

Lusophone Policing 'Brands' In a Transnational Marketplace



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'Project COPP-LAB: Circulation of Police in Portugal, Lusophone Africa and Brazil'



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Background:

- Fieldwork with officer trainees at ISCPSI Lisbon, ('Higher Institute of Police Science and Internal Security');
- Field missions: Angola; Cape Verde; Mozambique; Sao Tome e Principe; and, Brazil;
- 20% of cadets attending 5-year officer training programme at ISCPSI from former colonies;
- Strategies of 'promotionalism' (Loader 1999) and exploration of 'branding' in Lusophone contexts was a key research theme;
- For more information: www.copp-lab.org



Flags of Lusophone Nations,
ISCPSI, Lisbon



Regional Police Command,
Sal, Cape Verde

Branding Policing in a Transnational Marketplace



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- Why think in terms of 'branding' policing?
- 'Commodification' of policing and security has now been elevated to the transnational level;
- Policing/security models have been 'promoted' globally:
 - Community Policing;
 - Zero-Tolerance Policing;
 - Counter-Terrorism Techniques;
 - Templates for Democratic Police Reform.
- These activities are underpinned by a number of factors:
 - To search for global prestige/recognition;
 - To participate in the transnational policing community;
 - To procure new export opportunities;
 - To achieve 'legitimacy at a distance'.
- These activities are shaped by a complex mix of individual, institutional and political motivations.

'The UK brand of policing is rightly respected internationally and should be disseminated as widely as possible. However, the provision of training on the basis of opaque agreements, sometimes with foreign governments which have been the subject of sustained criticism, threatens the integrity of the very brand of British policing that the College is trying to promote. It simply smacks of hypocrisy.'

(Home Office Select Committee
'College of Policing – Three
Years On', July 9th 2016)

- Moving beyond 'place branding' towards a more complex fusion of *place* and *police*;
- Recognizing police as institutional signifiers of contextual security;
- Recognizing police as 'condensation symbols' of the national character;
- The *Weberian paradox* of contemporary policing:
 - police organizations are transnationally connected and globally ambitious; but,
 - they are also symbolically and jurisdictionally rooted in context.
- This *geo-policial* connection between police and place has become highly pronounced at mega-events (e.g. Euros 2016; Rio Olympics).

'The marker of security has become a scarce commodity and most states and cities compete for it in the collective mind of a global audience. Moreover, being recognised as a provider of security...offers concomitant authority and credibility.'

(Coaffee & Van Ham 2008: 191)

Portugal: Leveraging (Post)coloniality



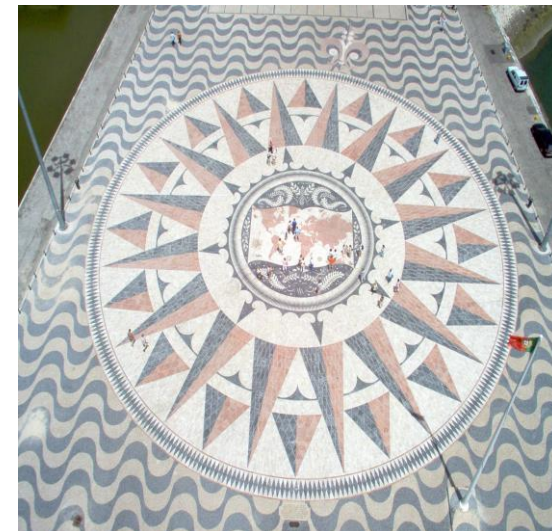
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- Symbolism of ISCPSI (est. 1982) for transitional policing:
 - Post-dictatorship / Post-colonial / Non-militarized / Human Rights focus;
 - Police training as key element of political transition and democratisation.
- Post-1992: *rapprochement* with former African colonies;
- Benevolent mentorship to Luso-African forces;
- Potential to foster a common Lusophone police-craft.



However:

- Numbers are small and impact varied across Luso-Africa;
- Doubts concerning suitability of ISCPSI training for African contexts;
- ISCPSI is one actor amongst many – ‘*Multiplicidade de Saberes*’;
- Some former Portuguese colonies are superseding their former Metropole (notably Brazil, Angola).



Portugal: Leveraging (Post)coloniality



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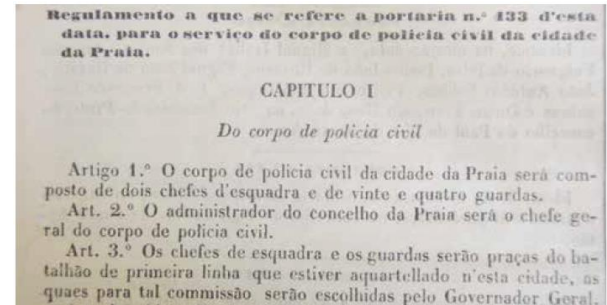
•(Re) 'colonizing through law' (Brogden 1987):

- Law legitimised colonial rule;
- Legal commonalities between Portugal and Lusophone post-colonies both facilitate and legitimise police exchange;

• 'Cut and Paste' approach of some former colonies to criminal law/penal law feeds the flow of legal/policing experts from former Metropole in Lisbon;

• '*A realidade Portuguesa e a realidade Cabo Verdeano sao muito proximos*' (Cape Verdean Police Officer – former ISCPSP cadet);

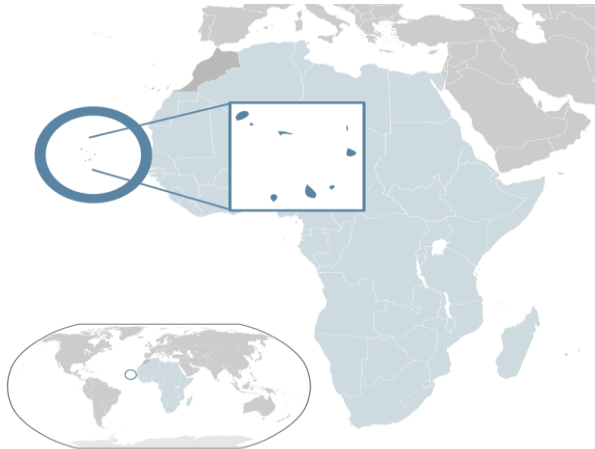
• Portuguese policing has leveraged various dimensions of its colonial legacy to promote its institutional knowledge.



Cape Verde: Marketing Democratic Policing



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Antigos Chefes da Polícia



- Cape Verdean exceptionalism - '*O Cabo Verde não é bem África*';
- *Polícia Nacional de Cabo-Verde* is a non-politicized, non-paramilitary police force with organizational continuity of 145 years;
- Cape Verde has not been marked by nationalist / civil violence and has avoided the worst consequences of political ruptures (as experienced in other former colonies);
- Policing in Cape Verde has experienced waves of policing transfers from colonial structures to transfers born of global insecurities (drug trafficking, illegal migration, gang violence);
- Progressive engagement in transnational policing;

Colonial Subject > Grateful Recipient > Knowledgeable Consumer > Aspirant Donor.

Cape Verde: A beacon of hope for democratic policing in Western Africa?



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- Ambitions for an international police academy to be constructed in Cape Verde;
- An example of what a democratic and non-militarized police force would look like?

‘I, for example, think that Cape Verde possesses the conditions, at least in terms of geographic location, for a police institute to serve Western Africa....’

I think that, even at the level of training...the Cape Verdean police...Not only the Cape Verdean police, because not everything is done by the police. The very structure of learning in Cape Verde has the right conditions to provide training to those here in our region.’ (*Diretor Nacional* of PNCV);

- Arguments *For* and *Against* this possibility:
 - Is the PNCV experience transferable to other African contexts (differences in language, culture, police occupational cultures);
 - Are the PNCV just replicating patterns of ‘promotionalism’ – ‘Doing It The Western Way’ (Ellison & Pino 2012)?;
 - Are PNCV looking towards Africa or looking towards the West when they voice such ambitions?



National Training Centre of
the PNCV

‘Police leaders understand policing developments elsewhere in the world; they frequently have attended command colleges in developed countries; they interact with police leaders from other countries and wish to be seen by them as professional and modern leaders...’

(Otwin Marenin)

Brazil: The Platform of Notoriety



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Rio de Janeiro's Pacification Model



'Rio de Janeiro's experiment with pacification is one of the most innovative urban safety promotion initiatives in the world today ... Brazil's municipalities are a veritable laboratory of innovation in urban violence prevention and reduction.'

(Muggah 2010: 24-25)

Brazil: The Platform of Notoriety



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Rio de Janeiro's Pacification Model



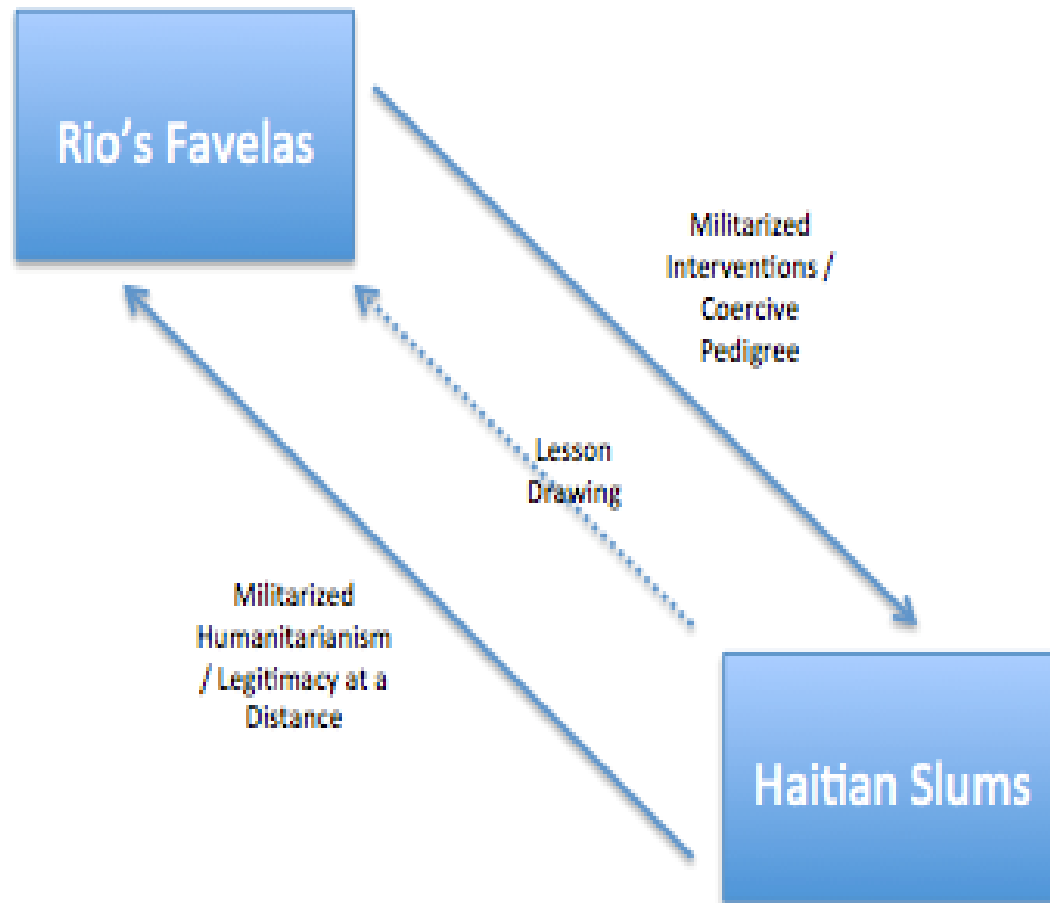
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(Muggah 2010: 24-25)

Militarized Humanitarianism: The Peacekeeping-Pacification Feedback Loop



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Rio de Janeiro's Pacification Model: A Silver Bullet for the Planet of Slums?



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Conduits for 'promoting' the RJPM:

- Participation in a range of transnational policing and security networks and exchanges regarding:
 - Policing the Urban Periphery;
 - Policing Mega-Events;
 - Policing Public Protest;
 - Policing as Peacekeeping.
- Hyperactive 'lesson-drawing' activities by the Brazilian police and PMERJ specifically;
- Important to note Brazil's growing role in transnational policing:
 - UN peacekeeping (Haiti, Timor-Leste, South Sudan);
 - Foreign police assistance (e.g. Guinea-Bissau);
 - Regional efforts against organised crime (Brazilian Federal Police).

'The UPP effort has already generated considerable interest across Brazil, and indeed the wider region. Official delegations from El Salvador to Kenya and the Republic of South Africa have visited Rio de Janeiro to learn more about the UPPs and potentially transfer aspects of the model to their jurisdictions.'

(Muggah & Souza-Mulli 2014: 212)

The Right Ingredients for Promoting Urban Security Turnaround in the *Cidade Maravilhosa*?



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‘A highly plausible policy narrative became firmly attached to a powerful dramaturgical symbol and was promoted by influential and media-literate moral entrepreneurs. There are few more potent mixtures.’

(Newburn & Jones 2007: 237 on ZTP in New York)

However, is the pacification project’s narrative of success unravelling:

- Economic and political crisis;
- Rising violence;
- A return to high-levels of police killings (1 in 5 homicides in Rio in 2015 committed by police).



- This trinity of Lusophone cases demonstrates that markets in policing are also transnational and include an increasingly exotic range of *geo-policial brands* beyond more recognisable Western / Anglo-American exports;
- Serial recipients of policing transfers learn from this experience – they now see value in self-promotion and participation in the ‘silver bullet industry’ of producing policing ‘solutions’;
- It is no longer the case that policing models travel from the the developed Global North towards less-developed Global South > they now emerge from within Global South, born of decades –if not centuries– of policing imports and experimentation.



Thank you.

Forthcoming paper available from: c.oreilly@leeds.ac.uk

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