

A REVIEW OF THE ARGENTINIAN LITERATURE ON POLICE PRACTICE AND BEHAVIOR¹

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ABSTRACT

We investigate police practice and behavior, the use of violence in public interactions and its legitimate use. We mean to report methods and results of publications of articles in scientific journals by Argentine authors in the period 2009-2019 whose scope is behavior and police work. The research is a literature review with a descriptive nature and a qualitative approach. We conclude in a way as to contemplate how the figures of order and citizens interact. We verify the relationship between the training of agents and their daily behavior, as well as that police violence is a corollary of specific interactions with the public. The officers generally consider police violence as an answer of symbolic violence society imposes on them.

Keywords: Argentine police officer. Excessive use of force. Police academy.

RESUME

Investigamos la práctica y el comportamiento policial, el uso de la violencia en las interacciones públicas y su uso legítimo. Nos referimos a reportar métodos y resultados de publicaciones de artículos en revistas científicas de autores argentinos en el período 2009-2019 cuyo ámbito es el comportamiento y el trabajo policial. La investigación es una revisión bibliográfica con carácter descriptivo y enfoque cualitativo. Concluimos de manera de contemplar cómo interactúan las figuras del orden y los ciudadanos. Verificamos la relación entre la formación de los agentes y su comportamiento cotidiano, así como que la violencia policial es un corolario de interacciones específicas con el público. Los oficiales generalmente consideran la violencia policial como una respuesta a la violencia simbólica que les impone la sociedad.

Palabras-clave: Policía argentino. Uso excesivo de la fuerza. Academia de policía.

INTRODUCTION

The media and society generally portray police excesses in the field of daily action as failures by the police institution to satisfy social and profession demands³. However, understanding the police takes a whole picture. The police institution cannot be isolated from other social and legal powers. We must imagine the police immersed in a larger whole.

The police does not fit into its institution, but transcends it. The agent's performance and the impact of its context and system are dense variables that affect behavior. It is imperative to problematize the violence-police link, without losing sight of the political nature of this relationship and its influencing surroundings.

Institutional circumstances, fears, uncertainties, demands and expectations are decisive in police action. These elements dictate the pace at which the agent exercises his faculties. By constraining, conditioning and correcting conduct, the police force itself is constrained, conditioned and corrected (FONTANA FILHO, 2021).

We analyze how and from which assumptions the police agent acts, the form of training and the impact on the day-to-day work, as well as how the internal rules and institutional guidelines stimulate the agent.

The relevance of the theme derives from the numerous cases of police excess and abusive behavior. Understanding the different variables in the police stimulus field makes it possible to assess police-citizen interactions and the relevance of effective public policies.

METHODOLOGY

This investigation is a literature review with a descriptive character and a qualitative approach. The objective is to map and synthesize studies that reveal police behavior and practice from the perspective of Argentine authorship, and inform the state of research in the area.

We carry the search in the databases of SciELO, Google Scholar and Redalyc, using the following descriptors: *trabajo policial*; *profesión policial*; *práctica policial*; *etnografía de la policía*; *representaciones del trabajo policial*; *formación policial*; *la violencia policial*.

We used the following inclusion criteria: Argentine studies; published in a scientific journal; in the period 2009-2019; with a focus on behavior and police work. As exclusion criteria: review articles; articles authored by non-Argentine authors; studies that do not specifically articulate with police officers and do not address the theme of police profession.

We identified and full read thirty studies, resulting in the selection of 26 publications that met all the criteria for inclusion in the research. Initially, we reported methods and results in frame form. Subsequently, we synthesized the findings into thematic groups and organized



into three sections: training and behavior; routine and work; illegal violence *versus* replication violence.

In view of the lack of academic publications that bring together Argentine studies on the topic of police behavior and practice, it is imperative to develop a research that provides methods and results in tabular form, integrating ideas in a synthetic way.

POLICE BEHAVIOR AND PRACTICE ON FRAME 1

The Frame 1 below systematizes the methods and results of the bibliographic review in descending order by year of publication.

Frame 01 - Summary of studies published on police behavior and practice by Argentine authors in the period 2009-2019

Author	Method	Results
Cozzi (2019)	Ethnography in the city of Santa Fe, through participatory observation and interviews with young criminals.	Interaction between police and young criminals ranges from illegal negotiations to inconveniences, mistreatment, coercive excesses, summary executions and torture.
Zucal (2019)	Ethnography (since 2009) with PPBA ¹ members. Open interviews, participatory observation and life stories.	The use of excessive force is a valid reaction to some forms of interaction. Its intensity depends on variables such as context, actors and social position.
Bover (2019)	Ethnography with the PFA ² through participatory observation and interviews.	The police institution creates certain values that instruct future agents, such as sacrifice, constant mistrust and the figure of the <i>other</i> as a possible danger.
Tufro (2019)	Qualitative by bibliographic research.	It is necessary to change the laws that allow the abuse of police powers, such as those that support the DAI ³ .
Tapia (2019)	Qualitative by bibliographical and legislative research.	Argentine legislations such as Law 23.950/1991 and Law 13.482/2016 are permissive regarding the abuse of police force and the indiscriminate use of mechanisms based on arbitrary and unjustified arrest.

¹ Buenos Aires Provincial Police.

² Argentine federal police

³ Arrest for identity check.

Roldán e Alzueta (2019)	Qualitative by bibliographic research. Participatory observation with the police patrol of the city of La Plata.	Boredom physically drains the officer and provides an emotional window for the use of excessive violence.
Maglia e Dikenstein (2019)	Ethnography in Buenos Aires between 2015-2018 through participatory observation and interviews with police officers. Documentary and legislative research.	The composition of the new ⁴ police force is mainly of ex-federal police officers who have moved, not always voluntarily. They share a sense of uncertainty about institutional disorganization, their purpose and place in the police force.
Bianciotto (2019)	Ethnography in the city of Rosario (since 2006), through participatory observation and interviews with cadets, instructors and teachers.	In police training, professional practice transmits itself through action-reaction knowledge. The training process guides the way of acting. This implies the appropriation of criteria and behaviors by the cadets.
Bianciotto (2018)	Ethnography through participatory observation and semi-structured interviews with police officers. Qualitative by bibliographical and legislative research.	In the centers (I) live lawyers, judges; in neighborhoods (II), workers, estimated by the agents; on the outskirts (III) live the rubbish of society that does not collaborate with the police. If in (I) the group is arrogant and demands different treatment, in (II) they are respectful, and in (III) they are aggressive. In (I), police officers risk receiving reports of mistreatment and excesses; in (III) they risk death and injury. In (I), police interaction should be moderate, in (III) there is a need for reinforcements.
Lorenz (2018)	Ethnography through participatory observation and interviews with PFA members. Documentary and legislative survey.	PFA employees perceive their work as risky, as they legally possess firepower and must proactively deal with criminals. For these reasons, police officers consider their job to involve a greater degree of exposure to danger than any other job.
Zucal e Maglia (2018)	Ethnography at a police preparatory academy between 2012-2015 through observation and in-depth interviews with cadets and instructors.	Uniformity is a cornerstone of the police profession. The social relations that cross it impose the ideal of the true police officer. This imposition obliges agents to adapt to or relate to the aforementioned model, accepting or partially contesting it. This ideal imposes itself as a mold for action.

⁴ Era uma nova polícia em 2019, data da publicação da pesquisa. A força tinha pouco mais de 1 ano.

Bover e Maglia (2017)	Ethnography at two PFA preparatory academies, between 2011-2016, through participatory observation and interviews with cadets and instructors.	The police career builds proximity and familiarity with death. It begins in the preparatory academy, appealing to rituals, ceremonies and particular ways of signifying this circumstance.
Lorenz (2017)	Ethnography in the PFA, through participatory observation and in-depth and semi-structured interviews, in addition to documental survey.	Being a police officer is for them a permanent, courageous and altruistic fight against insecurity with the use of force.
Zucal (2016)	Ethnography (since 2009) among PPBA members. Open interviews, participatory observation and life stories.	The use of force is legitimate based on premises such as: a) who are the social groups; b) environment where the interaction takes place; c) how it occurs; d) external controls such as the ability of the police to manage the situation.
Bianciotto (2015)	Ethnography by observation and interviews with the police of the city of Rosario in 2006-2011.	There is an interrelationship between police practice and other actors and institutions. This practice is not isolated, but structured in the relationship of other social actors. With that comes the notion of the police as an open organization. The role of the police, therefore, transcends the sphere of monitoring and protecting, and enters that of mediating, suggesting, informing and transporting.
Calandrón (2015)	Ethnography at PPBA through interviews, participatory observations and personal archives. Fieldwork carried out in 2009-2010.	Agents consider their profession differently. Some associate it with formal work; others to the flexibility of time and space; there are those who link it to financial gain; in addition to those who see possibilities for training and hierarchical growth.
Galvani e Zucal (2015)	Ethnography in 2013 through observation and interviews with cadets at a PFA preparatory academy.	The police institution creates conditions of socialization that restrict the heterogeneity of cadets. It produces a configuration that tries to erase diversity and create an image that defines the cadets, the police image. Carrying weapons and having the power to use legal force gives them a different status as workers. After training, cadets cease to be civilians and become police officers. The institution operates a change in the subjectivity of the cadets. They absorb a moral world that encourages them to reinterpret their past and present interactions. The



		moral that builds a police subjectivity preaches that they do not have a profession, but they are a profession.
Zucal (2014)	Ethnography (since 2009) among PPBA members. Open interviews, participatory observation and life stories.	The police institution legitimizes representations of what a real police officer is. Among them, the overvaluation of sacrifice and selflessness. The model overshadows and delegitimizes other ways of being a police officer. The ideal works as a mold for the actors who pass through the institution. It distinguishes the police.
Cozzi, Font e Mistura (2014)	Ethnography by observation and interviews with young criminals.	Detention for identity verification appears as an abusive police practice, which interferes with the routine of young people. Their encounters with the police are frequent. The police arrest, search and humiliate them with beatings, verbal aggressions, mistreatment and torture.
Zucal (2013)	Ethnography (since 2009) among PPBA members. Open interviews, participative observation and agents' life stories.	The police sense of <i>smell</i> is a discriminatory scheme that distinguishes potential criminals from ordinary citizens based on a set of signs that make up the suspect. The effectiveness of this mechanism presupposes certain skills learned in typical interactions in the police world. It is an effective professional tool for the police, allowing them to avoid the dangers of the job and catch criminals before they act. <i>Smell</i> is a practice of observation, a deep look at the subject.
Galvani (2013)	Historical bibliographical and documentary research.	The agent conforms to the framework of thought provided by the preparatory academy, professional practice, internal and social bylaws. Thus, these elements condition police action, which then considers <i>others</i> as abnormal and dangerous in order to be able to fight them. The social way of thinking the criminal problem creates different <i>others</i> and thus transforms the police according to the needs of the historical moment.
Zucal (2012)	Ethnography (since 2009) among PPBA members. Open interviews, participative observation and agents' life stories.	The legitimate and the relational link the meanings of police violence. For the police, the use of force is the morally tolerable response to violence or verbal abuse. Violent actions result in the use of police force. The same applies to varied forms of symbolic violence.

Zucal (2010)	Ethnography (since 2009) among PPBA members. Open interviews, participatory observation and life stories.	<i>Replica</i> , as a moral conception, legitimizes uses of force otherwise illegitimate. It consolidates moral systems that equate physical violence and verbal abuse. The concept of <i>replica</i> allows us to glimpse the tension between the legal and the legitimate. Excessive police practices are not the result of an irrational impulse, but the corollary of various social relationships and stimuli.
Sirimarco (2009a)	Ethnography through participatory observation and in-depth interviews in two police preparatory academies, one from the PFA, the other from the PPBA.	Learning salutes and parade movements occupies a large portion of cadet instruction time. The institution subjects bodies to discipline, where body routines and techniques become the main part of training. Cadets incorporate movements and perform routines in a training context. The institution trains the bodies to respond, performance not reflected but naturalized. The institution understands the body of the cadets as a subject that learns to obey.
Sirimarco (2009b)	Ethnography through participatory observation and in-depth interviews in three police preparatory academies, one from the PFA, two from the PPBA	The police agency selects, it molds and stimulates a certain individual body according to institutional needs. It exchanges the individual body of its members for a legitimate and collective body for the institution. This modulation of the police occurs by learning new ways of acting, patterns of body attitude and behavior.
Bianciotto (2009)	Ethnography through interviews and observation at a police preparatory academy in the province of Santa Fe.	The root of the transition from civilian to police refers to a mechanism that transcends discipline and physical effort and acquires meaning in bodies that no longer belong to cadets and start to belong to the institution. They then become available for institutional police use.

Source: Authors' production (2023).

After the systematization by year of publication, we grouped these studies into three categories whose themes complemented each other throughout the bibliographic study.

TRAINING AND BEHAVIOR

The training of the police enables their professional performance throughout their lives. Technical skill allows access to mechanisms to address the most diverse situations that they will encounter in the performance of their function. The police preparatory academy shapes how the police officer thinks, acts and reacts (BIANCIOFFO, 2019).



Bianciotto's research (2019) deduces there is appropriation of certain criteria, evaluations, classifications of acting and behaving and, above all, the recognition of relationships and ways of performing. The police training process leans towards practical knowledge. It is a specific knowledge based in codes, regulations and bureaucratic-administrative procedures. Numerous police tasks are of a legal-administrative character.

It is imperative that the police officer knows rules and legal codes, this for the purpose of self-protection. The agent is required to know the law in order to avoid inconveniences that may involve him when he fails to comply or misuses his functions. The police officer is permanently in exposition to danger and the vicissitudes of the public. He must recognize the uncertainty, where anything can happen: from a small traffic accident in which the agent provides assistance to avoid altercations, to detecting an explosive device in front of a synagogue (BIANCIOTTO, 2019; BOVER, 2019).

In initial training schools, the institution teaches cadets on how to resolve risk situations and avoid death, instilling the idea that death is a possible consequence of carrying out their duties. Instructors talk about it all the time, and incorporate death as a near present variable, as part of a police officer's daily life. It teaches action and reaction first in theory, then in practice. In the dramatizations, different forms of conflict resolution appear that the cadets will address in their daily work (BOVER; MAGLIA, 2017; BOVER, 2019).

Entering the police institution means a radical change, the end of a stage of life and the beginning of a new one. It is the beginning of a rupture. The institution teaches the cadets a trade. As police officer, they can no longer be mere civilians. The cadet school aims to create new social subjects. To do so, it has several strategies. One of them is to remove the cadets from the social bonds that formed them before (GALVANI; ZUCAL, 2015).

The police institution tries to create socialization conditions to restrict heterogeneity. Joining the police is the end of civilian life. The police school establishes a totalizing process by involving students in all discipline activities, leaving no room for the cadets' free determination. The root of the transition from civilian to police reflects a mechanism that transcends discipline and excessive physical effort and acquires meaning in the bodies that leave the individual and become part of the institution (BIANCIOTTO, 2009; GALVANI; ZUCAL, 2015).

The police subject is constructed, and the body is the base. Sirimarco (2009a) exemplifies this with the parades. To parade is to perform rigidly programmed exercises and obey an established order and rhythm. Rhythms are collective, obligatory and imposed from outside. Neither the parade nor the movements are relevant in themselves. More than raising the correct leg, or knowing how much to raise the arm, the main thing is that cadets respond to each order.

Let the mere appearance of a superior precipitate the immediate execution of salutations and signal positions. Salutes and parades cause the body to react to the presence of order as if it were its own will. The body is prepared to obey. The police agency selects, molds, and nurtures the cadet according to the needs of the institutional order. This modulation occurs by learning new ways of acting, patterns of body attitude and behavior (SIRIMARCO, 2009a; SIRIMARCO, 2009b).

ROUTINE AND WORK

The police is a safe job opportunity, once the training phase is over, the institution guarantee entry. The cadet receives a salary while in training, which closes the gap between education and work, which is the rule in most professions. One element that motivates the agent to join the police institution is stable employment with salary regulated by the State, social security contributions and medical security (CALANDRÓN, 2015; LORENZ, 2018). Besides that, Maglia and Dikenstein's (2019) research show two more reasons: autonomy and respect.

An officer must feel he has freedom and possess respect. This form of work also includes physical costs of being on your feet for long periods, getting little sleep, eating poorly, and spending less time with the family. In addition, there is a potential career-long cost, that of losing one's life in the repression of crime (CALANDRÓN, 2015).

The police service schedule is varied, some work 24 hours and rest 48 hours, and others work 8 hours a day. In both cases, the vast majority tend to work overtime to improve their income, which ostensibly increases the workday. Several police officers share the blame for their marital failures with the institution, since working conditions prevent a normal life (ZUCAL, 2014).

Agents believe their work distances itself from other professions, because: a) death and risk are part of the profession; b) the activity is permanent; c) the activity is a vocation.



Death is an element present in the police imaginary, a possibility that goes hand in hand, from training to after retirement. The agents consider their work particularly risky, due to having an object designed to kill, the gun, as a working tool, and relating to people willing to attack their integrity, the criminals (LORENZ, 2018).

The police institution promotes the image of the true police officer, a sacrificed agent, with a vocation for service and part of a collective body. This image builds narratives that are part of the institution, while the agents legitimize it. A true police officer would be one who, guided by his vocation, fights crime. This figure does not exist in practice, but is part of an imaginary, a representation that orders the world of work. It establishes coherence and orders a highly fragmented labor universe, characterized by the diversity of actors and activities (ZUCAL; MAGLIA, 2018).

The police institution tries to build, through instructions and regulations, a repertoire as homogeneous as possible of the work exercise considered valid. When recruiting the members of the institution, they imagine that they will be constantly confronted with risky events and that they will have to fight heroically, but, instead, the social group demands the resolution of a variety of extremely common situations. In addition, police officers find in their daily lives too much free time and moments of boredom (LORENZ, 2017; ROLDÁN; ALZUETA, 2019).

The police officer acts as a psychologist, marriage counselor, mediator in domestic conflicts. For police officers, it is essential to know the neighborhood, the jurisdiction, visit it constantly, be attentive and identify groups and people, their connections and activities. Faced with resource and personnel limitations, police officers direct their tasks towards resolving major events, leaving minor ones aside (BIANCIOTTO, 2015).

Police work involves explosions, assaults, traffic accidents, threats, attempted murder, disappearance of animals, dog bites, robberies, family conflicts, lost and psychologically unstable people. The police still have to deal with people who come to the station to unload all kinds of problems, which they cannot resolve, either because of the abundance of demands, or because the resolution transcends a police solution (BIANCIOTTO, 2015).

It takes time and resources to deal with crime and security related conflicts. People's first initiative when they have a conflict is to go to the police station. The police officer has to

move the entire system to collaborate with them. The police vehicle becomes a transport vehicle, an ambulance or whatever society needs at the time (BIANCIOTTO, 2015).

In order as to track crime, Zucal's research (2013) shows a police tool called *smell*. This work tool distinguishes potential criminals from citizens based on a set of signs that make up the suspect. The effectiveness of this mechanism presupposes certain skills learned in typical interactions in the police world and experience on the streets. It is an effective professional tool for the police, which avoids the dangers of the job by discovering the criminal before they act.

Smell is a practice of observation, a deep look at the subject, penetrating, and a learned intuition. The technique demands constant attention, a sharp and discerning eye, capable of detecting possible dangerous situations and, thus, preserving the integrity of the agent. Such a technique makes it possible to recognize tattoos made in prison and ways of speaking typical of prison slang that go unnoticed by ordinary citizens (ZUCAL, 2013).

It is not just limited to looks. It is imperative to visualize the faces, interpret if someone is observing an area; sharpen the senses on those who stubbornly look at something or someone, who seem nervous in the presence of the police or who seem to hide something, like a gun among their clothes. Another element to understand this technique is malice, that is, knowing the territory, the people who live there, what they do, when and how (ZUCAL, 2013).

The way of working in the city center is different from neighborhoods and outlying areas. There is pressure from hierarchical superiors to moderate treatment when dealing with certain groups, because not only crimes are different in the center, but people are too. This pressure aims to avoid legal and media nuisances. It is a matter of territoriality, but there is a political weight there too (BIANCIOTTO, 2018; GALVANI, 2013).

For example, in violent neighborhoods, the police often does not provide surveillance and arrives too late at a crime spot, does not intervene in conflicts and make it difficult to receive complaints. Encounters with the police are frequent, with situations of arrest, search and humiliation. There are beatings, aggressions and torture. On several occasions, with the delivery of a bribe, young people manage to correct situations (COZZI; FONT; MISTURA, 2014), in other cases, the delivery of the firearm, when apprehended, prevents detention and initiation of criminal proceedings (COZZI, 2019).

Police cars when they go to neighborhoods are, on countless occasions, stoned and shot by residents, young people and their relatives. There is a difference in the interaction

between police and young people if it takes place in a poor neighborhood or in other areas of the city; whether on public roads or confined areas; whether in a standard or specialized police station (COZZI, 2019).

ILLEGAL VIOLENCE *VERSUS* REPLICA VIOLENCE

Commitment to society demands a life of danger. The agent sees the violence suffered, or its potentiality, as an act of surrender to the collective good. However, this delivery creates expectations regarding social admiration. Sacrifice is a police gift. The expected counter-gift is recognition, prestige and admiration. Society commonly devalues this profession, and the sacrifice is unknown. Ignorance of the sacrifice is one of the elements that culminate in police violence (ZUCAL, 2019)

There are correct forms of interaction between police and non-police. The agent expects obedience, submission, respect and cordiality from non-police. There are times when this does not happen. If citizens do not respect the police, it uses force to maintain obedience. Deference to the officer is the normal course of interaction. When someone is not respectful and deferential, the agent feels insulted. Faced with disrespect, the agent uses violence to put an end to this ignominy. Violence then takes on the character of a *replication* of another violence, the symbolic one (ZUCAL, 2019).

The agents believe they are not violent, but suffer from symbolic violence. They use the idea of violence to legitimize its use. Violent police actions have their own logic and goals. Actions defined as violent are not an example of the irrationality of mentally insane individuals; they are, on the contrary, socially constructed practices (ZUCAL, 2016).

Argentinian officers work for little money; therefore, they believe their actions are altruistic. Police officers ensure that citizens must be respectful and deferential because of this. When this does not happen, they feel they are being insulted, the police figure loses honor, and they react accordingly. Contexts and interlocutors condition police reactions. The police does not apply corrective measures to all those who have no respect for them. Nor do they use violence as a resource in all contexts (ZUCAL, 2016).

Abuses in the use of force for police officers are nothing more than isolated events and enhanced by the media. Police violence is usually a response to certain forms of interaction.



The agents investigated by Zucal (2012) do not consider such *replications* to be forms of violence, but actions legitimized by the circumstances.

The police does not act the same towards a drunk and a rapist; similarly, the way to act is different depending on the agent, gender, police experience, rank, social esteem, all these variables delimit the legitimate uses of force. To look for recurrences of the use of force in the diversity of situations, tasks and police individuals, Zucal (2010) elaborated the notion of *replication*, which exposes the relational fabric that allows the use of force in the agent's mentality. The concept of *replication* sustains that police action is a specific reaction to certain interactions.

In Tapia's (2019) research, the DAI legislation allows detention for identity analysis and has room for the exercise of abusive power by the police. It punishes even when there is no crime. The police impose these punishments as a discretionary basis for minor incivilities or misconducts. These DAI are a form of institutional violence that promotes excessive use of force, kidnapping, torture and killings by the police. It is a vague working tool.

These laws provide the police with a wide range of actions against suspects, such as territorial displacement and temporary immobilization. It is a substitute punishment in the form of a marginal sanction, a light preventive penalty. It theoretically aims to know the identity of an individual and, for this purpose, it allows the officer to take the suspect and keep him at the station for hours (TAPIA, 2019).

Between 2002 and 2015, police arrests for crimes in the province of Buenos Aires had an exponential growth of around 320%. In 2002, just over 80.000 people were apprehended, and in 2015 almost 259.000. DAI numbers at provincial level grew by almost 50% in the last years of the 1990s and remained high between 2004 and 2007. In those years, there were about 160.000 DAI per year, 438 per day. In 2014, seven years later, there were 21.084 DAI, and then in the first half of 2015, the police registered 14.158, that is, more than 28.000 per year or about 76 per day throughout the province (TUFRÓ, 2019).

There was a decrease of about 80%. If in 2004, for each crime apprehension there were approximately 1.5 arrests per DAI, for 2006, this ratio was 1 to 1, and in 2015 for each crime apprehension, there would be 0.1 arrests per DAI. The few available records suggest a drastic change in the use of DAI as a police tool. What happens is that the DAI's are still widely used, but not registered (TUFRÓ, 2019).

Dangerous neighborhoods are the daily and usual scene of police harassment practices, authorized in the DAI grounds. This occurs mainly on weekends and soccer match days, Christmas and New Year. In addition, the chances of being arrested increase when a homicide occurs in one of the neighborhoods. The police carry out massive raids, arresting numerous young people, based, most of the time, on the DAI (COZZI, 2019).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The area of Argentine police studies has several publications on training, behavior and use of force. Mostly, the method used is the ethnographic through observation and interviews, exposing the intimate relationship between researchers and the police institution.

The agent's education influences their future behavior, addressing practical situations and their ability to survive in precarious conditions. Police practice requires competence and adaptation as the imaginary that leads citizens to a career is not the rule of everyday life. Instead of heroism, shootings and weekly explosions, one finds bureaucracy, petty crimes, common conflicts and multifaceted demands that go beyond the police solution.

Police excesses are the outcome of specific interactions. Violence does not apply to all settings or publics. The agents reframe violence in the idea of replication; a response to another violence, the symbolic one society imposes on them.

We suggest an improvement in the training of the agents, which, provided with refined technique, may increase effectiveness in their functions. At the same time, social education on how to relate to authority may minimize retaliation.

The creation of random, abstract and unspecific legislation does not address the materiality of the proposed object, in view of Argentine legislation 23,950/1991 and 13,482/2016. Badly enacted legislation represent mechanisms that facilitate arbitrariness in the use and free flow of power. On the other hand, we encourage the creation of legislation that balances police prerogatives and the guarantee of the rights of the accused.

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