Book review: Conor O’Reilly (ed.), Colonial policing and the transnational legacy: the global dynamics of policing across the Lusophone community

Ashley Rogers


Copyright © 2019 SAGE Publications. Reprinted by permission of SAGE Publications. DOI for the published version of the Contribution on the SAGE Journals website: https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895818794097

Ashley Rogers

Traces of the past are found in the present, in the continued (re)construction of identities and in practices built around them. Explorations of these legacies offered in O’Reilly’s edited collection provide valuable insights into not only colonial policing and its development over time in Lusophone communities, but of its relevance to policing today. O’Reilly not only draws together social, political and historical examples from across the Lusophone community, but throughout the book’s three sections, each contribution charts the development of policing culture, transnational policy exchanges and the construction of subjects through a continued colonial lens. Doing so provides us with a rare engagement with colonialism, identity and policing across the Portuguese Empire.

Beginning in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Gonçalves and Cachado start Part I by exploring the emergence of colonial policing as a subject for the Portuguese government, describing the broader nature and place of colonialism in the Portuguese Empire. With the growing interest in ‘police of the colonies’ (p. 27) they consider the differing functions and social status of police as Portugal clutched at its Empire at a time when other colonies acceded to independence. Following this, Cerezales’ insights into ‘internal colonialism’ and the constructions of the Other – mirrored in both rural populations in Portugal and indigenous populations in colonies – works well combined with Rosemberg’s exploration of the manifestation of military characteristics across Brazil. Both offer insights into the role of the military which Cerezales suggests largely became ‘in short, a muscle provided to unarmed [police] authorities’ (p. 40). In these first three chapters the themes of social control and power reveal that the military model of policing was used as part of a wider civilizing process and part one therefore successfully provides insights into the historical contexts of policing, highlighting some of the broader and intersecting issues which shape and influence police culture. These continue to be relevant today and Richard Hill’s commentary does an excellent job of drawing together these important undercurrents of the book. Adding in a commentary here works well to engage more theoretically with some of the core issues without moving away from the particularities of the context – something that Kyed’s chapter later warns against. Commentaries are included at the end of each of the three parts of this edited collection and point to the applicability and relevance of this work for other contexts, inspiring future explorations of colonial, post-colonial and neo-colonial policing.

Part II of the book moves to policing in the late 1950s and 1960s and throughout these chapters there is a stronger focus on identities. This begins with Tavares Pimenta’s analysis of Portugal’s International and State Defence’s (PIDE) use of a ‘racial strategy’ that co-opted racial tensions in Angolan colonial society in order to produce fear and suspicion. The aim was to disrupt and disempower what had once been strong multiracial nationalist movements, and Reis’ chapter builds on this by analysing the colonial counterinsurgency practices of Portuguese, French and British Empires. Pimenta’s inclusion of the idea of angolanidade (p. 94), a unique Angolan identity that did not possess prejudicial ideas of race, ethnicity or religion, and that was wholly separate from the Portuguese identity, offers hints of resistive strategies to dominant and forceful constructions of colonial subjects that are worthy of further investigation. Araújo’s consideration of knowledge construction follows by examining surveillance of Muslim populations across and between Empires. This section is perhaps increasingly relevant for today, in a number of different contexts. Of particular interest is the way that colonial processes of intelligence and knowledge production work to construct the Muslim subject. The broader implications of such information for political control and policing strategies of the past, present and future can be drawn from Araújo’s work. As Thomas highlights in his commentary, there is ‘greater violence in response to growing weakness’ (p. 136)
and how this growing weakness is established has strong influences on policing and security practices inside and across constructed borders.

Finally, Part III of the collection moves to postcolonial and transitional policing practices beginning with Kyed’s engaging and comprehensive ethnographic exploration of community-oriented policing which is relevant to those engaged in comparative policing and public policy. Kyed eloquently presents some of the challenges of transplanting policing practices from the Global North to the Global South without due consideration of the particularities of the context. They highlight broader issues of policy transfer and international relations and reflect the dominant constructions of intelligence that permeated colonial policing. Ho and Lam follow this with an analysis of policing in Macau and the shift of control from Portugal to the People’s Republic of China, which offers rare insights into an underdeveloped area of colonialism and policing in Asia. Revealing contemporary implications of colonial policing, policing models and policy transfer, O’Reilly’s chapter offers a well-developed and thorough analysis of Rio de Janeiro’s pacification model with the use of the notion of ‘branding’ as a framework to emphasizes the social processes surrounding the development and promotion of policing and security.

Overall this collection contains explorations of a number of Lusophone communities that may to some extent be lost on those who are unfamiliar with the context. Even though that may be the case, the overall themes of this book and the emphasis on the value of considering colonial legacies in understanding policing, power and social control are undoubtedly relevant to anyone with an interest in colonialism, construction of knowledges and identity. ‘Resistance’ is one issue that I would like to have seen more of in this collection but given that this is an exploration of colonial policing in an underdeveloped area, I believe it does well to create space for future work, just as the editor had hoped.