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Historical perspectives on democratic police reform: institutional memory, narratives and ritual in the post-war Italian police, 1948-1963

Abstract

The article analyses the occupational culture of the Italian Interior Ministry police after the Second World War, following the demise of Benito Mussolini's fascist dictatorship. In undertaking this, the article largely focuses on how the history, values and objectives of the post-war Italian police were narrated in professional literature and institutional correspondence and represented in celebrative and commemorative rituals, and the ways in which the recent experience of the dictatorship determined this. While the article presents a historical case, it also intends to stimulate more general reflection on the ways in which aspects of police occupational culture formed during dictatorships survive and/or evolve during and following periods of regime change and on how this can be studied. A research approach which focuses, for example, on the aesthetics and language of police ceremonies and/or the manner in which the institutional history of a police force is internally narrated could be enlightening for today's scholars and donors of police reform. The Italian case shows how police forces emerging from dictatorships may formally stress their democratic credentials, but can 'normalize' controversial behaviour under a previous dictatorship by conceptually separating professional functions from the broader ideological implications of such functions, whilst still being driven by cultural practices and strategies which they had learned under that regime.

Keywords: police reform; occupational culture; memory; fascism; regime change

Introduction

Based on an examination of police literature, institutional correspondence, and celebratory and commemorative rituals, the article explores the occupational culture and environment of the post-war Italian Interior Ministry police against the background of the recent fascist dictatorship. While the culture of the post-war Italian police has already been the subject of investigation, especially in regard to recruitment, training, structures and hierarchies,¹ this article largely focuses on how the values, sense of purpose, and institutional history of the police were narrated and represented within the institution, questioning how far and in what ways such narrations and representations were influenced by the cultural experience of fascism. The article additionally examines other cultural manifestations in the post-war

Italian police, arguably originating from the fascist period, including the attitude of police officials towards political authority.

The article can be situated within the history of democratic police reform since 1945, but it is also relevant to police reform in post-conflict/post-authoritarian societies today. Such reform efforts increasingly reflect interventions by external agencies or form part of international aid and development programmes. The article aims to contribute to a growing body of literature which highlights the importance of studying the evolution of the internal culture of police forces in transitional settings. Caparini and Marenin's edited volume on policing in European post-Communist states published in 2004, for example, argued that, in spite of democratic reform efforts, police forces in these countries did not always absorb a new culture founded on policing by consent, accountability, and the development of a service mentality, as a result of which authoritarian tendencies and lack of public trust survived (pp. 321-2). The editors urged the undertaking of further research to understand more effectively how to create a democratic police culture, indicating the need to evaluate more widely how street-level police officers reacted to reform (Caparini and Marenin 2004, p. 329). Research on efforts to reform the post-apartheid South African (SAP) police during the same period stated that: 'Changes in attitudes, values, and assumptions seem to lag behind more mechanical behavioural change', thereby accounting for episodes of 'retrogressive' police behaviour (Marks 2002, p. 347), while external reform donors' lack of understanding of the culture and history of policing in South Africa was stressed (Brogden 2002).

More recent studies of democratic police reform continue to underline the importance of understanding more clearly the history of police forces in transitional settings and the cultural legacies of authoritarian/colonial rule affecting them. Factors inhibiting reform which they have analysed include the lasting effects of military and/or political socialization which police personnel underwent, as evident, for example, in Serbia as a result of Slobodan Milošević's militarization and politicization of the police during the Balkan wars (Stojanovic and Downes 2009, 77-80), surviving 'particularistic and overtly politicized forms of police governance', as in Brazil (Hinton 2009, p. 225), and the persistence of the concept of 'policing as an exercise in authority rather than (...) a service to the public', as in Venezuela (Birkbeck and Gabaldón 2009, p. 171). The literature illustrates how strategies for democratic forms of policing have often been distorted as a result of the survival of undemocratic policing mentalities on the ground. This is exemplified by the Russian militia's involvement of the public in crime prevention, 'rather than consulting communities about their policing concerns and needs', in response to calls for public-oriented policing, thus suggesting that

‘the “Soviet” mindset of the militia remains strong’ (Beck and Robertson 2009, 66-7). Related to this, Ellison and Pino (2012) underline how Western donors of police reform wrongly assume that ‘what works in the West (...) can simply be transplanted to another jurisdiction’ (p. 68) and stress that donors need to do more to understand the history, culture, economy and politics of the recipient country (p. 211), and the conditions and attitudes of local police forces (p. 7). Similarly, Hills (2012, p. 741), in an article on police reform in Nigeria, stresses that commentators ‘pay little attention to the response of the police concerned, or the nature of the security culture to be reformed, while police advisers (...) ignore the ties, transactions and elements of power that indigenous officers and elites take for granted’.

Given the article’s particular focus on interpreting narratives and representations of the police (including festivities and commemorations), with attention paid to the language and aesthetics that are adopted, it can be related to similar approaches in some of the literature of police reform. Andreas Glaeser’s ethnographic study of the Berlin police in the period following German re-unification focuses, for example, on the narratives of police officers from the ex-German Democratic Republic and their interaction with officers from the West, in the context of their previous socialization within the *Volkspolizei*. This allows an identification of how these officers experienced incorporation into the western democratic police, how they dealt with their pasts as ex-representatives of an authoritarian institution, and how they managed the expectations of mistrustful western colleagues (Glaeser, 2000). Aogán Mulcahy stresses the Royal Ulster Constabulary’s (RUC) employment, following the end of conflict in Northern Ireland, of ‘visions of normality’ in their discourse, as ‘a means of refuting the need for reform by denying the existence of any significant conflict over policing’ (1999, p. 291), as well as the role played by RUC memories of the period of conflict in creating an official legitimizing discourse, as evident, for example, in the commemoration of fallen officers (2000).²

While the Italian case addressed in the article does not refer extensively to the difficulties faced by police reform ‘donors’, in the scenario in which the Allies’ role in democratizing the Italian police was relatively limited and unsuccessful, the approach adopted serves to emphasize the importance of considering the part played by the more subtle (sometimes hidden) aspects of police culture in determining the behaviour and values of officers after authoritarian rule. Such an approach allows a clearer identification of how attitudes (towards political authority or the public, for example), strategies for socialization (as evident in police literature and rituals) and even conceptualizations (of the purpose of

policing, for example) can be transferred from one regime to another, whilst the authoritarian pasts of police forces are simultaneously normalized.

The article is partly based on analysis of two police journals, both founded in 1948: *Polizia moderna*, the official illustrated journal of the Public Security Guard (*Corpo delle Guardie di Pubblica Sicurezza*), whose title reflected the intended modernization of the post-war police forces (della Porta and Reiter 2003, 72), and the more sophisticated *Rivista di polizia*, which described itself as a ‘review of doctrine, technique and legislation’, for higher-ranking police officers and officials. Both journals produced monthly issues, the former of around thirty pages each, the latter of around fifty pages each. Published reports of the Interior Ministry police and the personnel files of their officials are also analysed. In undertaking the investigation of these sources, I have been aware that much of the material provides an official, self-celebratory, narrative, mainly produced within the higher ranks, which often ignored the professional difficulties facing policemen on the ground. This is exemplified by regular features in *Polizia moderna*, produced for lower-ranking Public Security guards (*Agenti di Pubblica Sicurezza*), on police festivities and commemorative rituals, many of which are represented in photographic images. These types of source nevertheless help us to reconstruct the cultural strategies which were employed in an effort to nurture the ethos and values informing the post-war Italian police and to understand the extent to which these strategies were a legacy of the notions and practices of the fascist period. Personnel files for individual police officials, deposited in the Central State Archive in Rome, allow us to move beyond an analysis of official representations. They include papers relating to recruitment, promotions, disciplinary procedures and retirement, and correspondence between officials and their commanders about this. If these documents partly illustrate the post-war institution’s formal handling of the role of the police during the previous dictatorship, they often provide surprising insight into what individual officials who had served under the fascist regime ‘thought’ about this, as well as revealing other cultural ‘remains’ from that period.

Background

Analysis of the post-war culture of the Italian police needs to be considered in the following scenario: Italy was ruled by fascist dictatorship almost uninterruptedly from 1925 to 1945. This saw the country’s disastrous participation in the Second World War as an ally of Nazi Germany. In July 1943 Allied (Anglo-American) forces invaded and occupied Italy from the south and Mussolini was temporarily ousted from power. When in September 1943 the Italian

government surrendered to the Allies and declared war against Germany, the Nazis occupied the rest of the peninsula with the collaboration of fascist political and military forces of the Italian Social Republic, led by Mussolini, until the Allies reached the north of Italy in the spring of 1945. Liberation was followed by a series of coalition governments representing the anti-fascist political parties (of which the Communists and Christian Democrats were the largest), which had fought in the partisan resistance against the Nazis and fascists. In 1946, a referendum abolished the monarchy and this led to the drafting of the constitution of the Republic (1948), which established the basis for future democratic rule. The Christian Democrats were elected to power in April 1948 and would continue as the main governing party for the next fifteen years with the largest opposition forces represented by the two main left-wing parties, the Communists and Socialists.³

The Italian Interior Ministry police emerged from the defeat of fascism notably compromised. If they had not been subjected to radical reforms following the creation of the dictatorship, this partly reflected the anti-Marxist and semi-authoritarian tradition of the Liberal police, which made them largely adaptable to the requirements of Mussolini's regime. They had been entrusted above all other policing authorities with the task of defending the dictatorship and had played a key role in the persecution of political dissidents and other citizens perceived to be 'anti-national'. Personnel had become subject to greater political control than previously. While some policemen had been sacked in the mid-late 1920s on the grounds of professional or political incompatibility, most had kept their jobs. Although during the 1920s a considerable number of ex-members of the Blackshirt movement had joined the force, and in the 1930s younger cohorts who had undergone a fascist education had also enrolled, the Fascist Party had been prevented from exercising direct control over the police. However, Party membership had become more or less obligatory in 1932 and the regime's iconography and aesthetics had been formally incorporated into the policing environment. Most policemen, if not necessarily staunch fascists, had been sympathetic towards the regime, enjoying greater powers over citizens and less accountability for their actions than under the Liberal state (Dunnage 2012). Moreover, many high-ranking officials had benefited in their careers by helping to develop and run new undercover surveillance networks (Canali 2004).

It should be stated from the outset that reform of the police after the fascist dictatorship was largely in the hands of a succession of post-war Italian governments. While 'de-fascistization' procedures were initiated by the occupation government following the Anglo-US invasion of Italy (July 1943 – April 1945), the Allies wanted to hand over

responsibility for democratic police reform to the Italian government fairly quickly, owing to the ongoing struggle to liberate Nazi-occupied Europe. While they genuinely desired that the Italian police undergo reform and expected to be able to oversee this in an advisory capacity, in practice they had little influence over policing once power had been handed back to the Italian administration (Reiter 1997, Williams 2005). Purges of personnel initiated by the Allies became more relaxed, with many previous suspension measures eventually being revoked (Dunnage 2012, pp. 187-188). Italian governments ignored Allied proposals for the police to be de-centralized and de-militarized (when the military character of policing was actually reinforced following Mussolini's dismissal in July 1943). They also rejected the offer of the advisory services of British police officers, and declined the invitation of Italian police officials to England for training (Reiter 1997, pp. 55-61, Williams 2005, p. 289). This situation somewhat contrasted to Allied policy in occupied Germany, characterized by a longer period of direct input to radically change policing (characterized by the 'four D' strategies of de-centralization, de-militarization, de-Nazification and democratisation agreed by the Allied powers), though, again, success was limited in the longer term.⁴

Consequently, after the fall of fascism little more was done than to adapt the old public security system to the new democratic state with 'essential adjustments and retouching' (Reiter 1997, p. 61). This is the context in which we should study the development of police occupational culture from 1945 onwards. Most police structures were not radically altered after the fall of Mussolini, other than the disbanding of those few organizations which were most visibly associated with the regime, such as the OVRA (*Opera Vigilanza e Repressione Antifascista*) secret police. Most police personnel of whatever rank kept their jobs – this included officials occupying positions of leadership and ex-members of the fascist Blackshirt movement. This was facilitated by the notion that most policemen, whatever their previous political allegiances, had often been forced to engage in unpleasant activities (such as arresting and interrogating political dissidents), but had not normally done this with relish, and had, wherever possible, applied discretion in enforcing persecutory measures. This notion was largely supported by the purge commission for Public Security personnel, an organ under the auspices of the Interior Ministry tasked with judging cases of policemen accused of being compromised by their involvement with the regime.⁵

Both the manner in which many police officials presented themselves to the post-war anti-fascist purge commission, and the manner in which the commission judged their conduct under fascism, contributed to an institutional myth that during the dictatorship, in spite of difficult circumstances, the police had largely remained faithful to their liberal origins and

maintained loyalty to the Italian state (which they saw as detached from fascism), whilst refusing to be subservient to the Fascist Party (Dunnage 2009, pp. 467-472). What amounted to an attempted ‘normalization’⁶ of the fascist police during the period of the purge hearings (1944-47), ignored the reality that institutions of the state had been at the service of fascism and enforced its policies. Moreover, there is strong evidence that many police officials had enthusiastically enforced these policies, whether out of genuine admiration for them or desire for career advancement, while a considerable number had made personal alliances with high-ranking fascists which they could draw on when applying for promotion (Dunnage 2012). Parallel to this, failed reforms also reflected claims that most police organs had not been ‘fascistized’; the fact that certain offices of the Interior Ministry Police seriously compromised during the fascist period (e.g., the General and Confidential Affairs Directorate – *Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati*) had existed before 1922 was used to argue that they were not fascist; in order to minimize the involvement of such organs, the activities of the OVRA secret police - a creation of the regime - were highlighted in reports (Canali 2004, pp. 495-6; Dunnage 2009, pp. 467-468).

While, following the demise of fascism, the nature of policing changed from a dictatorial system based prevalently on monitoring and surveillance (in the context of a ban on opposition politics, strikes and protests), to a system which combined preventative action with reactive policing (of protest, for example), and while the police formally claimed to serve the democratic Republic, there is evidence that their institutional culture in the post-war period, though emptied of fascist symbols and iconography, had in fact been strongly influenced by the experience of twenty years of dictatorship. This was evident not only in attitudes towards issues of law and order and organised politics - partly determined by the maintenance of the fascist criminal code (1930) and police code (1931) - but also in the manner in which the police nurtured their environment and represented themselves internally and to the public.

In the main body of the article which follows, I commence with an examination of Interior Ministry police narratives relating to their history, values and purpose, with a view to assessing how the institution addressed its compromised relationship with the previous dictatorship as well as public de-legitimization during the 1950s. In undertaking this, I highlight contradictions which emerge in representations of the post-war police as embodying a century-old democratic tradition. I go on to analyse how the police managed the employment and advancement during the 1950s of individuals who had previously served the fascist regime, and the manner in which this was represented in documents and

correspondence found in personnel files. This provides an example of how the role of the police during the fascist period was internally 'normalized'. Such analysis also allows a more general examination of the cultural baggage which the police carried from the dictatorship into the Republic, an examination which continues in the final section in which I consider the legacy of the ritualistic and rhetorical experiences of the fascist years in post-war police festivities and commemorations.

Establishing a police tradition in post-war Italy

A survey of post-war police literature suggests that after the fascist dictatorship the new institutional narrative was partly constructed around the origins of the Interior Ministry police which pre-dated fascism by over seventy years. While the one hundredth anniversary of the founding in 1848 of the Piedmontese Interior Ministry police (considered the precursor of the Italian police created during the political unification of Italy, 1859-65) was never celebrated, a high ranking Public Security official, Cesare De Carolis, pointed out in an article dated January 1955, published in the *Rivista di polizia*, that it was not too late to remember the 'most noble' origins of the Italian police administration, based as they were on the principles of constitutional liberty. Their creation had marked the affirmation of a new concept of police, no longer the instrument of tyranny, or enemy (rather than protector) of the people, but an organ of the constitutional state to which were entrusted the defence of liberty and the needs of the poorer classes. Therefore, in the context of current public criticism of the powers of the police, De Carolis argued, the institutions of law and order should be considered as one of the principal guarantors of democracy. Any measures to reduce their authority or prestige would threaten democracy, even if such measures were being invoked to defend it (De Carolis 1955, pp. 23-25). In a similar vein, the introduction to a report published in 1959 by the Interior Ministry on the activities of the police in 1957-1958 used the one hundredth anniversary of the creation of the unified state of Italy to stress the role of the police in ensuring the safety and progress of the Italian people in the context of both 'fortunate' and 'less fortunate' episodes over the previous century (Ministero dell'Interno 1959).

As the above two examples illustrate, the internal narrative of the post-war police stressed a democratic tradition which originated as far back as their founding years. The historical origins and trajectory of the police are undoubtedly cited as a means of legitimizing the institution in the present.⁷ This should also be considered in the context of tensions over the extent of police powers within the post-war democratic order, as revealed in the former article. Such tensions probably refer to the public de-legitimization of the police during the

1950s, particularly in the light of an episode of excessive brutality during the interrogation of a murder suspect (subsequently acquitted) and the shelving of a murder case when investigations began to bring the police too close to several politicians. The former episode led to a partial reform of the judicial police (*polizia giudiziaria*) in 1955 (della Porta and Reiter 2003, pp. 122-3, 129). Perhaps unexpectedly, mention of the more recent period of fascist dictatorship is absent in these writings, though in the case of the latter publication this is hinted at in the reference to 'less fortunate' episodes of Italian history.

De Carolis's article underlines how police forces formed in anticipation of the *Risorgimento* had helped the masses to overcome previous concepts of the police as instruments of political power. In such a statement, he appears to want to use the institution's long history in order to legitimize the police, while ignoring how the more recent experience of fascist dictatorship would have contributed to their de-legitimization. This is very much in tune with the previously-mentioned myth of the police as a politically independent organization whose members had exercised discretion when enforcing Mussolini's directives. Moreover, claims about the democratic origins of the Interior Ministry police stressed in these texts obscure their unpopularity during the decades following the unification of Italy, given the anti-liberal powers which they employed to control the masses. The other main police force, the *Carabinieri* (a military corps under the control of the War Ministry), though equally suspicious of the lower classes, enjoyed a more positive public image, at least among the middle classes, partly on account of its contribution to the Italian wars of independence (Dunnage 2012, 10-12).

De Carolis's concern that the authority and prestige of the post-war police were threatened by proposals for reform led him to stress how the existing (largely un-reformed) police organs were essential for the safeguarding of democracy; hence, his claim that the imperative to defend the social 'order' with adequate police powers was not incompatible with democracy (De Carolis 1955, 23-25). Such a predominant narrative in post-war police literature was often expressed by the idea that democracy had to be supervised to prevent people from abusing it. An article published in February 1949 in *Polizia moderna* argued, for example, that it was the task of the police to enforce the law in order to ensure that each free citizen did not violate the freedom of his/her fellow citizens, thereby guaranteeing social harmony (Tamburro 1949, p. 4). Yet, in practice this narrative carried a strong political bias: the police saw the threat of disorder and abuse of freedom as coming largely from the political Left and the trade union movement. Moreover, what such narrative was effectively

attempting to justify was the continued use of the fascist police and criminal codes to maintain order.

If we examine literature aimed more specifically at lower-ranking Public Security guards during the same period, the role of the police is expressed in terms more suited to an armed organization at war with forces of evil than an institution with a strong democratic tradition. While articles in *Polizia moderna* presented a re-constituted police at the service of democracy, there is also evidence of stress being placed on both the Christian and ‘warrior’ qualities of the corps in the context of the Cold War. Emblematic here is the corps’ adoption in 1950 of the Archangel St Michael as their patron saint. This also fitted the broader ideological context which saw the Christian community, represented by the governing Christian Democrats, pitted against ‘atheistic’ and ‘totalitarian’ communism, and largely reflected the 1948 electoral split. An article in the March 1950 issue of *Polizia moderna* noted that the *Agenti* now enjoyed the protection of St Michael, who presented an example to follow ‘since St Michael can rightly be called ‘the first soldier of order’ (‘Il primo soldato dell’ordine’) (Chiappero 1950, pp. 8, 27). In an article published the following October, a chaplain of the *Agenti*, Don Arturo Viale, set out the significance of St Michael according to the argument that men serving the ‘fatherland’ in the delicate realm of public order were like social ‘missionaries’ or ‘priests’. Thus:

it is essential that the spirit of the police service splendidly reflect the figure of the Patron Archangel St Michael in harmony with the objectives which justify the existence of the Public Security. His [policeman’s] action as pacifier, bringer of Justice, Truth and Good, against deceit, abuse and evil, is in some way an emulation of the angelic acts of St Michael (Viale 1950, p. 8).

The chaplain exhorted policemen to strive, as St Michael, to be ‘angels of light’, operating with ‘a clean conscience, sincere intentions and a clear vision of their social duties as instruments capable of the mission entrusted to them’ (Viale 1950, p. 8). Suggesting the influence of twenty years of fascism, there are notable similarities between the form of language used here and that of police writings during the fascist period, as discussed in the final section of this article.

While no mention was specifically made in articles on St Michael to the communist ‘enemy’, if we consider the ideological polarization characterizing Italian society at that time,

there is little doubt that Christian values and symbolism were being employed in police narrative to bolster an anti-communist outlook among members of a military force facing an internal ideological threat, as evident, for example, in a reference in the same article to policemen as members of ‘angelic militias’ (Viale 1950, p. 8). If lower-ranking police personnel were to be guided in their work by Christian values epitomized in the example of Saint Michael, part of the institutional narrative also stressed their membership of a large police family. In this regard, each issue of *Polizia moderna* contained a feature providing news about particular events or developments inside the Public Security Guard, alongside lists of honours, promotions and transfers. Thus, the feature in the issue of October 1950 concerned the inauguration of bathing facilities on a beach in Catania for local police officers, and the provision of marine and mountain summer camps in Sicily for the children of policemen (*Polizia moderna* 1950c, pp. 28-29). In a similar fashion, in an effort to underline the solidarity which the police claimed to offer their employees, the front cover of the January 1950 issue of the journal featured a photograph of the Interior Minister, Mario Scelba, accompanied by the Chief of Police, distributing presents among children of members of the Public Security Guard on the occasion of Epiphany (*Polizia moderna* 1950a).

In spite of images of solidarity presented in *Polizia moderna*, it is important to stress the dichotomy between the extreme hardships of policing (especially among the lower ranks) and the rather more idealised visions of life in the police presented in the literature. As the work of Donatella della Porta and Herbert Reiter has illustrated, the integration of the Public Security Guard into the armed forces by the government of Marshal Pietro Badoglio in the summer of 1943, alongside the ban in 1945 on union membership of civilian and military Public Security personnel (re-confirmed in 1949), inhibited democratic reform inside the police after the Second World War. Within the reinforced military hierarchy of the Public Security Guard, the internal culture of the police was above all underlined by the imperative of obedience (della Porta and Reiter 2003, p. 66, Reiter 1997, p. 61 and note 80). From the late 1940s, the Public Security Guard also experienced an influx of personnel from the ex-fascist colonial police (*Polizia dell’Africa Italiana* - PAI) as well as the army, bolstering its military character and a dominant authoritarian mentality (della Porta and Reiter 2003, pp. 85-86). While the reinforcement of the military attributes of the police partly represented a return to the traditional Italian model of a militarized police that pre-dated the fascist period (della Porta and Reiter 2003, pp. 67-68),⁸ the underlying occupational culture which emerged from this was undoubtedly influenced by ex-members of the PAI. Within the police, the recent experience of colonial policing was partly considered an asset to - rather than

incompatible with - domestic policing. As della Porta and Reiter argue, in the tense context of post-war social and political unrest, those Public Security officials who were in favour of a militarized police hailed the PAI as a model for dealing with internal 'disorder'; they argued that Public Security officials should have military qualifications, envisaging the need to handle a colonial-type scenario in which the populace was perceived as hostile.⁹

There is evidence to suggest that ex-PAI officers were recommended to the Interior Ministry Police on the grounds of their military and technical skills, while the deeper ideological implications were ignored. In the case of Antonio Gioia Rocco, originally a member of the Interior Ministry police who had transferred to the PAI when it was instituted in 1937, his request in 1946 to return to his former institution was fulfilled on the basis of a report of the Ministry of Italian Africa which described him as 'an officer with a highly elevated spirit of sacrifice. Excellent training, both technical and military. Intelligent and fully trustworthy'.¹⁰ Yet, the fascist cultural baggage which ex-PAI personnel brought into the Interior Ministry police was, arguably, considerable. Recent research has revealed how many PAI members had previously served in the Spanish Civil War and had become accustomed to employing brutal methods of repression. During the Second World War, the PAI were reputed to have been particularly violent in the crushing of resistance in Italo-German occupied Cyrenaica and to have been involved in deportations of Jews in Eastern Cyrenaica. Moreover, the Nazis had viewed the PAI as a model for future Nazi colonial policy in Africa, sending 150 members of the *Schutzpolizei* and SS officers to train with them as part of a programme to annihilate Jews in North Africa and Palestine (Bernhard 2011, p. 253, Bernhard 2012, pp. 432-4).

The influx of ex-members of the PAI in the post-war police and their previous colonial experience were largely presented in positive terms in the narrative of PAI veterans. While PAI members who had fallen or had been injured during the Second World War were included in post-war police commemorations (analysed in a later section), one ex-PAI officer idealised the experience of colonialism in a publication sponsored by the Italian Foreign Ministry in the early 1960s. He denied that any exploitation or maltreatment of the indigenous populations had taken place, and claimed that after the war the PAI brought to the Interior Ministry police a legacy of 'honour, valour and sacrifice' (Mezza 1962, p. 202). However, the (admittedly limited) testimony of police veterans suggests that the oppressive internal environment of the Public Security Guard in the late 1940s was especially a product of the presence of ex-PAI members occupying positions of command. The personal account of an ex-guard who enrolled in 1948 noted that:

Our officers were all, or nearly all, ex-military (...). These officers came either directly from the army of 8 September¹¹ or from divisions of the colonial police, and while the former, even if they did not scorn militaristic excesses, suffered in some manner from a sense of historical guilt for having abandoned the majority of Italian troops to the Nazi fury, the latter displayed attitudes which were not only militaristic but also explicitly and shamelessly fascist (Medici 1979, p. 46).

The witness went on to describe his commanding officers as ex-members of the PAI, who stressed to lower-ranking cadets their primary role in defending the ‘fatherland’ against communism. Several commanders loved to adorn their uniforms with ‘the most dismal sundries, ill-omened testimonies of a past characterised by repression and extermination’. Through arbitrary forms of behaviour, including physical violence, these commanders allegedly created a climate of terror, demonstrating a particular hatred for ex-partisans who had been appointed to the police following the Liberation (Medici 1979, pp. 19-20, 23, 46).¹² If we are to believe such a testimony, the portrayal in *Polizia moderna* of the policing environment as a ‘family’ which tended to the welfare of its personnel, concealed a darker scenario in which lower-ranking guards could be subjected to an oppressive militaristic culture from which nostalgia for the fascist past was not lacking.

The cultural legacy of the un-named dictatorship

If we consider the discourse characterizing internal written communications in the post-war police, a notable professional (and, by implications, cultural and ideological) fluidity between the fascist and post-war periods emerges. This is evident in the manner in which the Interior Ministry police interpreted the careers of personnel who had joined the force during the dictatorship. While the personnel files of police officials (*funzionari di Pubblica Sicurezza*) rarely reveal an explicit nostalgia, they significantly illustrate how career judgements in the post-war decades on the whole treated achievements during the fascist period positively, though without specifically mentioning the dictatorship. This was undoubtedly encouraged by the fact that the majority of statements by the purge commission had denied the fascist character of police personnel and their activities during Mussolini’s reign. Hence, when reconstructing the career of an official, for example, on the occasion of his retirement or in response to an application for promotion, how that official had performed under fascism was not considered any differently to how he had done in the 1950s; an annual grading of

‘excellent’ during the 1930s was not considered negatively, for example. In the case of Antonio Scarlato, a report written in February 1963 in support of an end-of-career promotion to Chief Inspector General of Public Security stated that ‘for around 15 years’ he was attached to the Public Security Guard training school at Caserta, ‘demonstrating notable skills’. The report ignored the fact that during most of the fifteen years in question Scarlato had served the fascist state. It also took no note of the fact that, as revealed in other documents in his file, he had the support of the Fascist Party Federation of Naples in his application for promotion to commissioner in 1941, and that during the fascist period his membership of the Party since January 1923 was cited, alongside his ‘excellent’ qualities as an instructor, in requests by his commanders for commendations.¹³

The above example suggests that career judgements were presented according to the misguided notion that under fascism police work had been detached from the ideological machinations of the regime. Moreover, the discourse contained in the documentation seems to suggest a continued process of ‘normalization’ of the role of the police under Mussolini, in which security activities responding to the directives of a dictatorship were presented as ordinary, as opposed to being outside the bounds of regular police work. The case of Vincenzo Bellavia is emblematic in this regard. A ‘first-hour’ fascist, who had joined the Party in 1921, Bellavia entered the police in 1927. Illustrating how institutional loyalty was considered over and above service to a particular regime and the ideological implications connected to this, a report compiled after the Second World War indicated that between 1934 and 1944 Bellavia had worked for the Political Police Division ‘where he distinguished himself in delicate and elaborate political police investigations in Paris’. What amounted to surveillance activities against anti-fascists who had taken refuge in France eventually cost him nine months’ imprisonment by the French authorities.¹⁴ It is equally significant that in February 1947 the purge commission, in determining that Bellavia could continue his career in the police, noted how following his arrest in Paris, he had withstood the interrogation of the French police ‘managing not to compromise in any way the institution he was answerable to’.¹⁵ The declaration by the commission cites as extraordinary Bellavia’s arrest, not the fact that this was the consequence of activities on behalf of an authoritarian dictatorship. Just as striking is Bellavia’s own appeal in 1959 to his employers against a failed promotion to the rank of *Vice Questore* (Deputy Police Chief), in which he stressed that he could not resign himself to the fact that he was not allowed to advance adequately in his career in spite of the fact that (undoubtedly referring to his imprisonment by the French authorities) he had suffered personally ‘for carrying out my duty’.¹⁶ This implies that Bellavia felt that he could

represent to his bosses his major role in the surveillance of anti-fascists during the dictatorship as an acceptable form of service to the profession.

Whether or not Bellavia's bosses recognized the 'hardships' he had endured out of loyalty to the force, it is evident from his personal file that the skills he had acquired during the fascist period were deemed useful to the post-war police service. A report of the Prefect of Piacenza dated 23 June 1956 praised his qualities as acting Deputy Police Chief in the province, noting that he had distinguished himself, in particular during the recent election campaign, in the organization and direction of public order services, solving on several occasions notably delicate problems. The Prefect added that Bellavia 'has a particular aptitude for services of a confidential and political nature, in which he demonstrates uncommon sensitivity and competence'.¹⁷ While it is not possible to access detailed data regarding Bellavia's policing activities, it is worth considering this statement in the political context of the second half of the 1950s, during which the Interior Minister, Fernando Tambroni, allegedly exploited the information services of the police for electoral purposes (della Porta and Reiter 2003, p. 108).

We should also consider the transfer from the fascist dictatorship to the Republic of a culture of servility within the context of the one-party state which the former regime had nurtured. Beyond the role of the police in providing the Christian Democrats with political services which often exceeded the limits of democratic correctness, during the post-war period this manifested itself in expressions of praise towards political masters which police personnel had been accustomed to using during the period of the dictatorship, usually in the hope of achieving career advancement. In this regard, it is illuminating that in January 1956 sixty-two-year-old Police Chief (*Questore*) Vincenzo Genovese wrote to the Interior Minister requesting that his retirement be delayed. With the letter he enclosed pages from a local newspaper, *L'unione sarda*, 'so that you can be so kind as to ascertain all that I have given to the force and to the Christian Democratic Party which I have served faithfully and sincerely'.¹⁸ There is evidence to suggest that Genovese had voiced similar expressions of dedication to fascist authority during the late 1930s, notably courting the fascist Prefect Temistocle Testa.¹⁹

It is evident that Genovese's request was fulfilled if we consider that another document appears in his file, dated 31 August 1961, in which he appealed against another decision to retire him. What emerges from this document is a career description largely founded on the desire to highlight anti-communist merits which takes little account of the broader historical context. Genovese certainly did not claim his support of the fascist regime

in the document, but he boasted his ability during the period of the rise of the fascist movement (1920-21), whilst stationed in Florence, to defeat ‘the growing hordes of violent communists’, razing their headquarters (*Casa del Popolo*) in the working class centre of Scandicci to the ground, employing ‘cannon fire’ for this purpose. Genovese was not afraid to proclaim his association with the type of activity which contributed to the successes of fascism during that period, though he claimed that after defeating the Communists he was able to restrain the excesses of the nascent fascist movement. In the document, Genovese briefly mentioned his various postings as *Questore* (Udine, Fiume and Livorno) on the eve of and during the Second World War, his arrest by the ‘Nazi-fascists’ during the German occupation, for reasons which are not explained, before describing his more recent activities as *Questore* of Cagliari ‘in a most troubled period in which communism, notably in the mining environment, attempted to prevail by creating disorder with the evident intention of leading the National Government and true democracy into crisis’.²⁰ The case of Genovese helps to explain the existence in post-war police circles of a strong anti-communist police discourse which transcended different political regimes. Yet, as illustrated in the section which follows, this was undoubtedly reinforced by the experience of twenty years of dictatorship and the aesthetical and rhetorical tactics which had accompanied this.

Ceremony and commemoration in the post-war Italian police

The institutional nurturing of the post-war occupational culture of the Italian Interior Ministry police should also be considered in the context of a number of police festivities and more intimate commemorations. The manner in which these were staged and represented the police undoubtedly illustrates the broader experience of the fascist dictatorship, characterised by an ‘aestheticization of politics’, as evident in the employment of symbols, uniforms, rituals and mass spectacle around the cult of Mussolini and the fatherland.²¹ Key here is the *Festa della Polizia* (Police Day) founded in 1928 to mark the anniversary of Mussolini’s re-constitution of the Public Security Guard in 1925, which resumed in 1948 and continued on the same annual date (18 October) into the 1950s. Whilst stressing the birth of a ‘new’ democratic police, and removing references to fascism, the event was staged in a similar fashion as during the fascist period.²² From 1948, reflecting the full militarization of the Public Security Guard, ‘Police Day’ was employed to emphasise the military attributes of the police (della Porta and Reiter 2003, p. 85), but it was still partly modelled on processions of the fascist years (which had included armoured vehicles of the Rome Metropolitan Police), under a

regime which had favoured the image of a powerful and technologically advanced police force.

‘Police Day’ was also an occasion for remembering personnel who had fallen during the course of their duty, as were a variety of rituals of commemoration taking place during the late 1940s and 1950s. In March 1950, for example, outside the entrance to the Ardeatine Caves on the outskirts of Rome, where in March 1944 the Nazis massacred over three hundred hostages in a reprisal against a partisan attack, a sculpture commemorating two victims from the police, Lieutenant Maurizio Giglio and Vicebrigadier Pietro Ungaro, was unveiled in a ceremony (*Polizia moderna* 1950b, p. 8). In October 1950, on the occasion of ‘Police Day’, the *Agenti di Pubblica Sicurezza* unveiled a commemorative plaque in Forlì (Romagna) in honour of ‘The Fallen of the Police, However and Wherever, in Peace or in War, in Fulfilment of their Duty’ (*Polizia moderna* 1950e, p. 23). During his visit to Rome in 1950, the Belgian Interior Minister, accompanied by Scelba, attended a ceremony to honour fallen police officers at a sacrarium in the police school (*Polizia moderna* 1950d, p. 27).

The practice of commemoration of police martyrs who had fallen during the course of their duties had been largely cultivated in the Interior Ministry police during the fascist years. Alongside rituals of remembrance, the police journal *Il magistrato dell’ordine* recorded those who had been killed in service since unification (Dunnage and Rossol 2015, 105-6). Similarly, during the post-war period, every third edition of *Polizia moderna* contained a regular feature entitled ‘Blood contributed by the Public Security Guard’, which listed the names of policemen who had been killed or injured during the course of their duties.²³ The journal also showcased acts of bravery as evident in the front cover of the December 1952 issue, which featured a colour image explained by the caption: ‘At Sondrio railway station the Public Security Guard Lino Semeria with a noble leap and at great risk to his own life saves the young boy Valerio Ambrosini who is just about to be hit by an approaching train’ (*Polizia moderna* 1952b).

Commemorations of the sacrifice and bravery of police officials and officers undoubtedly constituted a tool for legitimizing the post-war police in the context of past and continued controversy.²⁴ They referred to acts of bravery during the struggle against the Nazi occupiers (1934-1945), and during more recent episodes of social and political unrest which divided public opinion in relation to the role of the police. Moreover, indicating the existence of (or desire to cultivate) an institutional memory which disregarded the negative significance of previous service to the fascist regime, it is evident that the commemorations included acts of heroism relating to the earlier part of the Second World War (1940-1943),

when fascist Italy was allied to Nazi Germany. As part of the celebrations of ‘Police Day’ in 1950, for example, *Guardia* Lorenzo Salvini was decorated with the bronze medal for military valour (*medaglia di bronzo al valore militare*). During ‘serious insurrectional disorder,’ in Leghorn on 14 July 1948, he had been shot in the hand while protecting his commander, having noticed an individual pointing a gun at his unit (*Polizia moderna* 1950e, p. 29). On the same occasion, Chief Commissioner (*Commissario Capo*) Mario Caroselli was decorated with the same medal for defending a stronghold against ‘enemy’ attacks in his position as an officer of the PAI in Ethiopia in November 1941 during the Second World War (*Polizia moderna* 1950e, p. 35). The inclusion of ‘heroes’ of the PAI in these awards indicates a desire to integrate their memory into that of the Interior Ministry Police to which they had recently transferred.

Without suggesting that commemorations of ‘fallen’ police officers and celebrations of their acts of bravery should be automatically associated with nostalgia for the fascist dictatorship, the rituals described above provide further evidence of the assimilation of the internal culture of the fascist police into that of the post-war period. Mussolini’s dictatorship had raised the institutional profile of the Interior Ministry police by entrusting to them key tasks in the defence of the regime. For many police officials, this represented a considerable achievement after the ‘Cinderella’ status they had allegedly suffered under the Liberal state (Dunnage 2012, esp. Chapter 1). This had also entailed their participation in aestheticized mass spectacles to communicate to the public their integration into the fascist regime, while more intimate rituals of commemoration had been employed in an attempt to enhance the ideological integration and professional loyalty of police personnel (Dunnage, 2012, pp. 39-44; Dunnage and Rossol 2015). It is natural that an institution which was formally absolved of its fascist past, but which had not undergone serious reform or re-education, should want to maintain the institutional profile enjoyed under fascism in the context of the recently founded democratic Republic. At the same time it is not unlikely that, given the light touch exercised by the purge commission, police commanders, several of whom had been enthusiastic supporters of the fascist regime, should apply the methodologies employed during the dictatorship to galvanize the support and loyalty of lower-ranking officers and the public.

This legacy of fascist culture is evident in the tone of the narrative constructed around commemorative and other events, which was often emotionally charged and hyperbolic. Hence, Vincenzo Genovese, *Questore* of Cagliari, in his contribution to a pamphlet published on the occasion of ‘Police Day’ in 1951, referred to ‘fallen’ police officers as ‘companions

sacrificed or lying disabled in the struggle against forces of evil and of subversion’ (Genovese 1951, p. 5).²⁵ While it is not wholly clear what inspired the rhetoric employed to celebrate the newly assigned patron saint of the Public Security Guard, analysed earlier, there is an evident similarity to the language of the fascist police in the exasperated use of religious iconography to stress a mission in service to the fatherland. The above-cited article in *Polizia moderna*, published on the occasion of celebrations of the Archangel Saint Michael in October 1950, referred to policemen as ‘priests of society’ who should strive to be ‘angels of light’ (Viale 1950, p. 8). Compare this with the wording of a newspaper published in September 1928 by cadets at the training school at Caserta to celebrate their oath of induction. This commemorated fallen fellow police officers who ‘comprehended the lofty mission of the police, made an apostolate out of it, living as apostles, dying as apostles’ (Diana 1928).

It is difficult not to perceive in the post-war narrative accompanying these rituals the legacy of fascist propaganda techniques. This is evident in the stress placed in police literature on their professional qualities, military power and technical advancement, and on the esteem in which the public held them. Features in the first edition of *Polizia moderna* on ‘Police Day’ in 1948 noted how the celebrations in Naples had impressed the public (*cittadinanza*) on account of ‘the discipline of the men, the quantity and efficiency of the equipment, and the power and modernity of the weapons’ (*Polizia moderna* 1949b, p. 8), while in Rome the ceremonies revealed to the ‘people’ how police units had been ‘modernized and strengthened’, and the ‘high levels of discipline and skill’ achieved through this (*Polizia moderna* 1949a). This can be compared to newsreel commentary on the 1937 ‘Police Day’, for example, which exclaimed:

The Duce presents the magnificent military review of the Public Security Guard on the occasion of the twelfth anniversary of the founding of their corps. The German, Austrian, Hungarian, Portuguese, Yugoslav and Albanian police delegations watch the superb spectacle and the procession of six thousand men carrying the most advanced arms and equipment.²⁶

The rhetoric surrounding ‘Police Day’ in post-war Italy appeared to ignore the hostility of significant sections of the population, as frequently played out in physical confrontations between policemen and protesters.²⁷ In point of fact, the military qualities of the police which were displayed at public ceremonies represented the most oppressive aspects of post-war law and order maintenance. One is led to question how far such exhibitions of military

power were intended as a subtle means of intimidating the populace. In this regard, the report of the Allied Public Safety Sub-Commission of February 1947 had criticized the post-war Italian government for excessively arming their police, partly on the grounds that the display of a heavily armed police 'confirmed the impression among the populace that a policeman was not their friend and protector but an oppressive instrument of the government or of certain social classes' (Reiter 1997, p. 58).²⁸

Conclusion

Using the example of the Italian Interior Ministry police after the Second World War, the article has stressed the importance of studying institutional narratives and representations, as well as other forms of police discourse, in order to understand police culture in transitional settings. I argue that, while largely ignoring the police's involvement in the previous fascist dictatorship, post-war police narratives partly drew on a claimed tradition, pre-dating fascism, founded on the upholding of both liberty and order as a means of legitimizing their role in the new Republic. Yet, in the light of far-reaching declarations of absolution granted by the post-war purge commissions, the Italian policing environment continued to be influenced by many of the professional and cultural attitudes, practices and strategies which had abounded during the fascist period, as evident in the treatment of careers and the manner in which personnel referred to the fascist period in relation to this, in displays of servility towards the Christian Democrat ruling party, and in the representation of the police at ceremonies and festivities, in which the aesthetic and linguistic legacy of the fascist years also emerges clearly.

The documentation examined provides considerable insights into the ways in which the post-war Italian police attempted to nurture their internal culture. Somewhat contrasting with the studies of Glaeser (2000) and Mulcahy (1999 and 2000), it is more difficult to obtain a wider sense of what police personnel who had served under Mussolini thought about the role of their institution under the fascist regime and its purpose in the context of the new Republic. Much of the documentation available to the researcher presents formal declarations or constructed narratives or representations, though less formal attitudes do emerge. Likewise, while the police literature may, in part, put forward the perspectives of those at the command level, we know less about their impact on intended recipients, particularly lower-ranking *agenti*. Even more crucial is what commanders and trainers said to personnel, and this is difficult to record.

The Italian case provides a useful example of how internal police environments are culturally and ideologically nurtured under dictatorial regimes, and the legacy which this

leaves when transitions to democracy do not involve deep-rooted reforms. I would tentatively argue that greater study of the discourse, narratives and representations (regarding the values, purpose, history and memory of a police force) characterising and guiding transitions from authoritarian to democratic policing – as evident from a reading of institutional literature (manuals, journals, etc.) and internal correspondence, and from an analysis of celebratory and commemorative rituals - could be enlightening for today's scholars of democratic police reform. This reveals how authoritarian police culture and the history of police institutions can be re-adjusted, 'normalized', and represented as responding positively to new eras of political democracy, when in reality cultural traits and strategies which have not shaken off the authoritarian past persist. Thus, in the Italian case, cultural representations which at face value expressed adherence to democratic principles were aesthetically and linguistically influenced by fascist strategies of representation to a notable degree. Moreover, as the example of post-war career judgements in the Italian police illustrates, police institutions are able to conceptually separate the professional skills and even the institutional and legislative powers acquired during a dictatorship from the broader ideology and politics surrounding authoritarian rule. This enables justification of the continued use of authoritarian methods and of the career advancement of personnel, even when they are compromised by their behaviour under a previous dictatorial regime.

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¹ See in particular della Porta and Reiter (2003). Earlier, preliminary analysis of the main themes of the present article appeared in Dunnage (2009 and 2012).

² See also Mike Brogden and Clifford Shearing's analysis of the enduring discourses of white supremacy underlying the culture of the South African Police (SAP) (1993, Chapter 3).

³ In the general election of 1948, the Christian Democrats achieved 48.5% of the vote, and the left-wing Popular Front of Communist and Socialists 31%. In 1953, the Christian Democrats gained 40.1 %, the Communists 22.6% and the Socialists 12.7% (Ginsborg 1990, p. 442).

⁴ For analysis of Allied efforts to reconstruct the German police, see Reinke (2004) and Smith (2002).

⁵ For a detailed analysis of the purge process, see Dunnage (2012, pp. 187-198) and Canali (2004, Chapter 7).

⁶ My use of the term 'normalization' in this context is inspired by Mulcahy's research on the Royal Ulster Constabulary's employment of 'visions of normality' in discourse regarding its role during the conflict in Northern Ireland (1999).

⁷ Interesting parallels can be drawn here with the scenario in Northern Ireland described by Mulcahy (2000), who stresses the importance of the RUC's institutional reconstruction of the past as a legitimizing tool.

⁸ It should be stressed, however, that while the military attributes of the Public Security Guard were reinforced from 1943, the Guard should be distinguished from the *Carabinieri*, which technically was a military corps.

⁹ della Porta and Reiter (2003, pp. 86-87). The authors note, however, that there were officials who were opposed to what they judged as an excessive militarization of the police.

¹⁰ Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza, Divisione Personale di Pubblica Sicurezza, Fascicoli Personale Fuori Servizio [henceforth ACS, FPFS], versamento 1973, b. 166 bis, f. Gioia Rocco Antonio. Rapporto Informativo of Ministero Africa Italiana, 1946.

¹¹ On 8 September 1943 the Italian government of Pietro Badoglio announced its surrender to the Allies, who had invaded Sicily in July and reached the southern mainland in September. Many army officers abandoned their positions, leaving their troops to face the German military which occupied a large part of the Italian peninsula to block the Allied advance.

¹² The majority of anti-fascist partisans who entered the police had been purged, often through forms of intimidation, by 1948. See della Porta and Reiter (2003, p. 74).

¹³ ACS, FPFS, versamento 1973, b. 71 bis, f. Scarlato Antonio.

¹⁴ ACS, FPFS, versamento 1973, b.24, f. Bellavia Vincenzo, career summary (scheda riassuntiva). The report also noted that Bellavia was employed by the OVRA secret police, where he served in Milan and Turin. According to Canali (2004, p. 234), Bellavia was arrested in October 1938 and accused of espionage. He was only imprisoned for a few months once the French authorities realised that he had been involved in surveillance of Italian anti-fascists.

¹⁵ ACS, FPFS, versamento 1973, b.24, f. Bellavia Vincenzo, Commissione Primo Grado Epurazione Personale della PS, Decisione 2 February 1947.

¹⁶ Ibid., letter from Bellavia to Angelo Giuliano, Ispettore Generale Capo di Pubblica Sicurezza and Direttore Capo Divisione Personale, 11 February 1959.

¹⁷ Ibid., 02014 Prefect of Piacenza to Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza, Divisione Personale Sezione 1°, 23 June 1956.

¹⁸ ACS, FPFS, versamento 1973, b. 116bis, f. Genovese Vincenzo, Questore, letter to Interior Minister Tambroni, 24 January 1956.

¹⁹ Ibid., letter to Prefetto Fiume, 6 July 1938. For more data regarding Genovese and his fascist past, see Dunnage (2009, pp. 479-480; 2012, pp. 171-174).

²⁰ ACS, FPFS, versamento 1973, b. 116bis, f. Genovese Vincenzo, Questore, Esposto contro collocamento riposo addressed to Ministro Interno and Ministro Tesoro, 31 August 1961.

²¹ For a detailed analysis, see Falasca-Zamponi (1997).

²² For a detailed analysis, see Dunnage (2009, pp. 475-80).

²³ The January 1952 issue indicated that during the final three months of 1951, four men had fallen during the course of their duties, 126 had been injured during (or as a result of) service, whilst 45 had been rejected through injury or illness (during or as a result of service). See *Polizia moderna* 1952a (p. 3).

²⁴ Interesting parallels can be drawn here with the RUC's employment of moral appeal through discourses of sacrifice and bravery relating to the troubled period of Northern Ireland's history, analysed by Mulcahy (2000, pp. 75-77).

²⁵ In the case of Genovese, the rhetoric he employed should be considered in the context of his fascist past. See Dunnage (2009, 478-480).

²⁶ Archivio Storico Luce (www.archivioluca.com/), Giornale Luce B1184, 20 October 1937.

²⁷ In this regard, della Porta and Reiter note (2003, pp. 83-84) that post-war protests and political battles were often violent and that this cannot be attributed to provocation by the police or reactions against policing measures alone.

²⁸ According to Reiter (1997, p. 58), the report also argued that whilst there was a problem of organized crime in some provinces, in the rest of the country and particularly in urban areas truncheons should replace muskets and machine guns. Policemen could use pistols but these should not be carried in normal situations. Mobile battalions, which had been created towards the end of the war to deal with serious instances of disorder, should be dissolved.