Internal Occupation:
The Colonial Origins of Coercion in Egypt

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Abstract

Robust coercive apparatuses are credited for the Middle East's uniquely persistent authoritarianism, but little work exists analyzing their origins. In this paper, we present an original theory regarding the origins of coercive institutions in contemporary authoritarian regimes like those in the Middle East. We argue that post-independence authoritarian coercive capabilities are shaped by pre-independence institution-building, largely dictated by the interests of colonial powers who dictated state development projects. We depart from existing general theories about the origins of coercive institutions, in which authoritarian leaders have full autonomy in constructing coercive institutions when they come to power, and in which the military is the primary source of the state's institution. Instead, we argue that authoritarian leaders coming to power in the twentieth century, after major state building occurred, inherit states with certain pre-determined resources and capabilities, and coercive institutions. We support our theory with district-level census data from Egypt. Matching districts surveyed in 1897, the first census conducted under British rule, with those from the last pre-revolution census in 1947, we find that districts with higher levels of foreigners in the first decades of colonial rule are more heavily policed on the eve of independence. In later drafts, we will test our hypotheses that these early allocations of the coercive apparatus persisted under post-colonial authoritarian regimes using data on arrests from 2013.

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1 Introduction

Robust coercive apparatuses are credited for the Middle East's uniquely persistent authoritarianism. Before 2011, when the "Arab Spring" uprisings promised to destabilize the region's authoritarian regimes, these institutions were theorized to maintain authoritarianism by squashing any potential threat to the regime or attempt at democratization (Bellin 2004). Developments since 2011 confirm the role of security institutions in maintaining the region's authoritarian governments: no massive protests succeeded in regime change without the defection of the military (Bellin 2012; Brownlee, Masoud, and Reynolds 2015). However, as Greitens (2016, 20) notes, the importance of repression and the coercive institutions responsible for undertaking it are "assumed far more than… analyzed." This is due, in large part, to the lack of institutional transparency and access to data faced by researchers. Governments purposely keep information about their security apparatuses classified in the name of national security, and thus researchers are often left in the dark about the historical origins and contemporary workings of coercive institutions except in rare cases where data has been made available during moments of liberalization.

Unfortunately, when making claims about the coercive apparatus, scholars have often relied on inaccurate assumptions. First, scholars have focused myopically on the military as the actor of interest, whereas the domestic security institutions, including the police, the Ministry of the Interior, and the intelligence services, defend the regime during period of politics regular moments of governance. In contrast, the military is rarely deployed to the streets except in moments of extraordinary mobilization (Lotito 2018), and military-led coups have become increasingly rare events in the Middle East (Albrecht 2015). Second, theories of political repression often rely on mistaken assumptions about the origins and historical development of the instruments of coercion. Dominant political science theories suggest that coercive institutions are established when an authoritarian leader comes to power (Wintrobe 1998, Brownlee 2007, Svolik 2012, Greitens 2016). In broad strokes, each of these models sees a leader assessing potential domestic threats and creating a corresponding coercive institution, while weighing various organizational trade-offs. Once created, these organizations are subject to institutional "stickiness," which constrains

regimes' adaptability as new threats arise (Mahoney and Thelen 2010). The result of this process is a predictable pattern of political repression in each regime.

While the path dependence of existing arguments holds up to empirical scrutiny, the idea that authoritarian leaders have full autonomy in constructing coercive institutions does not. In reality, the state a leader inherits is never a *tabula rasa*. This is particularly true for leaders coming to power in the twentieth century, after the conclusion of major state-building projects. When contemporary authoritarian regimes came to power, they took charge of preexisting states with predetermined resource endowments and institutional capacities. Therefore, we argue that the path dependence of the coercive apparatus extends back further in history than previously acknowledged, often predating the birth of a political regime.

In this paper, we present preliminary evidence in support of a theory regarding the origins of coercive institutions in contemporary authoritarian regimes. First, we refine our unit(s) of analysis to more accurately capture the range of repressive tools at the disposal of a modern autocrat. Authoritarian regimes rely more on domestic police forces than the military to carry out everyday repression of both elite and mass-based political opposition. Second, we argue that post-independence authoritarian coercive capabilities are shaped by pre-independence institution-building, largely dictated by the interests of colonial powers. The European colonial period coincided with a consequential period of modern state-building in the Middle East. These projects had implications for state capacity and the functioning of institutions central to governance at independence, most notably the state's capacity to police, and had path-dependent implications for the nature of coercive institutions during the authoritarian period. State-building projects were guided by an overarching colonial strategy and favored the interests of the colonizer, rather than being endogenous to perceived threats.

The paper proceeds as follows. We begin by reviewing the literature on the relationship between coercive institutions and democratization, and summarize existing theories about the origins of coercive institutions and cross-national variation in the nature of coercion. We then outline our original theory. Next, we introduce our case, Egypt, and provide a brief history of the coercive apparatus in domestic pol-

itics. We follow with a presentation of our measurement strategy, data, and results. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of the implications of our approach for understanding the political role of coercive institutions in contemporary authoritarian regimes, and the overlooked centrality of security sector reform in successful democratic transitions.

2 Coercive Institutions and Democratization

In 2004, Bellin asked, "why have the Middle East and North Africa remained so singularly resistant to democratization?" She began with the puzzle that the number of electoral democracies in the region were declining in contrast to a global trend of growth. After dismissing a host of prominent theories focused on the prerequisites of democratization – including weak civil society, the ability of resource-rich rentier states to co-opt would-be democrats through large public employment sectors, low levels of socio-economic development and high levels of inequality, and Arab or Muslim culture – Bellin answers her own question by turning to the robustness of coercive apparatuses in the Middle East. Aided by strong fiscal health, international support networks, and high levels of institutionalization, Middle Eastern militaries have both the capacity and will to keep any and all attempts at democratization at bay.

This argument was revived following the 'Arab Spring' uprisings in 2011 due to the centrality of coercive apparatuses in preventing political instability from transforming into meaningful democratization. The political science literature on revolutions highlights the centrality of the state's loss of monopoly of force through the defection and support of the military to the success of democratizing movements (Brinton 1938, Tilly 1978, Stepan 1988, Beissinger 2004). As the region's coercive apparatuses faced unprecedented mass mobilization, "regime survival ultimately turned on one question: would the military defect? Or more specifically, would the military shoot the protesters or not?" (Bellin 2012, 129-130). Only where the military defected did this translate into any semblances of meaningful leadership change and political reforms (Brownlee, Masoud, and Reynolds 2015).

While militaries are important political actors during moments of acute threat to a regime's survival, they are rarely deployed to intervene in domestic politics barring extraordinary mobilization or

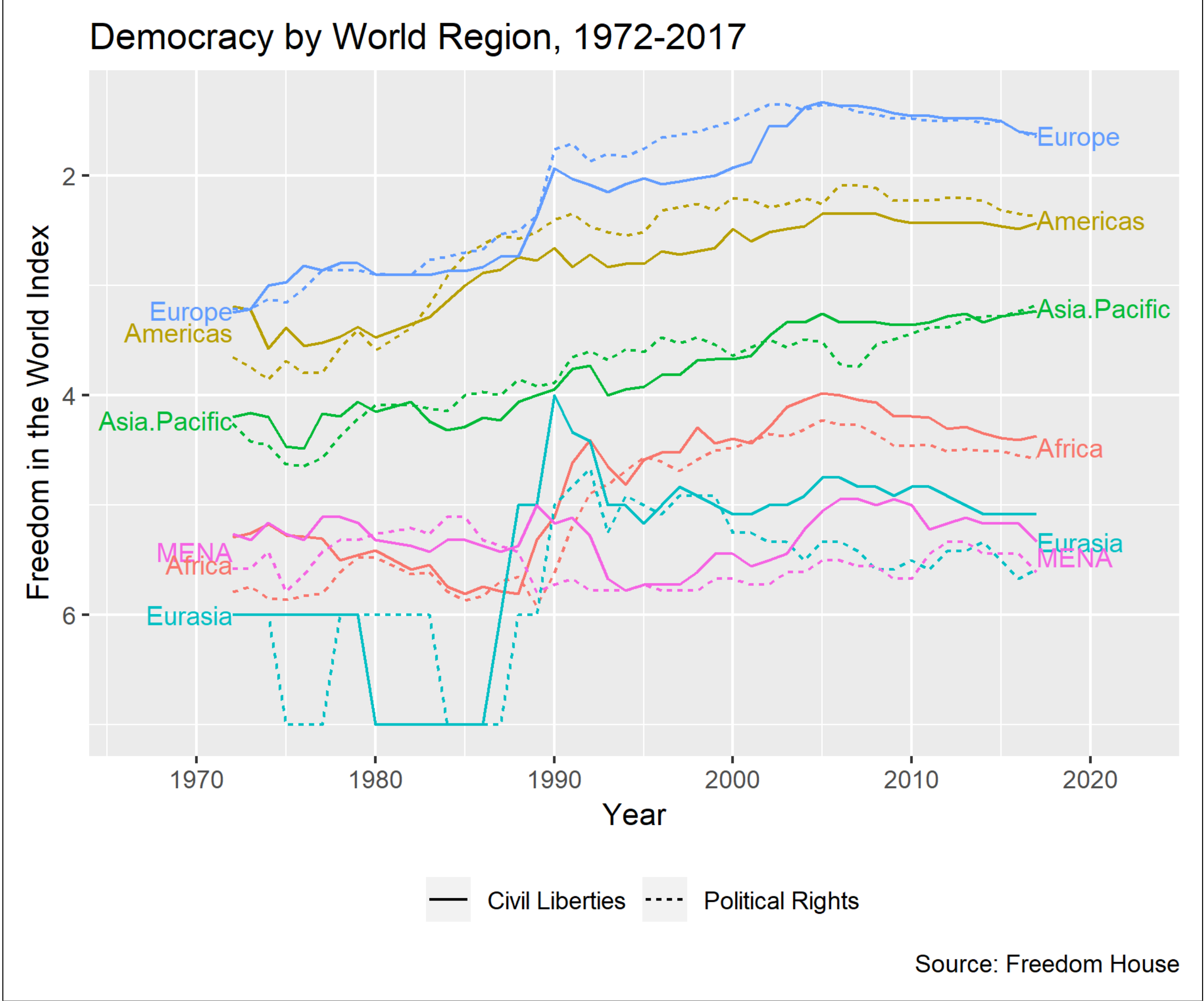

Figure 1: Freedom in the World Index by Region

national security threats (Lotito 2018). Instead, it is domestic coercive institutions that aid regime survival during periods of "normal" authoritarian governance, or the many decades during which these regimes successfully repressed populations and opposition so as to prevent any kind of meaningful mobilization and democratization. Police in authoritarian contexts serve a much different purpose than those in democratic ones. Lutterbeck (2005) helpfully outlines the three ways in which police diff across contexts in terms of legitimacy, function, and structure. In authoritarian regimes, police derive their legitimacy from the central power, whether that be an individual leader or a ruling party, rather than the public law of which leaders and citizens alike are aware. Second, police not only are charged with fighting crime in authoritarian context, but also with political and social control functions. Indeed, a police force that monitors and limits political dissent is a defining characteristic of nondemocratic regimes (Linz 2000). Finally, police forces in authoritarian regimes are characterized by a high degree of militarization.

3 The Nature of Coercive Institutions as a Strategic Choice

A question of central importance logically follows from the above discussion of coercive institutions in authoritarian regimes: how do institutions come to exist in this manner? Existing work on the origins of coercion leverage observable variation in repression under authoritarian regimes attribute significant explanatory power to choices authoritarian leaders make when they come to power. Authoritarian leaders construct coercive institutions based on the dominant perceived threat when they assume power. Leaders face at least two types of threats, foreign and domestic (Wintrobe 1998; Greitens 2016), and more likely three: external, internal mass-based, and internal elite-based (Svolik 2012, Brownlee 2007). When designing the internal security apparatus, leaders face organizational trade-offs in preparing either to face down a popular threat or to protect themselves against rival elites. Scholars put forward similar arguments for other types of seemingly democratic institutions authoritarian leaders use to coopt mobilized mass and elite-based opposition (Brynen, Korany and Noble 1995; Slater 2010), such as electoral systems (Geddes 2005, Blaydes 2010), legislatures (Gandhi and Przeworski 2006, Gandhi and Przeworski 2007, Gandhi 2008, Malesky 2009) and ruling parties (Magaloni 2006, Brownlee 2007, Gehlbach and

Keefer 2011). In short, the type of perceived threat faced by a ruler when coming to power determines the nature of all types of institutions adopted by authoritarian leaders for coercion, cooptation, and survival.

The choices made by leaders in response to perceived threats create coercive institutions that vary on a number of different attributes, such as exclusivity (social composition) and organization centralization. These coercive institutions are either more violent because they are fragmented and unable to adequately collect intelligence on their populations, constructed as such to defend against rival elites, or are less violent because they penetrate society better and thus can preemptively address possible mass mobilization, having been constructed to defend the regime against mass uprisings. Embedded in these arguments is a sense of path-dependence conditioned by decisions made in an initial period. Institutional stickiness then makes it difficult for regimes to adapt as new threats arise (Mahoney and Thelen 2010), resulting in predictable patterns of state coercive organization and violence across time. While the authoritarian literature focuses on militaries, there is reason to think similar processes occur with the police, who are similarly tasked with political control and are centrally important for the state's monopoly of violence.

While existing theories differ in the details, they are united in assigning significant autonomy to leaders to strategically choose coercive institutions. These explanations are demand-driven, because the type of challenge the regime faces determines its strategic response and choices in the design of coercive institutions. We argue that a more accurate explanation of regimes' use of repression must be supply-driven, because contemporary authoritarian leaders inherit certain coercive institutions and states with a given, limited capacity (barring large exogenous shocks which might update these institutions, like a fiscal windfall or a war). The historical reality in which these leaders find themselves making decisions undermines the assumption that contemporary authoritarian leaders have full autonomy to design and construct coercive institutions. In sum, the empirical record supports existing claims that coercive institutions exhibit path dependence and that state violence follows predictable patterns; however, political regimes do not create the tools of their coercion de novo. Instead, the starting point for path dependence must be moved back further in time, removing repression from the strategic realm of post-independence authoritarian leaders.

4 The Origins of Coercive Institutions in Contemporary Authoritarian Regimes

We depart from the existing theorized summarized above, where leaders make choices at independence with down-stream implications for the nature of established coercive institutions and patterns of state repression. In contrast, we argue that rulers inherit institutions, particularly when it comes to national and domestic security. In post-colonial states, such as those in the Middle East, independence leaders take control of a country with certain pre-established capabilities, and thus are highly constrained in creating new institutions.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, European colonial actors intervened in developing countries' domestic politics. The effects of colonial intervention are particularly pronounced in the Middle East, when the colonial period coincided with a consequential period of modern state-building and consolidation. State-building projects varied across and within country-context and determined state capacity at independence, with path-dependent implications for the nature of many institutions central to state functioning. Though there is much debate about exactly just how different types of colonizers were, and thus how meaningful a distinction exists between, say, British and French colonial legacies for subsequent economic, political, and social developments, a country's colonial experience has predictive power for the nature of coercive institutions inherited at independence. The difference between different colonizers' form of rule is not a simple difference between indirect and direct rule, but rather a categorical difference in the nature of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized (Crowder 1964). These differences emerged as an interaction between a number of characteristics of the both the colonizer and the colonized.

Coercion was at the center of European colonial projects. Foreign powers asserted their power and authority over local populations in many ways and through different institutions, but none was so visible as the colonial policeman, a metaphor of the power imbalance inherent in the colonial relationship (Arnold 1986, 2.) The police played an internal security role as the main coercive arm of the colonial state,

focused on identifying and eliminating domestic political threats, many of which increasingly took on a nationalist tone towards the end of the colonial period. The right to control and shape national security forces was explicitly denied to local entities under European control because of its centrality in colonial coercion. Instead, these domestic police forces were established by colonial powers, serving and shaped by their interests. Because they were explicitly not accountable to the populations which they policed, colonial police "tended to ingrain the coercive character of policing" (Anderson and Killingray 1991, 9) against disturbances of a political nature.

Intelligence collection is central to the effective use of coercion. In Ferris's (2007, 99) words, "intelligence is not a form of power but a means to guide its use, whether as a combat multiplier, or by helping one to understand one's environment and options." Ultimately, the two are closely related. Intelligence collection by foreign powers in their colonies served two political purposes: most immediately, to allow the foreign power to effectively control political participation and mobilization, and ultimately, to remain in control of the colonial holding. Foreign powers relied extensively on locally recruited personnel, indigenous bureaucracies, and existing social groups to penetrate and monitor indigenous society, collect and interpret collected intelligence. Martin (2008) coined the term "intelligence states" as a way of making sense of what role the colonial state, which he characterizes as an unequal partnership between colonial rulers and local networks, played during this period.

While all foreign powers relied on local populations for intelligence, they did so to different extents and in systematically different ways. In particular, the British and the French differed in their approach to colonial intelligence collection. These two powers governed significant amounts of territory in the Middle East during the late colonial period, and both did so through forms of indirect rule. During this period, France and Britain were "obliged to construct at least the facades of independent administrations" as the result of waning support for colonialism and economic hardships following the First World War. The resulting mandates were somewhat of a "hybrid, a half-way house between colonial rule and independence," and built on initial state-centralization projects that had developed under the Ottoman Empire. This period left indelible marks on coercive institutions and became an important anchor for

the subsequent development of these institutions after European forces departed (Méouchy and Sluglett 2004, 8-11).

Colonial legacies affected post-colonial variation in state capacity (Herbst 2000) and both the nature and subsequent performance of national economies (Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson 2000; North 1990). Colonial legacies determine variation in the strength and professionalization of post-independence bureaucracies, with implications for successful consolidation following independence (Anderson 1986). In addition, the type of colonialism experienced correlates with post-independence electoral strategies in the Middle East (Jamal and Lust 2002), suggesting the way in which colonial powers co-opted local opposition has explanatory power for making sense of post-colonial authoritarian regimes' strategies of control. Of interest for our inquiry in this paper is how the different colonial strategies of coercion had significant downstream effects for the coercive institutions of post-colonial authoritarian regimes. Given the effect this period had on other institutions, there is reason to think colonial legacies matter for coercive institutions as well.

The analyses that follow are based on two important assumptions undergirding historical institutionalism. The first is that of institutional path-dependence. As noted above, existing literature agrees that choices leaders make create coercive institutions that are difficult to reform; path dependence is central to arguments about authoritarian strategies of repression and the resulting predictable patterns of state violence and control. Here, we simply move the starting point back in time, to strategies adopted by colonial powers who oversaw the initial creation of modern coercive institutions, instead of by post-independence authoritarian leaders. Colonial coercive institutions and strategies directly determined subsequent independent authoritarian regimes' coercive institutions and strategies. Post-independence authoritarian leaders largely did not fully remake states and their institutions, but rather appropriated pre-existing institutions nearly intact for their own protection and survival.

Evidence from a variety of countries demonstrates that reforming sticky coercive institutions that predate a leader's tenure will be challenging, if not impossible, barring significant exogenous economic or security shocks. As a result, "many a policing institution has been passed on, almost 'as is,' to

newly independent states" (Méouchy and Sluglett 2004, 13). Historical research on coercive institutions in countries as diverse as post-Soviet Russia (Anderson 2008), Burman (Callahan 2003), (Perry 2006), Taiwan and the Philippines (Matsuzaki 2011), Zimbabwe (Weitzer 1990), Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey (Cook 2007) document coercive agencies that are particularly sticky and very successful at resisting reform due to the high financial costs as well as the security instability such a disruptive reform might cause.

The second assumption refers to how institutions constrain leaders' choices: we assume that it is "ultimately the institutions that provide scripts for political processes" (Shepsle 2006, 24; emphasis added). Institutions and the constraints they impose guide the behavior of political actors when making decisions and policies. In contrast to theories wherein a leader has full autonomy to construct coercive institutions at late stages of state development, we maintain that leaders inherit certain tools, and these institutional tools guide what they see as threats and how they respond. To paraphrase a well-known idiom, we believe if a leader starts off with a hammer, all encountered threats will be treated as nails, rather than in the ability of a leader to develop a hammer in response to encountering nails.

The question that remains is exactly how differences in colonial coercive institutions affected their independence counterparts in the post-colonial period, and thus how this specific type of colonial legacy influences the nature of repression used by the regimes which follow. In the next section, we will trace the historical development of coercive institutions in Egypt to demonstrate exactly how spending patterns on colonial coercive inheritances constrained independence leaders in reforming and reconstructing the security apparatus.

5 Coercive Institutions in Egypt

This paper is largely a theory developing exercise drawing from the historical development of coercive institutions in Egypt. In this section, we summary the coercive history of modern Egypt. This narrative suggests more continuity than change between the colonial era and the authoritarian independence after Egypt gained its independence from British occupation.

5.1 Historical Development of Coercive Institutions in Egypt

The British occupied Egypt in 1882 with the expressed goals of securing the Suez Canal route to India, and nearly immediately declared the police system desperately inadequate and in need of reform (Tollefson 1999, 1). At the same time, the British dissolved the 100,000 man-strong Egyptian army, lowering its standing power to 10,000 for several decades. British garrisons also returned to the barracks, only to be brought out in moments of crisis, like the 1919 Revolution (Schewe 2014, 50). The Ministry of Interior (hereafter MoI) would become the most important coercive institution in Egypt, as the British occupation elevated security concerns from a local or provincial issue into a matter of national policy and the phrase *al-amn al-ʻamm* (public security) first came into use (Brown 1990, 267). As colonial authorities worked to extend the power of the state deeper into Egyptian society, the responsibilities of the Ministry of Interior grew. The MoI's expansive mandate included "the police and the local and provincial officials, the mamurs [provincial governors] and the mudirs [district administrators] … public health and many features of the urban life of the country" (Tignor 1966, 70).

In 1890, British reforms targeted the ghaffirs, or village guards, seeking to emulate the village policing model in use in India (Tollefson 1999, 53). Notably, British administrators called for arming all ghaffirs, ensuring that the encroaching hand of the state would be an armed one. Next, a major reorganization of the MoI in 1894 established powerful British oversight of the police. Yet despite these and other measures intended to expand the police force, the performance of the Egyptian police remained abysmal: "Under British control, defects in the police such as low pay, harsh discipline, and maltreatment of suspects persisted, and ordinary crime increased" (Tollefson 1999, 553-54). Rather than reducing crime and improving public security, the effect of British reforms was simply to strengthen colonial oversight over local populations.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Egypt's nationalist movement had developed into a serious threat, and the British discovered a critical new mission for the police: political intelligence. In September 1910, the colonial administration created the Central Special Office (CSO) as the country's first official secret police and intelligence organization. Originally created to defend colonial rule against the nation-

alist movement, in practice the CSO served as the foundation of the modern mukhabarat (intelligence services). Official documents described the unit as "a thoroughly organized service for the collection of all information regarding Political Secret Societies – individuals known, or believed to be, Political Agitators."[1] The CSO relied on data collected from informant networks, managed by plainclothes police officers employed by the department. Over the remainder of the British period, the collection and analysis of intelligence relevant to the CSO's work was increasingly centralized. After the 1919 Revolution, the CSO came under the jurisdiction of the MoI, and a new ministry-level Special Section was created to oversee the collection and analysis of police intelligence (Sirrs 2010, 12).

Unlike the regular police, the political police found success by employing an informant-based intelligence gathering approach that produced reliable data about opposition threats. For example, in January 1911, the CSO issued a comprehensive report on secret organizations. In 1912, it successfully monitored and apprehended an assassination plot against the British consul general, Lord Kitchener, and the Egyptian prime minister. And in July 1914, it foiled a murder plot against the Egyptian monarch (Tauber 2006, 605-610; Badrawi 2014, 86). The CSO even recruited an informant in the elusive Vengeance Society, the secret movement of the nationalist Wafd Party, and was able to monitor its activities.

Despite Egypt's formal independence in 1922, British domination persisted. In this period, the mukhabarat remained focused on the threats to the Egyptian government which would challenge British influence. The case of Egypt's nascent Islamist movement exemplifies the CSO's stranglehold over political opposition forces. Around 1930, the CSO began to monitor a new Islamist movement called the Society of Muslim Brothers. As the Society's clandestine Special Organization laid plans to infiltrate the government, solidify contacts with sympathetic military officers, and establish the foundations for an eventual coup, there were CSO informants watching at every turn. In November 1948, the police moved preemptively against the group: the movement was officially banned; its cadres were arrested, interrogated, and tortured; its assets were confiscated; and its leaders, including Hassan al-Banna, were subjected to heightened surveillance.

[1] Founding document cited in Sirrs 2010, 8.

A large part of the efficacy of the political police derive from its form. From the beginning, the political police had relied on local informants and plainclothes Egyptian police. But after the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, the Interior Ministry and political police were further Egyptianized. These thousands of Egyptians employed in the state coercive apparatus, first by the British and later by the nascent post-independence government, ensured the institutional continuity of Egyptian policing after the British withdrawal. The bureaucrats, spies, and policemen of the Ministry of Interior formed a technical elite who were "responsible for installing the structure of the modern state under the mandate period" and "carry[ing] the state through the independence period" (Meouchy and Sluggett 2004, 17).

World War II was a defining moment for the Ministry of Interior. The contemporary mode of governing via continual constitutional state of emergency was first established during World War II, when Egyptians began to emulate long-standing colonial policing practices (Schewe 2014). This constitutional framework became routine during and after the war as a consequence of the "increased pace of commerce and political life throughout Egypt and particularly in urban areas before and during the war prompted the Egyptian state to expand its intelligence collection and police presence" (Schewe 2014). The state of emergency extended extraordinary powers to the central government in the name of national security and interest, and the MoI was central to the carrying out of a continual state of emergency. Indeed, the Army was sidelined after the fall of Ali Mahir's government in 1940, leaving the MoI to as, "the key institution in the Egyptian government's conception and enforcement of public security" (Schewe 2014).

5.2 Institutional Path Dependence after Colonialism

The Free Officers' Revolution of 1952 formally ended the monarchy, established Egypt as an independent republic, and led to the eviction of the British from Egyptian lands. This moment represented a potential turning point for the coercive apparatus. Before seizing power, the Free Officers had consistently called for the dismantling of the political police, already detested by Egyptians, and they reiterated this policy after taking power. For example, two days after the coup "on July 25, the new civilian prime minister declared the army would 'terminate the system of political police and informers' because

it was 'unhealthy' and produced 'bogus information'" (Sirrs 2010, 25). Later that year, the new regime announced the abolition of the political police at the governorate level (Special Branches) and within the Interior Ministry (Special Section).

However, and perhaps unsurprisingly, internal security soon proved to be just as great a concern for the Free Officers as it had been for the British. Moreover, the new regime attracted its most threatening opposition from many of the same sources face by the former regime: dissident military officers, communists, and the Muslim Brotherhood, with the added bonus of loyalists to the old regime. Thus, instead of following through with dismantling the coercive apparatus, the Free Officers expanded and enhanced it, further centralizing intelligence collection and analysis. While publicly discussing the termination of the political police, the new "prime minister told a journalist that the political police was a 'remarkable instrument of government' – an instrument apparently worth preserving" (Sirrs 2010, 25). Behind the scenes, the regime set to work strengthening the capabilities of the mukhabarat.

One of the regime's earliest decisions was to reincarnate the political police apparatus as the General Investigations Directorate (GID; in Arabic *Mabahith al-'Amn*). While covering the same missions as its predecessor, the GID enjoyed expanded security powers and capabilities, and more direct control of the intelligence collection process. The new organization was led by Zakaria Muhi al-Din and supervised by a cadre of military intelligence officers, all trained under British supervision in Egyptian war colleges. The GID was characterized by significantly more continuity than change from the CSO: "It was understood that this new agency would absorb the personnel of its predecessor 'after ample purging' … There was a continuity between the old political police and the GID in organizational structure, mission, and staffing. The GID also assumed control over the archives of the old Special Section" (Sirrs 2010, 31). The organization also expanded its use of torture against a growing number of political detainees of various ideologies (Zollner 2007, 413).

Nasser's successors further strengthened and centralized the coercive apparatus, while retaining its two characteristic features: first, that of gathering intelligence through a large network of informants, and second, that of significant police repression, including harassment, arrest, interrogation, prolonged

detention, and torture. Under Sadat the GID became the State Security Investigations Service (SSIS: in Arabic *Jihaz Mabahath Amn al-Dawla*). However, the reorganization did not affect its core missions, which included fighting "political crime" (Sirrs 2010, 163). Sadat reinforced the SSIS's orientation toward internal security, while strengthening the capabilities that had made the GID such a potent political force.

Trends in the security sector continued in like manner under Egypt's fourth president, Hosni Mubarak. In the 1980s and 90s, domestic intelligence capabilities were further enhanced and centralized, but retained their modus operandi. Informants pervaded "all levels of government and the public sector," and the harassment and intimidation of political opponents continued (Sirrs 2010, 162, 182). The coercive apparatus faced a series of tests, beginning in 1986 with the mutiny of thousands of conscripted riot police from the Central Security Forces (CSF, in Arabic *Quwwat al-'Amn al-Markazi*).[2] Mubarak crushed the revolt with military airstrikes and artillery bombardments, and consolidated his control over the institutions of state repression through purges across the MoI. Beginning in 1992, the regime faced an unprecedented urban and rural insurgency. The regime's counterinsurgency strategy relied heavily on the SSIS, with its brutal interrogation tactics and network of informers. Intelligence successes, tied to the intensive use of informants, were soon credited with turning the tide against the militants (Sirrs 2010, 158-168).

In short, Egypt's coercive apparatus has shown a striking resilience across leaders and regimes. Today, the Egyptian police remain a formidable instrument of state repression. Its size, in terms of budget and personnel, is a state secret, but it is clear that this organization has a nationwide presence with an officer cadre numbering in the many thousands (Sirrs 2010, 163). Egyptians from all walks of life serve as informants, and informants remain vital to the pervasive domestic intelligence system. Torture remains in widespread use across the security forces, as documented by human rights organizations, journalists, and even Egypt's high court. Central to this continuity has been the path dependence of institutions, especially the MoI and security forces, which have remained largely intact for the last 100 years. Organizational

[2] The CSF includes around 325,000 short-term conscripts, used primarily for riot control and intimidation. "If the SSIS comprised the eyes, ears, and interrogator of the regime, the CSF was its instrument of brute force" (Sirrs 2010, 162).

continuity has created path dependence in police personnel, organization, and methods. Moreover, the coercive apparatus has maintained a consistent approach to political control, based on pervasive human intelligence operations and a divide-and-rule strategy for countering potential threats. Unfortunately, the lasting legacy of Britain's 70-year occupation was not deliverance from the scourges of criminality and public disorder, but rather "the creation of a secret police system to monitor, harass, intimidate torture and even extort money from the Egyptian population" (Sirrs 2010, 194-95).

6 Measurement Strategy, Data, and Expectations

In order to document the path dependence and continuation of Egypt's coercive institutions, we utilize helpful metrics laid out by Bellin (2004), though as noted above we widen the scope of analysis from the military to include domestic institutions (i.e. the police) as well. First, we measure spending on coercive institutions as a percent of total spending. Bellin documents that the majority of states in the Middle East and North African spend exceedingly high levels of their budgets on coercive institutions. According to Bellin, these expenditures are the highest in the world on average: in 2000, Middle East countries spent 6.7 percent of GDP, compared to a global average of 3.8 percent, 4 percent in sub-Saharan Africa, and 2.2-2.9 percent in European countries. In addition, Bellin argues that the percentage of those employed by various coercive institutions is exceedingly high. In the Middle East, "the average country counts 16.2 men per thousand under arms, compared to 6.31 in France, 3.92 in Brazil, and .33 in Ghana. In Iraq, for example, the number is 20.94; in Syria, 26, in Bahrain, 33.8, in Saudi Arabia, 9.86, and in Egypt, 10.87."

We draw on two data sources to document the historical development of Egypt's coercive apparatus and to capture sub-national variation in it. First, we compile spending data from an annual government publication called the statistical yearbook, or Annuaire Statistique. The yearbooks contain official statistical data measuring key social and economic indicators, including population, land tenure, climate, education, tourism, economic activities, utilities, transport, banking and finance prices, external trade, and national accounts, among others. We are most interested in the section on government finance,

which permits us to determine the percent of total ordinary and extraordinary expenditures spent on creating, developing, and sustaining coercive institutions each year and over time. We are currently able to demonstrate spending from 1880 to 1960 due to the current state of data collection. With additional data collection, a future version of the project will expand the temporal scope of the analysis, but any major changes in spending on coercive institutions should be visible in the shorter period assessed here.

Second, we draw official demographic and employment statistics from the Egyptian census. In addition to population and occupation data, the census includes the number of police and soldiers employed in each district (*qism* or *markaz*). Over time, transparency and about the distribution of security forces within Egypt has decreased. In this paper, we focus on the distribution of police and soldiers subnationally, and changes in this distribution from 1897 to 1947. [3] In our empirical analysis, we measure the presence of different branches of the coercive apparatus (Egyptian military, British military, ghaffir, and civil police) in each district in 1897 and 1947. We use a standard metric, coercive personnel per ten thousand inhabitants, to facilitate comparison.

We will use these data to test the hypothesis that early human capital and economic investments in the coercive apparatus set the baseline for institutional path dependence, which persisted through regime change. In particular, post-1952 regimes devoted allocated more resources to the military than to other branches of the coercive appartus, including the police and intelligence forces. Due to this diversion of resources away from the police, we hypothesize that policing in particular preserved much the same form as it had at the end of British rule.

7 Results

7.1 Coercive Spending Pre- and Post-Independence

Figure 2 shows that during the colonial period, spending on coercive institutions across both the MoD and MoI was remarkably consistent until the inter-war period, remaining between 4% and 7% of the budget. There is one outlier point around 1882, the year colonial rule and British development of

[3] Coding of all censuses from 1882 to 1960 inclusive is on-going.

the Egyptian state commenced. Yet even during the 1919 Revolution, which posed the greatest challenge to colonial rule, spending remained consistent. In the late 1920s to mid-1930s, the data show an up-tick in police spending. Military spending increases during WWII, but never exceeds 12% of the budget. Despite an initial post-coup diversion of resources toward the military (reaching 30% of total expenditure), most of this development was funded by deficit spending. MoI expenditure also increases during the same period, reaching pre-1952 maximums of 12%. The fact that the new regime had to resort to deficit spending to fund the expansion of coercive institutions signals that the priorities of the new regime were at odds with the institutional capacity of the Egyptian state. When the budget re-balances in the mid-1950s, military and police spending reach parity at roughly 4% of the budget. Our current data, however, are temporally limited and only extend to 1962.[4]

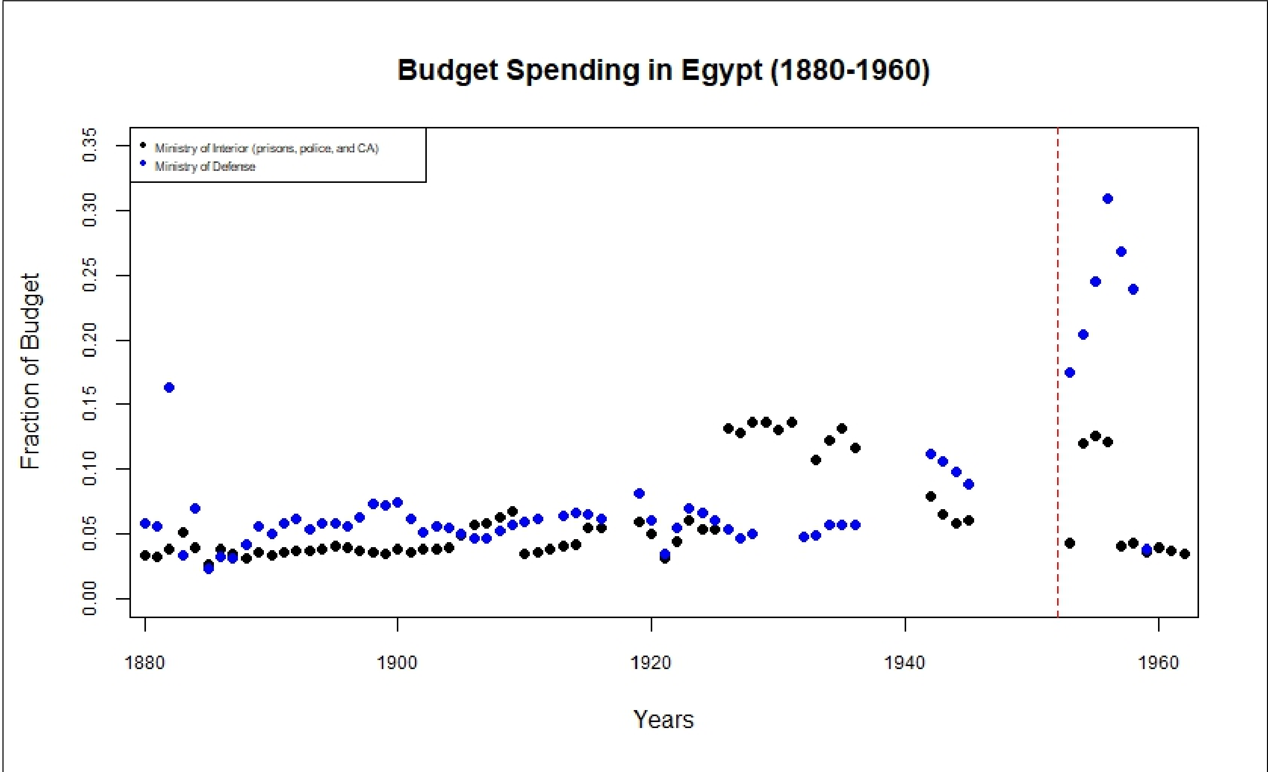

Figure 2: Egyptian Military and Police Budgets: 1880 - 1962

[4] Data will be extended in future iterations.

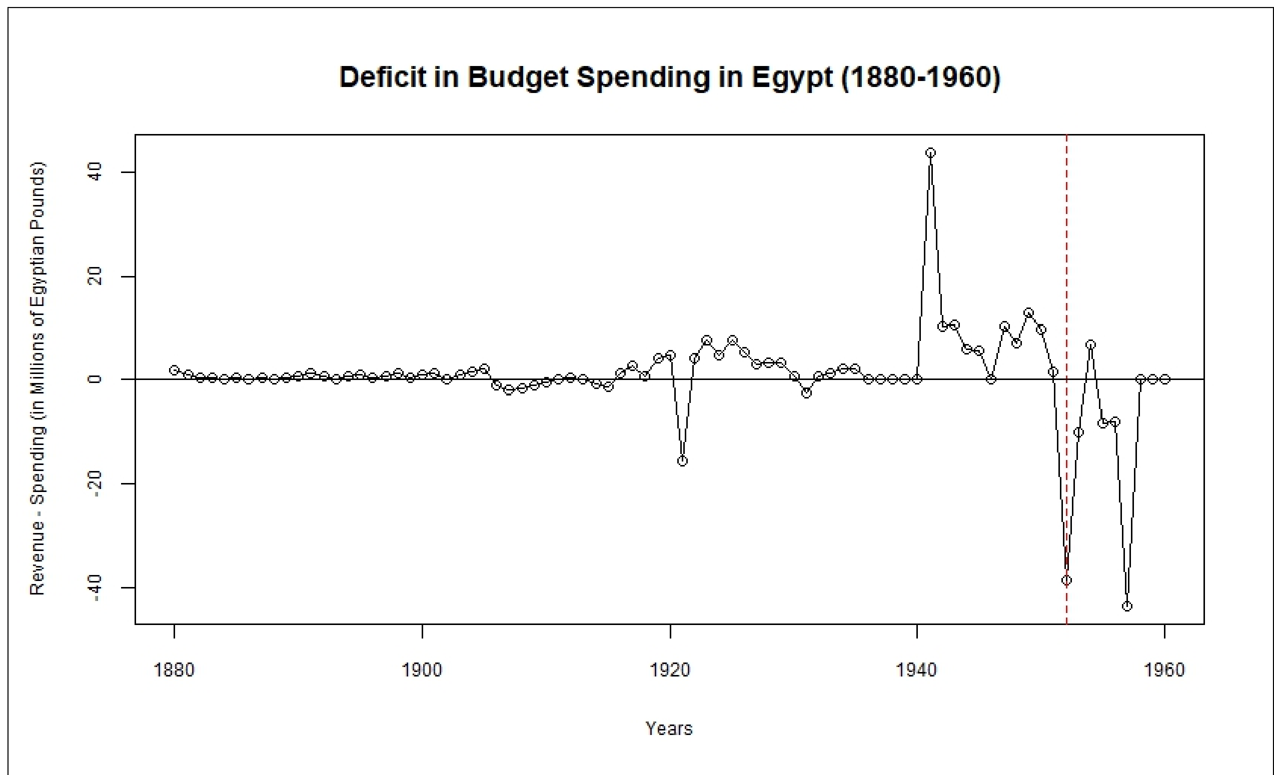

Figure 3: Deficit in Egyptian Budget: 1880 - 1962

7.2 Subnational Development of Coercive Capacity

We argue that colonial priorities shaped the development of the Egyptian coercive apparatus under the Egyptian protectorate. Census data of governorate policing levels in 1917 and 1960 suggests a two-pronged strategy for allocating police. First, it prioritized strategic regions, like Ismailiyya and Port Said, which saw 104 and 225 percent changes in policing levels respectively (see Table 1).[5] Second, governorates that were lagging registered the greatest percent changes, suggesting the late colonial and early post-colonial regimes were compensating for areas of low policing. Table **??** also shows that the expansion of policing did not vary dramatically in its proportional share of the local work force, and the largest gains in police manpower occured in places of strategic importance to the colonizer due to economic rents (Port Said and the Suez Canal) or due to large foreign populations.

[5] Due to data limitations, we were unable to measure the number of police for the following governorates in 1960: Qalyubiyya, Kafr el-Sheikh, Beheira, Giza, Red Sea, Wadi Jdid, Matrouh, Sinai, Fayoum, and Minya.

Table 1: Police Per 10,000 Inhabitants 1917 and 1960 by Governorate

Governorate	**Police Per 10,000 Inhabitants**		**Percent Increase**
	1917	**1960**	
Alexandria	64.4	96.7	50%
Suez	60.0	112.6	88%
Cairo	58.2	94.4	62%
Ismailiyya	53.5	109.4	104%
Port Said	41.8	136.0	225%
Sharqiyya	36.9	63.0	71%
Dakhliyya	28.7	51.6	80%
Gharbiyya	28.1	65.5	133%
Damietta	23.9	46.6	95%
Beni Suef	23.7	64.6	172%
Monufiyya	23.6	63.9	171%
Assiut	21.3	18.7	-12%
Aswan	19.5	64.6	231%
Qena	15.9	55.4	247%
National	**30.7**	**69.9**	**195%**

Table 2: Police as a percentage of male employment, 1917 and 1960 by Governorate

Governorate	**Police Per 10,000 Inhabitants**		**Percent Increase**
	1917	**1960**	
Alexandria	2.32%	4.13%	1.81
Suez	1.59%	5.01%	3.42
Cairo	2.03%	3.98%	1.95
Ismailiyya and Port Said	1.08%	5.42%	4.35
Sharqiyya	1.19%	2.59%	1.39
Dakhliyya	1.07%	2.19%	1.12
Gharbiyya	0.91%	2.73%	1.81
Damietta	0.95%	1.90%	0.95
Beni Suef	0.77%	2.45%	1.68
Monufiyya	0.75%	2.56%	1.81
Assiut	0.81%	0.72%	-0.09
Aswan	0.80%	2.63%	1.83
Qena	0.65%	2.21%	1.48
Sohag	0.65%	1.83%	1.18
National	**1.08%**	**2.83%**	**1.74**

7.2.1 Regression Analysis

To more fully probe the idea that the allocation of police in colonial and monarchical Egypt served the logic of foreign rulers more than domestic interests, we present evidence from the 1897 and 1947 Egyptian censuses. We disaggregate the coercive apparatus on the district level by measuring the number of male personnel in each branch per 1000 citizens, including the Ghaffir, the Egyptian civil police, and the Egyptian and British militaries. We then run OLS regressions with a number of covariates that may drive higher levels of policing. In the 19th century, European powers claimed the right of representing Christian minorities in the Ottoman Empire and in colonized successor states across the region; we therefore control for population share of Christians in a each district. The colonial state will also be incentivized to protect foreign citizens, and particularly Europeans, resident in the colony; we therefore measure the percentage of foreign residents of the district population. Colonial officials may also be concerned with the policing of potentially restive populations, men who may protest, riot, or band together to voice their grievances collectively against the state. Two groups that the state may choose to police are uneducated or unemployed men - we control for the share of these groups of the district's male population.

First, we analyze 1897 and 1947 independently. Table 3 shows that the allocation of the main coercive appartus in 1897, the Egyptian and British militaries, is correlated with the foreign population share. All else equal, a one percent increase in the share of foreigners in a given district is associated with 22 additional Egyptian officers per 1000 residents ($p = 0.01$) and 39 additional British officers ($p = 0.05$). Table 4 regresses 1947 covariates on the overall coercive personnel per 1000 residents, then disaggregates the measure to capture variation driving the distribution of the Ghaffir, the domestic and occupying militaries, the civil police. Taken as a whole, the coercive apparatus (Table 4, column 1) is significantly less likely to be highly populated districts or in those where a higher proportion of males are unemployed. The 1947 distribution of Christians is uncorrelated with any measure of coercive capacity, while the proportion of foreigners in 1947 negatively correlates ($p = 0.01$) to the number of Egyptian military personnel per 1000 residents.

Table 3: 1897 OLS Regression Results

	Dependent variable:	
	egyMil_per1000	britMil_per1000
	(1)	(2)
% Christian	−9.664	−13.282
	(6.648)	(10.052)
% Foreign	22.198*	38.913**
	(11.997)	(18.138)
% Males Unemployed	5.274	10.874
	(4.564)	(6.900)
% Males Illiterate	−8.577	−12.288
	(8.699)	(13.152)
N Villages	−0.003	−0.003
	(0.003)	(0.005)
N Camps	−0.037	−0.022
	(0.050)	(0.075)
Ln(Population)	−0.276	0.899
	(0.502)	(0.759)
Constant	11.803	−0.804
	(9.378)	(14.178)
Observations	115	115
R^2	0.217	0.171
Adjusted R^2	0.166	0.117
Residual Std. Error (df = 107)	4.777	7.223
F Statistic (df = 7; 107)	4.243***	3.159***
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 4: 1947 OLS Regression Results

	Dependent variable:				
	coercive_per1000	egyMil_per1000	britMil_per1000	egyPolice_per1000	ghaffir_per1000
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
% Christian	82.245	74.918	3.106	6.236	−2.045
	(59.681)	(52.376)	(19.287)	(5.444)	(1.856)
% Foreign	−162.797	−151.828*	2.015	−12.042	0.372
	(100.724)	(88.396)	(32.550)	(9.188)	(3.132)
% Males Unemployed	−604.803***	−745.206***	155.798***	−9.024	−8.447*
	(163.585)	(143.563)	(52.864)	(14.922)	(5.086)
% Males Illiterate	84.205**	119.453***	−31.933**	−6.446*	4.356***
	(41.656)	(36.558)	(13.462)	(3.800)	(1.295)
Ln(Population)	−49.482***	−38.464***	−8.405***	−3.124***	0.573**
	(7.670)	(6.731)	(2.479)	(0.700)	(0.238)
Constant	277.205***	210.698***	44.609***	22.468***	−1.470
	(43.531)	(38.203)	(14.068)	(3.971)	(1.354)
Observations	168	168	168	168	168
R^2	0.218	0.220	0.163	0.156	0.158
Adjusted R^2	0.194	0.196	0.137	0.129	0.132
Residual Std. Error (df = 162)	56.478	49.565	18.251	5.152	1.756
F Statistic (df = 5; 162)	9.058***	9.126***	6.304***	5.969***	6.082***

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Second, we regress 1897 covariates on 1947 measures of coercive capacity. These analyses do not include the governorates of Alexandria and Cairo, as the administrative divisions of Egypt's first and second cities were significantly altered during this period.[6] In Tables 5 and 6, the 1897 share of foreigners is a positive and significant predictor of the number of civil police, Egyptian military, and British military in 1947. This finding is striking in the magnitude of its effect (40 additional police officers in 1947 per percent increase in the share of population in 1897) and in its robustness to the inclusion of 1947 covariates in Table 7, where 1897 and 1947 covariates are combined and regressed on 1947 outcomes. Notably, the 1947 allocation of foreigners is not correlated with our measures of coercive capacity in 1947, pointing to the stickiness of coercive institutions subnationally from the early decades of colonial rule.

[6] We are working to match these districts for later versions of the paper.

Table 5: 1947 OLS Regression Results with 1897 Covariates

	Dependent variable:				
	coercive_per1000_1947	ghaffir_per1000_1947	egyPolice_per1000_1947	egyMil_per1000_1947	britMil_per1000_1947
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Christian 1897	−0.469	−2.307	−0.794	3.857	−1.119
	(7.068)	(1.903)	(2.071)	(3.282)	(3.859)
Foreign 1897	296.107***	−6.063	39.892***	30.523***	231.400***
	(20.788)	(5.598)	(6.091)	(9.653)	(11.350)
Males Unemployed 1897	−1.321	1.544	0.206	−6.066	3.086
	(9.440)	(2.542)	(2.766)	(4.383)	(5.154)
Males Illiterate 1897	20.005	−6.957	−4.804	7.850	23.535**
	(19.412)	(5.227)	(5.687)	(9.014)	(10.599)
Ln(Population) 1897	0.205	0.292**	0.030	−0.016	−0.119
	(0.466)	(0.125)	(0.136)	(0.216)	(0.254)
Constant	−15.172	5.676	5.128	−2.904	−22.658**
	(20.069)	(5.405)	(5.880)	(9.319)	(10.958)
Observations	68	68	68	68	68
R^2	0.940	0.215	0.810	0.443	0.968
Adjusted R^2	0.935	0.152	0.794	0.398	0.966
Residual Std. Error (df = 62)	3.619	0.975	1.060	1.681	1.976
F Statistic (df = 5; 62)	192.986***	3.406***	52.696***	9.857***	380.291***
Note:					*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 6: 1947 OLS Regression Results with 1897 Covariates, including Egyptian and Foreign Militaries (1897)

	Dependent variable:				
	coercive_per1000_1947	ghaffir_per1000_1947	egyPolice_per1000_1947	egyMil_per1000_1947	britMil_per1000_1947
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Egyptian Military per 1000 1897	−1.565***	−0.336*	0.018	−0.602*	−0.642***
	(0.486)	(0.193)	(0.205)	(0.327)	(0.153)
Foreign Military per 1000 1897	−0.580***	−0.010	−0.087**	−0.056	−0.427***
	(0.081)	(0.032)	(0.034)	(0.055)	(0.026)
% Christian 1897	1.597	−1.902	−0.787	4.597	−0.209
	(4.775)	(1.893)	(2.011)	(3.210)	(1.505)
% Foreign 1897	412.542***	10.989	45.015***	63.729***	292.272***
	(26.846)	(10.640)	(11.304)	(18.048)	(8.464)
% Males Unemployed 1897	−0.851	1.839	0.042	−5.602	2.957
	(6.351)	(2.517)	(2.674)	(4.270)	(2.002)
% Males Illiterate 1897	9.908	−8.073	−5.544	5.501	17.655***
	(13.103)	(5.193)	(5.517)	(8.809)	(4.131)
Ln(Population) 1897	0.489	0.291**	0.077	0.003	0.101
	(0.316)	(0.125)	(0.133)	(0.212)	(0.100)
Constant	−9.011	6.616	5.369	−1.092	−19.498***
	(13.520)	(5.358)	(5.693)	(9.089)	(4.262)
Observations	68	68	68	68	68
R^2	0.974	0.260	0.829	0.492	0.995
Adjusted R^2	0.971	0.174	0.809	0.432	0.995
Residual Std. Error (df = 60)	2.427	0.962	1.022	1.632	0.765
F Statistic (df = 7; 60)	317.598***	3.016***	41.479***	8.290***	1,861.806***

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 7: 1947 OLS Regression Results with 1897 and 1947 Covariates

	Dependent variable:				
	coercive_per1000_1947	ghaffir_per1000_1947	egyPolice_per1000_1947	egyMil_per1000_1947	britMil_per1000_1947
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
% Christian 1897	2.849	−2.106	0.146	6.261	−1.325
	(6.989)	(2.209)	(2.182)	(4.024)	(3.084)
% Foreign 1897	475.965***	11.214	47.661***	43.548**	375.502***
	(35.477)	(11.216)	(11.075)	(20.428)	(15.657)
% Males Unemployed 1897	−3.333	3.193	−1.960	−8.090*	3.608
	(7.201)	(2.277)	(2.248)	(4.147)	(3.178)
% Males Illiterate 1897	48.881***	−5.224	3.859	19.803**	29.280***
	(15.834)	(5.006)	(4.943)	(9.117)	(6.988)
Ln(Population) 1897	0.569	0.207	0.167	0.014	0.171
	(0.437)	(0.138)	(0.136)	(0.252)	(0.193)
% Christian 1947	−804.721***	−51.318	−39.137	−70.296	−655.860***
	(141.924)	(44.868)	(44.307)	(81.719)	(62.636)
% Foreign 1947	6.077	1.269	2.327	0.317	1.821
	(7.505)	(2.373)	(2.343)	(4.322)	(3.312)
% Males Unemployed 1947	−57.551*	−42.175***	−1.257	4.920	−17.709
	(28.770)	(9.096)	(8.982)	(16.566)	(12.697)
% Males Illiterate 1947	−11.126	8.157***	−7.395***	−11.524***	0.058
	(6.655)	(2.104)	(2.078)	(3.832)	(2.937)
Ln(Population) 1947	−1.941**	−0.174	−0.988***	−0.426	−0.364
	(0.845)	(0.267)	(0.264)	(0.487)	(0.373)
Constant	−8.793	5.967	13.102**	−1.766	−25.281***
	(17.808)	(5.630)	(5.559)	(10.254)	(7.859)
Observations	68	68	68	68	68
R^2	0.969	0.451	0.890	0.565	0.990
Adjusted R^2	0.964	0.354	0.871	0.488	0.988
Residual Std. Error (df = 57)	2.691	0.851	0.840	1.549	1.188
F Statistic (df = 10; 57)	180.089***	4.674***	46.165***	7.393***	537.958***

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

8 Discussion

The previous section provides descriptive statistics of both state inputs and distribution of police sub-nationally, and suggestive correlational evidence of the fact that colonial priorities - particularly the protection of foreigners - played in the developmental patterns of Egyptian coercive capacity. Institutional continuity and change can be measured via the state's inputs to a given institution (e.g., budgetary allocations) or by more procedural, output-based measures (e.g., police allocations). By triangulating between qualitative process tracing and quantitative metrics, our preliminary results suggest that the MoI's role in pre- and post-revolutionary Egypt reflects the "stickiness" of coercive institutions fashioned before independence.

Although MoD and MoI spending initially increases after the Free Officers' Revolution in 1952, these increases are funded by a new regime pushing Egypt into the red. The Egyptian willingness to run a deficit to expand their coercive apparatus shows, that, counter to Bellin's observation, the early independent state did not have sufficient revenue to spend robustly on their security apparatus. Rather than signaling concrete and permanent break from the past, however, the re-balancing of the budget, and the continuation of pre-revolution MoI budget allocations within a few short years of the coup suggest that the police forces remained an important and powerful component of the regime's repressive apparatus. This is particularly striking in a regime run by military officers, where we might expect to see the complete displacement of competing and alternative repressive institutions in favor of the military.

Policing rates, which were already high in 1917, increased many times over in some governorates by 1960. Increases were particularly pronounced in economically strategic regions or in lagging areas. The rapid and intensive build-up of the Egyptian police state over 43 years is striking and pushes back against arguments suggesting that the military has always been the dominant coercive force in Egypt. Without 1960 data on military employment, we cannot show this over time, but police employment was higher than military in almost every governorate in 1917.

Our analyses suggest that the postcolonial regime achieved political control by capturing the

preexisting Egyptian state and coercive apparatus. Rather than building new security institutions from scratch or substituting the military for the police in domestic repression, the new regime invested in police and intelligence services from the colonial era. While the military budget did grow after independence, major increases began more than a decade after the revolution, in response to external factors (i.e. the conflict with Israel), not domestic concerns (see figure below). According to existing theories, we would expect the power of the military to rise immediately, during the presidencies of coup leaders Naguib and Nasser. Instead, military spending increased most under Sadat, who according to historical narratives was responsible for reigning in the political power of the military, not increasing it. In sum, military spending did not increase dramatically during the consolidation period of the Free Officers' regime, undermining the assumption that the regime reconfigured the state coercive apparatus in favor of the military upon taking power.

9 Conclusion

In this paper, we have presented preliminary data in support of an original theory regarding the origins of coercive institutions in contemporary authoritarian regimes like those in the Middle East. We argue that post-independence authoritarian coercive capabilities are shaped by pre-independence institution-building, largely dictated by the interests of colonial powers who dictated state development projects. Contemporary authoritarian leaders coming to power in the twentieth century, after major state building occurred, inherit states with these predetermined coercive institutions. Moreover, those states are often designed to suit the needs of foreign occupiers, as shown through the persistence of historical concentrations of foreign populations in explaining growth of the coercive apparatus through 1947.

Our argument and findings have implications for theories of authoritarian resilience and democratization in the Middle East. If robust coercive institutions are at fault for the Middle East's much discussed democracy deficit, and these institutions were established prior to these modern states, then the lack of democratization in the region originates in the quality and type of institutions it inherited and reflect colonial priorities of control that carried over into independence. While more research is neces-

sary, our preliminary findings suggest that the colonial experience endowed the region with a democratic deficit through the nature and strength of coercive institutions.

Our findings suggest that certain coercive institutions may be more resistant to change and reform than others. We demonstrate that the primacy of the police in the Egyptian coercive apparatus shows considerable institutional persistence across the transition from colonial to independent rule. When Egyptians gained true sovereignty over their budget, it is true that coercive spending spiked, at least initially. We maintain that despite this brief divergence in spending, institutional persistence continued and manifested itself in two ways. First, after a deficit-funded spike in military and police expansion, both institutions returned received roughly equal budget allocations in-line with pre-independence spending. We contend that post-1952, the police were the only organized repressive option available to the new regime. The MoI was well-institutionalized under the British and provided a low-cost way to control and monitor the Egyptian population. Far from simply doing what the autocrat wants, non-democracies are also constrained by institutional legacies and financial limitations. But what growth did occur correlates with investments made before independence.