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The *Portuguesinhos*: Reintegration of Angolan Police Officers Trained Abroad

Cristina Udelsmann Rodrigues

Abstract

This paper analyses individual pathways of Angolan commissioned officers educated in Portugal, focusing specifically on their return to their country of origin and on the features of their reintegration into professional life. It aims at contributing to the discussion of mobility and migration, discussing issues of qualification and circulation of ‘brains’ between developed and developing countries. The analysis is based on quantitative and qualitative data obtained by conducting field research. It calls for the elaboration of strategies to deal simultaneously with the individual, the organisational and the societal conditions and consequently provides an important viewpoint of the processes of transformation of the Angolan society and institutions.

Introduction

Traveling, living, and studying in other countries transforms people to different degrees and in different ways. When returning to their places of origin, migrants also have variable influences in their communities and society. This paper analyzes individual pathways of Angolan commissioned officers trained in Portugal, focusing specifically on their return to their country of origin and on the features of their reinsertion in the professional life. The research is a result of a multidisciplinary project titled *Circulations of Police in Portugal, Lusophone Africa, and Brazil*, which focused on transnational issues and cooperation. A central research question of the study in all case-study countries was to know whether the police officers are agents of change when they return to their home countries, which has proven to be the case.¹ Integrated with the objectives and

¹ Beyond Angola, other African countries—São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde, and Mozambique—and Brazil. The project was carried out at the Institute of Social Sciences of Lisbon (see <http://www.copp-lab.org/>).

results of the project, this analysis aims at contributing to the discussion of theories of mobility and migration, in this case temporary and with a pre-defined duration, discussing issues of qualification, and circulation of “brains” between developed and developing countries. This analysis extends, whenever relevant, beyond the discussion of the evident gains and losses that the movement of skilled professionals entails, questioning the more “subjective” effects, such as the circulation of social models, values, attitudes, or cultural perspectives. These are related to not only the experiences and learnings acquired “informally” in a different cultural setting but also with notions of civic rights, the construction and functioning of democratic institutions or with community policing practices, provided by the formal academic training. The paper is based, therefore, on the portrayal of the objective contours and features of return and (re)integration and on the identification of the intertwined subjective aspects, and how these combinations dialogue with the ongoing changes in society and institutions in Angola. In broad terms, this study asserts that high education training in Portugal contributes to profound changes at the individual level with regard not only to technical skills and to ways of working closer to more modern policing models but also regarding values, attitudes, or ways of thinking. Upon their return to Angola, commissioned officers are faced with a changing society that is based on different organizational rationales and mechanisms and on different cultural mind-sets.

In order to be able to negotiate between the transformation that took place through training and the actual conditions on the terrain in Angola, the officers develop solidarity networks based on this common educational experience. The difference of being trained following modern European policing models—as opposed to a majority of Angolan policemen primarily trained in Cuba—is one of the reasons why they are often referred to as the “Portuguesinhos” (the Portuguese) among their peers. These networks not only contribute to the maintenance of a particular identity within the police system as a whole but also constitute a support to the efforts of replication of the policing models learned abroad. The networks and the rationales associated with them also take advantage of the ongoing social and political changes in Angola made possible by the attainment of peace, a perspective of democratic openness, the promotion of the role of the police, and a strong commitment to qualification and training.

The analysis is based on quantitative and qualitative data obtained by conducting desk and field research, the latter involving interviews with a number of police commissioned officers, the majority of them trained in Portugal and a few trained in Cuba. The selection of key informants interviewed was based on convenience, a “snowball” type of sampling method where respondents indicated successively other potentially relevant and interesting interviewees.² This strategy

² The field research was conducted in April 2014 in Luanda in cooperation with the General-command of the National Police of Angola (Polícia Nacional de Angola–PNA) and with the Higher Institute of Police Sciences (Instituto Superior de Ciências Policiais e Segurança Interna–ISCPSI) in Portugal. It involved interviews with 24 former students of the ISCPSI returned to Angola and (over 10) others with varied key informants sensitive to

has proven to be quite effective for this type of research in view of the context in Angola, a country recently emerging from a long 30-year period of civil war and from a militarized mode of police action. Despite this guidance provided by local partners, who were in charge of setting most of the initial interviews, the researchers were able, on the field, to diversify their sources of information, bringing together complementary research data, both qualitative and quantitative.

Before focusing on the strategies of these migrants returning to Angola and on the forms of reintegration they mobilize particularly under the designation of “Portuguesinhos,” it is important to recall the multiple combined influences brought by the formal training and by the diverse individual learning processes triggered by the stay abroad. The article therefore starts with an introduction to migration and higher education in Africa, highlighting the characteristics of “brain” circulation. It then describes the changes that the Angolan police went through in the last decades, providing the background for the analysis of the types of training and policing models involved and in processes of transformation. Return to Angola after training abroad involves dealing with a changing society emerging from war, where presently there is a combination of models and types of training and performance governing police activity. This calls for the elaboration of strategies to deal simultaneously with the individual, the organizational, and the societal conditions and consequently provides an important viewpoint of the overall processes of transformation in Angolan society and institutions.

Brain Circulation as Transformation

The ongoing discussion on “brain drain” has moved beyond the idea that development in origin countries proportionally reduces the levels of migration (De Haas, 2010). The globalization of mobility systems, a process that rapidly accelerated in the late 1970s (Urry, 2007), implies multiple directionalities, involves countries of different social and economic backgrounds with different levels of development, and, consequently, different educational systems. Migration encompasses the circulation of different types of qualifications and skills as migrants have different reasons for migrating. Both in origin and in receiving countries, migration and migration perspectives can alter not only the level but also the composition of human capital (Di Maria & Lazarova, 2012). In addition, migration produces socio-cultural and political impacts, which are as important as the macro-economic (Ammassari, 2004). Training abroad not only involves the circulation of qualified work force at the technical levels, but also promotes important transformations in terms of worldviews of the type referred above. Simplistically, skilled migration—which became generally coined as *brain drain*—can impede growth in countries of origin, particularly those with low levels of technological sophistication (Di Maria & Lazarova, 2012) as it represents the

the context of police/police training in Angola. The interviews, following a previously discussed interview guide focusing on questions related to return to Angola after training abroad, were also conducted with the support of sociologist Gabriela Simas.

exit of the more skilled from the society and the economy. However, on the other hand, the regular contact with countries of origin and return, produce other objective impacts, in the form of remittances or technological diffusion (Le & Bodman, 2011), which can be considered more positive. In this sense, brain drain started to be analyzed in its qualities as brain gain (Olesen, 2002) among scholars and this perspective has become commonly perceived as beneficial (or at least simultaneously a brain drain and a gain) (Stark, Helmenstein, & Prskawetz, 1997). The return of professionals with enhanced skills is progressively seen as a positive diaspora externality, namely as it may increase the demand for education in certain countries (Ratha et. al., 2011, p. 111) as potential migrants invest in education and skills to facilitate future migration, contributing to the accumulation of human capital (Beine, Docquier, & Oden-Defoort, 2011).

Downstream, during migration and upon return, skilled migration has effects in terms of higher remittances and transfer of knowledge and capacities. For this reason, there is today a general renewed interest among development agents to look at remittances as development tools and, most importantly, encourage innovative possibilities for making greater use of return migration as a brain gain (Olesen, 2002; Skeldon, 1997). While there are directly measurable relations between remittances and decreasing poverty and inequalities (Carling, 2007), a number of studies have further led to the conclusion that skilled migrants' remittances are higher due to the fact that they have access to higher incomes (Bollard, 2009). However, the positive effects of these contributions are contingent on other factors. The return of migrants to their country of origin where their family stays is still considered more positive not just due to remittances alone but also because the next generation is not exposed to the hardships of migration and more investments are likely to be made in the country where they stay. In addition, there is a high likelihood of building transnational networks that benefit the country of origin in terms of scientific and technological knowledge (Portes, 2007, p. 37). There is, however, a great variability of the processes across contexts and a number of possible contradictions in each of the cases, like more income provided by remittances but increased apathy in the society or their use to supporting conflicts (Carling, 2007, p. 59). Each country and context for skilled return migration needs then to be analyzed in its specificities (Solimano, 2008) and the Angolan police students/officers are in this sense a very particular example in a particular context.

It is questionable that the effects of mobility and global migration are always positive or directly generating social and economic change by themselves, particularly in contexts where other changes are needed such as reform of property land, combating corruption, improving transport, and communication, health, education or welfare (Castles & Wise, 2007, p. 10). Migration is only one of the factors in further processes of transformation (Castles, 2007) and of development (De Haas, 2007). The discussions on the various types of effects of migration in countries of origin have focused on the more objective ones, especially in what regards remittances (Bollard et al., 2009). The Angolan emigration, particularly to Portugal, generates significant direct effects at the level of remittances sent to

Angola by migrant household members (Tinajero, 2009). However, these and other specific effects, like the observable technological diffusion fuelled by remittances, are hardly comparable to qualitative contributions (Le & Bodman, 2011), namely the social and cultural and particularly those stimulated by the returning highly-skilled elite migrants (Ammassari, 2004), as they are more difficult to measure. The effects are also different across generations and in relation to historical periods (Ammassari, 2004) particularly in terms of their features. At a broader scale, contributions to development, in addition to remittances, extend from the exchange of knowledge to the increase in networks and better access to foreign capital markets; investment, trade networks, skills, and technology transfer (Plaza & Ratha, 2011, p. 1; Ratha et al., 2011, p. 7). As a consequence, research on migration has made great advancements in terms of the combined analysis of both objective and subjective aspects in order to grasp the heterogeneity of the impacts of migration, replacing the reductionism that emphasized positive and negative perspectives of migration, matching “pessimistic and optimistic views” (De Haas, 2010), focusing instead on combined multiple effects. These combinations have been of particular importance to development and development related instances (Castles & Wise, 2007), and the complex relationships between global change, migration, and development are of major concern in this sense (Castles, 2007). In general, the enthusiasm with returning migrants to Africa is currently reinvigorated (Plaza & Ratha, 2011) and this applies to Angolan migrants as well (Ferreira, Lopes, & Mortágua, 2008).

Police in Angola in a Shifting Context from War to Peace

The return to Angola of commissioned officers trained in Portugal takes place within a context of important transformations in the society, politics, and international relations. The economic and political transformations, from socialism to market economy and the establishment of a democratic political system, initiated in the 1990s, were accompanied by years of civil war that only ended in 2002. Training within bilateral agreements in the area of higher education of police officers started only five years before the end of the conflict.

The creation of a police force in Angola dates back to the colonial period and its year of formation was 1837, when the Company of Public Safety was created by the then-Governor General Manuel Bernardes Vidal (Sá, 2013). The Luanda Police Force was constituted 50 years later, evolving later on in 1887 to the Luanda Police Company. In 1923 a Police Force of the Angola Province was created, under the Governor-General and with nationwide scope, which was soon replaced in 1929 by the Public Security Police Force of Angola (PSPA), located in Luanda and in each of the country districts. Since then, the sections of Fiscal Police, Criminal Investigation (PIC) and Criminal Identification became separate authorities. From 1961 on, other internal reorganizations, mainly due to the political contestation that began to change the country, the number of staff of the Public Security Police (PSP) increased and the Judicial Police was created (and

the PIC extinguished), while the repressive colonial International Police and State Defence and the army were reinforced.

After independence in 1975, the transitional government determined that the PSPA was to be called Angola Police Corps, which came to integrate elements and heads of the various liberation movements. However, with increasing clashes between these, the police was soon reorganized by Commander Santana André Pitra Petroff and the first international cooperation agreements for the training of cadres were signed with Cuba. In 1976 the police was renamed Popular Police Corps of Angola and the police training school changed its name to Kapolo Martyrs. At the time, police depended on the Ministry of Defence but soon in 1978 the Police Corps, the Judicial Police, the Inspectorate of Prison Services, the Roads and Traffic, among others, were transferred to the newly created Secretariat of State of Internal Order. This meant extinction of the Popular Police Corps of Angola and the creation of a National Directorate of Popular Police, the very next year, framed in a reorganization that turned the Secretariat of State of Internal Order into the Ministry of Interior, which still exists today. In 1986 and under the direction of Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos, a new regulation for the police was approved and the designation of Commander-General replaced that of National Director. The Criminal Investigation Police, the Inspection and Investigation of Economic Activities, and Procedural Instruction Police became integrated under the same structure and leadership and therefore the concept of Integral Police—that is, one that has in full all the functions and powers relating to police work (Sá, 2013)—dates back from that time. By this time, the legacies of the post-colonial Angolan police had been transformed, leading to a type of “repression” policing, as defined by Alice Hills (2000a, p. 28), much related to the war: “the police were subject to ideological and institutional controls and were heavily influenced by Soviet, East German and Cuban doctrines and practises” (Hills, 2000a, p. 48).

In 1991, before the first elections, the Angolan police got the designation it still holds today, National Police of Angola (PNA). After the end of the civil war in 2002, the PNA began to prepare a Plan of Modernisation and Development that gives strong priority to the component of staff training. Noteworthy in this effort is the creation of the Medium-Level Institute of Police Sciences (later School of Police Osvaldo de Jesus Serra Van-Dúnem) and afterwards the Middle-Level Institute of Police Sciences Santana André Pitra Petroff, in Benguela. The National Police is still headed by a General-Commander with similar status to Vice-Minister, depending on the Minister of the Interior and comprising both a General-Command and Provincial Commands. The General-Command integrates Technical, Instrumental and Consultative support organs at central, national, and regional levels. Two operational areas, Public Order and Intervention, add to the internal organisation in several branches of activity.

African police forces in general and the Angolan in particular inherited the “stamp of militarisation and politicisation,” both from their colonial and the post-independence periods (Van der Spuy, 2009a), although they have also developed specific competences in dealing with specific local conditions, creating locally

appropriate forms of conventional policing (Hills, 2012). The progression from an authoritarian colonial police, to a more militarized one during the Angolan civil conflict and the gradual opening to modern policing are today discernible, despite the advancements and retreats and the mixed features along the way. These processes pose important challenges to the institutional and societal dispositions as “police reform is one of the most important and complex challenges in any environment (...) particularly in post-conflict situations” where the police have often perpetrated serious human rights violations (O’Neill, 2005, p. 1). Other African examples, of countries emerging from authoritarian regimes like South Africa where policing has become more tolerant and democratic despite keeping some repressive, authoritarian, and violent responses to the public (Marks, 2002) provide indications for the gradual changes taking place.

International cooperation, both intercontinental and regional is a key area for the transformation of the police in Angola. For instance, police cooperation in the South African region has resulted in a degree of harmonization of policy and standardization of police training as well as in indications of commitment to common values and standards associated with democratic policing (Van der Spuy, 2009b). Reform, however, demands transformation of wider policies and mobilization of resources, including processes of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration; reforms in the justice and security sectors; and crime control and prevention (Van der Spuy, 2009a). Moreover, structural constraints and dynamics overlapping the vaunted democratization persist in Africa (Hills, 2007). Hills (2008) writes, “Reform can make a normative and organisational difference,” but needs to be supported by fundamental socio-political change (p. 215). Training abroad and cooperation in the area of police training has been perceived in the recent decades as the crucial support for this transformation.

Training in Angola and Portugal: Modernising the Angolan Hybrid Policing Model

Ongoing transformation of the Angolan police is particularly related to international cooperation in the area of training, involving the circulation of both students and trainers. Angolan emigration is typically made within the “Lusophone migratory system” (Baganha, 2009), despite its particularities and the countries belonging to this system “use Portugal to educate their elites (...) since these new states do not have an educational system fully developed” (p. 9). However, the number of Angolans studying in Portugal has clearly been decreasing in the years from 2000 to 2005 dropping from near 700 to less than 200 (Baganha, 2009, , p. 10). General migration figures of Angolans in Portugal have also decreased in 2015 (by 7.4%) (SEF, 2015) and, although there are no official aggregated numbers, the crisis that started to affect Angola in 2014 has most likely contributed to a decrease on the number of students abroad as well. Moreover, in terms of remittances, the Portuguese living in Angola were sending twice the money the Angolans living in Portugal did to their home countries (Baganha, 2009, p. 13).

Despite the changing conditions, education obtained in Portugal continues to involve, beyond the objective implications, several underlying “symbolic, affective, cultural and economic issues” (Faria, 2009, p. 45) and is of real importance in the training supported by international cooperation policies and agreements (Costa & Faria, 2012). Angola has developed over the years a number of international cooperation activities in the area of police training, especially as a beneficiary country. While police training cooperation is historically diverse, it tends to change in recent years as a result of the diversification of cooperation partners in this area. Although the largest contingent of the Angolan police is trained under the long-term cooperation agreements with Cuba, especially at the level of basic training and some specialties, other international partners include Portugal, Spain, Brazil, Mozambique, Cape Verde, or Israel (Sá, 2013). As a whole, commissioned officers are trained in varied areas and fields of knowledge beyond Police Sciences. Cooperation with countries like Portugal or Spain is considered more specialized, and the Portugal training is made specifically on Police Sciences and at higher levels.

Angola is also a well-recognized training country in the region. The PNA trains police officers in different areas and levels in African countries: Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Congo Brazzaville, the Democratic Republic of Congo, or Namibia. Training in general is booming in the country and training of the police in particular has recently been extended to university education. Table 1 shows the significant variety of expertise and levels within the police training system. In the country, there is currently only one institution dedicated to police training at university level, the Higher Institute of Police and Criminal Sciences General Osvaldo de Jesus Serra Van-Dúnem (ISCPC), located in Luanda. Still, initiated only a few years ago, this represents a major advancement in academic training of the police in Angola. Available training as a whole ranges from the primary school provided by the Nzoji center run by the PNA to university and is therefore considered “a fairly complete progressive system” (L., Director of ISCPC, personal communication, August 2014).

The ISCPC, within its very specific orientation for advanced training was created by a presidential decree (of January 2012), “which shows its importance” (M. F., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014) and started to operate in March that year. With 114 faculty members, 16 of them expatriates, it has a board of directors, a scientific, a pedagogical, and a discipline board. In 2013, the institute had 276 students (47 females) enrolled in the first year and 189 students (22 females) in the second year. The latter is the expected number of students who will graduate 2015. The total number of students included 13 officers of the Cape Verdean police admitted under the existing cooperation between the police forces of the two countries and there were prospects of integrating students from Sao Tome and Mozambique as well. In the four-year degree course (480 hours), the cadets have two optional areas starting in the third year, public safety (64 disciplines) or criminal investigation (65 disciplines). The Institute also teaches specialized and refresher courses in various areas of police

knowledge: in 2013, a total of 259 police officers participated in these trainings, in various areas such as human resource management, taxation, education and citizenship, criminal investigation, or investigation of traffic accidents, to name a few. Every year, there is an average 1,000 candidates for the 240 vacancies, and therefore admission and evaluation rules are quite selective: students failing in two consecutive years have to return to their units. Progressively, the ISPCP plans to integrate their best students as teachers, funding their master and doctoral training abroad, envisaging in the medium/long run less dependence of international cooperation in this field. So far, the majority of teachers are Cuban, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Table 1: Police Training Institutions in Angola, 2014

Name	Students	
National School of Public Order Police (ENOP)	110	
National School of Protection and Intervention Police (ENPPI)	Sede	360
	Centro de Formação do Kikuxi	360
Higher Institute of Police and Criminal Sciences General Osvaldo de Jesus Serra Van-Dúnem (ISPCP)	1,125	
Medium-Level Institute of Police Sciences Commander Santana André Pitra Petroff (IMCP), Benguela	468	
Cavalry and Dog Training Police Command	n.a.	
Northern Regional Training Centre (CRN)	n.a.	
Training Centre of the Border Police Mártires do Môngua, Ambriz	n.a.	
Boarding Centre of CPIP	n.a.	
Multipurpose Centre Nzoji	n.a.	

Source: DNRH/PN, 2014b.

Training in Portugal

Police cooperation between Portugal and Angola, which started in 1997, is managed by the General Directorate of Internal Administration and is part of a bilateral program, the Special Agreement on Cooperation on Internal Security Matters, signed between the Ministry of Interior of Angola and the Ministry of Internal Administration of Portugal (Decree-Law 25/97). Basically, it targets training of Commissioned Officers at the Higher Institute of Police Sciences and Internal Security (ISCPSP) located in Lisbon. Between 1998 and 2013 (Table 2), the Angolan students were the largest in number among those of the African Portuguese-speaking countries.

At the beginning of the cooperation, the number of Angolans trained at the ISCPSP was higher than it is now. Of the total that graduated in the Institute, a large majority of 80% did it before 2003 (DNRH/PN, 2014a). Justifications

provided for this are mainly related to increased requirements for admission in the courses, as some of the interviewees stated: “To be selected is the culmination of a difficult application process. When we receive the news that we have passed, that we were selected, it is a joy” (A. S. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Moreover, many fail to complete courses, as they are “very demanding. Not everyone ends” (N. C., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Despite the low success rate of 63.5%, Angola is nevertheless among the African cooperation partners the country that has sent more students to study at the Institute over the last decades. Adapting to the country constitutes a major difficulty that requires an additional effort to overcome, as often referred: “we did not understand the Portuguese way of speaking” (A. L., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014), “we speak differently” (N. C., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014), and “we were different people” (H. Q., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Some skills such as computer competences, especially in the courses in the 1990s, called for additional efforts in order to keep up with the other colleagues. Finally yet importantly, separation from family and friends for an extended period made the life easier of those who took their families with them to Portugal, and harder for the others.

Table 2: Students trained at ISCPsi

	Total students 1998-2013	% of African students	Bachelor / masters ³ 1993/2012	Students enrolled in 2012-2013
Portugal	685	--	534	124
Angola	83	43%	47	9
Cabo Verde	35	18%	25	5
Guinea-Bissau	3	1.5%	0	2
Mozambique	47	25%	24	12
São Tomé & Príncipe	22	12%	8	10
East-Timor	1	0.5%	0	0
Total	876		638	162

Source: ISCPsi, October 2013.

However, the exigencies of the course are also considered a positive factor in terms of prestige, enabling the successful students to access positions of responsibility and stimulating further achievements. Examples like the following are abundant among those interviewed: “I ended up doing two graduate courses, a Master’s degree and am in the process of completing a PhD, all in Portugal” (M. F., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Crisis in Portugal and in Angola, starting roughly in 2012, produced further constraints to

³ Pre-and post-Bologna regimes.

the cooperation but those who conclude their training in Portugal and return to Angola are generally placed in responsible and prestigious positions. In 2014, the PNA scholarship holders who graduated in Police Sciences in Portugal occupied several high-ranked positions in various organs, mainly in Luanda where the central services are located.

Cooperation with Cuba in the area of police at all levels is the oldest and most continuous, and it involves the exchange of significant numbers of teachers and students. Comparatively, the number of students being trained by teachers of other cooperation program is lower, namely within the Portuguese cooperation agreement.

Table 3: Integration of Commissioned Officers Trained in Portugal

Ranking	Deputy Commissioner (<i>Subcomissário</i>)	8%
	Chief Superintendent (<i>Superintendente Chefe</i>)	23%
	Superintendent (<i>Superintendente</i>)	15%
	Intendent (<i>Intendente</i>)	31%
	Chief Inspector (<i>Inspector-chefe</i>)	5%
	Inspector (<i>Inspector</i>)	10%
	Subinspector (<i>Deputy Inspector</i>)	3%
	n.a.	5%

Source: DNRH/PN, 2014a.

Table 4: Training in 2014 within Cooperation Agreements

	Angolan students being trained in Angola	Angolan students being trained abroad/in country
Cuban Ministry of the Interior	4.474	184
Portuguese Ministry of Internal	234	10
Spanish Ministry of the Interior	152	16
Mozambique		8
Brazil		34
Cape Verde		4
SARPCCO ⁴ (in several countries)		176
Total	4.860	432

Source: PNA, 2014.

⁴ Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation.

Although Angola has distanced itself from a socialist political model for several years, cooperation with Cuba in this and other areas, like non-police education and health, is still very significant. As will be further developed, this has contributed to the construction of a hybrid model of police, with implications to the values and types of societal and cultural approaches within the police way of acting and its image. For now, however, it is important to retain that despite the reduced (absolute and relative) number of Commissioned Officers trained on the basis of the cooperation agreement with Portugal, this training abroad is a source for the changes taking place in the Angolan police.

Challenging Return: the Individual, the Outer World and Angola

As evidenced by our study, the small group of high-ranked police officers trained in Portugal perceives their return to Angola after the period spent abroad and the type of training received as a process of discovery of the differences and particularities of Angola itself. On one hand, they report the importance of acquiring the notion of the diverse models of policing and on the other, the challenges of adapting these to the social, economic, or cultural conditions and context of Angola.

It is important to stress the significant individual transformations that take place along the training and return processes, not only in terms of the technical and scientific knowledge but especially in what concerns values and ideas, cultural learning, and maturity as well. These are above all individual experiences of life that depend on the students' previous police training and/or operational experience. For example one officer interviewed emphasized: "I had more than nine years of making, for example, coercive disarmament in wartime" (A. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). There are also differences between those who had previously studied or have been trained abroad, for example in Cuba: "I was in the military career in Huambo, in 1989 I was selected to study in Cuba and, at the end of the course there, to proceed to higher education in Lisbon" (L. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). Moreover, age of admission in the courses also makes a difference, particularly among already high-ranked officers who decided to get a diploma: "We were already Commissioned Officers; I was 28 when I went to the ISCPST. I went to study with 18 year old colleagues" (A. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). Another factor, that was comparatively more important before the end of war, was the possibility of accessing higher education that the courses abroad represented. Finally, like in many other professions, there is apparently a strong influence of family ideals and careers: "I took the course influenced by my father, who was already police; but also because at the time [in 1996] it was very difficult to enter higher education" (A. M. M., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014); "My mother was an official of the police and knew about the course. I was studying economics but by that time, I was recruited for the army because the country was at war. I then applied for the course and was admitted" (J. F., Commissioned

Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Combined or isolated, these pre-conditions establish in great part the varied conditions for the changes at an individual level that can take place due to training and the relatively prolonged stay abroad.

The Transformation: Techniques, Values, and Perspectives

The end of the war marked the beginning of major changes at various levels in Angola, including within the police. Wartime dictated the conditions for the type of policing in place for decades: conflict itself, rural migration, increased urban crime, currency and other black markets, and smuggling, particularly of diamonds (Hills, 2000a, p. 48). Angola went through various stages of restructuring during and after the end of the war that involved profound changes in terms of the composition of police staff. Namely, the police had to integrate demobilized soldiers while others joined private security firms, and between the military and the police forces several interchanges also took place. While its image remained for long associated with the war, muscled action, and precariousness, there are indications that gradually this is being changed: “Most of the current staff comes from the military forces, so we have a military character; this is our image in society” (A. S. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Another interviewee said, “In the early 1990s, the curriculum of police training was 80% confrontation, ‘shooting and flip-flops.’ With peace, everything was restructured” (L. C., police director, personal communication, April 2014). Yet another interviewee reported, “In times of war, we had heavy weapons” (J. F., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Nevertheless, the public image of suspicion takes time to change, especially in relation to the traffic police and the bribing systems; the police performing forced evictions for the construction of new neighbourhoods; and wartime raids then called “cleansing,” “people have a negative image of the police; they think they never arrive on time; they want the police always present” (M. I., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). On the other hand, “there were many bad policemen who left many marks in the community. The image is still negative” (J. F., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). The transformations already recognisable are predominantly of increased professionalism, seen in the capacity of conducting and organizing major events such as sporting competitions or international events like the pope’s visit, making use of new models of action and new techniques. One interviewee maintained, “The police is now more ‘brain’ and less rappel and gymnastics” (M. F., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). Another said, “It employs more scientific methods in their actions” (O. B., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). This technical shift is perceived as a logic and necessary progression considering the evolutions of the modern world: “increased white-collar crimes, greatest attraction of the country to foreigner immigration due to its wealth” (A. C., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April, 2014).

This transformation is largely attributed to the training of officials in countries that pursue modern models and methods of police work based on values of democracy, civic and human rights, and proximity to the citizen. An interviewee said, “We follow generally the Francophone model, the Portuguese. Other countries have evolved even more, to the Anglo-Saxon model that foresees police involvement with the citizen; the policemen go to the citizen for prevention” (J. F., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Currently, ways to involve the community in their own safety are being thought, as part of community policing: “this involves identifying the institutions, the possible and relevant mechanisms, the community leaders” (O. B., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). An interviewee reported, “From a practical point of view, we have no totally effective proximity policing or community policing; there is only an intention” (M. F., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Conditions to improve the police image and practise have been recently created: there was a dramatic increase in the salaries of police in 2014—from a minimum of 30/40,000 kwanzas to 95,000—which is seen as an important measure for reducing corruption. In February 2014, new and more severe disciplinary regulations were adopted, foreseeing more sanctions. These measures are part of the Modernization and Development Plan of the National Police of 2002 and support greater accountability of agents and an elevation of the police work. As “the nature and functioning of policing is thus useful for understanding the broader issues of state-society relations and state behaviour in Africa” (Hills, 2000b, p. 190) these transformations need to be perceived in their long term and gradual effects.

There are many things in common between Portugal and Angola: the colonial common past, language and some cultural features, specific types of police work and organisation, or similar legal systems. The Angolan Penal Law inherited the Portuguese structure and was later after independence only minimally revised, being generally quite divergent to the legal system of Cuba, the largest partner of police cooperation. However, the differences between both countries and societies are notable, and clearly recognized in the individual transformations those who studied in Portugal indicate: “we learned to deal [in Portugal] with a totally different culture” (A. S. oc., May 2014). Contact with different working and living realities affected the way migrant Angolan students perceived both the other and their own societies and cultures. Like other students abroad, the police officers also pass through an “intense reformulation of identities and contacts with difference, reinforcing a sense of ‘aliened’ identity, of an European tone, which will be reconfigured at the time of return and re-entry into Angolan society” (Faria, 2009, p. 61). For some, completing the course in Portugal is above all attending a “school of life” (A. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014), a combination of practical and subjective learnings: “It was the acquisition of technical knowledge and of values” (A. F. S., co., May 2014). Often this occurs at the same time as individual maturity is being built, with effects on the forms of reintegrating in the society and culture upon return: “I stopped, for example, throwing cans and trash out the car window; I came to

respect queuing” (W. J., co., April 2014). One interviewee reported, “After the training, I felt I had changed my knowledge, my capacity of argumentation and of leadership” (M. I., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014).

As in other examples of displacement experiences, the perplexing situations, conflicts, and effects considered negative also abound. Adjustment to the new culture was not always easy as mentioned by the interviewed, particularly at social moments: “we had to be acculturated. For example, we had to pay our bill even if a colleague had invited us for a drink. And I was never invited to the house of colleagues in Portugal while if they come here, we take them everywhere, especially to eat at our house” (W. J., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). The interviewed also recognised that their Portuguese colleagues were also going through social learning processes: “we met people who never had a relationship with black people before” (F. B., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Within the training environment of the boarding system of the school in Lisbon the students referred that initially “there was much separation between the Portuguese and the Africans; there were no mixed groups and the rooms were even separate until a certain time when the school changed this system” (W. J., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). Some students also feel that somehow grades were discriminatory, although recognizing the educational fragilities African students in general have: “our [Angolan] better grades were the ones the worst Portuguese students got. We thought this was because of the language difficulties, but then realized that many of them cheated in the exams, and we did not” (A. M. M., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). According to the former students interviewed, these grievances and claims have contributed to a personal and social transformation that accompanied the technical transformation fostered by the training.

Despite of what the students consider positive or negative experiences in terms of their individual values and attitudes and ways of dealing with difference, numerous technical and objective aspects are part of the list of effects of the training abroad. One of the crucial aspects of training abroad relies on the contact with a different model of policing, which has started for some years to be incorporated in the Angolan police methods and often referred to as a necessity in the present context and the way Angola is integrated in the global world (Virgílio, 2010). Having inherited an already authoritarian police regime by independence (Blanes, 2013), Angola has engaged during the civil war in particular in a more militarised fashion of police performance, largely supported by the Cuban training methodologies. This has created a hard to define type of policing forces, “neither police nor military in the conventional sense” (Hills, 2000a, p. 48), which in turn contributed to today’s still hybrid model. In the last decades, however, the contingents trained in countries such as Portugal gained a privileged contact with the more modern methods, more concerned with proximity to the citizen and for instance with rights (Udelsmann Rodrigues, 2015). In that sense, the mixed features are visible for example in the Angolan hierarchical model, which is unique, meaning that it is neither equal to the Portuguese or to the Cuban, the

main cooperation partner. In Angola, salary is not exclusively a combination of rank and years of service, like in Portugal, yet rank is critical for accessing benefits, like cars, housing, or domestic services. Nevertheless, although Angola has a unique police model, with various influences and based on the integration of all police forces, the tendency for alignment to police models of the global world is noteworthy: “our integrated police model is unique in the world and is often referred as being functional and well-coordinated; many countries think of following an integrated model” (O. B., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). And also, “The big advantage of Angola is that we seek Spain, Cuba, Israel, Brazil and Portugal [for police training]. This is a wide scope and we get a little of each and adapt to our reality” (A. J., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Another interviewee agreed, “The Angolan police model today is hybrid: on one side militarized, as the Brazilian [that kept much of this character from the dictatorial regime within a context of high violence], the Cuban and the Israeli; on the other, the [post-dictatorial] Portuguese influence. The greater or lesser inclination depends on the line of training of the leadership” (A. M. M., police director, personal communication, May 2014).

Applying What was Learned Abroad in Angola

It is mostly at the time of return to Angola that the recognition of individual changes takes place, in objective and subjective terms: “I now even convey some of the values acquired to my children, like discipline or pursuing more education” (O. B., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). However, in most cases, these transformed “ways” of thinking, living, or working face various resistances. One interviewee stated,

The return to Angola, for people like me, who were already police, was very difficult; you learned new things and when you arrive you have to implement, to show that you have learned something. But you will always find a barrier, of the older, who do not accept the change and what comes from the outside. The greatest difficulty is to pass the message and many colleagues have failed and had many problems. (O. B., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014)

The recurrent reference is that return is not an easy process, especially because students brought new values, ideas, and ways of living and working that at certain points clashed with the Angolan reality, even within such an institution that is governed by relatively rigid principles and guidelines. An interviewee stated, “It was difficult to change the mentality of police officers with over thirty years of service; it was difficult to change the police relationship with the population” (C., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). And another: “I had to adapt myself to the environment because it clashed with the values and interests; it implied other values, other rigors. The rooted practices are very

difficult to change” (A. M. M., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014).

Although the total contingent of police officers who have graduated from Portugal is small and tending to decline,⁵ it is recognized that some influences have been transmitted, especially as regards police work in part because these Commissioned Officers were placed into high-ranked posts. This is perhaps further evidenced by the fact that Angola is undergoing a gradual introduction of new models of action in the framework of police practice. One interviewee said, “In 1997 [when starting his studies in Portugal] there was war in Angola. The education system was very bad, the mentalities were much closed. The citizen then was seen as an enemy” (A. C., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). Today, officers feel that “we are moving gradually to greater proximity to the citizen” (M. I., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). And, “With the end of the war, the police has been changing, both technically and structurally” (A. F. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014).

In general, it is recognized that the values of the police trained in Angola still have a lot to be changed, although “some just want the wages but some young people already want to learn more” (A. L., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). In this area, the transmission of new values, particularly by those trained in Portugal, is considered very active: “the police [agents and other non-Commissioned] begin to imitate the leaders, in order to be promoted, and so have been changing their attitudes” (A. L., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). Former students in Portugal recognize the importance of the training they received abroad and the role it plays in transforming the institution, despite the challenges this entails: “It is hard to go back to the Angolan reality because we were shaped for the Portuguese reality, it is different.” (A. S. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Institutional effects are harder to produce but some are already noticeable, such as an overall increase in investment in training; improved services namely with the creation of an administrative division; or the development of specialized services such as the safety brigade. Nevertheless, these processes of institutional transformation take time, much longer than the individual change fostered by higher education abroad as they are intertwined with the societal dynamics and mechanisms. An interviewee reported, “We are currently working towards ‘proximity.’ It is a process that requires not only efforts from the police but also coordination with other public and private institutions, to make people feel that they can improve the police and their own safety” (A. S. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Given the combination of individual, corporate, and contextual changes, a long-term slow transformation is today producing some visible results. While the technical objective ones are more

⁵ In 2014, of the 100,000 Angolan police, 47 had been trained in the ISCS and were actively working in Angola.

easily identified, the transformation of perceptions and attitudes requires a more prolonged process.

The *Portuguesinhos*: Strategies, Identity, and Solidarity

The first major impact that takes place after returning to Angola is in terms of career, as interviewees often refer. Trained Commissioned Officers enter the higher-ranks directly, as Police Commissioners, Intendants, or Inspectors. Career progression starts at the moment of acceptance for the course in Portugal. The candidates are immediately incorporated in the police—if they were not previously—and the family starts receiving the salary in Angola. Also, only a few of these officers returned to the operative area in the provincial command in Luanda—the so-called area of “cangaço,” referring to the hands-on work in the streets—while the majority went to more administrative and management areas and functions. The few that did not even have an operational type of work before are called “bread and milk policemen,” as a reference to exclusive office work (A. L., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). Not always, however, the expected rapid progression and access to prestigious positions and posts takes place and tensions show the particularities of the Angolan context where solidarities based on workplace friendship and—not less important—on the educational background have an influence on career progression, as often mentioned. While determined by legal instruments—Decree Law 117 and Presidential Decree 119—career progression is dependent on several factors including evaluation and availability of posts (L. C., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). Especially after the first courses, there were visible tensions between those recently graduated and the leaders, particularly among those with no university degree. Said one interviewee, “We were seen as a threat because there was a shortage of graduates and the chiefs felt unsafe. They called us ‘the kids’” (W. J., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). Despite these tensions, most high-ranked Commissioned Officers are placed in Luanda, near the “decision centres” (A. C., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). In 2014, only four of the officers trained in Portugal had been placed outside Luanda, in prestigious positions, however. One of the reasons for this is the necessity of using more effectively the knowledge and the specialized academic skills for its replication and therefore many are employed in the police academies or at the university institute, located in Luanda.

Differences in terms of academic degrees and the places where these have been obtained contribute to the formation of groups and networks. The construction of an internal identity related to the educational background and its objectification in solidarities and networks constitute the core of the strategies developed by the trained abroad police officers when returning to Angola. Since the arrival back in Angola of the first contingent trained in Portugal, immediate differences were recognised and they rapidly became known as the “Portuguesinhos” (A. C., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). Said one interviewee, “When we arrived [from Portugal] others would tell

‘those here are the Portuguese’” (O. B., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014).

The solidarities are based not only on the country where the training took place but also often on the specificity of the training. On the basis of the internal networks and shared identity, the police obey a typically rigid hierarchical code, friendship, and more intense relationships are fostered and continued by the common education: when returning to Angola, the ISCPST students are almost “obliged” to go and introduce themselves to the older ones who also studied at the institute. This “reinforces the comradeship between them” (A. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014) and identity becomes to be perceived as a shared positive sentiment: “we are proud of the course. The general-commanders of Sao Tome and Cape Verde studied in the school; the National Director of Public Security Police too; we have six colleagues already in the class of Commissary Commissioned Officers [equivalent to Army Generals]” (H. Q., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014).

One of the central elements of distinction of those trained in Portugal is the reference to the quality of training received as compared to the less demanding education in Cuba: “for example, a Master’s thesis [in Cuba] has 40 pages and is much easier to do than in Portugal” (A. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). Another interviewee agreed, “It is easier to do a course in Cuba because attendance to classes is not compulsory. A Cuban professor comes to Angola a few times and supervises the theses. The course is distance learning and we only have to go to Cuba for the defence” (N. C., director, personal communication, May 2014). To the objective technical skills acquired, the officers add the importance of the prestige assigned to the education in Portugal: “It gave me status” (F. B., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014).

Success and prestige materialize not only in the discourse about perceived distinctive characteristics of the ‘Portuguesinhos’ but also in the ties and solidarity, translated in, and reinforced through their mutual communication, contact, and sharing. Communication and contact, much based on social internet networks, are particularly active in terms of sharing documentation and working materials. This involves in Angola the solidarity network of the “Portuguesinhos” but also the extensions of this network to the countries of the colleagues, to Portugal and the other Lusophone countries. One interviewee reported, “When I need, for example, some materials for classes, I contact my colleagues in Portugal” (L. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). This includes most significantly information, documentation, and data, learning materials, among others, that circulate preferentially within this network. In the more private sphere, the alumni maintain contact with each other and with colleagues of other nationalities who have studied in ISCPST, especially over the internet and Facebook (A. S. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014): “with the colleagues from Portugal, I use the Facebook; with the Mozambican, Cape Verdean, and Santomean, the telephone” (M. P. J., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). On the other hand,

there is a concern to maintain contact through visits: “when we go to Portugal, we always go to the Institute, to see colleagues, teachers, and even staff” (A. S., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, April 2014). And another, “We always miss our colleagues, friends forever” (M. I., Commissioned Officer, personal communication, May 2014). Classmates who visit Angola also usually contact their Angolan colleagues. Communication and sense of shared identity and solidarities are thus normally the features that characterize the processes of reintegration into work and society of the police officers trained in Portugal. They reveal, at the same time, the transformation produced by the stay and education abroad and the creation of new identities within the police force.

Conclusion

If a conclusion is to be drawn with still many transformations taking place at the individual, organizational, and contextual levels, it is that there are multiple objective and subjective gains and effects of education related migration, within the broader abstract societal dimensions and the specific police practice. Despite the very limited contingent of Angolan staff trained in Portugal, it is widely recognized that there are effects that slowly take place in the police due to the education abroad and their general reintegration into positions of leadership. These effects combine with other socio-political changes within the global processes and contribute to the transformation of the Angolan police in terms of image, values, attitudes, and working methods. While the “militarized” style of policing is still marked, both the transformations foreseen in traditional cooperation partners such as Cuba and the gradual absorption of modern community policing methods and models anticipate further changes in the Angolan police. Among the commissioned officers trained in Portugal and within such hybrid context, new strategies are mobilized when returning to Angola and (re)integrating in the organizational and societal dynamics. Due to the characteristics of the training received in Portugal, the “Portuguesinhos” became recognized as a special category implementing modernized policing efforts and who have built a certain identity within the police force and created their own networks. The reverberations of the “brain gains” of this circulation of police officers are expected to happen both through the transformation of technical skills and the subjective influences on worldviews.

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