Notes on the police presence in the urban periphery of Salvador

Hildon Oliveira Santiago Carade
Instituto Federal Baiano, Campus Santa Inês, BA, Brazil

Abstract

This article discusses the implementation of a public security policy – the Community Security Bases program – in Calabar, a favela located on the Atlantic coast of the city of Salvador in Bahia state, Brazil. I explore the ways in which police officers envisage the militarisation of urban peripheries. Setting out from the question, what does policing make possible? I demonstrate that, conceiving their work as a form of redemption for the target community, the Military Police see drug trafficking as something to be overcome, not through the complete extinction of the narcotics trade, but through the 'pacification' of the dealers' actions. Thus the entire police operation consists of diverse attempts to ensure its activities form the sole point of reference for the local population to imitate. As discussed here, this has consequences for the relationship between the Military Police and the residents of this urban periphery.
Keywords: Military Police; Community Policing; Drug trafficking; Urban periphery.

Notas sobre a presença policial na periferia urbana de Salvador

Resumo

Este artigo trata da implementação de uma política pública de segurança – Bases Comunitárias de Segurança – no bairro do Calabar, uma favela localizada na orla atlântica da cidade de Salvador. Aqui exploro a maneira pela qual os policiais enxergam a militarização das periferias urbanas. Tomo a seguinte questão: o que o policiamento torna possível? Desta feita, demonstro que, concebendo o seu trabalho como uma redenção para esta comunidade, a Polícia Militar vislumbra no tráfico de drogas uma instância a ser superada, não nos termos da completa extinção do narcotráfico, mas da "pacificação" da ação dos traficantes. Assim, toda a operação policial consiste na tentativa de se afiançar como o único pólo cuja ação pode ser imitada pela população. E isto trará consequências para o relacionamento entre a Polícia Militar e os moradores desta periferia urbana.

Palavras-chave: Polícia Militar; Policiamento Comunitário; Tráfico de drogas; Periferia urbana.

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Introduction

This article sets out to analyse the productive dimension of the policing apparatus, conceiving it as an epistemological institution, a sector that produces categories and knowledge. Rather than discussing the processes of physical violence and police abuse, then, I look to highlight the dimension of symbolic violence and its consequences for determined populations. As the context for this analysis, I turn to the implanting of community policing in the neighbourhood of Calabar, a favela located on the Atlantic coast of the city of Salvador, via the creation of Community Safety Bases, henceforth referred to by their Portuguese acronym, BCSs.

To clarify my approach from the outset, I shall quickly summarize my argument. Firstly, as already affirmed by Rose (2000) concerning the British context, I maintain that implanting policies for crime control has less to do with crime control in itself, and more to do with favouring generic concepts concerning the administration of moral order. This leads into the discussion made by Pacheco de Oliveira (2014) on the use of the term 'pacification' in the urban governance of the city of Rio de Janeiro. According to the author, by endorsing the dimensions of inclusion and civilisation, this term implicitly projects the role played by police occupation of favela areas in Brazil's large metropoles as a *civilising mission*, restoring state control over territories occupied by the narcotics trade. Here, the author writes, there exists "a clear analogy to the colonial 'pacifications' directed against indigenous villages who refused to voluntarily submit to the administrative and religious authorities of the era" (Pacheco de Oliveira, 2014: 138).

Although discourse in defence of community policing, as well as its effective implementation on the ground in the favelas of Brazil's major metropoles, may be a relatively recent phenomenon, in my view this process is compromised more by persisting continuities than by looming changes. More precisely, the issue is the way in which the nation has dealt with those subjects depicted as 'undesired.' In this sense, police occupation of low-income communities rekindles our obsession about building a redemptive society in the tropics.

In the context of the city of Salvador, in the vast field of public security policies in the state of Bahia, the BCSs appear as police operation management units, with the aim of maintaining order in determined territories, previously perceived as violent, by using a prevention methodology (Bahian State Government, 2011). Consequently, as well as police occupation, actions are carried out to integrate the police with the residents of these locations, as well as assist the population's access to social services, basically covering the areas of healthcare and vocational training. The BCSs are part of a broader policy called *Pact for Life*, a state government programme created by Law 12.357 of 09/26/2011, which has the principal aim of promoting social peace.[1]

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[1] Different to trends in other Brazilian states, Bahia, which had always experienced lower than average levels of criminality, suffered a surge and lack of control in these indices between 1999-2010. Even so, until 2010 the State maintained a public security policy built on the traditional moulds of crisis management and isolated responses. This consisted of a few legal dispositions that simply offered specific powers to the Civil Police, such as the creation of special police stations. The Pact for Life arose in 2011 as an attempt to change this scenario, committed to reducing rates of violence and also to securing resources from the federal government.

On 27th April 2011, the first BCS was inaugurated in Calabar,[2] covering an area of 140,000 m   with approximately 5,400 inhabitants.[3] The neighbourhood in question is situated in a wealthy area of the city, close to Salvador´s Atlantic coast. However, as an occupation of lands formerly belonging to the Santa Casa de Misericórdia,[4] the community was formed as a favela zone out of keeping with the imposing tall buildings that surround it, home to a more affluent social class. The latter population tends to hold Calabar primarily responsible for the crimes reported in their region. Hence the very existence of a BCS in the location seems to respond to a demand from the local middle class, just as the creation of Rio de Janeiro's UPPs (Pacifying Police Units) took place precisely in the wealthiest area of the city, its southern zone.

In the month preceding the inauguration of the police unit, a Military Police riot squad had occupied the territories, forcing the mass retreat of local drug traffickers, or arresting some. This enabled construction of the venture's entire physical structure – headquarters for police operations; installation of security cameras, and so on. At the time, the BCS-Calabar counted on a force of 101 police officers, who alternated in three shifts per day, with a video-monitoring service carried out by nine cameras and three police vehicles. It also offered literacy classes, vocational training and university entrance preparation courses for young people and adults. The BCS also coordinated healthcare actions and citizen aid campaigns, such as the emission of documents and registration for the 'Family Allowance' programme. A Digital Citizenship Centre (CDC) was opened, equipped with ten computers connected to broadband internet, available to all residents.

In some ways, the correlation between security policies and social services that aim to provide access to citizenship, promoted under the slogan "security policy and social projects side-by-side," can be traced back to how pacification was conceived in the favelas identified as violent in the city of Rio de Janeiro. In 2008, on creating its Pacifying Police Units (UPPs), the Rio government put into action its plan for reducing violence and improving its citizens' quality of life. Due to the repercussion in the media of police-orchestrated actions during occupation of locations previously dominated by drug-trafficking, and due to Rio de Janeiro State's long-standing commitment to the ideology of community policing,[5] previous studies of this phenomenon have taken the 'marvellous city' as a privileged context for its analysis. This is the subject of the next topic.

Theoretical contributions on community policing

In his prologue to the book *Policing and Contemporary Governance*, Comaroff (2013) affirms, categorically, that very little work has been produced in the ethnology of police and policing. By contrast, other social sciences have dedicated considerable attention to the subject, especially sociology, which in many cases, seems to be disintegrating into criminology. This gap, he goes on to say, is particularly notable given that social control in general and crime in particular have always been recurrent concerns throughout the history of modern anthropology. And so, observing the bibliography produced on community policing, I became aware of the same neglect: little has been written about the police corporation and its activity. On the contrary, the focus of attention has been security policy, which is not the same thing as studying the institution and its actions in response to such broad macro-sociological issues.

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2   So far the State government has opened 18 BCSs in total: 13 units in the capital and Salvador's metropolitan region (RMS) and 5 in inland Bahia.

3   Source: IBGE, 2010 census.

4   The institution responsible for administrating the Campo Santo Cemetery, whose untitled lands were occupied by migrants from inland Bahia around the beginning of the twentieth century, giving rise to the neighbourhoods of Alto das Pombas and Calabar.

5   As sociologist Ludmila Ribeiro (2014) has pointed out, the ideology of community policing in the Rio context dates from the end of the 1970s. On one hand, it was aired as a possibility for democratising an institution, in this case the Military Police, strongly linked to the authoritarianism of the military government then in power. On the other, it aimed to professionalise the police itself. If its task is to maintain national security, then the closer to the subjects who need to be policed, the better. Initially, therefore, this idea was strongly connected to repressive practices; only recently has it become conceived as a more humanitarian and ethical practice, signifying respectful coexistence between police officers and common citizens.

I will also frame the action of police officers (rather than of security policy) in a broader perspective. However, on this question, I side with the focus given by Garriott (2013) in *Police in Practice.* According to the author, understanding the police in terms of their practice does not simply entail observing what they actually do, nor does it mean understanding police action from what has been called a "theory of practice." In fact, this approach involves recognising the police as not just an institution of governance, but also a tool of sociability. Thus, the author continues, the police corporation today has developed an operational arrangement that extends beyond its official mandate. On the other hand, assuming a 'Foucauldian' research parameter, Garriott maintains that such an approach is potentially more dynamic when we avoid setting out from a priori theories or conventional suppositions concerning the constitution of the police and what that really involves in a given context. Finally, an anthropological approach to policing points us to the following questions: the identification, reification and typification of social categories; police sociology as a way of settling the dividing lines between normal, criminal and pathological; the extending of bureaucratic and administrative rationalities to these dimensions; and the semiotics used by the police corporation when creating vernacular concepts about crime and (dis)order (Comaroff, 2013). This said, we can now advance to the outlook that social research has given to community policing.

Generally speaking, the academic agenda became a surrogate on the nation´s mainstream news reports about the creation of the UPPs in Rio de Janeiro. On one hand, the media took great care to transmit images that looked more like battlefields, showing the expulsion of drug traffickers from the Rio hillsides and, consequently, the State forces taking control of these territories, as well as giving voice to discourses that emphasised the heroic and messianic action of the State in 'saving' certain parts of the population from the dominion of evil. On the other hand, social scientists added nuance to the discourse produced by public opinion, revealing the unspoken aspects of the dispute as a whole. So what then are these aspects?

At this point, research wavers between two approaches: on one side, we have those who centre on safety policy in itself, seeking to evaluate its effectiveness and/or efficiency in combatting violence (an independent variable), as well as assessing State actions in recently pacified communities (a dependent variable). On the other side, there are those who view community policing within a more macro-sociological context, pointing out the correlations between determined state actions, urban regulation (the dimension of right to the city) and economic order (in other words, neoliberalism).

It is important to add that rather than representing a divide, these perspectives express a particular emphasis of one study or another vis-à-vis the theme covered here. In this way, a research project may often adopt both approaches. We can take, for example, the World Bank report (2012) and the book by researchers Ignacio Cano, Doriam Borges and Eduardo Ribeiro (2012) from the Violence Analysis Laboratory of the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) as cases where the focus was on the dimension of evaluating community policing in favelas where UPPs had been implanted. Both sought to fill information gaps in the documentation of how residents have been affected by this public policy. The first investigated the communities of Babilônia/ Chapéu Mangueira, Pavão-Pavãozinho/ Cantagalo, Borel/ Casa Branca and Manguinhos (the latter a control case, since it had not yet received a UPP). It affirmed that the main change associated with the UPP for the lives of local residents was the possibility to be able to walk more freely around the streets of their neighbourhoods. Social services also increased in quantity and quality, water and electricity supplies were regularised, crèches and health clinics were created, etc. At the same time, the regularisation of leisure activities contributed to the demise of the funk dance nights, a fact that provoked discontent among the local young population. Overall the report pointed out that, for the residents, if pacification had been effected, this was not of the communities, but of the police themselves, who were learning to use more humanitarian standards of conduct in their work. In turn, Cano and his collaborators (2012) questioned what the real role of the police was in these territories. Even though homicides and the

number of robberies had declined (75% and 50%, respectively), other crimes, such as malicious injuries and domestic violence, had risen substantially, a fact that often transformed the police into conflict mediators, a role formerly occupied by the drug traffickers. Hence, the *morros* (the hillsides where Rio's favelas are mostly located) remained the same, they had just changed owners. On the other hand, a more positive aspect of pacification, the authors reflected, was the decrease in the stigmatisation of the favelas, as the residents were less inclined to conceal their residential address from other people in the city.

From a more macro-sociological perspective, urban regularisation processes and the gradual substitution of informal practices by access to services, the social upside of peace-making policies in the Rio hillsides is really the connection between the favela and broader reality. Researchers Neiva Vieira da Cunha and Marco Antonio da Silva Mello (2011), in fieldwork carried out in the community of Santa Marta, observed what can be considered the prelude to the 'gentrification' of the neighbourhood. After the UPP installation, a free wireless internet network was made available; water and electricity services were regularised; name plates were installed on all the alleyways and lanes; and, gradually, all the residences and land plots were becoming legalised. With the break from patterns of informality, new public conflicts arose, such as complaints from residents regarding water and electricity supply tariffs, and the closure of commercial establishments unable to keep up with the amenity charges arising from their regularisation. Such facts, the authors conclude, demonstrate the continuation of inequality in relation to rights to the city.

This dimension of 'integration' of the favela into the city, a process that the UPP aims to promote, is also highlighted by sociologists Livia De Tommasi and Dafne Velazco (2013) in fieldwork carried out in Cidade de Deus. According to them, pacification in Rio de Janeiro was an opportunity for the orchestration of mechanisms that aim to broaden the internal consumer market and stimulate an entrepreneurial spirit. It was through consumption, therefore, that residents would become 'citizens.' Seen from another angle, this assimilation postulates the need for residents to become entrepreneurs of capitalist establishments of their own.

Still, the authors argue, such events do not give us licence to insist on the particularity of the favela, since what is happening there is not just specific to it. "On the contrary, it concerns us all how neoliberal government currently manifests itself, how what we call 'citizenship' becomes established today, in social practices and relations" (Tommasi & Velazco, 2013: 38). Such an observation, which underlines the connections between security policies and neoliberal governance, is, so to speak, the benchmark of the analysis pursued by geographer James Freeman (2012) on the UPP implementation process on the Rio hillsides. According to him, community policing is an integral part of Rio de Janeiro's project for the hosting of major sporting events, such as the World Cup 2014 and the Olympics 2016. The same can be affirmed in relation to the creation of BCSs in Salvador, bearing in mind the fact that the Bahian capital was chosen as one of the host cities for football tournaments. Freeman (2012) also argues that the occurrence of such security policies can be explained through what David Harvey calls "accumulation by dispossession," a strategy that takes military conquests by the State and the acquisition of assets by force as two sides of the same coin, both working to create routes for the expansion of private capital.

If the reader recalls the first lines of this article, it will come as no surprise that I am sympathetic to analyses seeking to correlate the micro context with the macro structure of society life. Hence, I cannot deny the appeal of these approaches, which transfer the dilemmas experienced by the population to neoliberal governance, however distant they may be. Still, looking beyond this focus, I would like to highlight the connections between this 'new' modality of protective management of territories and populations, and the wider process of national construction, a process that finds itself caught in the *civilisation-barbarity* duality, with a recurrent, continually re-animated rhetoric, re-implanted and sometimes denied in the most diverse social spheres (Collins, 2008; Pacheco de Oliveira, 2014).

As already affirmed, I am more interested in permanency, durability and traces of the past than necessarily in the potential changes and dislocations provoked by 'new' State politics. In the following narrative, contrary to previous analyses, which have privileged the point of view of the favela residents who were pacified, I propose to relate the events caused by the BCS implementation in the neighbourhood of Calabar from the police perspective. I collate generally facts I myself experienced during fieldwork with local residents' opinions on the overall process, obtained from a research report on the impacts of community policing in these locations, published by the NGO Avante (2014), in partnership with the Instituto de Saúde Coletiva, UFBA (Institute of Collective Health of the Federal University of Bahia).

The debutantes' ball

On 16th May 2013, I went to Calabar to accompany the ceremony commemorating two years since the BCS's installation. The event took place in the sports court, which had been refurbished soon after the police occupation of the neighbourhood. As I caught sight of the movement around the location, I noticed that many inhabitants had chosen to gather close to the wall and the railings, so as to take part in the event in a distanced way. For a short while, I joined the group. I remained there, leaning over the perimeter railings, searching for familiar faces at the festivities within.

The ceremony seemed to have already begun. Jaciara, leader of a local women's group, was welcoming the guests. I then sighted Francisca and Edson, respectively president and vice-president of a neighbourhood community association. Although I knew Jaciara better, I realised it was momentarily impossible to go over to greet her, so I decided to approach the other two community leaders. After greeting them, I made light conversation and pulled up a chair as near as possible to them.

At the end of Jaciara's speech, the official event presenter went on to mention the authorities present. While we heard the names announced of each representative of the public authorities, Captain Manuela, the BCS-Calabar commander, inadvertently approached Francisca and Edson. The two community leaders were visibly uncomfortable with the course that the event was taking. Then I overheard the following dialogue:

"But captain, there is no reference to the neighbourhood, to the residents' association…" said Francisca.

"Did you not see the association's name on the banner [event publicity material]? On the cake, didn't you see it? The association's logo is on the invitation, on the cake, on the banner; we haven't announced any of our partners' names. What is he upset about? I don't understand why he is angry," replied the captain, censuring Edson's attitude.

"That's fine, it's on the cake, on the invitation. Just leave me be," he replied.

"Go and have a look at the cake, go and see. The logo is really big on the cake and then ask me how much you gave me for it," replied Manuela, exiting the scene and leaving the others muttering among themselves.

Francisca and Edson were not the only ones dissatisfied. Also feeling ignored, Romano, one of the people responsible for the community library, decided to leave before the event ended. They were not just irritated by their names being left out, but also by the opportunity being given only to Jaciara, the only one among them to have been given the chance to speak. Visibly resentful, Edson responded: "How come we are partners but no name was quoted? Let Jaciara speak. For heaven's sake! The space is ours: it is we who are in charge. I don't want to know about cake. I wanted recognition, for the public to see our name being quoted."

"It is all a matter of conversation," said Francisca, trying to ease the situation. Edson replied: "We bent over backwards so much… president and vice-president chasing after courses, we granted the space [referring to the BCS headquarters, which was built on the land where the old association was housed]. (…) They are the strangers. They are here to promote themselves. They should have invited us to the panel, but no, they isolated us. I am really hurt," he concluded.

It is worth reviewing some of the details of this scene. During the event, all the speeches by the authorities present focused on the good relations between the police and the residents, on the trust that they were bestowing on them and on the reduction in the violent crime indices. To celebrate the bonds of cordiality with the community, the Military Police had organised a debutantes' dance entitled 'Day of the Princess.' The girls from the neighbourhood, on the eve of completing their fifteenth birthdays, were invited for a treatment day in a beauty salon (the experience was shown on a video) and then to dance a waltz with the 'princes,' i.e. the police officers. According to Captain Manuela, the initiative had already been tried in the Rio UPPs, and was a reasonable success. Later on I discuss this interaction between Rio de Janeiro and Bahia.

During the dance, all the officers were indeed sought out, not just by the debutantes, but also by their relatives and other Calabar residents. The people asked for photographs and made a point of showing intimacy with the guardians of order. In particular, Private Tagner, one of the policemen honoured by the community in the festivities (in an indication from a gay group and a women's association), was one of the most sought after. He danced with nearly all the girls, and was photographed dozens of times. Perhaps the police officer's striking presence, a good-looking and muscular young man, explained the enthusiasm.

All in all, despite the effort of the Military Police to win over the community, some community leaders reflected privately that many residents may be rather withdrawn, and so sometimes have difficulty integrating. The truth was, they said, many were likely to be involved in drug trafficking and for this reason may prefer not to appear beside the police officers, fearing possible reprisals. Furthermore, given the history of barbaric actions carried out by the Military Police in the region, the population generally still finds it difficult to believe that the institution is no longer so violent.

In the community leaders' evaluation, police officers like Tagner and Renato (who had also been honoured by virtue of his computing classes at the BCS) do a good job and are tactful when dealing with the community. During patrols, however, they sometimes end up making small or large seizures of drug packets, which can generate discontent among those directly related to the people arrested. On this point, Jaciara spoke in a didactic tone: "people need to understand that they are community police, but they also have to reprimand, because at the end of the day, they are police. It's like a tamed lion. The tamed lion does not stop being a lion; if you do something that affects it, it's going to bite you."

From my point of view, what is interesting about this process is the way in which the police became immersed in the dynamics of a battle for social recognition (Honneth, 2003) within the neighbourhood. In this sense, it is worth noting, I speak more about permanencies than about change.

Before police occupation, Calabar was, and still is, territorially divided into two locations: 'Bomba' and 'Camarão.' From the residents' perspective, the subdivision was basically a classifying system produced by the leadership disputes over the local drugs trade. There were (and still are), two factions linked to drugs trafficking, which have controlled the activity for almost 12 years, and each of them dominated a certain territory. The 'Bomba' was owned by the Floquet Family, members of the Comando da Paz faction, while 'Camarão' was under the yoke of the dealer Averaldinho, who belonged to the Caveira faction. The animosity between them spread beyond the frontiers of illegal activity, and also interfered with the common resident's right to come and go. Thus it was a more or less tacit law in the area: those who lived in one area did not frequent the other, and vice-versa. As time passed, the rivalry was taken on even by those who had no

involvement with the illegal market in psychoactive substances. In some ways, the location of 'Camarão' was the most fragile in the whole dispute, because the few public services present in the neighbourhood were (and still are) situated on the 'opposite' side, including the community library, the crèche and the health clinic. Because the residents felt unable to move freely around the streets of Calabar, the idea gradually became sedimented in the minds of the 'Camarão' population that their neighbours received more support from the State. This is what I gathered from reading the report produced by the NGO Avante (2014) cited earlier. As the BCS was installed exactly in the centre of 'Bomba,' the Military Police contributed, once again, to reinforcing the image of one population being privileged in detriment to the other. Aware of this fact, the police began to adopt the following strategy: commemorative events were alternated between the two territories. A clear example of this is that the Children's Day party is held in 'Camarão,' while the Christmas party takes place in 'Bomba.'

From another point of view concerning the relations, either amicable or unamicable, between local community leaders, the installation of the BCS further promoted the dominion of the latter in detriment to the former. Previously, 'political factionalism' between neighbourhood leaders became more evident particularly during elections. During these periods, the community was (and still is) invaded by professional politicians, so the population experiences a sensation of being before state quangos (and their possible benefits). Each community representative generally opts to support a specific candidate in the electoral contest, in this way triggering a war in search of votes. Once the State is continuously present in the lives of the citizens, such facts alter the way in which this urban agglomerate experiences the "temporality of politics" (Teixeira & Chaves, 2004). From the community leaders' point of view, therefore, everything goes on as if their work had increased in extension and intensity: from a previously determined time to a temporary indefiniteness. Here, Jaciara had two advantages compared to the other candidates: she lived near the BCS base and she worked in the evenings, the period corresponding to the end of the police institution's administrative activities. In the struggle for recognition from local residents, therefore, she is considered by her colleagues to be the one who now has a better chance of having her work recognised.

The Military Police would also be putting their actions on the agenda for this 'logic of recognition.' As it involved new recruits, installed there specifically to support the implantation of a new policing strategy, they took it upon themselves to develop another type of relation with the population, of doing without violence. All actions were designed and undertaken to overcome those who formerly controlled the neighbourhood: the drug traffickers. On this issue, the police officers could be seen to be suffering from a kind of 'anxiety of influence,' to use a notion proposed by literary critic Harold Bloom (2002). According to the author, taking Shakespearian works as an example, we can understand the idea of 'influence' in two different and complimentary senses: as the flow of what will become our destinies and personalities: and as 'inspiration,' a model for a determined conduct (Bloom, 2002). The way in which the police venture has been carried out in Calabar encompasses both senses of the term. In trying to substitute drug-trafficking as a source of orientation for the future, therefore, the police officers interpret their own activity in the neighbourhood. They also take more care over how they treat residents, since they seek to become a prototype to be followed by those whom they are protecting. In this sense, they yearn to become a canon for that community, and who yearns to become canonical, deposits their hope in winning over a public and acquiring followers. And those who would be co-opted: the children and adolescents from the neighbourhood! It is via this explanatory framework that we can understand something like the debutantes' dance. Deliberately, therefore, the police officers sought to extend their sphere of actions beyond the frontiers of militarisation, which meant an operational change in the corporation's work: a switch from patrols and crime fighting to offering services of a social kind, aiming to redefine the institution's image

in the eyes of the population. This becomes more comprehensible in the section below, where I describe the day-to-day relations between police officers and residents, from the perspective of four police officers whom I had the opportunity to interview.

The anatomy of influence

Bloom (2002), in the above-quoted book, originally published in 1973, described the literary enterprise in terms of a quarrel between books and authors, one already canonical and of everlasting inspiration, the other who seeks to supersede his competitor, finding a creative space for himself in the field of literature. If we use analogical reasoning, replacing the stage of literary invention for the theatre of community life, we will see in their most varied hues the dilemmas experienced by the police in the favela of Calabar, in so far as they conceive their actions to be a fight against a canon: drug-trafficking. And from there the anguishes, anxieties and fears… In some ways, the reasoning of the police officers is premised on the perception that trafficking enjoys a certain prestige and support in the locality, a premise that grants the Bases the credentials of a new type of 'ground zero' for a 'new era,' a discourse that serves as a strategy to legitimate police actions.

To take on board this theoretical outline, it becomes vital to answer the following questions: what does community policing represent from the police officer's viewpoint? What does it mean, for him, to be present 24 hours a day in a place conceived by the city's police journal as a den of depravity and violence? How should he behave in this situation? What are the categories used by him to classify this brave – but not necessarily new – world? And what does this entire discussion have to do with the experience of adolescence for the urban working class? To find answers to these questions, then, I need to introduce my interlocutors. These are Captain Manuela and Lieutenant Márcio, the first and second BCS commanders, respectively, and the privates Tagner and Renato.

In terms of name and genealogy, my interlocutors have little to offer: their ancestors do not belong to the economic elite, nor did they occupy any authoritative positions in the city. Except for Lieutenant Márcio, whose father is an engineer and mother a doctor, the others come from working class families. In this way, my other three interlocutors pursued a state career as an opportunity for social ascension. Even Private Tagner, the only one to cite the vocational component as the main driving force behind his choice of a military career, recognised the importance of the economic factor in his final decision. According to his account, after finishing a technical data engineering course, he managed to get a job compatible with his training. For four years he worked for a multinational company, IBM, but when the 2007-2008 financial crisis arrived, the company was forced to cut expenditure and squeeze its payroll. Tagner was one of the names to be put on the redundancy list. Once unemployed, he opted to study for the civil service selection exams, keen for the stability of public employment and the absence of possible job loss from situational factors.[6]

These were also Private Renato's expectations when he decided to enlist for the Military Police selection exams. At that time, he was taking an 'Internet Systems' course at UNIFACS, a private university in the state capital. The work placements were not providing him with a good salary. So his then girlfriend, whose father was a member of the police force, sowed the idea in his mind: "why not the police?" Without much expectation, he registered himself for the selection process and was approved.

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6 In a group of 28 police officers interviewed for his dissertation on constitutional protection of public safety, in the context of implanting the Calabar BCS, Joildo Souza dos Humildes (2013) affirms that all of them mentioned job stability as the motivating factor to join the police force.

Tagner and Renato entered as privates, Captain Manuela and Lieutenant Márcio were approved as officers. After the written and physical tests, the first two took part in training courses for almost nine months, run by the police body itself, while the latter two studied courses offered by the State University of Bahia (UNEB) in partnership with the Military Police, for three years, recognised by the Ministry of Education as a higher degree.

If entering the police force had not been the dream of any of my interlocutors, what did the appearance of community policing mean to them? In the first place, it should be stressed that they had never thought of working as "community police officers." In fact, they did not even know what the term meant. Privates Tagner and Renato, as well as Lieutenant Márcio, were attracted by the expectations surrounding this new development, or rather, taken by the idea that they would become pioneers in something. Captain Manuela found in the BCS an opportunity to crown her previous trajectory of social issues. In fact, with the example of the aforementioned debutantes' ball, she had been promoted to the post of commander in the unit in yet another attempt by the Bahian government to imitate the Rio UPPs, bearing in mind that Major Pricilla Azevedo had commanded the first UPP installed on the Santa Marta hillside by the Rio de Janeiro State government. Captain Manuela herself confessed to me that her appointment had been motivated by gender, as the widespread belief is that women are more apt to dialogue and less disposed to adopt authoritarian and violent practices, thus providing a more adequate profile for community policing. I cannot affirm whether she did justice or not to these projected qualities, although I have perceived a degree of animosity between her and some neighbourhood leaders. For the latter, the commander lacked just that – the skills needed for dialogue.

According to the captain, her first post in the Military Police had been at the battalion in the centre of the town of Camaçari, in Salvador´s metropolitan region, where she had performed an administrative role as assistant to the unit's commanding major and an operational role as chief of the patrol car unit. Manuela also worked in Arembepe, on the state's northern coastline, as well as in Eunapólis, an inland town in the south of Bahia, and finally in Praia do Forte, a district of Mata de São João municipality, before returning to her first base. In her words, the return corresponded to the beginning of her 'community history,' although she knew that 'social' work had already been coming her way for some time. But what was 'social' from her point of view?

According to her account, it was difficult for her to be assigned to combat and confrontational operations, so she always found herself faced with episodes of a 'social nature,' like the father who raped his own daughter; the son who entered the world of drugs and robbed his own mother; fights between husband and wife; ill-treatment of the elderly, among others. Although she did not clarify whether these directions happened or not by default, the fact in itself points to a certain fracture of gender within the police, seeing as women are treated as though they were incapable of acting in situations involving confrontation and the risk of death. Returning to her account, the cases of rape within the domestic sphere were what shocked her most, and what awoke in her epistemological concerns. What about that girl who had been raped by her own father? After the physical examination and the accused's arrest at the nearest police station, what will happen to the victim? Will she meet with her father again? And in this situation, what will the relationship be like with the former assailant? Will any protection be offered by the State to this teenager? These were some of the questions that hovered in her mind.

Within the police force itself, Manuela found an oasis to satisfy her "will to knowledge." First, therefore, the captain signed up for an activity on preventing the use of psychoactive substances, as part of a Military Police institutional programme, PROERD (Educational Programme on Resistance to Drugs). She then applied for a postgraduate course in Human Rights, aimed at State civil servants, and was selected for

a two-year study cycle of subjects related to basic human rights and citizenship. From this experience, she felt the need to acquire a broader range of knowledge. She therefore signed up for and passed the university entrance test for a Social Services course.

All in all, of the three learning sources, PROERD was of the most importance for her career. In this programme environment, she coordinated the quality and technology section, whose main focus was specifically contact with the community. In meetings with residents and community leaders in Camaçari´s most violent neighbourhoods, she took note of all the complaints and evaluations concerning the police officers' actions. Criticisms related to the lack of police car patrols and to the violent manner of approach adopted by officers were the most common. However, Manuela was particular in making clear that such a routine of listening to common citizens was not recurrent Military Police practice. On this point, she stressed the contingent character of these activities, since, according to her report, they only took place by virtue of the sympathy of the commander then in charge of the battalion where she worked. Once her superior had been transferred away from the post, all the tasks relating to PROERD were rescinded there.

In 2010 she herself was transferred. The Tancredo Neves neighbourhood battalion was to be her new destination. Motivated by her previous experiences, she decided to reactivate PROERD at this unit. In parallel, a possibility arose for her to run a community policing multiplier course, under the aegis of the KOBAN[7] system, a methodology created by the Japanese. It involved two weeks of study in the city of São Paulo. At the end of the activities, Manuela was one of three people selected to represent the National Secretary of Public Safety on a trip to Japan, to learn about the KOBAN system at first hand. On returning to Salvador, she was made part of the team who elaborated the Community Safety Bases (BCSs) Project, but was still surprised at the invitation to command what would be the first BCS in the whole of Bahia state.

When Captain Manuela and Privates Tagner and Renato arrived in Calabar, they had the complex task of gaining the trust of local residents. Lieutenant Márcio only arrived a year after the BCS installation. As stated previously, the administrative base was inaugurated on 27th April 2011, but the process of police occupation of the neighbourhood had begun one month earlier, involving riot police actions and the Military Police special operations battalion. These forces were responsible for inspecting the location, installing security cameras, studying the main drug trading points, and mapping the most dangerous locations for police patrolling. The police corporation intelligence sectors elaborated a survey on the profile of local residents. A database was created to register all the people who had been involved in reported crime incidents. Overall, the police occupation of the neighbourhood took place peacefully. In a visible contrast to the Rio UPP implantations, where journalists' camera lenses became witness to battlefield scenes, exchanges of gunfire between police forces and traffickers, despair, death and a population in shock over the succession of events, in these areas there was not even one confrontational episode between police and drug traffickers. As though in theatre, at the exact moment that the former came on stage, the latter turned into a polite audience and fell silent, waiting for the plot to develop.

At first, militarising a popular neighbourhood, conceived by the city's police journal as a place doomed to violence, perhaps suggests the establishment of yet another repressive power to subdue subordinate populations. Far from disagreeing with this interpretation, I shall try at least to delineate its partiality, throwing forth the following questions: for the police, what does it mean to occupy a favela? What are the demands and attitudes that this new situation requires?

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7 The KOBAN model served as a source of inspiration for a number of community policing experiences in Brazil, notably in the states of São Paulo and Bahia. The 'kobans' are police stations with few staff, built in the middle of peripheral neighbourhoods in Japanese cities. The idea is to encourage the population to collaborate more with the police officers in combatting crime, thus strengthening links between the two parties. In Rio de Janeiro, the UPPs were influenced by the methodology developed in the city of Medellin, Colombia. For more information on the Koban system, see Cesar Ferragi (2011).

According to my interlocutors' accounts, and my reading of the above-mentioned report by the NGO Avante (2014), in which I was also able to find various testimonies by police officers, community policing provoked a change in perspective within the 'police-bandit' relationship. Before, the police were only invited to enter the area when some incident had taken place, where they resolved the situation, pacifically in some cases, repressive in most. On these occasions, the 'criminal' was invariably in a vulnerable position, where the only option was to take flight. In cases of direct confrontation, the most likely outcome would be 'prison or coffin.'[8] However, the installation of a BCS, obliging the constant presence of military brigades in the community, brought an inversion of this logic: the police began to be those finding themselves in a position of vulnerability. In the first place, the 'bandit' who lives in Calabar knows the area far better: the alleyways and lanes, all the routine, the people who frequent the area, the conversations that go on there. In this way, from the police officer's viewpoint, doing a patrol round can make him an easy target for a criminal. "They know everything about us. They know our car number plates. If there is any doubt, it is already all there on WhatsApp,[9]" Lieutenant Márcio claimed. Secondly, another consequence of 'becoming vulnerable' concerns the visibility of the police officer who operates in the location. Lieutenant Márcio offers more detail on the dilemmas provoked by this new modality of public security: "Imagine, for example, police in Federação [a neighbourhood close by]. A policeman can commit an abuse of power with someone there in Baixo da Égua and so on; but can he do the same here? Here the action is much more visible, he becomes more vulnerable to the tyranny of opinion, the community´s criticisms; if the guy beats somebody up out the front here, afterwards he will have to face the guy's entire family, and people on the wrong side of the law too. This creates resistance from the police officer to work in community policing."

As Private Tagner interprets the situation, the police officer was turned into a 'politician.' According to him, the very philosophy of community policing orientated a certain change in police conduct. Initially, during the training course for community police officers,[10] the instructors emphasised the importance of interacting more closely with the residents of a given place. "Normally what happens is that the police act in a repressive manner, then, after the abuse is committed, a remedial action is sought. Not now. In this new methodology, we get closer to detecting where the problems, the illegalities, originate: our action is prevention," he explained. Further on I explore the merit of 'prevention.' According to Tagner's reasoning, in this new context the approach must be such that it stimulates the residents' trust. "We don't stop working; we are just working in a more political way," he concluded.

This more 'political' action must also affect the patterns of relations with those involved in illicit activities. According to Lieutenant Márcio, almost four years after the BCS's installation, one could say that there is a good coexistence between the Military Police and the Calabar residents. All in all, this is not a merit of this unit alone; police officers who work in smaller units also maintain good relations with the citizens who circulate around their work post, especially traders and more communicative passers-by. With the BCS, however, the police officers find it much easier to relate to any type of person, including the 'thugs.' Often, the police officers are obliged to dialogue with the individuals who they have placed in custody at the police station in previous incidents. Such contacts can generate vivid situations, such as one described to me by the lieutenant. In November 2014, police officers arrested a lad for attempted murder. By January 2015, though, the suspect was already on the streets. When any policeman meets an individual

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8 I refer to an advert distributed by the Bahian state government in 2010, during Jacques Wagner's (PT-BA) administration, with the message "crack means prison or coffin," which clearly assumed a repressive approach, in so far as the anti-drugs policy was concerned.

9 A popular smartphone application for text messaging.

10 Privates and officers allocated to the BCSs are obliged to take a two-week course on community policing.

already 'filed' – that is, someone who has already been arrested for committing a crime – it is common to make him go through the police search ritual. This is what happened to the young man in question, since he had returned to the community. One day, he went to the lieutenant:

"Hey Lieutenant, the police officers are always stopping me around here. I don't owe anything, I'm not doing anything, I'm just keeping myself to myself, working…"

"Working where?"

"With my mother, selling chicken rissoles."

"Working hard then?" in an ironic tone.

"Hey, don't even think of saying that. See what you can do for me, Sir, to lighten it up a bit…"

From the residents' point of view, the BCS was not installed there with the aim of providing them with better protection, but to offer security to the more opulent neighbourhoods close by (Avante, 2014). Hence all kinds of mistrust, fears and reticence exist with regard to police action. Many even prefer not to give any opinion lest they become perceived as people with a lot of knowledge about police procedure. Police occupation guaranteed the common resident the right to circulate freely around the streets of the neighbourhood, a right that was fairly difficult to exercise, especially between the years of 2008-2010, a time when confrontations between the two locally operative drug trafficking factions were routine. Insofar as worsening violence with risk of death is always an open possibility, many residents are cautious of being labelled as 'informers,' i.e. denouncing the bandits to the police, which would make them the next victims of the 'criminals.'

In my first conversation with Privates Tagner and Renato and with Captain Manuela, in the first semester of 2013, the BCS had completed two years since its implantation in Calabar. They spoke of the vicissitudes of community work, how they had needed to win the residents' trust, how they had to exercise the art of dialogue, how they became fond of children and adolescents… the dilemmas, in short, of establishing this kind of proximity between police officers and residents. According to them, all activity would be focused on 'prevention,', which entails hypothesising the future from the present, via calculations, anxieties and imagination. This preventative approach was ideally focused on the under-18s. My interlocutors believed that the arrival of themselves and all their personnel in the neighbourhood, these subjects had no other option but to enter the world of drug trafficking, from the period of transition into adolescence through to their adult phase.

From their viewpoint, the community was the equivalent of a 'glass dome' for the local residents, this glass dome being formerly a world run by crime. When they, the residents, set foot on the Centenário Avenue, the main access road to the neighbourhood, teeming with tall buildings and public services geared toward the middle classes, they would come into contact with 'another world,' where people dress better than them, own cars, and possess other material goods that are inaccessible to them. How can you tell a young person, born and brought up there, who saw his father, his friend and other relatives become involved in the drugs trade, that a different fate is possible? They ask this rhetorically. Their task was to show other possible horizons, beyond involvement in crime. Hence, these police officers appear to be giving support to the already denounced 'myth of marginality,' by using at least two approaches to framing favela residents, as much theoretical as common sense: the ecological-architectonic, which qualifies criminals as those who inhabit neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city, with precarious infrastructure, low public security and basic sanitation; and the so-called 'culture of poverty', which defines favela dwellers as those who possess limited access to material goods (Perlman, 1977).

Since the beginning of military occupation, the illegal possession of arms and banned drugs, as well as domestic violence, have configured as the standard criminal incidents in the neighbourhood. My interlocutors identified alcohol as the catalysing agent of family quarrels. Curiously, the calm and tranquillity that has prevailed in the streets has stimulated the proliferation of bars and wholesale beer outlets throughout the community, a fact that has provoked the transfer of the problem of violence from the public sphere to the domestic. Women and youth are the main victims. Cases of wives and children who suffer physical aggressions from husbands, fathers or other male relatives set the tone of the local newspaper. In truth, facts like this always happened. Let us say that they have gained another kind of visibility, now that the police are called to intervene in the domestic dominion.

All in all, in dealing with standard criminal incidents, one fact intrigued Captain Manuela. According to her, among all the places where she had worked previously, including favela areas similar to the Calabar community, those most teenager in conflict with the law were teenagers. But this same issue was not happening in this new post. According to her report, it was men, fathers of families, around 25 years old, who were the profile committing most offences. Even though she had noticed very few cases of children and teenagers involved in the world of crime, the Captain maintained that they would be the main focus of the police operation in the neighbourhoods.[11] According to her, many still question the 'community' label applied to their work, as they believe that social work is not the prerogative of the Military Police. "The police are going to give judo classes? We have to understand that they are carrying out preventative work. By including a child in a sporting activity, we are carrying out a preventative action so that in the future he or she doesn't become involved with other things," she maintains.

Some reflections need to be made on this "empire of prevention" (Rose, 2000). All the captain´s reasoning is shaped by the following idea, either pronounced by high level representatives of legal authorities, or sustained by bastions of academic knowledge[12]: to fight with the drug traffickers for the mind of each boy and girl (Souza, 2006). Hence, teenagers are classified *a priori* as susceptible to embracing criminality. A potential criminal, the young favela dweller of today reminds us of the wild Indian of former times (Pacheco de Oliveira, 2014). For the missionaries, the indigenous population's relapse into paganism was a sign that the devil was at work on humans deemed to be of fragile and dubious nature, the reason why they had to be constantly watched over. For the young favela inhabitants, the vigil is ideologically sustained by the idea, deeply ingrained among police authorities, that the favela is in itself an immoral place and subject to all kinds of vices and corruptions of the spirit.

This civilisational epic situates childhood and youth as the centre of all intervention. By re-animating the *civilisation-barbarianism* dualism, police occupation places on the child and the teenager the assurance of civilisation's victory over savagery. On these issues, the fates of individual and nation converge. To offer them 'new' opportunities for integration into the jobs market is equivalent to the opportunity for the nation to rid itself of a canker that has wounded and killed all kinds of sociability: violence.

In this way, the 'anxiety of influence' felt by police officers reveals itself in a context marked by economic inequality (the favela in relation to its surroundings) and by the technological superiority of the police in relation to 'criminals' and to the residents of these locations. On this aspect, I can make a few observations. The symbiotic interaction between military police and common citizens existed for a long

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11   Some police officers who worked on local patrol offered different testimony. According to them, there were many criminal incidents involving under age offenders in the communities. Instead of investigating whether Captain Manuela was right or not, I transcribe her words in order to show that even though she did not consider juvenile delinquency to be one of the most preeminent problems in her area of action, the police officer did maintain a protective posture in relation to the young people in Calabar. As general commander of the BCS, all the social policies implemented by the organisation fell under her scrutiny.

12   According to Jessé Souza (2006), this idea is the same informing the entire rationale of Luis Eduardo Soares and collaborators (2005) in the book *Cabeça de Porco*. The social invisibility of the poor and black population is the benchmark of all the authors' arguments concerning crime-related cases. Hence the task of institutions and public security policies was to bring these individuals to the light and the sphere of social visibility, preventing their entry into the shadow world of criminality.

time before the creation of community policing units.[13] The new fact is the coexistence of the two poles in the same analytic and empirical field, which has offered the possibility to update, revise or reformulate old suppositions that one side had about the other. In this sense, the ways in which subjects think and feel build a bridge between the past and the present. Thus, from the police officers' point of view, living alongside the Calabar residents has not orchestrated a change in an old supposition, namely that the favela resident is always a potential bandit.[14] Now operating in a new context, they try to impose themselves on the residents as a model of ethics and civility to be followed. In effect, they try to establish a moral order different to the kind instituted by the drug gangs, or, in Balandier's terms (1993), they attempt to impose another type of cultural domination, which has motivated their interest in children and youths. As Albernaz and collaborators (2007) point out, based on ethnographic data collected in the Rio hillsides of Cantagalo and Pavão-Pavãozinho, locations also occupied by community policing brigades, the trafficker as a figure of power, authority and status in the favela was the predominate factor in the recruitment of young people, keen to imitate the behaviour of the drug trafficking leaders. "Instead of this 'wrong way round' icon, the work [of community policing] would gradually establish the figure of the policeman as 'a hero of civilisation,, a symbol of the 'entrance of the State into the favela'" (Albernaz et al. 2007: 42). To provide some further detail on this dimension, I relate my meeting with Lieutenant Márcio.

'Drying out ice'

I was with Lieutenant Márcio in January 2015. Since August 2014 he had occupied the post of Base commander[15] following Captain Manuela's transfer to another unit. A trained physiotherapist, my interlocutor also claimed that the stability of a public career had been the main reason for his interest in joining the police academy. What is more, he could no longer bear the work routine of a health professional. As well as lacking time to look after himself, certain workers' rights where not guaranteed to him, in particular the end of year bonus and holidays.

The lieutenant was living through another phase of the community policing implantation process in the Calabar and Alto de Pombas neighbourhoods. In the period when Captain Manuela was in command, the Base was the centre of attention. It was the first of a wave that promised to spread to other corners of the city, something which actually happened. Today, as stated previously, a total of 18 BCSs have been installed, in the capital's urban periphery as in corners of the state inland. When this unit was first inaugurated, private initiatives as well as some third sector organisations appeared, offering training courses and opportunities in the jobs market. The police presence itself was also imposing, given the relatively high number of staff for a relatively small area. All in all, it was a time of effervescence: everyone wanted to be associated with this project in some way, given its status as one of the most 'in the media' actions undertaken by the state government in recent years.

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13 Collins (2014; 2015) offers an empirical case, examining in detail all the scales of relations developed between the police, 'thugs,' 'crackheads' (as they are popularly known) and cultural promoters in the context of the Pelourinho district, in the historical centre of Salvador, shortly after its listing as a patrimony of humanity. This ethnography depicts the 'incestuous relations' between the Military Police and the poor population, the latter being the object of disciplinary action by the former, whether through force or condescendence.

14 To see a favela resident as a potential bandit is one way in which society in general manner tends to classify this type of subject. Hence, it is not a supposition restricted to the police. With regard to the Military Police, it is important to note that most of the recruits with whom I had contact in the BCS were newly arrived in the force and were sent there precisely because "they had not yet acquired the force´s vices." Hence illicit and corrupt practices such as the *arrego* and obtaining backhanders from drug traffickers were described as practices associated with older police officers. In a certain way, this discourse of self-defence reveals a generational fracture in the institution's environment.

15 In July 2015 there was yet another change to the command of BCS-Calabar.

Gradually, this picture began to change. The contingent of police officers, for example, was reduced almost by half, from 101 to 68 members of staff. The police patrol car, which had been habitually parked at the entrance to Calabar, was no longer there. For their part, private businesses no longer appeared with the same frequency. As a result, the professional training courses still run at the Base were being carried out by the officers themselves, which enabled many of them to exercise old aptitudes. Consequently, in terms of justifying the slogan "Security policy and social projects, side-by-side," presented as the benchmark of the Pact for Life program, I can affirm that the Military Police have fulfilled this dual role almost alone, using a carrot and stick approach. It is difficult for me to delineate, in writing, the web of ambiguities arising as an outcome of the closer proximity between police officers and the native population. Perhaps Private Tagner encapsulates this classificatory confusion perfectly.

Tagner's dream was to achieve a post in the Tactical Patrol and Riot Operations, according to him the most respected battalion of the entire police force due its 'good' fame. 'Good' because it is held to be the unit that delivers solutions; 'good' because it is considered the "vaccine of public safety"; 'good' because it is the only unit that the "vagabond is afraid of." Entry into perhaps the most repressive sector of the corporation competes not just with the acquisition of prestige, but also in its access to more advanced violence-combatting technologies. On this question, my interlocutor points to the following paradox: despite the clamours in defence of a more humanitarian police, for an individual to attain the highest ranks of intelligence within the institution, he needs to overcome many 'experiences,' or rather 'beatings.' When an officer begins the more specialised police courses, he is submitted to a series of physical and psychological ordeals, which test his aptitude to assimilate a determined science. The more resistant he is, the greater the range of knowledge granted to him. Already working in the BCS, Tagner registered for the course in Special Tactical Actions, but did not manage to complete all the training. He was forced to step down for reasons of psychological orientation: "I could not withstand the experiences," he confessed.

As I affirmed earlier, Tagner enlisted for community policing because he wanted to be one of the pioneers in the initiative. Only the human ego can explain his decision, since, as we can see, all of his initial interest had been directed towards belonging to the most repressive segments of the corporation. Curiously, he was one of the police officers honoured for services to the community at the Base's two-year anniversary commemoration. A year later, he was removed from the BCS following certain abuses committed during patrol there. His work colleagues perceived him as very radical: vigorous to an extreme, displaying a form of conduct that generated too many problems for the corporation. The 'philosophy' that he had adopted perhaps explains his setbacks. From his point of view, an 'ex-criminal' does not exist. A subject who has committed some illicit act in the past will always be, in his opinion, a 'bandit,' just waiting for an opportunity to repeat offend. "Treat well who is good; and treat badly who is bad" was his slogan. How to know who was bad? For this he turned to police records and to his own memory. "Those who are evil, I both. I search them out, I shame them: where are your documents? They are not on you? Go home and get them," he said, explaining his *modus operandi*. For 'honest citizens,' Tagner was a kind of hero, a model to be followed. Sometimes, I had the chance to see children going to meet with him, keen to receive a hug from him. With many others, I witnessed him distributing sweets to the neighbourhood kids. "I like it when a child who I don't even know comes to hug me: that is very gratifying," he confessed. All in all, those who knew him were surprised by the tribute given to him. "You must have threatened people, it's not possible," was what they said to him.

Lieutenant Márcio was one of the vocal critics of Private Tagner's attitude. In his view, community policing did not merely transform the policeman into a conflict mediator, resolving disputes between neighbours, calming the situation in family fights or bar brawls, and so on: it also demanded from him a concern about his image. This was Tagner's big flaw. "There was no half measure for him: the guy is a drug

user, but he has nothing on him, he is not carrying a weapon. He could not care less: he would beat him up anyway," he claimed. In so far as all the Base's actions were designed to captivate the community, such threatening approaches and intemperate attitudes were not viewed kindly by the force.

From the lieutenant's point of view, the close coexistence between police officers and residents tended to level out the grounds for ambiguity. While community policing can provide gratifying scenes of harmonious interaction between corporals and common citizens, particularly during the sports tournaments and the commemorations of festive dates, it also frequently compels the former to face those who have no wish to leave the world of crime. It has been the force's unhappy task, therefore, to dispute with those in the criminal world. My interlocutor prefers the term 'recruitment'. Drugs dealers are perceived to "work the minds" of young people in the neighbourhood. A few days before our meeting, the lieutenant had arrested three teenagers carrying cannabis. I summarise his account of this case here.

The three teenagers were taken by surprise in full light of day near the community sports court. All of them were re-offenders. The oldest had already been detained for robbery and attempted murder; the youngest, for illegally carrying a firearm. This youngest one of the group was described by the lieutenant as "really naughty," someone who will be eliminated – that is, killed – by the police very soon. On the day after this incident, the mother of the "really naughty kid" mother went to the BCS base to converse with the police officers. She let off steam to the commander: "I don't know what to do with the boy anymore; he's even pulled a knife on me." "If she doesn't know what to do, how will I know?" replied Márcio. In his understanding, the boy is already a "lost case," there is no longer any way to save him. As we can see, the police officer's discourse is strongly marked by the construction of the criminal around the idea of a "fundamental ontological difference" (Teixeira, 2014: 375). It is as though the subjectivity of this teenager was indelibly marked by crime and violence, with no hope of rehabilitation.

And yet, according to my interlocutor's account, the Brazilian penal system is the main villain in this story. Days after the incident, the three minors were loose on the streets. From the commander's perspective, the State should take good care of the 'thug,' re-socialise him, preventing him from re-offending. "This is what leaves us outraged. (…) We are just *drying out ice*," he said, drawing attention to the innocuousness of his force's actions. However, even tied to his rank and to some clothing, the lieutenant did not give up; he managed to keep a glimpse of hope.

In the Base's computing lab, where Private Renato gives computing classes to the community, the commander observed how difficult it is for some teenagers to adapt to this new environment. According to him, many cry because they are unable to assimilate the content and end up giving up halfway through. In his description, restlessness, difficulty concentrating, dispersal of attention and cognitive deficits make up the psychological profile of the young person who verges on being lost to the world of trafficking. He offered me an example: "There is one here who I saw was problematic, who, were he abandoned by this project, by this environment, would easily get into crime: he is the most restless, disturbed. Then the school support classes also began, and he started to attend, mathematics, physics, and I think it has been a great victory, if he continues to take this opportunity." According to him, many mothers come to accompany their children, so as to get a better idea of their progress in the activities run by the BCS. He lamented the fact that more of them did not have the time available to join in this practice.

By trying to help the nation to accomplish this aim, forming the ideal subject, the Military Police ends up entangled in the webs of vigilance. Taking seriously into account all the words of my interlocutors, community policing has imploded, definitively, the frontiers between the watchers and the watched. Sharing day-to-day life with the favela residents has allowed police officers to gain knowledge about this population, but it has also made available to the latter a certain amount of knowledge about the former.

Often, the residents demand actions from the police that do not fall into their remit, such as helping with medical incidents or listening to complaints about the lack of infrastructure in the neighbourhood (poor maintenance of a flight of steps, the lack of paving in certain places, damage caused by rain, and so forth). In relation to the officers conduct itself, a more barbaric approach or simply a more forceful posture in some situations may leave some accused of the flaw of being "a person unaccustomed to community work." Such accusations even give rise to an internal vigilance among the police officers themselves, when one officer begins to censor another's way of being, with the aim of avoiding future problems with the community. At the end of the day, it is about the need to control the power to repress.

They observe that the taming of the masses explored by Foucault (1987) is a process that occurs as much on the paths of the State as on its peripheries. Not without reason, Foucault begins his analysis with the description of disciplining military brigades, and how, gradually they had "'got rid of the peasant' and given him 'the air of a soldier'" (1987: 117). Hence, while the army needs to be contained, restraining the urge to pillaging and violence, it is also necessary to accustom the ignoble masses to coexistence with the troops, pacifying them in such a way as to avoid conflicts with civil authorities. In this sense, Foucault's analysis seeks to capture this spreading of military discipline to the broader social mass. Furthermore, with the emergence of community policing, the police officer no longer finds himself controlled solely by state power, but also by this uncivilised mass that he is expected to discipline.

In this panoptic, then, even the watcher finds himself – or better, feels himself – watched. A port, a military port, Foucault (1987: 123) would say, "is a crossroads for dangerous mixtures, a meeting-place for forbidden circulations." Here we can recall that the discourses used to justify the importance of community policing, as well as to celebrate the attitude of the police officer willing to engage in social work, even though this implies expanding his functions, emerge as part of a society's defence against its own internal enemies. On this point, the young population of the neighbourhoods enter both sides of the equation, in so far as they are simultaneously treated as 'dangerous' and 'in danger,' to use the categories created by Stoler (1995) in his re-interpretation of Foucault's *History of Sexuality* by, based on his research on Dutch colonial archives.

Final considerations

At the end of our conversation, Lieutenant Márcio stated resignedly: "crime manages to harass much more than us." To substantiate his thinking, he offered me a materialistic explanation: "crime makes money and society is consumerist. I see this with these kids here from 'Bomba' who are involved in crime. Their mobile phones are good; none of them are cheap 'rubbish,' and they have to have WhatsApp installed. How do they manage this if not even their parents can afford them? Designer clothes, expensive watches…" Some observations need to be made here. In some ways, in the Brazilian panoptic, young people were always considered to be the nation's future. The new element is that now the Military Police have launched into the task of disputing this section of the population with the group that appears as their main enemy, the drug traffickers. But they are disputing via educative, philanthropic and sports initiatives, actions that had already been carried out by the corporation, but without this generational angle focused on youth.[16]

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16   As an examples, we can take the Civic-Social Actions (ACISO). These are activities undertaken by military sectors, especially the Armed Forces, in order to make closer ties with certain strata of the population, especially in poor and isolated areas, through the provision of social services such as medical and dental care, distribution of medications, food supplies and school materials, as well as improvement works to the local infrastructure. The ACISO were implemented in the 1960s as a guerrilla tactic to patrol threats and dissidents opposed to the military regime then implanted in Brazil. We can also add here the attempts to liaise more closely with the civilian population developed by the Brazilian Army, such as the opening of schools, offering professional training courses inside the barracks and assisting civil society during public emergencies and natural catastrophes.

Thus, the institution is, in a certain way, "policing futures" (Garriott, 2013) – that is, collecting data from various sources that, once analysed, will produce results capable of anticipating and responding more efficiently to future crime.

Leaving aside the repressive function of the police body, therefore, we can catch a glimpse of a kind of symbolic violence that is just as powerful, if not more, than physical violence. Indeed Bourdieu (2014) argued that the it is the former that enables the existence of the latter. Here, I am not claiming that police officers' conduct in Calabar, by contrast, has excelled in cordiality. Abuses are committed. Searches are often barbaric. The invasion of homes without residents' consent is still a fact often mentioned by the population. If there were no conflicts, Private Tagner, for example, would never have been removed. And if the police now emerge with a holy aura, this is simply due to their assumption of *pastoral power,* beyond the duty to ensure public security. According to 'Foucauldian' notes, this kind of technology of power, originating in Christian institutions, began to be a state prerogative, registering a shift in the latter's objectives: no longer just dealing with the salvation of the soul in the other world, as in the Christian creed, but, before then, assuring its salvation in this world (Rabinow & Dreyfus, 1995). In sum, the police officers' concerns with children and teenagers show us overall that they learned the need to herd their flock, to make use of the baton obsolete. Judo and IT classes, Christmas and Children's Day parties, hugs and affection have all proven more effective.

Regarding the epistemological role of the police corporation, the knowledge that has been produced on working class youths – responsible for the creation of an entire specific lexicon: 'juvenile delinquents,' 'thugs,' 'child thieves,' etc. – always had as its main context police actions marked by the use of the State's repressive apparatus. The question that now requires an answer is the following: what kinds of knowledge will be produced, given that with community policing, soldiers find themselves facing the need to contain their power to repress? In other words, in Foucauldian terms, what relation of power-knowledge will be developed, given that the watcher no longer just watches, but is also being watched? Only time will be able to offer us answers to these questions, as we are still in the initial period of more intimate contact between residents of urban peripheries and police officers.

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Hildon Oliveira Santiago Carade
Professor of Sociology, Baiano Federal Institution, campus Santa Inês, Bahia, Brazil.
E-mail: hildon.carade@ifbaiano.edu.br