 2010-2021)

Israel

Civil Guards	National Police	Border Police	Israel Defense Forces
N/A * Largely due to fusion of Civil Guards with National Police. Thus it is difficult to find specific circumstances of violence just by Civil Guards.	(1) Sheikh Jarrah Incidents of 2021: June 2021: Use of batons, tear gas, grenades, skunk water, stun grenades, rubber-coated bullets. (2) Violence in Israel Proper in protests (2015 Ethiopians incidents; 2021 Orthodox Jews)	(1) Reckless Daily Routines: - June 2021: 32-year-old Palestinian man shot by border police - July 30: 12-year-old boy killed with “reckless” live ammunition (2) Violent detentions	(1) Reckless and Consistent Use of Live Ammunition (protestors, any “suspected” individuals - often teens) (2) Occupation Routine: Norm of aiding settler abuse, damaging property, daily forms of harassment by soldiers

Egypt

Border Police	Central Security Forces	National Egyptian Police	Military
N/A *Lack of reported information that specifies Border Police violence	(1) Protests - 2011 Arab Spring, 2013 Rabaa-Adawiya Square Massacre, 2020 violence in Kafr Qandil village	(1) Protests - 2015: Tear Gas shot into crowds of 10,000 people (Cairo soccer stadium) (2) Violent arrests of dissidents (3) Violence towards Nubians and Copt populations – 2018 Coptic Christian Attack	(1) Dozens of cases of torture and violent beatings during arrests – particularly during 2011 protests, and currently of dissidents (2) Use of military court trials on civilians (3) Violent suppression of protests under el-Sisi

Summary on Israel and Egypt:

- Evidence of constabularization in Israel is present only in the West Bank and Jerusalem.
- Border police and National Police show evidence of militarization primarily in protests and random acts of violence in the West Bank, as well as more aggression in protests by Orthodox Jews an Ethiopian Jews over the past few years.
- Legal impunity of IDF and Border Police has become normalized.
- Constabularization and the increasing militarization of police in Egypt is more structured into Egypt’s political system given the military’s core position in Egypt’s economy.
- No quantifiable evidence that the level of constabularization has increased since the Arab Spring.
- Decreasing protests in recent years due to anti-demonstration laws. However, we still find evidence of violent detention and suppression of dissidents.

Missing Data and Remaining Questions

My research on human rights violations relied on reports by the media and other non-profits. However, media reports, particularly in Egypt, have been far more limited in recent years, and are not systemic quantifications of data. Thus, my future research will involve the collection of data to quantify the level of human rights violations under each sub-group. It would also be important to survey populations on levels of trust and safety for each security level. Do people feel safer when the military takes on law enforcement responsibilities? How does this differ across demographic? Quantifying such data is essential to know how increased militarization of the security influence public safety, and thus level of democratization in the Middle East.

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