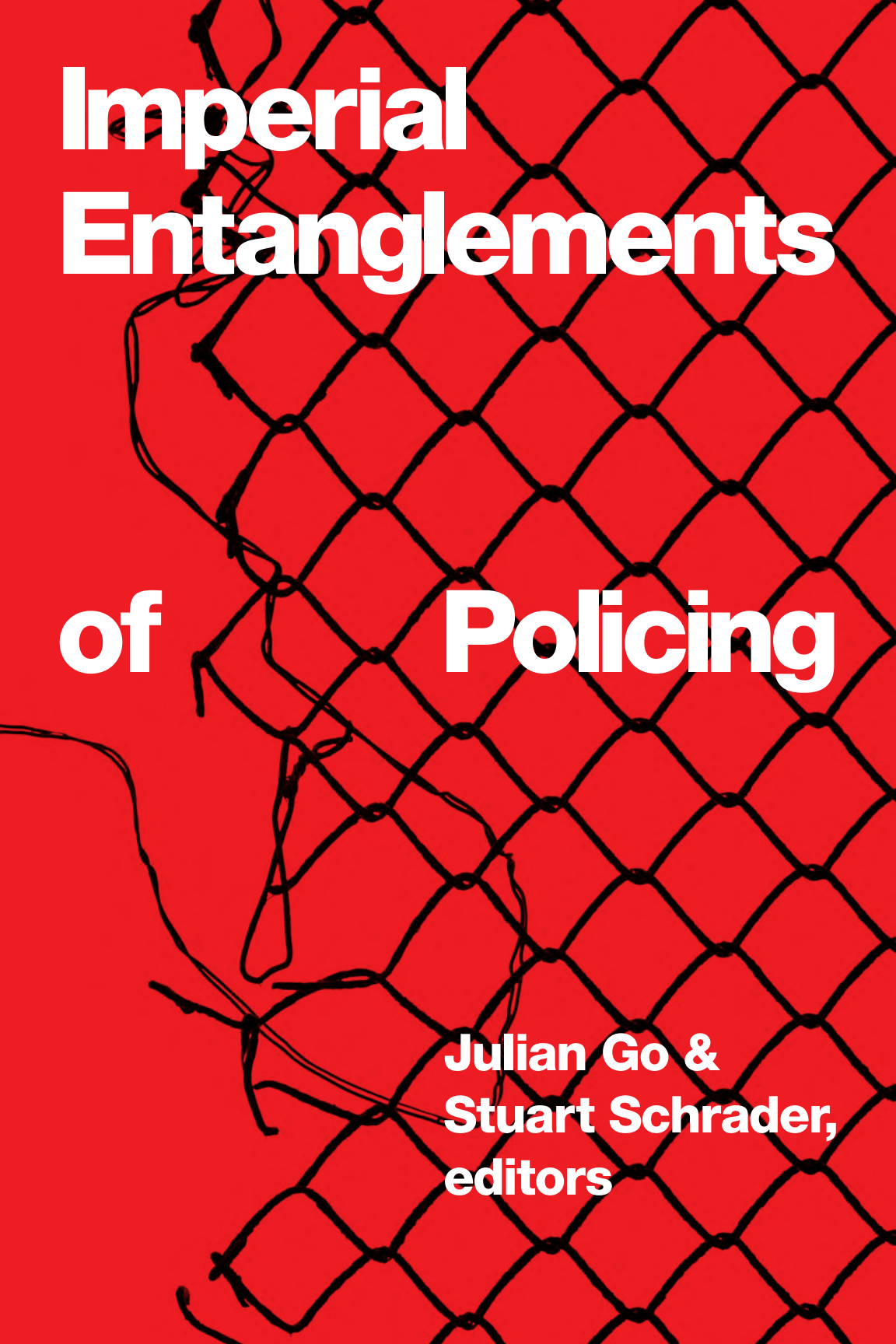




Imperial Entanglements of Policing

**Julian Go &
Stuart Schrader,
editors**

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Stuart Schrader

EDITORS

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Introduction

Policing and Empire

JULIAN GO AND STUART SCHRADER

Nairobi, Port-au-Prince, and Elsewhere

In June 2024, Kenyan police in Nairobi faced down the largest street protests the city had seen in years. The force responded with violence. During the peak of the protests, at least thirty protesters were killed and more than three hundred were wounded as police fired live rounds, rubber bullets, and tear gas at protesters while trying to disperse crowds near the compound housing Kenya's Parliament. At one point, to halt the protesters' preannounced attempt to "occupy" Parliament, security forces "disappeared" dozens of prominent activists, abducting them from the street or their homes.¹ The police response so deeply angered millions of Kenyans that President William Ruto was forced to walk back a new taxation plan that had spurred the protests in the first place.² The protesters' primary complaint was that Ruto's taxation plan entailed a draconian approach to raising revenue that would have increased prices on everyday goods, defying Ruto's campaign pledges to improve the well-being of Kenya's poorest.³

These events in Kenya were bound up in wider international entanglements, internalizing the hierarchies of contemporary geopolitics. Ruto's proposal itself had been part of austerity and privatization plans introduced at the behest of the International Monetary Fund and other foreign lenders.⁴ Furthermore, as the protests erupted in June, Kenyan police leaders were meeting with Haitian police officials. Kenyan police had been slated to lead a new multinational deployment in Haiti, designed to restore order and neutralize gangs. Eight other African, Asian, Latin American, and Caribbean countries were also involved, including Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, and Jamaica, among others (totaling 1,500 officers, plus 1,000 from Kenya).⁵ On its face, this was a "South-South" mission: the first led by an African nation and the first

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shaped by Pan-African sentiment. But the United States was also involved: The US Departments of Defense and State had agreed to spend around \$300 million for the deployment, claiming US interests were at stake. Not only has the United States long labeled Haiti as a dangerous territory in its unofficial jurisdiction, it also had tightened its relationship with Kenya. As part of America's imperial network, Kenya hosted US forces at its Cooperative Security Location, Manda Bay—the site of a 2020 attack that killed one US soldier and two US contractors, as well as injuring other US and Kenyan military members. In December 2023 and January 2024, the United States used the location to launch targeted strikes in Kenya and Somalia on al-Shabaab militants.⁶ Unsurprisingly, on the eve of the arrival of Kenyan police in Haiti, the United States officially recognized Kenya as a major non-NATO ally, the first in “Sub-Saharan Africa.” The European Union also extended a new offer of \$21.4 million in security assistance to deal with “external and internal threats.”⁷

If the entanglements evident in Kenya's police repression of the protests of June 2024 and the mission to Haiti betray imperial relations, they also reveal colonial and imperial histories. Consider the tactics and forms used by the Kenyan paramilitary police in Nairobi as they confronted the protesters.⁸ Despite the fact that the mostly Gen Z and younger protesters used peaceful and at times playful tactics, police arrested hundreds of protesters early on. They then engulfed remaining protesters in clouds of tear gas, blasted them with dyed liquid from high-pressure water cannons atop heavily armed police trucks, and aimed riot guns at fleeing crowds. As the protests continued, police eventually fired on the crowds.⁹ None of these tactics had fallen from the sky. While global crowd-control orthodoxy on policing recommends avoiding using live ammunition (the “best practice” among police since the 1960s, as disseminated by US Office of Public Safety advisors), resorting to live fire to suppress protests has deep colonial roots, including in Kenya. The use of live fire has never been eliminated.¹⁰ Moreover, preemptively removing key protest leaders from the streets goes back to the period of British colonialism when colonial police across the empire used “snatch squads” as part of their counter-insurgency campaigns to quell anticolonial movements.¹¹ Preemptive seizure then became a counterprotest tactic during the period of the War on Terror, used widely in the United States and around the globe.¹²

The role of the Kenyan police in the mission to Haiti led by the United Nations (UN) can also be fruitfully contextualized within such histories of empire. The mission includes highly specialized paramilitary units from Kenya such as the General Service Unit (GSU). The GSU was formed in 1948 during British rule, reflecting the British empire's increasing reliance on police

paramilitary units known as “tactical units” to surveil and suppress anticolonial movements that British officials referred to as criminal gangs, bandits, and hooligans.¹³ Some of the GSU’s subsequent activities included counterterrorism operations against Somali secessionist rebels inside Kenya, known as the “shifta,” using many of the same tactics that the British had previously used on the so-called gangs.¹⁴ Echoing this history, President Ruto condemned the 2024 protests as led by “organized criminals” who had “infiltrated and hijacked” the movement.¹⁵ The various UN peacekeeping missions that have deployed to Haiti over the years have long been a vehicle for counterinsurgency tactics and techniques derived from deep histories of imperialism and colonial conquest, implicating the US and European empires.¹⁶ Police operations in Kenya and Haiti—connected, multilateral, and counterinsurgent—thus reflect a contemporary face of empire, crystallizing the patterns and habits established by histories of colonial and imperial entanglement.

We introduce this book with these examples not because the book is about Kenya or Haiti but because of what they render visible: policing both as a modality of global imperial relations and as the product of complex histories of colonialism and counterinsurgency. The chapters in this book help explain how this situation emerged and consolidated historically—how we got here—and what is changing in the contemporary moment. They explore policing’s entanglements with empire, both past and present, in various contexts around the world. They examine policing in places like the United States and Britain as well as Chile, the Philippines, and sites in between. And the in-between sites—those that connect locales—are essential for making sense of how and why policing developed as it did. Connection across borders is the medium of development and transformation of policing; this is one of the overriding arguments of the book. But it is not the only one.

Recognizing Empire

This volume builds on a wealth of existing scholarship on policing and empire. But it also pushes beyond the already-robust academic literature that looks at the international dimensions of policing or that compares policing in different countries. More than case studies of policing in any single jurisdiction or country, this scholarship urges us to look further afield, either by situating policing within international or “global” contexts, or by comparing policing across geographic units. By contrast, rather than focusing on the international/global features of policing or comparing policing across different nation-states, the chapters in this volume examine the *imperial entanglements* of policing. This

phrase indicates two types of entanglement, both of which we can see in the example of Kenyan policing and the mission to Haiti. The first is the entanglement of sites of imperial power through policing across space. Policing in one locale is not disconnected from other locales across the globe, even though the self-understanding of police power is localized. The exercise of downscaled, discretionary, coercive state power manifest as policing thus serves to order not only local hierarchies but global ones. The second is the entanglement of policing with histories of empire. Policing today—whether in Nairobi or Chicago—has a history, and that history is embedded in histories of imperialism and colonialism. In brief, at issue in our studies of police power, and what distinguishes our project from studies that adopt international or comparative analytic frames, is *empire*.

By *empire*, we refer to a transnational or trans-societal and extraterritorial hierarchy of power by which a state or metropole exerts power, controls, or wields unequal influence over weaker states or societies. *Imperialism* is the process by which empires are constructed, extended, or maintained. The power, control, or unequal influence that constitutes empires can adopt different forms. The most well-recognized differentiation is between formal or “colonial” modes of power and informal or “indirect” modes. Formal or colonial modes refer to the direct acquisition and control over previously foreign territory and its peoples. The imperial state declares sovereignty over the territory and creates an apparatus of control—a colonial state. Informal or “indirect” imperialism involves a variety of other methods of control falling short of sovereign control. By this mode, the imperial state does not declare sovereignty over the territory; instead, the territory remains nominally independent. But the imperial state uses political power, economic influence, or destabilizing violence to control the affairs of these weaker territories, often enlisting them as a client nation-state within a larger network of imperial power. Rather than constructing a colonial state, therefore, the imperial state or metropole exerts power through financial mechanisms like bribes, debt, temporary military occupations, and threats of violence; or political interventions by which elections are controlled and client rulers are installed.¹⁷ Kwame Nkrumah called this “neo-colonialism,” the essence of which is that “the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent” but “in reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside.”¹⁸

The chapters in this volume begin from the recognition that empire in all these forms has been central for the making of modern societies. And the authors proceed from the recognition that policing has been central for empire. Empire has been the dominant sociopolitical formation of modernity. Nearly

every nation-state in the world today is either a former colony of another society or a former imperial power. Even after the so-called decolonization of much of the world in the mid-twentieth century, informal modalities of imperial power linger rather than languish, continuing to shape the global order and state-making processes. As scholars of international relations show, the current international system is not best conceptualized as a system of equal nation-states but rather as a hierarchical order consisting of networks of imperial metropolises and dependent weaker states.¹⁹

One key tissue connecting these networks, yet typically excluded from studies of international order, is police power. Policing has long been central to the maintenance of imperial rule. Colonialism required new technologies, tactics, and techniques of surveillance and coercion. It generated vast formations of violent policing institutions, military and paramilitary counterinsurgency units, and technologies of biopower and labor control. Colonialism not only summoned the need for military intervention but also generated militaristic police departments meant to secure colonial order in the interests of settlers, imperial officials, and foreign capital. Across their dominion, imperial powers created novel policing regimes in their colonies. Oftentimes overstretched, imperial powers needed local adjuncts to maintain the new social order they wished to impose. They also needed them to help gather intelligence on a populace that was often as inscrutable as it was threatening. Colonial states could deploy their militaries for these roles. They often did. But when they could not use the military, they had to rely on police who typically served as an alternative to the military or worked as an appendage of the military. In the colonial context, the line between the military and the police was always blurry.

Because much of the world consists of ex-colonies, most if not all police departments around the world today bear legacies of the colonial era. As many of the chapters in this volume show, the police departments spanning the countries of the Global South have their origins as *colonial* police forces first created and structured to serve colonial interests. Even in the imperial and ex-imperial centers, policing's colonial pasts remain present. In Britain and the United States, the first modern police departments were created in the nineteenth century, just as these countries and other European powers were expanding their territorial holdings and embarking on new imperial ventures overseas. Without coincidence, those modern police departments were inspired by and drew on the templates, tactics, and techniques forged in the colonies by militaries securing sovereignty and colonial police forces maintaining colonialism's exploitative and extractive relations with colonized peoples. Further, many police systems in Europe today are the legacies of Napoleon's

imperial conquests, which is why so many European police are variants of Napoleon's initial *gendarmérie*. It is hard to conceive of policing in the world today as *not* connected historically to imperialism. To adopt the title of a celebrated biography of an otherwise forgotten colonial police officer, policing itself could say *empire made me*.²⁰

Today, these police powers persist, just as do colonies and sites of informal imperial subjection. The Palestinian territories are one example, as are the various zones that the UN refers to as “non-self-governing” territories. Even the presumably decolonized areas of the world remain subject to police operations that serve imperial powers, their interests, and their allies—not least capital. Although police departments were initially constructed by imperial powers during the colonial period, most were simply recrafted, rearranged, or reproduced in the ex-colonial era.²¹ As many chapters in this volume show, colonial-type policing persists through neocolonial interventions, counterinsurgency programs, and supposed peacekeeping missions imposed by foreign powers during the Cold War and thereafter.

The chapters in this volume analyze and apprehend these complex relations in their historical and contemporary forms, as well as the relationships between policing past and policing present. Together they amount to a framework for studying policing that we call *imperial entanglements*. This framework—which might be more precisely thought of as an analytic approach—recognizes that policing in any given local or international context is rooted in and shaped by empire in both its past and present iterations. It uncovers and investigates how colonialism, imperial expansion, wars of conquest and control, and counterinsurgency in imperial contexts shaped and continue to shape policing. It also considers how policing shaped colonialism, imperial expansion, wars of conquest and control, and counterinsurgency in imperial contexts. It further explores the multiple effects of empire on societies—from the production of diasporas and disciplining of migrant communities to colonial mentalities of racialized criminality—and how policing is summoned as a response to the social crises imposed by ravenous capital.

There are many terms by which we could mark out these relations between policing and empire: “mutually constitutive” or “co-constitutive,” “mutually supportive,” “shaped by,” “related to,” and so on. We use *entanglements* as a broad conceptual rubric for capturing a wide variety of possible relations among instances.²² The term is intentionally tactile and thus requires empirical specification but is intended to be analytically open. At the same time, we recognize that the relation of entanglement that empire produces is inherently unequal, making the co-constitution imbalanced. This is why we insist on using the

phrase *imperial* entanglements: We aim to recognize inequalities and fields of power. Further, we recognize that the form of relation is always more-than-national, while the scale of the entangled object—the police force—is sometimes national and often subnational (state or municipal). This mismatch, in fact, may suggest why the imperial entanglements of policing are so durable in a largely postcolonial world. Finally, we recognize that the entanglements of empire are also often economic entanglements. Empire itself was a project of capitalist expansion, and the police power around the world has long been directed at securing the conditions for capital accumulation. Even if not all the chapters reveal the various economic interests involved in the complexities of policing, policing's imperial entanglements with economic capital are always on the mind, lingering in the background as the sometimes-hidden stage upon which policing is enacted, as well as the audience for policing's social control.

Our approach thus differs from existing comparative, international, or global studies of policing, even as it is partly inspired by some of this work. One particularly informative set of studies are the analyses of global policing that look beyond cross-national comparisons to excavate the various transnational and global circulations of practices, ideas, and forms that shape policing across different contexts. This work shows how “the circulation of both policing techniques and practices . . . together lend to the global (re)making of policing,” as Jana Hönke and Markus-Michael Müller put it.²³ Our imperial entanglements approach adopts this more global orientation and uncovers the translocal and transnational forces that shape policing. It likewise reveals how policing is a translocal and transnational form. But our approach adds a friendly amendment to this work: We insist that what is often called *the global* or *international* can be more fruitfully understood as *imperial* and often *colonial*.²⁴ For, as noted already and as many of the chapters in this book attest, the historical dynamics, flows, and processes associated with the global making of policing typically emerged within and were channeled through cross-colonial, intra-imperial, and inter-imperial relations. Our approach urges analysts to acknowledge the imperialism and coloniality of the “global.”

In this regard we are animated by the exceptional scholarly work that has already revealed the imperial and colonial dimensions of policing. This work reveals the colonial legacies of policing in the Global South and how European powers like Prussia (and then Germany), France, and Italy, as well as, of course, the United States, continued to hold sway over the postcolonial development of police in the Western Hemisphere.²⁵ To take one example, Robert Whitaker shows that the British state sent police missions headed by colonial veterans to various countries after the Second World War, including Greece and

Ethiopia, in hopes of building a “postwar world that resembled and depended upon Britain with regard to security.”²⁶ In fact, as other scholarship shows, empires sometimes worked together in such projects. The US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) worked with British colonial police departments in the Caribbean to train police in Venezuela and Colombia in the 1940s, and along with agents from the Central Intelligence Agency taught and trained police officers across the Global South through international organizations like the International Association of Chiefs of Police (see also Müller in this volume). The development of policing during postcolonial nation-building projects re-staged and continued the projection of imperial power.²⁷

From this scholarship we can see that the violent and dehumanizing practices of police forces in the ex-colonial world are entangled with histories of brutal military conquest, counterinsurgency, and racist degradation that colonial occupation required and therefore fashioned.²⁸ As Lou Pingeot and Colleen Bell summarize, “Coloniality is central to understanding global policing today,” not just in the formal “colonial” era.²⁹ Even as the security studies and international relations literature has become more alive to the centrality of “global policing power,” it tends to understate this colonial etiology.³⁰ Other related work on this coloniality of policing further shows that colonial policing and counterinsurgency have shaped policing in the heart of imperial metropolises—from Britain to France to the United States. Through the “boomerang effect” of imperialism, military-policing tactics, tools, and forms that were perfected in the colonies also redound back to shape metropolitan policing. Or, put another way, police leaders and experts devise repertoires of rule with a broad field of vision that merges the local and the distant; it is not necessarily bound to their home nation-state or contained by the borders of peripheral sites of the deployment of coercive measures.³¹ This vision is not only about cultural scripts that conflate war and crime, foreign and domestic, Indigenous native and foreigner; these scripts are underpinned and continually refreshed by tactics, technologies, and techniques of violence—along with full-blown institutions like policing itself.³² In fact, other studies reveal that the very forms, structures, and practices of modern policing in Britain and the United States are themselves products of the colonial boomerang, developed and perfected first in the colonies and then imported back for domestic use.³³

Finally, our volume is inspired by scholarship that reveals how the imperialism of policing exceeds unidirectional flows from center to periphery, or metropole to colony. As Georgia Sinclair and Chris Williams put it, there has often been a continued “cross-fertilisation” between colonial and domestic policing, with inter-imperial competition also coinciding with intra- and inter-imperial

transfer, sharing, and collaboration of policing technologies, techniques, and forms.³⁴ The US “police assistance” effort after 1945, for instance, enacted a global program to police race and class relations both at home and abroad, in the ex-colonial sphere as well as America’s own changing urban centers. American professional policing thus “did not possess two repertoires, one for deployment at home and one for deployment abroad” but rather “a single repertoire” deployed around the world.³⁵ Similarly, recent scholarship on the “police-military continuum” shows how it developed as a process of uneven imperial boomeranging, often in fractal, wormhole geographies and temporalities that challenge any neat and linear or deterministic model that goes from military to police or vice versa. Moreover, inter-imperial geopolitical and geoeconomic competition is also recurrently marked by collaboration on policing, surveillance, and intelligence methods in dependent territories, which also ricochet through metropolitan domestic spaces.³⁶

We take from all of this work the problematization of analytic bifurcations that pervade conventional studies of policing, and we issue a call to transcend them with new analyses of policing. These are bifurcations between nation-states, between metropole and colony, between “localities,” between the Global North and Global South, and between imperial-colonial past and presumably postcolonial-postimperial present.³⁷ We also take from this scholarship some *substantive* questions about the forms and functionalities of policing around the world. If policing has always been part of colonial, imperial, and hence global projects to secure the interests of imperial powers, how can policing ever be modulated or “reformed” to meet the interests of colonized peoples or subject populations in metropolitan centers? If policing as we know it today originates in imperial and colonial projects of extraction and exploitation, and it has continued to be articulated with those projects, what do we make of claims that the police is ultimately for securing “law and order”? In sum, what does “policing” achieve if it has always been a tool of local, national, imperial, and thus global orders of racial domination and economic exploitation? Can the *imperiality* and *coloniality* of policing ever be overcome?

The imperial entanglements approach of this volume can help orient our analyses of policing to think through these questions. Inspired by but also differing from existing lines of scholarship, the approach is meant to investigate the formation, reproduction, transformation, and effects of the imperiality of policing. It emphasizes empire in our understanding of police forms, practices, and institutions. It untangles the myriad ways in which empire and policing have been co-constitutive. It aims, in short, to better understand police power and its often-overlooked historical and spatial dimensions, while pivoting away

from prevailing comparative and global approaches oriented toward reformism based on benchmarks of metropolitan models.

Beyond Presentism and Localism

To be clear, our approach is neither a fully blown “theory” nor a systematic “methodology.” On offer rather is an analytic sensibility or loosely configured method that strives to overcome certain tendencies of thought that pervade more traditional studies of policing. The first is *methodological presentism*. The second is *methodological localism*. The first signals the temporal or historical register of our approach; the second captures the spatial register.

We distinguish “methodological presentism” from “presentism” in the historiographic mode, which condemns the application of present-day concepts and sensibilities to the past. By *methodological presentism*, we mean the refusal to reckon with the history of the present, to assume, by default or disavowal, that policing forms and practices seen today are unprecedented, *sui generis*, or novel.³⁸ This is the logic that praises “predictive policing” in New York, Los Angeles, or Chicago and associated programs like CompStat as new solutions for crime prevention, ignoring the fact that police have deployed forms of predictive policing for decades and longer (in fact, predictive policing has roots in America’s wars of colonial conquest and counterinsurgency campaigns of the early twentieth century). This approach ignores the fact that modern police departments in the United States and Britain began their careers as colonial forms designed to divide, racialize, and repress populations. In the context of policing studies, methodological presentism bears affinities with a reformist institutional orientation, which treats contemporary police reform measures as concerned only with modifying the most recent past practices, beginning the developmental story only a page or two earlier.

One other way to think of methodological presentism is that it is a denial or erasure of history. But it is much more than this: It is a mode of *naturalization*. It treats as necessary, timeless, or inevitable what is in fact historically constituted and produced by choices made by historical actors. It assumes that police departments are natural and necessary features of modern society rather than historical constructions made and remade by people in specific contexts and conditions. It assumes that police departments must be the way they are rather than recognizing them as contingent creations. Methodological presentism is the partner of a transhistoricism that makes all aspects of policing inevitable, impervious to transformation over time, and rooted in causally unspecifiable but otherwise obvious legacies of the distant past, including slavery.³⁹

Our imperial entanglements approach cautions against these assumptions. It takes history seriously, which means it takes colonialism and empire seriously. One of the wagers of our approach is that, after we historically situate present-day policing forms and practices, we will often end up having to reckon with histories of colonialism, empire, and their related formations of racialized violence, coercion, and capital accumulation. Our gamble, in short, is that historicization enables reckonings with empire, or a recognition that colonial practices or imperial relations have long been part of the history of policing nearly everywhere. The extent to which such coloniality or imperialism can be found will not be the same across all instances or sites.⁴⁰ Understanding the present demands more historicizing, not less, but this does not mean all histories will be the same or all antecedent conditions equally relevant. Our proposition is that empire will be part of the story. It becomes the task of the analyst to discover the extent of empire's imprints.

The point of overcoming methodological presentism is not just to be historical or to bring empire and colonialism into view as an end in itself. We also hope to enlist the analytic power that historical contextualization unleashes. When we view policing historically, we can see *deep structures of power* and cumulative, sedimented layers of institutional development that are hidden by methodological presentism. Call it “genealogy” or “archaeology” or something else entirely; the point is to understand historical logics of power that still impact us today. We can then be better equipped to do explanatory work. Even the most conventional of thinkers, the Nobel Prize-winning economist Angus Deaton, might agree with us here. In his critique of his own discipline's occlusion of historical causation, Deaton notes that methods such as randomized controlled trials, which focus attention on “*local effects*” (and which are often used by criminologists and traditional police studies), ignore “slow-acting mechanisms that operate with long and variable lags.” These studies fail to illuminate “important mechanisms” at work in producing social phenomena.” They need to take history into account.⁴¹ We suggest that methodological presentism as it applies to the study of policing similarly isolates some factors that shape police practice (such as the supposed racial bias of an individual officer, or the relative amount of funding that police departments enjoy at any given year) while blinding us to the longer-term causal processes—such as those attendant with colonial and imperial histories—that have generated policing in the first place and even produced similar patterns of racist policing in locales with dissimilar histories of racialization.⁴² We claim, therefore, that methodological presentism is impoverished not just because it ignores history but because, in doing so, it impedes

robust explanations of how policing and its current patterns, practices, and societal prevalence have come to be.

The second imperative of our imperial entanglements approach is to overcome *methodological localism*. By this, we mean the assumption that everything that matters with policing happens within that police agency's jurisdiction or its nation-state. Even comparative studies of policing operate from this assumption. Such studies grew in the aftermath of the explosion of scholarship on globalization. They mount synchronic comparisons, following an agenda advocated by David Bayley, one of the most well-regarded policing researchers of the twentieth century.⁴³ Scholars compare particular cities, nations, or regions. Even if the cases evidence some interrelationship, the most common comparative procedures prize the sites apart, treating police as geographically separate and bounded.⁴⁴ The problem is that such methodological localism reproduces in our analyses the boundaries that the state apparatus has itself constructed, occluding a thorough exploration of the flows of power or influence that burst through and run across those boundaries. Alternatively, our imperial entanglements approach insists that we transcend methodological localism by keeping the "imperial" in view.

Our point in overcoming methodological localism is not to insist that empire *must* be the focus or primary topic of policing research. We do insist, however, that excluding it from our theories and empirical studies impoverishes the analysis at best and misleads the readers at worst.⁴⁵ Nor is our point to critique all examinations of policing that focus on a particular city or nation. These studies are necessary. Our approach rather urges such examinations to be open to the possibility that local policing is not merely constituted by forces, processes, or relations within the boundaries of that locality alone, and to permit rather than foreclose deep investigations of those relations (as chapters in this volume by Schrader and Clarno, among others, show).⁴⁶ For example, by our approach, it would be difficult to think about President Rodrigo Duterte's murderous War on Drugs in the Philippines—whereby the police disproportionately targeted the poor—without recognizing either the American state's own War on Drugs in Latin America or the history of US colonialism in the Philippines that birthed its current authoritarian state (see Hapal and Jensen in this volume). It would likewise be difficult to ignore the fact that police killings in France—such as the killing of Nahel Merzouk in 2023—have tended to victimize residents with origins in French colonial Maghreb; that the French police tend to stop and search residents with origins in French colonial Maghreb 7.5 times more than white residents; that the police surveillance of North Africans in France originates with the importation of forms of policing of North

Africans in France's colonies (see Beaujon in this volume); and that those same police in France were sent in 2024 to the French territory of New Caledonia to suppress riots against French settler control.

Finally, our point in calling for the transcendence of methodological localism is not a way of sneaking in studies that examine how police practices "diffuse" or spread around the world. The idea of diffusion is a conventional way of looking at the more global or transnational dimensions of policing in political science and international relations, but it is not the sort of analysis we are seeking. Rather than examining a policing form or practice that is birthed in one bounded unit (a city or a nation-state) and then spreads, our imperial entanglements approach invites analyses of how such transnational or international relations are replete with power relations and how local actors might creatively accommodate, modulate, or even resist those forms and practices. Powerful nations have often engaged in a conscious effort of "expeditionary police advising," for instance, to shore up their influence by building capacity elsewhere, often with deleterious and unanticipated results. This is not reducible to a matter of "policy diffusion."⁴⁷ Such reductionism misses everything that is important about the globality—or rather imperialism—of policing. Under conditions of empire, policy does not precede police power. Policing forms its precondition.

Going beyond methodological localism, therefore, does not involve "going to the global." Rather, it rather means "going to the imperial." We argue that once analysts look beyond the local, they will likely end up with the imperial. Naming it as such is important for understanding why policing operates as it does. In some ways, the premise of our approach is relatively simple: Policing policies and forms—or techniques, tactics, and technologies—do not move across and through empty space. They typically move across and through systems of power and hierarchy that are either directly implicated in imperial systems or legacies of colonial pasts, and these institutional networks are frequently helmed by Euro-American powers. As a result, these transfers support and reproduce transnational and global regimes of power and hierarchy.

In sum, our imperial entanglements approach urges analysts of policing to at once *temporally deepen* and *spatially extend*, following the relations by which policing practices, forms, and institutions at any given site and at any given moment are rendered possible and palpable. These two moves—overcoming methodological presentism and methodological localism—often go hand in hand. Tracking policing historically leads us to imperial fields and colonial regimes, which in turn forces us to track relations, practices, and forms beyond national space and situate diverse localities into a single transnational analytic

field. Put differently, our imperial entanglements approach illuminates the coloniality of the present and the imperialism of the local.

The Chapters to Come

The chapters in this volume all deploy an imperial entanglements approach. Some are more historical than others. Some are more global than others. But each chapter either temporally deepens or spatially extends the analysis of policing. At times they do both.

The chapters in part I, “Colonial Lineages,” reveal some of the imperial or colonial backgrounds that constitute policing’s present, thereby unsettling methodological presentism. Sabrina Axster’s chapter looks at “broken windows” policing through the lens of vagrancy. The standard story is that unemployment attendant to deindustrialization in the United States, beginning in the 1970s, created the conditions for the racialized application of broken windows theory (compare Alvear Moreno in this volume for another account of broken windows policing). Axster, however, significantly extends the spatial and temporal scales to investigate the centuries-old history of vagrancy laws, showing how they emerged in England and were deployed across British colonial territories, as well as in the United States, to control formerly enslaved people and compel them to work. Thus, Axster shows that vagrancy laws circulated globally long before broken windows theory and that they always drew invidious distinctions along racial lines. Even if broken windows theory is a product of a neoliberal age, it represents less a departure from past practices than a continuation of policies field-tested in colonial settings for the racialized perpetuation of capitalist work-discipline.

While Axster’s chapter traces colonial lineages of “broken windows” policing within the Anglo-American imperial sphere, thereby unsettling presentist assumptions about it, Danielle Beaujon’s chapter looks at the policing of peddlers in Algiers under French colonial control. Beaujon exposes how *marchands ambulants* (peddlers or street vendors)—almost entirely local, Indigenous men who circulated within the city—became the object of consistent police attention, similar to the policing of vagrants. Police rounded up peddlers and destroyed their goods, or hunted them as they ambled around the city, operating along racial and class lines. Beaujon thereby reveals how recent repertoires of policing have colonial lineages, but she also shows how this policing in turn generated opposition and even resistance that served as an incipient form of anticolonial nationalism. The brutality and injustice of colonial policing of everyday activities had the effect of radicalizing an opposition and weakening

support for the colonial state, with grave implications for the longevity of the very colonial project of social control that the police were trying to enact. The more well-known counterinsurgent policing of Algiers that would emerge later built on a reaction to this prior, quotidian policing activity.

Whereas the coloniality of policing in Algiers in the middle of the twentieth century may be tangible and crystal clear, Karl Hapal and Steffen Jensen propose a method to analyze the imperial entanglements of policing in a much more recent, sovereign country: the Philippines under the rule of Duterte. Introducing a lens of “family resemblances,” Hapal and Jensen elucidate three seemingly separate cases of police operations, showing “that what unites these cases are exactly the ways in which they were policed”: the War on Drugs, the control of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the repression of activism. Rather than focusing on more direct or positivist “causal” relationships between prior colonial modes of policing and the present, the authors show that contemporary Philippine policing registers resemblances that echo older modes of counterinsurgency, even if the direct linkages are not always obvious in the cases they examine. By thus avoiding methodological presentism and examining similarities (and differences) between colonial and contemporary policing, Hapal and Jensen enable us to see the latter in a new light. Scholars like Alfred McCoy have already revealed some of the colonial entanglements of Philippine policing.⁴⁸ Hapal and Jensen deepen and extend this perspective, bringing us into the present and showing that Duterte intensified but also reconfigured colonial legacies. Duterte has been arrested and detained on a warrant from the International Criminal Court, stemming from the police violence he oversaw. He remains in custody as this volume goes to press.

Border control is a domain of policing deeply shaped by imperial legacies, particularly in southern Africa. In another striking ethnographic analysis, Kathryn Takabvirwa shows how both colonial and apartheid-era practices of “document-mediated” policing persist in the policing of border-crossing individuals at the land border of Zimbabwe and South Africa. She highlights how contemporary xenophobia toward Zimbabweans and other nationals of nearby countries in South Africa reproduces and transfers a pattern of discretionary surveillance and exclusion that characterized both Rhodesian and apartheid South African racial boundaries. This xenophobic anti-Blackness attempts to manufacture a solid and impermeable nation-state, but by relying on police discretion, the overall effect is less one of solidity than layering. By continuously shedding its skin in a process of anti-Black exclusion, the state reveals itself to hold little in the way of an unyielding core of protected citizenship rights—both echoing and implicitly reproducing colonial racialized structures

that preceded the sovereign, postapartheid South Africa. Takabvirwa's chapter thus not only transcends methodological presentism. It also exemplifies the value of this transcendence, particularly when studying a policing practice that purports to be highly place-based, enacting a defensive localism.

To round out the first section, Adam Elliott-Cooper rethinks contemporary mobilizations against police violence to highlight a potential value of the framework of imperial entanglements. Asking how critiques of police violence could engender widely disparate institutional responses, ranging from the abolitionist demand to the denial of the existence of institutional racism, Elliott-Cooper finds that critical acceptance of imperial entanglement was the essential factor. More liberal definitions of racism that developed in response to Black Power critiques constricted and decontextualized racism (including that of the police). They also removed from consideration questions of colonialism and imperialism or racial capitalism. In contrast, Elliott-Cooper shows that more recent abolitionist critiques put imperial entanglements back on the agenda. Calling for an antiracism from below, this approach melds different forms of community organizing by seeking the commonalities among those seeking justice amid police violence, immigration restriction, and a variety of forms of economic exploitation and duress. This critique puts internationalism at the forefront. Elliott-Cooper highlights how "the more radical iterations of the protests of 2020 were not just challenges to policing, but also to racial capitalism, the imperial system for whose defense is the primary function of policing." As policing itself is colonial and translocal, so too is the target of abolitionist resistance.

Elliott-Cooper's chapter prefaces the chapters in part II, "Between Metropole and Colony." These chapters begin with a discussion of colonial entanglements that stage present-day forms and practices of policing. But they also scope out to unravel an array of relations between, across, and through imperial space. Matthew Guariglia's chapter shows how surveillance technologies traversed the British and US colonial empires. Fingerprinting and other biometric techniques first emerged in the British empire before they were imported into the US empire—part of a larger imperial apparatus of identification and information to meet imperial imperatives. The American colonial regime in Manila imported British imperial biometric techniques to the Philippines by, which were then exported to the FBI in Washington, DC, and local police departments, not least the New York Police Department. Rather than adopted in one site alone, and rather than autonomously spreading across space, these tools and technologies of governance were part of intra-imperial as well as inter-imperial regimes of racialized control.

The transimperial circulation of policing tools and technologies did not only occur through formal colonial empires. Markus-Michael Müller's chapter shows how a diverse set of coercive cultures, materials, and techniques circulated between Germany and Latin American countries over the past centuries, constituting and reshaping police-military formations of power in both Europe and Latin America. Geopolitical and economic interests shaped Germany's interventions in the region from the early Prussian advances through the present, while Latin American officials in turn emulated Prussian militarism and, later, Germany's funds and advanced technologies. A seemingly never-ending series of Prussian armies, German advisors, and financial assistance helped facilitate the exchanges, and along the way other empires, not least that of the United States, became entangled too. Today, the traces of these long-standing entanglements are visible in Latin America's current police-military formations, as well as in the way some Latin American police academies celebrate the German police, with the symbols and imagery of fascist Germany thrown in. Müller's chapter thereby transcends methodological presentism and methodological localism at once.

Jesse S. G. Wozniak's chapter on Iraq explores entanglements of informal empire but does so through a unique comparison of police in the United States when the institution first emerged with the new police of post-invasion Iraq. The United States helped create the Iraqi force. The administrations of both President George W. Bush and President Barack Obama funneled money and support to "reform" and "professionalize" the Iraqi police. But Wozniak finds that, despite these commitments, the force remains poorly trained and corrupt, fails to perform basic policing duties, and is excessively violent. These and other features of the Iraqi police make it remarkably similar to US police forces in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This convergence is not because the Iraqi police have yet to fully evolve but rather is deliberate. The US imperial state has failed to train the force for crime control and has mainly taught the force coercive and militaristic tactics for maintaining hegemony. The Iraqi force, therefore, ends up being a colonial force in the sense that its main approach is violence and its function is meeting the interests of the Iraqi state and its imperial overlord, the United States. A crucial aspect of those interests is securing the conditions for capital accumulation and maintaining capitalist sociopolitical order. This is why the Iraqi police resemble not only a colonial force but also the early US police, whose original purpose was no different.

One of the productive analytic moves of Wozniak's chapter is that it compares different police agencies across different time periods and geographic locations while also keeping in mind connections between the compared

locations (e.g., US advisors helping to build the Iraqi police). Andy Clarno's chapter, alternatively, compels us to rethink the units that we would otherwise compare in the first place. While traditional policing studies compare "the police" in different locations, Clarno's chapter helps us see that "the police" does not exist on its own. Everywhere, it seems, what we designate as "the police" has long been and remains part of wider imperial networks or "webs" whereby "the police" does its work alongside, with, and through a range of other actors, not least the military and intelligence agencies. Across various policing campaigns—the War on Terror, the War on Gangs, and the War on Immigrants—the Chicago Police Department works with a variety of organizations, ranging from the FBI to US Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Similarly, Clarno shows that the Israeli assault of Gaza does not happen by the Israel Defense Forces alone but through a similar network or "web" that encompasses a variety of actors—including not just the US military but also universities and police agencies of the United States. More to the point, inspired by contemporary activism, Clarno's chapter suggests how Gaza and Chicago are part of the same expansive web. This imbrication is important, Clarno shows, because it illuminates paths of resistance that should be as coordinated but diffuse as the form of military-police power it opposes.

Analytically, Clarno's chapter and other chapters in this book raise questions about methodology. If police agencies are bound up in such extensive and complicated entanglements, what is left of traditional studies of police that look at singular police agencies or single cities? How can we transcend methodological localism? This is particularly beguiling given that scholarship on policing has long been oriented toward case studies or, at best, comparisons across cases. For instance, local histories of policing that examine police departments in a single town or jurisdiction have long been the norm of conventional historiography or sociological analysis. How, then, should we look at policing in a single city (or even country) but keep wider translocal imperial entanglements in view? Stuart Schrader's chapter delineates how scholars of policing might approach the issue, using the example of Baltimore's imperial entanglements. The key, Schrader suggests, is to move beyond conventional approaches to "casing." Treating an initial object of investigation as a "site" rather than a case and scrutinizing rather than assuming boundaries are crucial methodological steps. A city can be both a site of reception and diffusion, transforming and localizing broader patterns of police practice in the process. In this chapter, Schrader illuminates how Baltimore became a site for globally reverberating repertoires of police and military surveillance, coercion, and repression. The chapter examines the city police department as embedded in

extralocal networks and as a facilitator of contacts among different agencies. Thus, even as the city seems paradigmatic for the typical single-case, bounded study of municipal policing in the United States, where mid-twentieth-century policing practices were animated by upholding a stark racial color line, this analysis reveals other dimensions of this history by showing those practices of racialized social and political control to have been incubated in imperial operations, by intelligence and military agencies, as well as police.

The final series of chapters in part III, “The International-Imperial,” explore how powerful international actors have shaped policing across the ex-colonial world and the Global South in recent years. They probe the processes involved and investigate their impact. Historically, the powerful international actors responsible for spreading police practices, norms, tactics, and standards for policing were formal colonial empires. Today, as Wozniak and Clarno remind us, colonialism and neocolonial occupations persist in many parts of the world, and they still shape policing. In other parts of the world, however, formal empires are absent. Yet as the chapters in this final section of the book show, this does not mean that policing escapes international influence. It just means that the influence has taken on new forms and dimensions.

Enrique Alvear Moreno’s chapter looks at the spread of “broken windows” and “predictive” policing from the United States to Chile. To manage apparently rising crime, the Chilean government turned to powerful global actors, the Inter-American Bank and Altegrity Risk International, a consulting company led by William Bratton, Louis Anemone, and Michael Berkow (former chiefs of the New York and Los Angeles police departments). Based on their advice, the Chilean government devised a new program called Tactical System of Crime Analysis. The fact that Chile turned to these actors reveals a kind of imperial hegemony itself. Chile did not turn to other forms of public safety to manage crime. It turned to the available and seemingly reputable powerful global agents whose knowledge and experience were deemed to be superior. Regional banks and private consulting firms in this case thus function like the imperial metropolises of old. As Alvear Moreno shows, however, the process was not a unilateral imposition. Local bureaucrats domesticated US practices and ideas around crime and policing to create their new program while working within its terms. Alvear Moreno thus reveals that neoimperial flows of policing practices resemble those of the colonial period: Local actors mediate the imposition, despite the imbalance of power. The result is that dominant policing ideologies, tactics, and practices from the United States do not look exactly the same in Chile as they do in the metropolitan place of origin. Practices are shared not in spite of the agency of local actors but through it.

Maya Van Nuys's chapter explores another set of actors in the spread of policing practices: international organizations (IOs) involved in supporting international policing operations around the world. These IOs include the United Nations, responsible for peacekeeping operations that involve policing, as well as the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL), which facilitates information sharing between states to manage crime. Like the actors involved in Alvear Moreno's analysis (international banks and private consulting firms), these IOs have stepped in after the imperial metropolitan presence has dissipated, providing the knowledge, personnel, and funds for policing countries in the Global South. The question that Van Nuys asks but which existing studies fail to address is how these IOs understand the kind of policing they should be promoting, the "best practices" or standards around public safety that they should support and disseminate. Historians have shown us the sorts of standards that colonial officials thought colonial police should adhere to and the goals they should pursue, but what do these IOs think? Van Nuys suggests that IOs today possess far less hubris than the imperial powers of the past; they are skeptical that best practices can be successfully applied at all, particularly in postconflict contexts. On the other hand, Van Nuys's chapter also finds, among other insights, that if IOs appear to diminish colonial hubris they nonetheless reinscribe the colonial mentality, justifying their skepticism on the grounds of difference between what colonialists used to call "civilized" and "uncivilized" societies.

Whereas Van Nuys's and Alvear Moreno's chapters reveal certain colonial continuities and novel discontinuities when it comes to the international spread of policing practices and ideas, Zoha Waseem's chapter explores how international efforts to "reform" policing end up with seemingly unanticipated consequences. Waseem examines three different police reform and aid efforts: the counternarcotics program of the US Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, the United Kingdom's Rule of Law program, and the Asian Development Bank's assistance package for reforming the police and judiciary. In all three cases, Waseem finds that, rather than changing police, the programs ended up reproducing if not strengthening the Pakistani police's counterinsurgency and warlike orientation—a legacy of colonialism—while consolidating the power of the local civilian and military elite. International aid for police reform thus reproduced colonial-type policing while bolstering the interests of powerful actors both inside and outside of Pakistan. Her findings should make us question whether explicit reform efforts deepen social inequalities in Pakistan, rather than fixing them, in turn contributing to the insecurity that summons police aid.

As Waseem uncovers how neoimperial policing projects reproduce hierarchies in target societies, Colleen Bell and Lou Pingeot's study of Canadian international police deployments reveals how such projects reproduce hierarchies in the imperial center. The Canadian government justifies the deployment of Canadian police officers in international peacekeeping, stabilization, and counterterrorism operations by pointing to Canada's interests in those missions. Crucially, police officers also are said to acquire "cultural awareness" abroad that will make them better police officers in Canada. But as Bell and Pingeot show, the effects of this program are much more complicated. Rather than showing increased sensitivity, officers from the missions simply reiterate colonial mindsets. They operate from and thus reproduce a belief that Canadian police officers are superior to police in other societies and imply that Canadians are culturally and behaviorally superior to the residents of those societies. This is colonial paternalism reinscribed under the guise of benevolent international policing and supposed cultural sensitization. Just as strikingly, as Bell and Pingeot show, Canadian police officers return equipped with negative stereotypes of minoritized populations that they deploy to make sense of ethnic and racial difference in Canada. Colonial mindsets are thus not only reproduced abroad but also serve to reinforce hierarchies at home. This analysis exemplifies the denaturalizing power of the imperial entanglements approach, as it delocalizes and historicizes pathologies of contemporary policing.

TO CONCLUDE, WE RETURN to the Kenya-led mission in Haiti, where multilateral, South-South operations by ostensibly nonimperial powers represent the most advanced face of imperialism today. Periodizing imperial entanglements is crucial, but the entanglements are also cumulative. Thus, a rough periodization is possible: It runs from the era of high colonialism to the era of more centralized bilateral police assistance between sovereign nations to the era of contract-based private security operations and to the moment of multilateral police peacekeeping. To treat the prior periods as existing only in the past is to misapprehend policing history, as much as a bounded and locally grounded history of policing that ignores cross-border connections entirely would. Instead, policing today is composed of sedimented imperial entanglements, layered in uneven and contextually specific ways. When multilateral operations fail to achieve set goals or reform packages do not eradicate bias and discretionary violence, police leaders may be frustrated—but they often go back to the drawing board. Our framework and approach here suggest that this

drawing board needs a keener look, for beneath the latest technological and tactical advances in policing are palimpsests of prior imperial entanglements.

NOTES

1. Frances Robles and Abdi Latif Dahir, “Foreign Police Officers Land on the Ground in Haiti,” *New York Times*, June 25, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/25/world/americas/haiti-kenya-police-gangs.html>; Abdi Latif Dahir, “After Deadly Protests, Kenyans Tell of Brutal Abductions,” *New York Times*, July 6, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/25/world/americas/haiti-kenya-police-gangs.html>; Aaron Ross, George Obulutsa, and Giulia Paravicini, “Police Fire on Demonstrators Trying to Storm Kenya Parliament, Several Dead,” Reuters, June 25, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/young-kenyan-tax-protesters-plan-nationwide-demonstrations-2024-06-25/>.

2. Stephanie Busari, Lauren Kent, Nimi Princewill, and Larry Madowo, “Kenyan President Ruto Withdraws Controversial Finance Bill Following Deadly Protests,” CNN, June 26, 2024, <https://www.cnn.com/2024/06/26/africa/kenyan-president-rejects-finance-bill-intl/index.html>.

3. Associated Press, “Haitian Police Meet Kenyan Commanders Ahead of Deployment,” Voice of America, June 18, 2024, <https://www.voanews.com/a/7660559.html>.

4. Tim Sahay and Kate Mackenzie, “The View from Nairobi-Washington,” *Phenomenal World*, July 4, 2024, <https://www.phenomenalworld.org/analysis/the-view-from-nairobi-washington/>. The broader imperial or neocolonial backdrop of debt and financial disciplining by Euro-American institutions, as well as the role of Chinese lending, is pertinent but beyond the scope of this analysis.

5. Tome Phillips and Lauren Gambino, “Kenyan Special Forces Police to Arrive in Haiti to Help Combat Gang Violence,” *Guardian*, May 21, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/may/21/kenya-haiti-mission>. The multinational peacekeeping mission was authorized by vote of the UN Security Council after increasing political unrest and gang violence in the aftermath of the assassination of Haitian President Jovenel Moïse in 2023.

6. Abdi Latif Dahir and Eric Schmitt, “Strike in Somalia Said to Kill Mastermind of Attacks on Americans and Kenyans,” *New York Times*, December 22, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/22/world/africa/somalia-shabab-maalim-ayman-killed.html>; Rédaction Africa News, “Al-Shabaab Militants Killed in US Military Strike,” *Africa News*, January 23, 2024, <https://www.africanews.com/2024/01/23/al-shabaab-militants-killed-in-us-military-strike>.

7. Aggrey Mutambo, “EU to Send \$21m Military Support to Kenya for Internal, Foreign Threats Fight,” *East African*, June 26, 2024, <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/eu-to-send-21m-military-support-to-kenya-4670374>.

8. Many Haitians are already very experienced with corrupt, ineffective, and aggressively violent police forces, while Kenyan critics, ranging from the Communist Party to more mainstream members of Parliament, have expressed skepticism that their own notoriously corrupt police force could be trusted to combat gangs in the Caribbean without violating human rights. On Haiti’s police problems, see, e.g., Ralph

Thomassaint Joseph, “Members of Elite Haiti Police Force Lost in New York as Asylum Seekers and Parolees,” *Documented*, June 28, 2024, <https://documentedny.com/2024/06/28/haiti-police-kenya-asylum/>. On Kenyan critics of police, see Ken Opala, “Green Light for Kenyan Police Boots on the Ground in Haiti,” Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime, May 15, 2024, <https://globalinitiative.net/analysis/green-light-for-kenyan-police-boots-on-the-ground-in-haiti>.

9. Al-Jazeera Staff, “Kenya Police Use Tear Gas, Water Cannon as Hundreds Protest Over Tax Hikes,” *Al-Jazeera*, June 20, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/6/20/kenya-police-use-tear-gas-water-cannon-as-hundreds-protest-over-tax-hikes>; Abdi Latif Dahir, “Protests Erupt in Kenya Over Tax Hike Proposals,” *New York Times*, June 18, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/18/world/africa/kenya-protests-proposed-tax-hikes.html>.

10. E.g., Whittaker, *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Kenya*, 38.

11. Go, *Policing Empires*, 229–33.

12. Gillham, “Securitizing America”; Boon, “‘The Only Thing Is You Have to Know Them First.’”

13. Whittaker, *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency*; Al-Bulushi, “Citizen-Suspect.”

14. Agency for International Development, *Summary Report: Kenya National Police*, pndx107; on Kenya’s colonial police history, see, e.g., Throup, “Crime, Politics and the Police in Colonial Kenya.”

15. *The Daily Nation*, “Ruto: This Was Treason,” June 25, 2024, <https://nation.africa/kenya/videos/ruto-this-was-treason-4669632>.

16. Pingeot, *Police Peacekeeping*. For an analysis of how gang-centric policing and counterinsurgency have dovetailed in Central America in the past decade-plus, see Hochmüller and Müller, “Countering Criminal Insurgencies.”

17. These definitions summarize a long-standing literature that offers useful conceptual frameworks for thinking about imperialism, colonialism, and empire. For the approach closest to ours here, see Go, *Patterns of Empire*.

18. Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism*, 4.

19. Barkawi and Laffey, “Retrieving the Imperial.”

20. Bickers, *Empire Made Me*.

21. Kuzmarov, *Modernizing Repression*; Manzano, “The Creation of a Social Problem”; Pembleton, “Revising the Drug War”; Schrader, *Badges Without Borders*; Seigel, *Violence Work*; Weimer, *Seeing Drugs*.

22. We are grateful to Colleen Bell and Lou Pingeot, at the “Policing the World” workshop at the University of Chicago, for suggesting the term *entanglements* as the way to thread together the chapters in this volume.

23. Hönke and Müller, *The Global Making of Policing*, 1.

24. See also Pingeot and Bell, “Recentring”; Watson et al., *Policing the Global South*; Al-Bulushi et al., “Security from the South.”

25. Müller, “Bringing Empire Back In”; Rodriguez, “South Atlantic Crossings.”

26. Whitaker, “From Cooperation to Neocolonialism,” 171.

27. Huggins, *Political Policing*; Weld, *Paper Cadavers*; Becker, *The FBI in Latin America*; Bennewitz and Müller, “Importing the ‘West German Model.’”

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28. See, e.g., LeBrón, *Policing Life and Death*; and Vitale, *The End of Policing*, among many others.
29. Pingeot and Bell, "Recentring," 2489; see also O'Reilly, *Colonial Policing*; Blanchard et al., *Policing in Colonial Empires*. Political philosophy has become more alive to the coloniality of policing recently; see, e.g., Trafford, *Everything Is Police*.
30. E.g., Ryan, "Reasonable Force."
31. Schrader, *Badges Without Borders*.
32. E.g., Sherry, *The Punitive Turn in American Life*; Aune, *Indian Wars Everywhere*.
33. Blanchard, *La police Parisienne*; Brogden, "The Emergence of the Police"; Go, *Policing Empires*; Guariglia, *Police and the Empire City*; McCoy, *Policing America's Empire*.
34. On the "global" in policing, beyond "export" or "laboratory" frameworks, see, e.g., chapters by Bilgin and Stockmarr in Hönke and Müller, *Global Making of Policing*; Sinclair and Williams, "Home and Away."
35. Schrader, *Badges Without Borders*, 6.
36. Schrader, "Global Counterinsurgency."
37. These "binaries" are also evident in many studies of international policing, as Bell and Pingeot show in "Recentring," 2493–95.
38. We think of this as a "methodological" move in the loose sense of methodology. That is, we are referring to rules or principles of analysis: in this case, the rule or principle of analysis, implicit or not, that tells scholars to *not* take the historical formation of an entity seriously and to focus only on its present form and function. This is distinct from "presentism" in that it refers to a particular type of presentism that historians might practice. In its basic form, "presentism" reads the present into the past (a form of Whiggish historiography). Methodological presentism, by contrast, begins with the assumption that the past is not relevant. On some of the different types, see Armitage, "In Defense of Presentism." Our use of the term *methodological presentism* is close to Schmidt, "Going Beyond Methodological Presentism."
39. For the US case, compare Brucato, *Race and Police*, and Hadden, *Slave Patrols*.
40. On instances and sites as orientations for research, see Riofrancos, "From Cases to Sites"; and Schrader in this volume.
41. Deaton, "Rethinking My Economics," 21.
42. This dangerous methodological presentism is especially indicative of standard sociological and criminological studies of policing, many of which employ the very ahistorical randomized control trials that Deaton cautions against.
43. E.g., Bayley, *Patterns of Policing*.
44. More recently, scholars have renewed Bayley's plea for comparative work, urged by the discomfiting sense that policing practices and institutions around the globe are converging. We share this sense, but we acknowledge that such convergence is not a recent phenomenon. We also stress that such convergence has often happened through complex processes bound up in power relations and inequalities. See, e.g., de Maillard and Roché, "Studying Policing Comparatively"; Roché and Fleming, "Cross-National Research"; Skogan, "Why Study Policing Comparatively?" To his credit, Skogan does acknowledge the importance of colonialism in the development of police institutions and

their variability, even as he also affirms the goal of comparative research to be essentially reform-oriented, focused on assessing differences in effectiveness, efficiency, and other related variables among cases.

45. For a sample of contemporary scholarship under the rubric of “global policing,” some of which does deal with colonialism and empire, see Bradford et al., *The SAGE Handbook of Global Policing*.

46. See also Clarno et al., *Imperial Policing*.

47. Pino and Wiatrowski, *Democratic Policing*; Stoker and Westermann, *Expeditionary Police Advising*; Wozniak, *Policing Iraq*.

48. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire*.

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