BRAZILIAN 'CRITICAL ASSIMILATION' IN AMERICAN CASE STUDIES OF EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT, AND OF COMMUNITY POLICING

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ABSTRACT:

In this essay we clarify the conceptual bases and theoretical-empirical method of ‘sociological reduction’, developed by Alberto Guerreiro Ramos. To do this, we introduce the historical and contextual concepts of epistemic colonization and epistemic nationalism. These justify Guerreiro Ramos’s warning about the need for the critical assimilation of foreign scholarship, in order to construct a Brazilian social science more likely to contribute to good social and economic outcomes. Our hypothesis is that the maturation of both Brazilian theory and practice has made over-reliance on foreign sources much less necessary, as well as provided ample opportunity for the critical assimilation of ideas from elsewhere. To discuss this question, the essay reports on two case studies of comparative field research by Brazilian scholars in the United States (Florida) and in Brazil (Santa Catarina), to assess the relevance of these epistemic concerns, nearly three-quarters of a century later. One case study is about moral dilemmas and ethical decision-making in emergency management related to natural disasters and the second is about community policing and co-production. After the presentation of the cases, we discuss the state of the Brazilian public administration literature of a) emergency management and ethics, b) moral reasoning, c) community policing, and d) co-production, in light of Guerreiro Ramos’s sociological reduction.

Keywords: sociological reduction, moral dilemma, emergency management, community policing, co-production.

1. INTRODUCTION

By the mid-20th century it was widely argued that Brazilian administrative practice (and what theory there was) derived from the Portuguese inheritance, which was deficient in having missed the scientific and political revolutions of the previous centuries. Classic works note the authoritarian, family-based individualism of Brazil’s early settlement, including patrimonialism, and clientelism, coupled with the debilitating socio-cultural impact of slavery (Candler, 2014, p. 1074-5).

Given the weakness of the Portuguese model and intellectual legacy, French sources tended to dominate cultural and intellectual discourse into the 20th century. North American influences began to filter in at least from the 1950s (Wahrlich, 1965, p. 62), leading to concerns of epistemic colonization: the indiscriminate adoption of foreign administration theory (e.g. Guerreiro Ramos, 1965; Serva, 1990; Carvalho Júnior & Vergara, 1996; Alcadipani & Caldas, 2012). More broadly,
Wanderley and Faria (2012) described the Cold War intellectual milieu as “a war between versions of modernization”.

An exception was Alberto Guerreiro Ramos’s ‘redução sociológica’, which rejected both the market-driven ‘stages’ model of development advocated from the USA, as well as the planned approach of the USSR (Ventress & Candler, 2005, p. 350-351). Instead, Guerreiro Ramos argued for the ‘assimilação crítica’ of foreign social science theory (Ramos, 1965, p. 14-15), and practice (Ramos, 1965, p. 80-83). In the words of Guerreiro Ramos (1996, p. 96), the object of the method of sociological reduction was “to discover the social-historical implications of intellectual productions and to refer these systematically to the context in which they occur, in order to grasp their meaning.”

This article has as its hypothesis that the maturation of both Brazilian theory and practice has made over-reliance on foreign sources much less necessary, as well as provided ample opportunity for the critical assimilation of ideas from elsewhere. To discuss this question, this essay reports on two case studies of field research by Brazilian scholars in the United States, to assess the relevance of these epistemic concerns, nearly three-quarters of a century later.

2. SOCIOLOGICAL REDUCTION AS A METHOD OF CRITICAL ASSIMILATION

In this section we seek to clarify the conceptual bases of ‘sociological reduction’, developed by Alberto Guerreiro Ramos. To do this, we introduce the historical and contextual concepts of epistemic colonization and epistemic nationalism. These justify Guerreiro Ramos’s warning about the need for the critical assimilation of foreign scholarship, in order to construct a Brazilian social science more likely to contribute to good social and economic outcomes.

The danger of epistemic colonization

Unlike much of the rest of the developing world, which saw a European centered, mercantilist (Sodré, 1961) socio-economic system imposed on non-European societies, one can argue that Latin American colonization was doubly jarring. Beyond the dispossession (and effective annihilation) of indigenous people in many areas, the new settler societies found themselves subordinate to the metropolitan elites. As Sodré (1944), Faoro (2000) and Frank (1967) claim, colonialism was epistemic, as well as economic and political: local elites and foreign agents of the metropole derived their authority from that metropole, as well as from the credentials conferred from metropolitan universities and practices. Europe was therefore seen as good, local traditions and methods as bad, and ‘under’-developed. As a result, Guerreiro Ramos saw Brazilian social sciences of the mid-twentieth century as pathology more than science, suffering from an ‘alienation syndrome’, privileging European knowledge over local, regardless of appropriateness (Candler, Azevêdo & Albernaz, 2010, p. 837-8).

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4 João Marcelo Maia (2014) has recently written on Syed Hussein Alatas, a Malaysian who developed similar themes in Southeast Asia during the same period. Candler (2014) has found that similar concerns were raised in India and the Philippines, even Australia and Canada.
Fears of economic colonization were especially acute relative to the American model, given the epistemic parochialism that characterized American public administration, certainly of this mid-20th century era. A first problem with the American, or broader English-speaking hegemonic center of global scholarship in the social sciences, and especially the field of public administration, is that Anglophones are notoriously monolingual, and so unable to directly engage more than a handful of national experiences (Candler, 2006, p. 547-51; Candler, Azevedo & Albernaz, 2010). Candler, referring to the linguistic concept of diglossia, in which a society has a dominant and a subordinate language (Spanish dominant and Guaraní subordinate in Paraguay, as example) refers to Anglophone monolingual as a self-induced linguistic diglossia:

The monolingualism that characterizes much of the North American public administration community ironically functions as a sort of reverse diglossia. English is the unquestioned dominant language in both the ‘global village’ and in international intellectual discourse. Yet rather than a dominant elite, monolingual English speakers are impoverished by their knowledge of only this one language, trapped in an intellectual provincialism of their own making (Candler, 2006, p. 541).

As well, American ‘development’ scholars of the 1950s through at least the 1970s were characterized by Fred Riggs, one of their most prominent members (Riggs, 1998), as ethnocentric, seeing developing countries as “backward,” “traditional,” and assuming that American models would help correct this. Implicitly Riggs suggests that American scholars both lacked a global perspective of the American model, and so an understanding of its peculiarities; and failed to adequately engage the local reality so as to better ‘critically assimilate’ elsewhere that which works in the United States (see also Dwivedi, 1999; Candler, 2002). Riggs’ (1998) comments are especially interesting given his earlier reflections in which he lamented that American technical advisers were relearning an old lesson, part of which was to “immerse themselves in detail, acquiring all the data they can obtain. [To] master its languages, its history, and its cultural particularities” (1965, p. 78). As Candler, Azevêdo and Albernaz have argued, “America and its academy are woefully insular… still has far too much of the ‘manifest destiny’, neo-colonial arrogance, and parochialism that Alberto Guerreiro Ramos criticized in the 1950s” (2010, p. 844; see also Candler 2015, p. 561).

**Critical assimilation**

In his seminal *A Redução Sociológica*, Guerreiro Ramos makes the case for the construction of Brazilian social science through the “critical assimilation” of the foreign social science literature (1965, p. 14-15). By ‘reduction’ he meant to distill the foreign literature to that which is useful for Brazil, and the country’s development goals. The book includes a chapter that compares Brazil’s indicators of social and economic development, and finds these wanting (1965, p. 147-64). Given the “ecumenical and universal” (1967, p. 40) need for development, Brazilian social science should be focused on contributing to this process.

Implicitly then, much of the social sciences from elsewhere, especially developed countries that do not share Brazil’s challenges, may not be relevant. In his 1966 *Administração e Estratégia de Desenvolvimento*, Guerreiro Ramos argued that public administration is deeply embedded in society (p. 38-41), dependent on the local, regional, national, and historical contexts (p. 97-8), and so policy research was critical (p. 208-10). He saw this core-periphery distinction as fundamental
and so rejected the “mechanistic adoption” of the literature of the core. The position was radical, especially in a country in which the European/American model and the Cuban/Soviet models vied for the attention of various of the country’s intellectuals. Guerreiro Ramos rejected both (Ventris & Candler 2005, p. 350-1).

The threat of epistemic nationalism

Given evidence of epistemic parochialism on the part of the North American development experts, the logic of Guerreiro Ramos’s ‘critical assimilation’ appears especially evident. There is a risk, though, in rejecting lessons to be learned from elsewhere out of an epistemic nationalism. Candler (2002) has suggested there may be evidence of this in the Brazilian context, pointing out that many Brazilians expressing fears of a value mismatch in American epistemic colonization paradoxically seek administrative reforms consistent with many modern administrative values emphasized in the American literature. Maurício Serva has also identified the potential of epistemic nationalism, which he described as “isolationism, romantic exaltation of our particularities, or xenophobia – characteristics of an ingenuous nationalism” (1990, p. 20; see also 1992).

From as early as 1951 (Bariani, 2011, p. 65-9) Ramos argued that developing countries should adopt an approach “critical-assimilative of the foreign experience” (Ramos, 1996, p. 74). It is especially worth noting that ‘assimilação crítica’ was not naively nationalistic. Ramos was not rejecting foreign policy lessons outright. He was certainly both well-informed regarding contemporary thought among development scholars in American public administration (see 1965, p. 96-111; 1966, p. 330-387; 1967, p. 12-22), and even wrote favorably of the ideas of Fred Riggs and others (1966, p. 331-338; 1983, p. 250-255; 1983). He just insisted on a critical assessment of the likely success of foreign ideas in Brazilian conditions. Indeed, he sought:

On one side, to integrate the discipline of sociology into the most representative currents of contemporary global thought. On the other, he intended to formulate a set of methodological rules that would stimulate the realization of sociological work endowed with pragmatic values, with regard to the role it could exercise in the process of national development (Ramos, 1965, p. 53).

So rather than an epistemic nationalism, Guerreiro Ramos wanted Brazil to be part of this global intellectual discourse, at least that part of global intellectual discourse characterized by ‘critical assimilation’ and so characterized by “pensamento universal contemporâneo” (Bariani, 2011, p. 105-21). There was reason to think these imported ideas might fail and, half a century later, many of these reasons remain.

3. METHOD

Two of the co-authors (Santos and Trevisan) are Brazilian graduate students in public administration at the Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina (UDESC)\(^5\), who have been doing field research for their dissertations in Jacksonville, Florida, between September and February of 2019.

\(^5\) University of the State of Santa Catarina, the second southern-most state in the country.
A doctoral candidate, Santos is researching moral dilemmas and ethical decision-making in emergency management related to natural disasters (case study 1), while Trevisan, a master’s candidate, is studying community policing and co-production (case study 2). Trevisan is also a 1st Lieutenant in the state’s police force, the Policia Militar de Santa Catarina (PMSC⁶), and Santos is an Administrator at the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina. The two are especially well prepared to put their field research into the context of this paper as the state of Santa Catarina has been a center of research on Guerreiro Ramos⁷, indeed Santos has published on the topic (Santos, Serafim & Pinheiro, 2019; Santos et al., 2019). As a result, the concept of ‘redução sociológica’ is well understood.

Considering the theoretical points of the researches (indicated in section 4 of this essay) and assuming a critical position regarding the adoption of foreign theories in the study of questions related to Brazilian Public administration, as Guerreiro Ramos called attention to in Redução Sociologica, both researchers will especially answer two questions:

Q₁: In the theoretical research on their topics (functional areas of community policing and emergency management, theoretical framings of co-production and moral dilemmas, and the broader field of public administration), how well developed is the Brazilian literature, and so how necessary is the international literature?
Q₂: In the field research on their topic, how relevant is the international literature and experience to the Brazilian context?

3.1 CASE STUDY BACKGROUND

Case Study 1: Moral Dilemmas in Emergency Management

The nature of disasters and crises, in which public managers need to make decisions quickly, with limited information, and where emotions and instincts can easily ignore reason and logic, makes “sensible” decision making difficult (Kapucu & Ustun, 2017). In this sense, Zack (2011) notes that there are aspects of disasters that go beyond apparent facts, instead lying in obligations, values and choices. These would include dilemmas between efficiency and equity, efficiency and democratic legitimacy, and equality and liberty. These can directly or indirectly influence managers and their teams, and so difficulties can arise in dealing with situations over what could or should be done.

Given that disasters are unique, uncommon problems and so often put people in unfamiliar situations, ethical questions often arise through internal and external conflicts, doubts, insecurities,

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⁶ The Military Police of Santa Catarina. In Brazil local policing is done at the state level, with one state-wide police force providing personnel throughout the state. With mid-19th century origins, this state police force is called the ‘military police’ because it also serves as an army reserve.

⁷ In his first return to Brazil since his 1966 self-exile after the US-backed military coup of 1964, Guerreiro Ramos remained a year in Florianopolis in 1980-1 (see Salm, 2015). However much of the critical mass of interest in Guerreiro Ramos in Florianopolis appears to have been serendipitous. Prominent students of the work of Guerreiro Ramos on the island, or who have lived on the island include José Francisco Salm, Francisco G. Heidemann, Wilson Pizza Junior, Maurício Serva, and Sérgio Luis Boeira. The third co-author of the paper is Candler, currently Director of the Master of Public Administration program at the University of North Florida, and both Santos and Trevisan’s host in Jacksonville. A regular visitor to Florianopolis, Candler serves on both Santos and Trevisan’s dissertation committees at UDESC, and is himself a scholar of Guerreiro Ramos.
conflicting values and objectives, pressures from politicians, private businesses, public opinion, and civil society, among others. In this way, moral dilemmas can arise, making decision-making extremely difficult, as the decision-makers often want to do what is right, but it is often not clear what is the best action to take (Van Wart, 1998). In this same sense, Etkin (2016) also notes that, in ethical discussions, there is rarely a response, or a single response that is correct. According to Etkin, depending on the underlying ethical values and the ethical theory adopted, different moral judgments can be reached.

Considering this context, this case study has the objective to understand how public managers deal with moral dilemmas in disaster preparedness and emergency management. The research has been carried out “em mangas de camisa”, to use an early phrase of Guerreiro Ramos (1957). That is to say, it deals with reality in a pragmatic way, addressing policy issues that affect and impact society, as is the case of disasters that occur, and have intensified around the world. To that end, the researcher is conducting qualitative research, through in-depth interviews with Brazilian emergency managers (19 interviews conducted, in total 24 hours of recordings) and the United States (18 interviews conducted to date, with 17 hours of recordings).

The focus of the research is on the comprehension of moral dilemmas experienced in the state of Santa Catarina, in the south of Brazil, which is the Brazilian state third most effected by natural disasters, such as droughts, flooding, and especially flash floods (UFSC/CEPED, 2016), including having suffered from the first and only hurricane in recorded history to have hit Brazil, in the year 2004. Given the history of the state, emergency management of natural disasters has adopted new technologies, forms of network management, and risk prevention work, for which the state has gained a national reputation (ND Online, 2019). This, however, does not prevent the occurrence of moral dilemmas during risk and disaster management work, according to data collected by the researcher.

After a year in Santa Catarina conducting research and interviews, as well as non-participant observation in the organizations of those interviewed, the researcher perceived that some of the international theories on ethics in disasters and moral reasoning did not necessarily reflect, and did not explain, the moral dilemmas encountered in her research in Brazil. This was due mainly to the theoretical framework raised on moral dilemmas in emergency management, and the ethics of disasters. Most of this research was written by North Americans, and lacked significant engagement with the Brazilian reality. This made clear the need for a critical method of analyzing imported social theory, as conceived by Guerreiro Ramos.

At this point, the need of a critical method of analysis of foreign theory became evident, such as that offered by Alberto Guerreiro Ramos in his A Redução Sociológica. An opportunity presented for the researcher to carry out comparative research in the state of Florida, for six months, with the same objective as the Brazilian research. This research has been underway since September 2018. By way of summary of some of the differences noted, Guerreiro Ramos’s concept of the Law of Requisite Adequacy (1989) provides a useful framework. Ramos points to five key factors

8 Literally: in shirt sleeves, with jacket off. In this context it also implies sleeves rolled up, ready to get to work.
9 Florida was chosen as a state with a history of natural disasters and is seen as a key case study for the study of public management of disasters (Kapucu & Usten, 2017; Wilson & Oyola-Yemaie, 2001).
in social design: technology, size, cognition, space and time. Policy or, in this case theory, must be consistent with at least these five characteristics.

Considering the data collected in the research in Santa Catarina and Florida\textsuperscript{10}, considerable similarities are evident in terms of technology utilized (the Incident Command System, for example). However, when analyzing the normative analysis as a form of technology, there seems to be a greater presence of deontological philosophy in Brazil, and utilitarianism/consequentialist philosophy in the United States (see also Alcadipani & Caldas, 2012). In relation to the dimension of size, the principal difference seen is the governmental presence before and after disaster strikes. Brazil is a country whose state machine is large and very present, and emergency management is not an exception. Although it has significant support from voluntary organizations, the government is almost solely responsible for emergency management. In the United States, greater involvement and accountability was perceived from citizens, churches, non-governmental and private organizations.

On the third element of Guerreiro Ramos’s Law of Requisite Adequacy, cognition, perhaps the greatest difference is found between the two states. The Brazilian is often characterized as being an emotional person, an element that in the ethical decision-making process makes room for intuition in decision-making and tacit knowledge. The North American appears to build his knowledge based on experience, while rationalizing the emotional aspect more. On space, obviously, the two states are geographically and geologically different (Florida is flat, Santa Catarina generally much more rugged), though both states share a number of characteristics (coastal location, size and climate). Finally, time is an element that also brings differences when considering the types of disasters that afflict both states. Although Santa Catarina has suffered from the only hurricane to have occurred in Brazil in recorded history, disasters like flooding, flash floods, and tornados are not as predictable, making it difficult to prepare. In the case of Florida’s signature natural disaster, despite considerable variation in the exact path, the general direction of hurricanes is known often a week or more in advance, allowing much greater preparation time (for evacuations, protection of homes, etc.).

\textit{Case Study 2: Community policing as co-production}

In periods of high crime and a sense of fear, the public often clamors for “hard line” responses from the police. These actions have demonstrated little efficacy at high cost, and further run the risk of increasing police violence and the debilitation of the rights and fundamental guarantees established in constitutional, democratic regimes (Beato, 2002; Cerqueira, 2001; Costa, 2004; Dias Neto, 2003).

From the redemocratization of Brazil in the 1980s, police institutions have searched for a new mode of operations, a manner classified as a “community strategy” or “strategies oriented to a solution to problems with the community,” with clear influence on the philosophy of community policing and Anglo-Saxon experience, as an example “neighborhood watch” programs. Among the purposes of this movement are the search for a better service to communities, increased public

\textsuperscript{10} Considering that the research is still in progress, and content analysis has not been carried out, the comments here present only initial reflections.
faith in police work, and community interaction and participation in issues related to public safety (Brasil, 2009; Fleming, 2005; Nazareno, 2009; Rolim, 2009).

In this reasoning, the idea of co-production of public services comes in conflict with the autocratic and centralist pattern of decision-making by the State and the top tiers of its institutions. This reality is conscious of bureaucratic obstacles to access information, citizen participation and community engagement in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of public policies and services. There is a rich literature on this, with foreign sources drawn on by Brazilians including: Ostrom & Ostrom, 1977; Ostrom, Parks, Whitaker et al. 1978; Parks, Baker, Kiser et al. 1981, and a rich Brazilian literature including Bonavides, 2004; De Sousa Santos & Avritzer, 2003; Moás, 2002; and Modesto, 2005.

The positive recognition of a police institution by the community is therefore the result of the implementation of alternatives to traditional strategies aimed at improving relations between the community and police. This is especially important in the face of the high levels of mistrust that often exists, as more than half of the Brazilian population disapprove of the conditions of security in the country (IBOPE, 2011). There is an intrinsic relation between the level of confidence, cooperation and respect for the police. In other words, the lower the confidence, the less cooperative and respectful will be the community; while an accountable police force will have at its side a community more likely to obey the law, more likely to collaborate with the police, and which accords legitimacy to the institution (Bayley, 2002; Beato, 2002; Cerqueira, 2001; Dias Neto, 2003; Nazareno, 2009).

In this sense, the study of new public security policies is highly relevant, especially as community policing challenges the traditional model of implementing police services. This can contribute to a rewriting of the social understanding of the legitimacy and social function of the Polícia Militar in the democratic context, and in its decisive role in the application of law, as an organized body charged with social control in its most visible aspect.

The general objective of the researcher is to analyze the consolidation of the program of policing of the PMSC called “Rede de Vizinhos”\(^\text{11}\), in the light of the philosophy of community policing and of the co-production of public services. In this way, considering the objectives of the comparative study, and of the focus of the researcher’s professional Master’s degree, which presupposes and encourages the presentation of practical proposals and interventions in organizations, the study is intended not only to understand and explain the North American “Neighborhood Watch” program, but also to identify convergences, divergences, gaps and challenges that can help the adoption of new organizational practices by the PMSC.

The field research is in progress in the Metropolitan Region of Greater Florianopolis, covering the 1st and 11th Regions of the Polícia Militar de Santa Catarina (RPMs), and in Duval County, Florida. Policing in Duval County is carried out by the Jacksonville Sheriff’s Office.\(^\text{12}\) Greater Florianopolis, Santa Catarina, and Jacksonville, Florida, present two similar characteristics in their demographic, organizational, and social aspects. Nevertheless, the need is apparent for

\(^{11}\) Literal translation is “Neighborhood Network,” which is most similar to the American “Neighborhood Watch” programs.

\(^{12}\) The region has an unusual form of local government, with the county and city having amalgamated 50 years ago.
sociological reduction through critically assimilating the information collected, given real divergences between the two cases.

4. ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LITERATURE IN THE LIGHT OF SOCIOLOGICAL REDUCTION

After presenting briefly the researches that are being developed with theoretical-empirical case studies in the previous section, we now respond to the research questions, in view of the theoretical analyses that support the studies.

In the theoretical reviews for the development of both case studies, exploratory bibliographic research was carried out in the EBSCOhost database, which has a large amount of North American academic literature. With regards to the subject of community policing, although scholarship from the US and UK pioneered the structural goals for the development of programs in this field (Bayley, 2002; Trojanowicz & Bucueroux, 1990; 1999; Goldstein, 1990; Kelling & Moore, 1993), there are already several Brazilian works on the subject. The hegemony of American and British scholarship lasted through the end of the 1990s, when many of these works were not translated, or contained practical applications of theory that were unviable for the replication in the Brazilian reality. Such circumstances continue to drive academic research and practical experiences of the theory of community policing that are consistent with, and guided by, Brazilian socio-cultural reality (Brasil, 2013; Beato, 2002; Bondaruk & Souza, 2004; Cerqueira, 2001; Dias Neto, 2003, 2005; Nazareno, 2009).

On the issue of emergency management, the area of Brazilian public administration responsible for emergency management is called “protection and civil defense,” and refers to “a set of preventive, mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery actions aimed at preventing disasters and minimizing their impacts on the population, and promote a return to social economic and/or environmental normality” (Brasil, 2016). At the national level, this field of study has been called “risk and disaster management,” but is still under development.

Regarding the theme of ethics in emergency management, no work of Brazilian origin was found through EBSCOhost research. In other sources two articles were found by the Brazilian philosopher Charles Feldhaus, but these were not indexed in databases (see Feldhaus 2011, a, b). Most of the authors who research on the topic, or with related works, were of North American origin, such as David Etkin of Canada, and Ali Farazman, David McEntire, Naim Kapucu and Naomi Zack in the United States13.

This section therefore aims to comment on the theoretical development of Brazilian scholarship in the fields of study covered here, the importance of the international literature, and how the theoretical framework helps in the understanding of research phenomena within the Brazilian context.

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13 Though there are a number of other authors, these were mentioned here as they were among the principal references for the authors of this article.
Emergency management and Ethics

The scientific field of emergency management in the United States appears to be well consolidated. Haddow, Bullock and Coppola (2017, p. xiii) affirm that “Our nation has had to adapt to the growing threat of more frequent, more costly, and more complex disasters,” resulting in the development of a system that has become an international reference. This has not prevented differences of opinion between practitioners and researchers on issues such as major disasters and the implementation of emergency management in the area of terrorism (this is not the case in Brazil), as illustrated in Rubin’s (2012) book *Emergency Management: The American Experience 1900–2010*.

In Brazil, the scientific study of emergency management has been called the “management of risks and disasters”\(^\text{14}\), but though expanding it is still underdeveloped. One of the precursor projects, which began in the years after 2000 and which has grown recently, is called the “Center of Studies and Research in Civil Defense Engineering” – CEPED. Such centers act in the area of teaching, research and extension related to the reduction of risks and disasters, in order to cooperate in the technical, scientific and cultural development of risk and disaster management and in the dissemination to society. It is a technical cooperation agreement between the federal government, federal education institutions, and state civil defense agencies. One of the first such groups, and a model representative of this movement is CEPED in the state of Santa Catarina, created by Dr. Amir Matter Valente.

Regarding the theme of ethics in emergency management, despite having scholars who have failed to address moral discussions linked to natural disasters, based on the premise that such tragedies are not caused by moral agents (Murray, 2011), the American philosopher and scholar Naomi Zack, one of the best known and referenced authors on disaster ethics, argues that moral/ethical issues in disaster situations concern well-being and the reasons why people have a general moral obligation not to harm others and to help those who suffer or need assistance (Zack, 2009).

Internationally there exist works and authors who address the ethical dimension of disasters, according to research data from Etkin & Timmerman (2013). However, despite its importance as a matter of public interest, and although ethics play a fundamental role in emergency management, the authors assert that studies on the subject have received insufficient attention in the academic and professional literature.

To illustrate this perception at the international level, Etkin & Timmerman (2013) carried out a key word search of articles published in three important scientific journals: *Disaster Prevention and Management, International Journal of Emergency Management*, and *Disasters*. Carried out between the years 1992 and 2011, the focus was on theory and practice in emergency management. The presence of absence of the following key words was analyzed: “ethics,” “human,” “moral,” “principles,” and “values.” The frequency of occurrence of these key words in all of the journals combined as: ethics 0.08%, values 0.01%, principles 0.18%, human 0.06%, and moral 0.03%. With this simple survey, the authors seek to support the hypothesis about the low priority of this

\(^{14}\) There are other terms used in the literature and in specific manuals, such as: emergency management, emergency preparedness, crisis management, disaster planning, contingency planning, among others (Defesa Civil de Santa, 2017; Lavarias, 2013; Wilson & Oyola-Yemaiel, 2001).
discussion in such journals. Nevertheless, Etkin and Timmerman (2013) point out that there has recently been an increase in the number of papers that consider the ethical dimension of disasters, due in part to the events of the first decade of the 21st century, such as patient euthanasia at New Orleans’ Memorial Medical Center during Hurricane Katrina in the United States in 2005.

The same type of analysis in the Brazilian context shows that this research is still in an incipient stage. Though the country is continually improving in its technical capacity to deal with risk and disaster management, and also academically developing this field of study, there is still no work on the theme of ethics in disasters. Again, a key-word search of the SCIELO and EBSCOhot databases with the key words “ética” (ethics), and “desastre” (disaster), encountered no results. Similarly, in the database Spell, a Brazilian database of scientific articles in the fields of Public and Business Administration, seven articles are encountered with the keyword desastre, and none are related to the dimension of ética. This absence of published works in Brazilian scientific journals is inconsistent with the reality in the country, as the country is far from immune from disasters.

From the previous discussion it can be seen that the Brazilian literature on ethics and emergency management is weak, and relies on an international literature that reflects a reality that too often does not apply in Brazil. We believe that an analysis of cases of Brazilian public management of risks and disasters, and their ethical implications, could point to new or different evidence and lead to, perhaps, the adaptation of theories to explain these cases, theories with foundations in the context in which these disasters occur.

**Moral reasoning**

A substantial part of the research on moral dilemmas is based on the theory of the US psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg, who combined moral philosophy and cognitive psychology in the elaboration of his Theory of Moral Development (TMD), as have his followers and critics (Christensen, 2008; Dillard & Yuthas, 2002).

Santos, Serafim and Lorenzi (2018)\(^{15}\), in the course of a search for the state of the art on moral dilemmas in public management, perceived that internationally, principally in the United States, this theme has been discussed for a number of years, being an important theoretical approach. Among the works that utilize the TMD in the field of public administration, prominent authors include Debra Stewart, Norman Sprinthall and David Shafer, authors of the article “Moral development in public administration, published in the *Handbook of Administrative Ethics*, in 2001 (Molina, 2015; Santos, Serafim & Lorenzi, 2018). Santos, Serafim and Lorenzi (2018) also argue that the health sciences were responsible for the largest number of articles published nationally and internationally on the theme of moral dilemma, especially in the areas of nursing and medicine. The areas of psychology and education also have a substantial quantity of articles both inside and outside of Brazil.

\(^{15}\) A systematic review article written and published by Santos (co-author of this essay), Serafim and Lorenzi as part of the construction of the theoretical framework of her doctoral thesis.
A different scenario was seen in the Brazilian context. According to data in the authors’ work, in a March 2017 search in the database Spell\textsuperscript{16}, for the terms “ethical dilemma” and “moral dilemma”, only five articles were identified. When repeating the same search to update the data for this essay, only one additional article was encountered: that of Santos, Serafim and Lorenzi (2018).

Given these results, the international scholarship – principally the studies from the United States – are of great importance in the theoretical development in the doctoral research of Santos (case study 1 in this essay) for two essential reasons: 1) these works represent the principal references on the theme of moral reasoning for the comprehension of moral dilemmas; 2) these studies compensate for a shortage of Brazilian works on the subject, identifying a potential field of studies to be explored. In the theoretical research on their topics, it can be seen that the Brazilian literature on moral reasoning follows in the steps of the American literature and has relevant studies in the areas of health and education, but is still underdeveloped in the field of public administration, making foreign scholarship important sources of reference.

We consider, therefore, that there is an important need to discuss the dilemmas in Brazilian public administration culture, and the dilemmas faced by public managers in the face of the complexity inherent in their work. Such studies would mix both a democratic and participative vision with multiple actors, in an extremely bureaucratic Brazilian management culture or, in most cases, surrounded by an environment in which ‘red tape’ prevails (Santos, Serafim & Lorenzi, 2018).

**Community policing**

Public security in Brazil has searched to adopt numerous alternatives for the integration into the community of Brazilian police, and for the participation of organized civil society groups. The model of Community Policing was introduced to Brazil at the end of the 1980s, through pilot projects, when the state military policy sought to restructure their processes based in the Federal Constitution of 1988 (Brasil, 2013).

Numerous Brazilian public security authors and professionals have been researching and cataloging experiences related to the practical application and the philosophy of the process of community policing, which has emphasized the creation of a close relationship between the community and police. In this way, the final goal goes beyond the fight against crime, as it allows the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder and subsequent feelings of insecurity. The Brazilian literature on this is extensive (see Cardoso, 1992; Cavalcante Neto, 1998; Costa, 1995; Cruz, 1998; Ferreira, 1995; Mesquito Neto & Affonso, 1998; Oliveira, 2002; Pedroso Filho, 1995; São Paulo, 2004).

The current tendency in Brazil points to the collaboration, coordination, and integration between the police forces, which is advocated by the federal government, through the Ministry of Justice and Public Security. This body, while not centralizing the command of police institutions, encourages the elaboration of integrated public security plans and programs, such as the newly created Unified Public Security System (Brasil, 2018; 2019).

\textsuperscript{16} A Brazilian database of scientific articles in the area of Public and Business Administration.
The basic objectives of Community Policing could be defined as:

a) Become closer to the citizen;
b) Establish strategic partnerships;
c) Prioritize preventive actions;
d) Reduce crime, and the fear of crime.

This model runs contrary to the traditional conception of reactive provision of the public service of public security, especially when it establishes a more participatory form of management which, as a result of its characteristics, leads the public agent and the citizen to a broader exercise of citizenship (Beato, 2002; Bondaruk & Souza, 2004; Cerqueira, 2001; Dias Neto, 2003, 2005; Nazarenro, 2009).

The current democratic Brazilian state not only advocates the expansion of citizen participation and control, but also determines the institutionalization of mechanisms that allow the channeling of social demands. Respect for citizenship and the dignity of the human person are, according to the Constitution, elements of a State policy in the area of public security and its police institutions, including the military, since they reflect national, universal, supra-party and transnational political interests (Brasil, 1988; 2013; Heidemann, 2009).

From this section’s discussion it can be seen that the Brazilian literature on community policing is extensive. It has foundations in the international literature, especially in terms of theoretical principles. However due to the incompatibility of practical examples in Brazilian society, there have been local adaptations and innovations.

**Coproduction**

Coproduction is defined by Salm and Menegasso (2010) as a strategy for the production of public services through means of shared responsibilities and power among public agents, private agents, and citizens. This paradigm in construction in the Brazilian reality, which challenges the vision of the bureaucratic and mechanical state apparatus, encounters resistance not only from public agents resistant to change and risks, but also from some citizens themselves, with the emphasis on the duties and increased responsibilities endowed on citizens by the co-production model.

Until recently, the standard perception of public services was that the government institutions had the burden and, hypothetically, the full capacity to satisfy the collective yearnings. This consensus has been challenged by subsequent experience, and increased disillusion of Brazilian citizens with rigid government bureaucracies, which often do not enter into dialogue with the complex scenario of contemporary problems.

Coproduction, as its name itself indicates, stops viewing public service provision unilaterally, and represents a new perspective on public policy. This theoretical approach, widely diffused internationally from the 1980s, appeared as a viable alternative in the face of:

a) The imminent threat of elimination, or precarious condition of public services,
b) An increase in taxation to fund the state, and
c) Outsourcing and privatization in a scenario of fiscal and legitimacy crisis of the State, and of its administrative incapacity, against the reasonable expectations of citizens for more
and better services to increase social welfare (Brudney & England, 1983; Verschuere, Brandsen & Pestoff, 2012; Brandsen & Honingh, 2015).

In the last decade, citizen participation has grown in terms of the relevance, and has been incorporated into the policy process in the production of public programs (from agenda setting, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation), in the various spheres of government. However, the theme “coproduction” has only been explored recently, and has not registered in terms of relevance in studies with Brazilian public administration (De Mattia & Zapellini, 2014; Salm & Menegasso, 2009; 2010; Schommer et al, 2011; 2015; Salm et al, 2011; Salm, 2014).

This scenario enables a reflection on the possibility and potential of a new perspective on police institutions and the provision of services in the area of public security, with the improvement of the spaces for citizen participation in the community. In fact, the “Neighborhood Network” program of the PMSC, a Brazilian and Catarinense version of the “Neighborhood Watch,” could be classified as an example of coproduction that presupposes the involvement of both professionals and citizens in the design and delivery of police services.

From the previous discussion it can be observed that the Brazilian literature on coproduction is recent and relies mostly on the international literature, which contrasts with a cultural scenario still under development, that often does not entirely apply or still demands adaptation and practical experience for the Brazilian reality.

5. CONCLUSION

Lucia Lippi Oliveira has asserted that “it is possible to point out as the central question in Guerreiro Ramos the creation of an authentic national way of thinking, free of alienated sociology understood as the fruit of the transplantation and import of ideas” (Oliveira 1995, p. 15). Given the importance of context in administrative practice, theory needed to be deeply cognizant of local social realities (Ramos, 1966:38-41).

The logic of comparative research, such as that presented here in the two case studies, is to assist researchers in practicing the transposition of knowledges and experiences from one perspective to another, considering the warnings of Guerreiro Ramos in relation to epistemic colonialism and epistemic nationalism. The search of the international and Brazilian literature confirmed the hypothesis of this essay that the maturation of Brazilian theory and practice made it less necessary to use foreign sources especially in relation to the case study on community policing, given the strong Brazilian research on this topic. On the other hand, in coproduction and the case study on moral dilemmas in Brazilian emergency management, the literature is still in its incipient stage. This is true both in relation to the ethics of disasters, and in relation to moral reasoning in emergency management. Empirical data already collected reveals differences between the Brazilian and American realities that need to be considered, as recommended by Guerreiro Ramos’s A redução sociológica.

In conclusion, we share the perception of Jamil Jreisat when he affirms that, in the specific field of public administration, that through means of comparative analysis – such as the case studies
presented here – it becomes possible to show not only the diversity of human experience, but also its striking uniformity. In this way, according to the theoretical-empirical method of sociological reduction, the comparative perspective in these case studies had the effect of “deprovincializing” public administration, allowing a broader range of actions to be seen, and a better understanding of the deficiencies and limitations of the administrative context (Jreisat, 2005).

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