Introduction

This paper develops the topic of the world crisis and the reform of policing. A major social crisis of XXI century has been the failure of public security, identified as one of the political technologies of the nation-state. What constitutes appropriate policing has become a worldwide concern owing to its inefficacy and ineffectiveness in dealing with the increase of diffuse violence – political, social, symbolic, and ecological violence – as well as to the new profile criminal violence has undertaken in the ‘late modernity’.

This article presents a sociological analysis of the world police crisis. Over 37 international meetings in several continents have been held to approach the topic – ranging from the Human Rights Conference, in Vienna, promoted by the United Nations in 1993, to the seminar A Democratic and Citizenship Police for the Construction of Peace, held during II World Social Forum, 4-5 February 2002, in Porto Alegre, promoted by IFCH, UFRGS. Interestingly, in many countries collective actions by police officers have expressed the anomie of police work, as for example in their strikes in Brazil in the years of 1997, 1999, and 2001. Such crises are an index of the difficulty within the police work.
Several social critics throughout the world have issued their attacks on the police culture and on the authoritarian and violent behaviour the police display. Once reduced to the dimension of repressive social control, policing has drawn systematically on the use of illegal and illegitimate violence, which have resulted in gross violations of human rights. However, it is very likely that a paradigm shift to another ideal-type of police office is on its way, this time guided by the principles of the relationship with the communities and of the mediation of social conflicts.

Furthermore, the features of social control are under debate in order to propose alternatives for citizenship security – one that manages to walk hand in hand with the fostering of a new democracy in world scale.

The World Social Questions
On the grounds of the analysis developed by Hobsbawm (1994) at the end of Twentieth Century, the age of extremes, we can define the early Twenty First Century as the period of the Process of Worldization, characterized by the expansion of capitalistic activities, by the global crisis and by the culture of post-modernity (Ramonet, 2001).

The first decade of the century staged the achievement of a worldization of analyses, discussions, and debates on some of the new global social problematic, especially by means of conferences promoted by international organisms. For example, the UN claimed that the XX century should be the Century of Development: the Declaration of Children's Rights, in 1989, ECO – The Earth Summit, in Brazil in 1992, which discussed the relationship between man and the environment; The Conference on Population and Development, in Cairo in 1994; The World Summit for Social Development, in Copenhagen in 1995; HABITAT II Conference, in Istanbul in 1996, on the problem of housing;
the World Summit for Food, in Rome in the same year – to name a few.

In the mid-90s, a new series of protests against the effects of the globalization process have been initiated, showing it to be a process constituting social forms marked by the excluding effects of the neo-liberal policies that have triggered new social conflicts, often establishing limits to the consolidation of democracy in the countries peripheral to the capitalist world (Ramonet, 2001). In the Twenty First Century, the world scene is marked by global social questions that, despite being manifested in an articulate way, maintain specificities as to the different societies to which they belong. Their internationalism is grounded in global social problems, such as violence, exclusion, gender discrimination, several forms of racism, poverty, environmental problems, and the problems of famine: the ‘misère du monde’ nowadays (Bourdieu, 1993; UNRISD, 1995; Tavares dos Santos, 2002).

The social issues have thus become complex and global problems. The transformations in the labour world through technological changes have been followed by the precariousness of labour, unemployment, and by the process of social selection/exclusion (Castel, 1998; Larangeira, 2000). There is a new conflictive global social space being formed within the spaces and times of Globalization. Among the social conflicts, there is an increase of the phenomena of diffuse violence as well as of the difficulties that contemporary societies are encountering to face them (Giddens, 1996). Such a difficulty is an expression of the new limits of the political formation of modernity, for the bonds of social interaction are guided by violent modes of sociability, that eventually inverts the expectations of the civilizing process (Elias, 1993; Sousa Santos, 1994: 271). In such a context uncertainty develops as experienced life: ‘the post-modern world is getting ready for life under a condition of uncertainty that is permanent and irreducible’ (Bauman,
1998: 32). This is one of the faces of the cultural logic of late capitalism: plurality, discontinuity, dispersion (Díaz, 1999: 17).

We are facing the process of massification parallel to processes of magnified individualism and narcissistic solitude. The collective consciousness and social integration are torn apart, there is a 'decline of collective values and the growth of an extremely individualistic society' (Hobsbawm, 2000: 136). Changes within institutions take place. Family, school, processes of socialization, factories, religions, and the criminal justice system (police forces, courts, judicial asylums, prisons) are undergoing a process of crisis and de-institutionalization.

The Worldization of Violence

The multiplicity of the forms of violence in place in contemporary societies – ecological violence, social exclusion, gender violence, racisms, and school violence – are shaped as a process of disintegration of citizenship. Understanding the phenomenology of violence can be expropriates from Foucault's notion of a microphysics of power: we propose the concept of a microphysics of violence. That is, the notion of a network of powers that runs through every social relationship, leaving its mark in the interactions between groups and in the classes: 'there is no incompatibility between violence and rationality' (Foucault, 1994: tomo 4, 38–39). In Twenty First Century, or even since 1991, the transformations of crime and the new forms of particularly diffuse criminal violence have been identified. According to Young (1999: 46), the definition of what crime is has become problematic; the number of aggressors is high, just as the possibility of one falling their victim seems normal; the causes of crime are broad and result of a 'rational choice'; crime is part of the continuum of social normality in a
constitutive relation with society; acts occurred within both the public and the private social spaces in dispute – households, neighborhoods, squares or streets; the relationship between aggressors and victims is complex – strangers and close ones alike, outsiders and group members. The social control of crime has been carried out by several state agencies and even by means of informal actions, often by private security. The efficacy and effectiveness of social control are problematic; and the reaction of the public is oriented by an irrational fear of crime and a moral panic.

The Global Police Issue

In the last decade the police issue has become critical and complex, be it due to its alleged inefficacy and ineffectiveness in facing the growth and differentiation of social actions socially criminalized, be it due to the new criminalized phenomena in the ‘late modernity’ in the central countries within the capitalist world (Young, 1999). Yet, the political processes of State reform and of the imposition of neo-liberal public policies have produced a severe impact on the police forces, with the emergence of a profound crisis of efficacy, honourability, and respect of human rights. The practice of doing Justice with one's own hands, a trait of a culture oriented by hyper-individualism, is strengthened (Díaz, 1999: 107; Bauman, 1998: 26). Those who have proposed alternatives to the police office and have tried to implement changes have been forced to find exile as soon as the traditional sector of the police force, sometimes corrupted, sensed the threaten to their power positions, as was the case with the State Police of Rio de Janeiro in 1999 (Soares, 2000).

The political difficulties resulting from the processes of democratic transition in Latin America remained somewhat static in the last twenty years partially because ignorance of
the expansion of violence and the surprise of having to face that violence. They also persist because the efforts to fully reconstruct the rule of law have not questioned many dimensions of the institutional social control, especially the condition of prisons and the operational modes of the police (Soares, 2000). It is worth pointing out the difficulty of access to justice, the social selectivity of penal justice, and the loss of legitimacy of the institutions of social control (Pinheiro, 2000). The discretionary aspect of the police work and police violence stands as one of the new global social issues. Violence as a new global social issue has brought changes to the State: the threaten of a repressive Social Control State grows in contemporary society, as noted by Giddens (1996: 260):

I believe we can assume that all the forms of violence, both legitimate and illegitimate, must be minimized. In other words, the tendency of the governmental authorities to ensure the monopoly of the violent means should not be equated as an ever-increasing deployment of greater violence.

The choice for upholding the police function of repressive social control has expanded all over the planet, displaying a systematic appeal to the use of illegal and illegitimate violence, what shapes a state of ‘social penal control’ (Melossi, 1992; Pavarini and Pegoraro, 1995; Pegoraro, 1999; Wacquant, 1998).

In Brazil, this option was part of the agenda of state elections in 1998, especially in the states of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Ceará, and Rio Grande do Sul. It has remained as part of the frame of reference for potential strategies in Brazilian society. The New York Police ‘Zero Tolerance’ program has been imported by conservative sectors concerning only the aspect of strengthening the street
police, and disregarding the network of social services performed by the associations that constitute the program\(^1\) in that city. A similar phenomenon has taken place in Fortaleza (Ceará, Brazil), Buenos Aires, Caracas, Toronto, and London. In other words, we are facing tighter contemporary forms of social control, which share some of the features of a repressive state together with the crisis of the Providence-State (Pavarini and Pegoraro, 1995). In Latin America it is clearly evident that

This has meant that the problem of citizenship insecurity in the region has been approached mainly from the conventional point of view, based on the police-justice-prison model, which emphasizes the adoption of policies for the control and repression of criminality and violence. (Arriagada and Godoy, 1999: 27)

It is not unlike the performance of the Buenos Aires Police, in Argentina, it is only more violent, which raises doubts about the reforms of police in a context of peripheral democracy:

Our violent and political way of being Argentinian has been turning into a mere violent form. The point is not whether this is better or worse, the problem is that it is violent and not political instead of political and not violent. .... In this context, a policy of police reforms that forward the respect to a minimal stance of human rights must address how to face the apolitical component of the reforms in the area of security. (Tiscornia, 2000; and also Fabián Sain, 2002).

In Latin America,

In this scene of conflictiveness and generalized malaise the Latin American citizen feels
vulnerable. In a broad frame, the vulnerability can be understood as the reverse of the “inhabitants' security”, taking this not only as the security of not being a victim of delinquents, but also the guarantee that one can enjoy the administration of a constitutional rule of law and of a minimal standard, or reasonable well-being, in terms of health, education, and housing. (Briceño-León and Zubillaga, 2001: 171)

Finally, the characteristics of the Penal Social Control State are multiple. On one hand, the social production of the feeling of insecurity:

Post-modern men and women have changed part of their possibilities of security for a portion of happiness. The modernity malaise was derived from a sort of security that tolerated an extremely narrow freedom in the pursuit of individual happiness. The post-modern one is derived from a sort of freedom of pursuit of pleasure that tolerates an extremely narrow individual security. (Bauman, 1998: 10)

This uncertainty has been produced by the weakening of social bonds, ranging from the insecurity of employment to the crisis of the social relations among persons (Hobsbawm, 2000: 138, 194; Bauman, 1998: 32–35). On the other hand, the apartheid-like isolation of the poor population, of young excluded men and of the discriminated ethnic minorities has been intensified (Wacquant, 2000). Thus, ‘the pursuit of the post-modern purity is expressed daily with the punitive action against the poor who live in the streets and in the prohibited urban areas, the tramps and the lazy’ (Bauman, 1998: 26). The penitentiary industry has become consolidated:
For the last twenty-five years the population behind bars and all those who obtain their subsistence out of the penitentiary industry – the police, the lawyers, the suppliers of prison equipment – have grown consistently. The same has happened to the idle population – exonerated, abandoned, excluded from economic and social life. Consequently, even predictably, the feeling of insecurity among the people has increased. (Bauman, 1998: 49).

In the same spirit, Wacquant (2000) writes:
And there are reasons to propose the hypothesis that the more vigorously inspired in the neo-liberal theories – which stimulate the mercantilization of the social relations – the economic and social policy forwarded by the country administration, and the less protective the initial Providence State in question, the more probable and pronounced this sliding toward a judicial and penitentiary management of poverty.

Third, the selectivity of the judiciary, the barbarism of jails as depot for infamous men and the new modalities of electronic vigilance have threatened democracy and the individual and collective liberties (Tavares dos Santos, 2000; Wacquant, 2000).

The Social Construction of a New Citizenship Policing
In this Twenty First Century, the projects to prevent violence and reduce violent criminality have multiplied under the perspective of new alternatives for public policies of security capable of guaranteeing the citizens' right to security. These are multiple effects of the worldization of the issue of Human Rights, as it has been discussed since the II

We are in a period of propositions for 'another possible world', as it was experienced during the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, devised as the antithesis to the Economic World Forum in Davos. In the former, there were 12,000 participants, 120 countries, 1,600 credited press organizations, over 800 NGOs, 400 workshops, tens of intellectuals of international reputation. .... The new century has effectively begun in Porto Alegre = another world is possible. A world in which the international debt is suppressed, in which the poor countries of the South play a major role, in which structural adjustments can be put to an end, in which the Tobin tax is applied in the foreign market, in which the fiscal paradises are suppressed, in which the support to development is upheld and in which the ecologically unsustainable model of the North is not adopted, in which there is a massive investment in schools, housing and health, in which the access to tap water is supplied to the 1,400 million people who lack it, in which the emancipation of women is forwarded, in which the principle of precaution against all genetic manipulation is deployed, and in which the on-going privatization of life is slowed down. (Ramonet, 2001)

The breadth of presentations was great, on one hand much was discussed about violence, especially on domestic violence against young people, on the other the debates on the issue of security were sparse, and debate on the issue of the reform of police was non-existent. In the II World Social Forum, in February 2001, in Porto Alegre, Brazil, some
advancement on this topic was achieved. There was at least one seminar on The Democratic and Citizenship Police for the Construction of Peace, and several workshops on Citizenship security.

In Latin America, the issue is to discuss the mode of participation in the global society, and to question the development of the innovative capacities in alternative practices of public management, social organization and social participation. To discuss new forms of governance means to think of public policies of security. However, there is a virtual impossibility of police work, due to the difficulty to guarantee the public order, once its is internationalized and privatized, and due to the limitations to contribute to the construction of consensus, because the bases of community no longer exist in complex societies and post-fordist economies (Tavares dos Santos, 1997)

The transformations of the diffuse crime and the new forms of criminal violence over the past decade or so are summarized here once again owing to their relevance to our argument. The definition of what constitutes crime has turned problematic; the aggressors are many, just as the possibility of one falling victim seems normal. In particular, we have watched a process of selectivity of victims of violence in Brazil: as to homicides, victims are men, young, and belonging to ethnic minorities, especially negroes and mixed-bloods; in the case of sexual violence, women and teenagers; in domestic violence, children and elders; in political violence, community leaders, and agents of Land Commission (“Pastoral da Terra”) by CNBB (National Council of Bishops of Brazil). However the causes of crime are, nowadays, multidimensional; and crime against property could be the result of a ‘rational choice’. Crime has become part of the continuum of social normality, holding a constitutive relation with society; acts now occur within both public and private social spaces in dispute – households,
neighbourhoods, squares or streets; the relationship between aggressors and victims is complex – strangers and intimates, outsiders and group members. The social control of crime has been carried out by several state agencies and even by means of informal actions, often by private patrols. The efficacy and effectiveness of social control are problematic, and the reaction of the public is oriented by an irrational fear of crime and a moral panic (Young, 1999: 46).

This crisis has turned into the failure of public security, identified as one of the political technologies of the Reason of the Nation-State, to guarantee the social order and the right to property. The crisis of the Criminal Justice process is expressed by the impunity of many crimes, especially of the so-called 'white-collar crimes' and those perpetrated by members of police forces. In this way, the losses of legitimacy of the judicial system and the sensation of collective insecurity have been enhanced. Secondly, the crisis is manifested by the penal selectivity that has sprung as one of the social responses to the expansion of diffuse violence, evoking the original categories of the positivist knowledge about crime, which still guides the practice of the operatives of the penal right. In the State of Rio Grande do Sul, in Brazil, for example, the category of selectivity of the flow of criminal justice is reaffirmed once again: the jailed population between 1986 and 1996 was composed by young men, with poor schooling, lacking professional qualification, and a relative majority of non-whites (Tavares dos Santos, 2000). The relationship between the collective consciousness of security or insecurity, either grounded on real bases due to the increase of violence and violent criminality, or originated from imaginary bases within the collective unconscious marked by uncertainty and insecurity, stands as one of the new social problems worldwide.
The Police as one of the New Social Issues Worldwide

The crisis of policing is configured analytically by a series of theoretical and political insufficiencies, and constitutes one of the new global social issues manifested in several geographic zones in a simultaneous fashion. First, the Weberian analysis of the modern State and of the rational-legal mode of domination restricted the analytical space regarding the power relations exercised by the agents of the State – those servants specialized in the monopoly of the use of physical force, of legal and legitimate coercion. Second, the identification of police officers as members of an organization internally structured as either civil or military prevented the analysis of the multiple foci of power within the police organizations, not to mention the modes of exercising this power regarding citizens. Third, the limits of the international literature about the police profession: the police office is defined by the exercise of the legal and legitimate coercive power of the State and by the exercise of some service to the public that contributes to social integration. Such an approach, nonetheless, failed to account for the extreme coerciveness among the Police in peripheral countries of the capitalist world system (Chevigny, 1995; Tavares dos Santos, 1997). Fourth, the political difficulties of policing resulting from the processes of democratic transition, in Latin America and in Eastern Europe during the last twenty years: the efforts to the institutional reconstruction of law enforcement, especially the modes of police practice (Frubling and Candina, 2001). Yet, in post-socialist social spaces, the political processes of dismantling the State and the imposition of neo-liberal public policies have produced a complicated situation for the police forces, leading to a profound crisis of efficacy, honourability and respect of human rights (Kádár, 2001). Fifth, in the last decade the police issue has become more complex, due to the
alleged inefficacy and ineffectiveness of the police in relation to the differentiation of the socially criminalized social actions, or due to the new criminalized phenomena in the 'late modernity' (Young, 1999).

What is most impressive is that the police officers that perpetrate violence feel untouchable, enjoying guaranteed impunity:

This report concludes that impunity – the product of the combined failure of a number of Brazilian institutions – is the single factor that most contributes to the continuation of abusive police practices. (Human Rights Watch, 1997: 3)

We have watched the virtual impossibility of the police office, owing both to the difficulty to guarantee public order, as it is internationalized and privatized, and to the limitations in contributing to the construction of consensus, once the bases of community no longer exist in complex societies and within the de-structured labour world. This perhaps explains the multiplication of forums in which crisis and reform in policing has been discussed nowadays.

The configuration of the police issue as one of the new global social questions can be witnessed in the record of at least 37 international meetings about the topic in several continents, ranging from the Human Rights Conference, in Vienna, in 1993, promoted by the UN, to the II World Social Forum in Porto Alegre in February 2002. The exhibitors – college students, public administrators, representatives of civil society and police officers from at least 27 countries or the over 100 countries represented in the UN, have debated the issue of the crisis and of the reform of police, analysing different topics, including:

1. The transformations in contemporary society, begun in 1990 with the changes in the forms of crime, the expansion
of diffuse violence and the new diffusion of violence against women;
2. The charges of violation of human rights and the victimization of the poor, the young, women, and ethnic minorities;
3. The strengthening of civil society and the involvement of local collectivity in the communities respectful of human rights and of the right to security;
4. The consequences of these world changes on police organizations. These involve the question of police management, experiences of community police and charges of violent police practice;
5. The transformations in the education of police officers and the new consortia with the Universities.

In short, these conferences have reached conclusions that indicate, in general, the criticism of a model of authoritarian and violent police conduct and the political will to move towards the transition to other kinds of police organization. The feature of reform being discussed includes accountability to the community, proximity, social conflict mediation, and are shaping the field of a democratic social control. This is a social field in which different agents of social control participate (police officers, judges, lawyers, prison managers, social scientists, journalists). They share their theoretical, technical, and political stands in order to develop the practices, the forms of police organizations and the right to security, into the new century.

The Police Crisis in Brazilian Society
Since 1967, all military police forces were made subordinate to the Army as part of the Military Regime, which led to the shaping of an ostensible police service. Thus, the Brazilian Civil Police have been adopting a discretionary approach, with the deployment of systematic torture in the police Station facilities and with disseminated
corruption. This situation is still in place in some regions, leading to the high level of discredit of the Police on the part of the population. The Military Police (Patrolling Police) have sought the repression of crime and the arrest of offenders, enforcing law and order. Yet, they were deemed as excessively arbitrary and authoritarian in their police service. The emphasis on the police task has been based in individualistic attributes, in physical force, in courage, in bravery, in the figure of the hero-policeman, who handled deadly fire weapons. Investments were limited to vehicles and weapons.

After the end of the Military Dictatorship (1964-1985), Brazil staged a process of Constitutional National Assembly, which led to the promulgation of the Constitution of 1988; so, new possibilities has been opened. On one hand, the Military Police was articulated into the new government during the work of the Constitutional Assembly, preserving it as an organ ancillary to the Armed Forces. In the field of public security there has been major pressure on the part of the patrolling police to maintain their military character. First, it was defined that ‘Public Security, a duty of the State, a right and responsibility of all, is exerted for the preservation of public order and of the integrity of the persons and of patrimony, by means of the following organs: I – Federal Police; II – Federal Highway Police; III – Federal Railway Police; IV – Civil Police; V – Military Police and Military Fire Squad.’ (Art. 144) (Brasil, 1999). It concedes, yet: ‘the municipalities can constitute municipal guards for the protection of their goods, services and facilities’ (Art. 144, #8) (Brasil, 1999). Secondly, the ostensive police was an attribution of the State Military Police, whose military character is guaranteed: ‘the members of the Military Police and Military Fire Squads, institutions organized according to hierarchy and discipline principles, are military officers of the States, of the Federal District, and of the Territories.’ (Art.
Thirdly, the Military State Court was created with the following attributions: ‘It is the competence of the State Military Court to prosecute and judge military police officers and military fire fighters in military crimes defined by law.’ (Art 125, #4) (Brasil, 1999). There are 473,037 militarized police officers, 111,977 civil police officers and 6,000 federal police officers in Brazil now: in total, 591,014 public police officers. In Brazil there are also another 27 local police forces in state capitals, making at least 82 police forces with their own command. In addition there are nearly 1,000,000 private security workers, legal and illegal (see Musumeci, 1998: 156, apud Garotinho, 1998). Notwithstanding, there is now the perspective of a Police at the service of citizens, principled in more tolerance and with the role of promoting human rights. In this model the police officer is valued as a worker in a risky occupation. There has been an increase of the investments on defense and personal mobility equipment, such as bulletproof vests, radio links, and the like. Presently the function of conflict mediation is beginning to be envisioned, though this trend is very recent and is not well established in professional law enforcement education. Nonetheless, there is a two-fold crisis in the police organizations. There is an internal crisis, as expressed in the lack of a professional identity, a rupture of the hegemony of the groups of managers and a loss of self-esteem. At the same time, there is a crisis of ineffectiveness and inefficacy of the police action, made responsible by the governments, and a reduction of the police legitimacy within society.

As this century begins as a time of social representations of uncertainty and insecurities, it is also a moment of transition, whose features can be identified in a field of possibilities. These include decentralization of organizations, reduction of hierarchical levels in Patrolling Police, a softening of internal regiments with the reduction of freedom-privation penalties and diminishing the isolation
from society. Also important are a broader use of investigation techniques, the search for a new professional identity, increase of public attraction to join the police service and higher academic qualification of the police chiefs and officials. The results of these confrontations around the ideal-types of police do not bear definite outlines or results, since they depend on a series of political and social dimensions.

The mobilization of Civil and Military Police in 10 Brazilian States during the months of June to August 1997, 1999, and 2001 have made the dilemmas of the democratization of public institutions in Brazil sharply visible. The claim for better wages served the purpose of unveiling the existing conflict within the police organizations, in the relationship between State and Police, and in the interaction between Police and Society. The measures proposed by the Federal Government, which have not produced much effectiveness in the National Congress, approached several facets of these problems. These can be summarized in four categories: modernization and institutional transparency; formation of the Police members; work and life conditions; political control.

Let us examine each of these categories of problems in detail. Modernization and institutional transparency consisted in a proposal for the creation of a Secretary for the Modernization of the Police, aiming to manage the Federal Police, control the Private Security and establish a National System of Criminal Information. Additionally, the creation of a Committee for Follow-up and Evaluation of the Public Security System and the Police was also discussed; the creation of ombudsmen and Juries with special Judges of independent police; the creation of singular Internal Affairs, the strengthening of Secretaries for Public Security; the support for modernization of management and equipment and a massive disarmament campaign. Concerning the second
order of problems, the formation of police members, the following innovations were suggested: the inclusion of Human Rights courses in police education; training to use fire weapons exclusively in extreme cases; and public funding of police members' qualification. The third kind of questions concerned work and life conditions: the reduction of pay distortions within the police corporations, life insurance for the police officers; the constitution of pension funds for the police officers, the creation of financing plans to purchase their own house. Finally, measures aimed at the political control of the police organizations included the prohibition of strikes and that representative associations cannot take part in political campaigns.

In a general manner, such modernizing measures, initially proposed by the Ministry of Justice, were not welcomed by the Military Police or by the States Administrations, who apposed letting go of a substantial state public force. This double rejection prevented the proposals from being enacted by Congress.

The protests by civil and militarized police officers were repeated in several Brazilian states, in August and September 1999 and, again, in June and July 2001, during the strike of the State Military Police of Tocantins and of Bahia, with other movements in half of the States of the country. These police strikes unveiled a crisis of the on-going police models. They expressed the need for increasing the education of police officers, since the eligibility requirement to join the force was only to hold a high school certificate. The strikes demonstrated other features of problem facing officers including the crisis of the commands, personal and payment problems, the somatization of the effects of working in risky situations, the deterioration of the working conditions, and the need for more material resources and equipment. The associative character was reinforced at every hierarchical level with the formation of Associations of Corporals and
Soldiers, Associations of Sergeants, and the consolidation of Associations of Officers, in the state and national spheres, and some of the former leaders of the movements engaged in a political career.

We can propose, starting from the Brazilian experience during the last 10 years, and from the discursive material produced in the 37 international meetings about the crisis and the police reform on a planetary scale, that there are 4 ideal-types of police within a field of conflicts for the hegemony in the police organizations: the authoritarian ideal-type; the technical-professional ideal-type; the community police ideal-type; the Citizenship police ideal-type. These ideal-types can be specified according to a series of strategic dimensions of the police work and of its intersections with society and the State.
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In this context of disputes for an ideal type of police the experiences regarding the ideal type of the community police praxis, the police in the local proximity are relevant. The experience we have observed in Canada, France, the United States, in England, as well as in Brazilian states: São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Espirito Santo, Amapá, and Rio Grande do Sul are worth of analysis. In Rio Grande do Sul, there have been several experiences in middle-sized cities (Caxias do Sul, Cruz Alta, Passo Fundo) and in Porto Alegre since 1994. Some Military Police officers themselves have written papers about this form of police service (Perez, 1998: 9; Bengochea, 1999: 120-125; Brenner Guimarães, 1998: 171). These authors agree that the Community Police is differentiated as a model oriented by interpersonal relationships. In Porto Alegre there were innovations in terms of the decentralization of police services. In 1997 there was an implementation of the Integrated Centres of Public Security, involving the Civil Police, the Military Police, Health Services and the community, with the objective of ‘making the proximity police happen’ (Marcadela, 1999). In the same city, the experience of Community Police has taken hold since 1998 in the Partenon Neighbourhood (Marcadela, 1999). In the case of São Paulo, Mesquita Neto (1998: 7) identified much advancement in a careful evaluation of the Program implemented in 1998 – especially as to the embodiment of the culture of community police and the defense of human rights in the community. Many difficulties have also been identified: a confusion about the objectives, few changes in the professional culture, little attention to the external control and the accountability to the community and lack of integration between the organs of public security. In the case of Copacabana district, in Rio de Janeiro, the evaluation demanded not only the localized dimension of the experience and the insufficiency of human resources, but also and especially, the resistance to innovation in the police to
change from a repressive, militarized, authoritarian and machos police culture (Muniz, 1997). However the experience in Espírito Santo was oriented toward the Interactive Police type, whose main characteristics are accountability to the community, accountability to Citizenship, and ‘professionalization’ (Governo, 1999: 233–249); but the results are quite bad in a short time.

Conclusion: the Alternative Notion of Citizenship Security

The last decade, the age of late modernity, has shown an increasing crisis of policing. To cite Reiner (2000: X), ‘Policing an ever more fragmented and pluralistic post- or late modern world has become an increasingly fraught enterprise’. It is an expression of the world social crisis. The same author adds: ‘The position of the police as an organization symbolizing national unity and order is threatened fundamentally by the advent of those social changes often labelled as ‘post-modernity’, above all fragmentation and pluralism’ (Reiner, 2000: 216).

The most important evidences of this crisis are:

On the one hand, extensive malpractice has begun to undermine the status and effectiveness of the professional public police. On the other hand, a more community-based police seem as yet unable to meet the needs of a diversity of cultures or to be able to control extremes of deviance’. (Wright, 2002, p. 16)

Bayley also confirms the crisis of policing:

In democratic countries all over the world, then, there is a sense of crisis about public security. And at the centre of this crisis are the police, who promise to protect us but do not appear to be able to do so. We want them to be effective, but increasingly we have doubts that they are. (Bayley, 1994: 11)
In this context, it is possible to distinguish various reform strategies in the contemporary field of social control and policing.

1. The most important is the debate about the four police models in dispute around the world:
   * Community and problem solving policing: strategies of decentralized development of performance that enable police to work locally with problems and solutions, rescuing their function of social integration and mediation of interpersonal conflicts on a local level (Kádár, 2001, point 8; Comité Européen, 2000: 150, 144). Reiner (2000: IX) states: ‘In the early 1990s there was a growing consensus between political and police elites about the need to reform policing in a community-oriented direction, aiming to ensure efficiency and quality of service’, although authors identified limits of this community policing in socially and exclusively fragmented contemporary societies (REINER, 2000: 10; Young, 1999).

   The system proposed by Bayley ‘in order for crime to be prevented’ has the core function of policing in a ‘neighbourhood police officer’, who would be ‘community based in a double sense’: ‘They would be based in communities, rather than entering them episodically in response to calls for service. And the problems they handle would be those based on community conditions’ (Bayley, 1994: 147).

   * Management theory: the ideas of ‘total quality’, borrowed from the business principles of management to the ‘new public management’ (Wright, 2002: 160–166). Here, the orientation of the police work changes, because ‘the adoption of the language of consumerism in late modern policing is already clear, through the discourse of “services” .... Police carry out surveys
mainly to establish customer satisfaction’ (Wright, 2002: 174).

- Tough Police, confirming a ‘law and order’ point of view about policing in the late modernity societies: ‘The nubs of my conclusion are that all the reform initiatives of recent years have been vitiated by a failure to reject the ‘law and order’ framework, and to recognize the inherent limitations of the policing. They have been fatally damaged by government policies which aggravated unemployment and exclusion, especially among the young and ethnic minorities, creating problems of policing in a new and growing underclass’ (Reiner, 2000: 10). It means the demand for a tough police, oriented by the zero tolerance notion (Reiner, 2000: 11-12; Comité Européen, 2000: 144) in North America, Latin America and Europe (Kádár, 2001: 9–10). Bayley remarks about this point: ‘When Western democratic countries are gripped by crime ‘crisis’, their habitual response is to strengthen legal controls. They enact stricter laws, reducing procedural protections for individuals accused of crimes, and make punishments harsher. In searching for remedies for crime, intensified law enforcement is the default position of liberal democratic countries’ (Bayley, 1994: 143).

- ‘Modes of the police logic of practice’: late-modern policing is directed by peacekeeping (conflict management), crime investigation, risk management, and the promotion of community justice (WRIGHT, 2002, p. XIII; p. 177). Police organizations could use new approaches to straighten their relationship with civil society: so communication provides a provisional link between reciprocity and particular kinds of police practice. It keeps the debate about the nature of policing open through argumentation and deliberation, agreement and disagreement’ (Wright, 2002: 175). This
model will necessary respect for the lawful democratic state (Kádár, 2001, point 3, 7; Comité Européen, 2000: 150), approving ‘professional rules’ for the police (Comité Européen, 2000: 144) who would keep the balance between ‘freedom and security’ (Comité Européen, 2000: 13).

We could then think of the construction of a world citizenship, marked by the institutional creation and by the diffusion and communication of social, juridical, symbolic innovative world practices. On one hand, the reinvention of the forms of solidarity; on the other, the redefinition of labour, in multiple social relations, both in rural and urban space. Finally, the prevention and eradication of the forms of social violence and the construction of another ideal-type of police, the Citizenship Police.

2. Any of these possibilities in dispute would have to solve some basic problems. First, the problem of management of the Police organizations: how to increase the efficiency of police performance and of administration of public security? How to articulate the competency disputes among the various police forces? How to regulate public control on private security firms, mainly on the ones that have been doing vigilant work in places of ‘mass private property’? (Comité Européen, 2000: 151; Bayley, 1994: 10). Secondly, the professional culture – the ‘police culture’, militarized or civilian, with the presence of the discretionary feature (Kádár, 2001, point 10, 14) (Comité Européen, 2000: 145), the exaltation of the discipline and of the military mode of hierarchy (Kádár, 2001, point 6; Comité Européen, 2000: 148).

3. The problems in the formation of the police officers and in their career represent a basic issue for the future of policing: how to change the formation of police officers from an orientation marked by the Positive Criminal Law to an
orientation that incorporates the critical knowledge in Social Sciences and Law, in all police educational formation (Kádár, 2001, point 18; Comitê Européen, 2000:150). It is also necessary to develop the training of police officers in techniques that reduce life risk, with the orientation of using firearms only in extreme cases. To make these changes, not only must the collaboration between Universities and Police Academies must be improved, but the evaluation of formation and of administration should also be a key strategy (Comitê Européen, 2000: 151). Finally, there must be an internal guarantee that the police officer career entertains no discrimination of sex or ethnic status (Kádár, 2001, point 17; Comitê Européen, 2000: 151). It requires that ‘different forms of psychological care provided for police officers by non-governmental and governmental organizations should be encouraged by governments’ (Kádár, 2001, point 16).

4. The main problems of the social responsibility of the police organizations are the eradication of the corruption practices (Kádár, 2001, point 5, 4) and the suppression of police violence and of torture (Kádár, 2001, point 2, 4). Basic attention must also be given to their relationship with the Public, the Media and the Civil Society. Society faces an urgent need for accountability and external control of the police organization (Kádár, 2001), point 9). The above points would have no practical results if police work fails to respect everyday human rights (Kádár, 2001, point 12), since that is the source of the legitimating process of the police organizations in Civil Society.

The actual lack of legitimacy of Brazilian Police organizations certainly provoked the discussion of the reform of state police forces that has been initiated in Brazil. In December 1999 a project for a constitutional amendment was launched proposing ‘a new model of police in Brazil ....’ Its salient points were the unification of civil and military police in every State, the elimination of the State Military Courts,
the elimination of the interrogation procedure in the police stations, the external control of the police by the judiciary and by some public security authorities. However, none of these has been yet discussed in Congress. Since January 2002 the assassinations of mayors of important Brazilian cities in the vicinity of São Paulo City, Campinas and Santo André, and the affirmation of a territorial power by organized narco-traffic crime in two of the most important Brazilian cities, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, have caused the mobilization of the Government and Parliament to pass a set of legislative projects very clearly oriented to the enforcement of 'law and order'. This orientation is indicated by the reinforcement of penal laws, better integration of ostensive police and judicial police, the multidisciplinary and unified education of the police forces, the strengthening of Federal Police so as to repress firearm and drug traffic and the construction of new high-security prisons and prisons for partial penal regimes.

Conversely, in order to imagine an alternative notion of citizenship security, in the context of the young XXI century, it is necessary to start from an orientation of social struggles, which in their immediately previous historical moment consisted in the defense of human rights and the charges of political violence. Today these struggles hold a new notion of security as their focus of discussion, that of citizenship security. If the analysis of several real situations around the world can lead to a discussion of the existence of a social representation in contemporary society based in repressive power technologies, we should also recognize the emergence of collective actions and institutional work as expressions of the movement against violence.

The slow emergence of a notion of citizenship police, under the perspective of worldization, entails the social construction of a democratic, non-violent and multiculturalist police organization. Societies will assert the objective of policing as governability concerned with emancipatory
practices and communicating with the social practices of the groups of citizens, of all genders and ethnical origins in their everyday life. The noteworthy theme is to include the collective security of citizens in a combination of civil rights and social rights. Last but not least, the citizenship security concepts entails the social construction of a policing oriented around multiculturalism, human dignity, and equity, on a worldwide perspective.

Notes
1. For a critical appraisal of this program, see Young (1999: cap. 5, 121–148).
2. Those countries were Germany, Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Spain, United States, France, Holland, Hungary, Japan, England, Israel, Poland, Portugal, The Czeck Republic, Romenia, Russia, South Africa, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

References


The terms ‘worldization’ and ‘globalization’ are both used in this article (the distinction is an established one in Spanish, Portuguese and French) to imply two different social processes. Globalization means the internationalization of the world economics process. ‘Worldization’ is used to underline the social phenomena and the new social conflicts created by economic globalization.