The role of municipalities and the "new paradigm" in safety public policies in Brazil: an analysis of the process of shifts in public policies

MARIANA KIEFER KRUCHIN∗

Abstract

After the democratic transition in Brazil (1984) public safety has become especially relevant in the country due to high rates of crime and the feeling of insecurity among the population, especially in big cities. In this context, prevention is presented in the last decade in response to the repressive policies that have not prevented the continued growth of violence in the country.

Regarding public safety, the Brazilian Constitution stipulates in its art. 144 that public safety is carried out by a set of institutions. The list that follows this statement is composed by different (but only) police forces, which are the exclusive responsibility of the government of the provinces. In this scenario, there is a strong demand for active participation of municipalities in public safety policies by scholars and professionals who work with the topic. This debate was developed within the political arena whereas the legal field was delegitimize as the field of productions of new truths.

This thesis seeks to understand the meaning of the decentralization of public safety policies in socio-legal terms, i.e. the production of meaning and new legal interpretation through social and political discourse and the relations between a new discourse and the possibilities of new practices. A shift in the discourse has altered in practice the terms of the debate in the field, but it was necessary to investigate whether the changes in the level of discourse, rather than the regulatory system are sufficient to alter the existing political model.

Key words

Safety policies; Public safety in Brazil; Crime prevention; Municipalization; Decentralization

---

∗ marianakruchin@gmail.com
Master thesis Supervision: David Whyte (University of Liverpool).
Co-supervision: Renato Sergio De Lima (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, São Paulo).

Acknowledgements

Table of contents

Introduction

The Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988, in its article 144, authorizes the state governments to be in charge of Civil and Military Police. Hence, federal and municipal authorities had no responsibilities relating to public safety, with the exception that the federal government should control the Federal Police and that the municipalities could have a Civil Guard[1]. In the last decade this situation has changed with a shift in the conception about what should be entailed in public safety and it is necessary to investigate such dynamic. Scholars and policy makers claim that the mainstream became a multidisciplinary treatment of criminality. What at first had been seen as an exclusive matter for the police has become a broader topic, both conceptually and administratively (Kahn and Zanetic, 2005: 3). Conceptually, this means that the treatment of criminality should focus not just on the crime but on its causes; and should concern not just the police and the resources of police forces but should involve different political institutions through new policies. In short, a more preventive approach to crime reduction emerged in the last decade. Administratively, a multidisciplinary treatment of criminality means an expansion of the governmental spheres that are responsible for public safety – not just the states but the federal government and local administration. In this context, scholars and policy makers are claiming that there is a new public safety paradigm in place. A new paradigm means a new way of understanding crime control and a break with previous crime repression policies. It also means that all members of the federation structure (federal, state and municipal spheres) and civil society will be responsible for public safety. An important role of municipalities in safety matters has been specially highlighted by different disciplines of knowledge, unlikely the model which charges just the states with the responsibility for the control of criminality.

It is necessary to present the idea of the meaning of "paradigms" in public safety and the roots of the discussion that lead to the process that took place in the last decade and that will be the object of this work. A shift in the language used in a field when referring to its own discipline is an indicator that there is a new way of understanding security: the concept of "security" became "public safety". The notions of security and safety show the dichotomy that can be observed in Brazil between police forces´ practices and public safety policies. Claims for a new approach that would unfold this dichotomy began during the Constituent Assembly period (1987-1988): "In political terms, the Brazilian context between 1987 and 1988 presented the Constituent Assembly with the challenge of overcoming the paradigm of national security, which equipped police forces to combat the enemies of the dictatorship established in 1964, and integrate the issue of public safety into institutions' democratization process. Indeed, behind this movement was the perception that while the paradigm of "national security" persisted, it would be difficult to conceive police activity as exercising the role of protecting the individual, and harder still as exercising an activity/means for upholding individual rights and guarantees." (Lima 2010: 15).

But the paradigm of "national safety" was overcome in a formal sense, which means that the "1988 Constitution ended up reproducing that which Theodomiro Dias Neto described as the relegation of safety policies to the sphere of criminal policy largely marked by penal intervention (Dias Neto 2005: 114 cited Lima 2010: 16) in a process of reification and supremacy from a criminalizing point of view in the interpretation of social conflicts, as a concentrator of public safety in the juridical and police universe; and delegitimize of social participation and of contributions from anyone outside the juridical sphere" (Lima 2010: 16). Different studies have provided explanations for the difficulties of challenging in practical

---

[1] The creation of civil guards was putted into practice by a very little number of prefectures (Kahn and Zanetic 2005: 4).

terms the dictatorship period´s paradigm: Choukr (2004: 3) says that "the formal overcoming of the [Brazilian] military regime has changed very little the essence of the organization and functioning of the police structures. (…) The federal constitution gave shelter to all existing police structures". Jorge Zaverucha said that the transitional justice has produced a "hybrid institutional" characterized by an electoral democracy which keeps authoritarian enclaves (Zaverucha: 2008, 142).

In this vein, the concept of public safety with regard to violence applied by the political and legal system was the one which pre-existed the Constitution of 1988. But the maintenance of a military police structure and a focus on a repressive attitude towards crime kept the concept of public security updated in a sense. The concept of safety policies emerged in researches and political programs in the last decade once the production of studies about violence began to grow in Brazil: "Violence and public safety ceased to be peripheral themes and became subjects of intense mainstream investigation" (Lima 2010: 10). But still, the idea of safety policies lives almost in parallel with the work of police forces (the latter have not generally absorbed the concept of public safety in their practices). "Consequently, there is a trend to treat police forces and public safety policies of and from highly heterogeneous regions and states, in a homogenous fashion" (Lima 2010: 11).

Renato de Lima argues that the merit of the 1988 Constitution was "in challenging the Brazilian State to rethink the way public policies were being formulated and implemented" and he adds that "today's challenge compels us to observe the conditions in which institutional mechanisms operate and to verify whether they have become opaque to democratic controls, giving the mistaken impression that everything has changed when in fact, nothing has changed in terms of how Brazilian society conceives and guarantees rights and citizenship. In short, the agenda of the 1988 Constitution, in the area of public safety, remains open and subject to frictions that preclude major reform."

In this sense, this work will analyze the discourse produced by the scholars and policy makers – their production of knowledge – about public safety and the claim for a "new paradigm" and a greater participation of municipalities in safety policies, assessing the continuities and discontinuities between the security and safety models. In other words, this thesis will attempt to analyze the development of this process that Lima refers to of rethinking public policies, concerning how scholars and policy makers are formulating the new discourse and how the latter is being absorbed.

A question arises from this claim for the existence of a "new paradigm" in public safety: What is the nature of this shift? Is this shift introducing a new mainstream in public safety policies? The hypothesis considered here is that the changes are more a new discourse than a real change in legal and political terms. This question has to be posed to understand two things. First, the nature of the public safety field in Brazil and its characteristics. Second, how changes in public policies are implemented. With this in mind, it is important to analyze in which direction the shifts are going and if there is a consensus around this topic. Therefore, the primary question that will guide this research is: to what extent have shifts at the discursive level altered the dominant political model of public safety?

In order to analyze the introduction of the idea of a "new paradigm" in safety policies in Brazil it is necessary to consider the concept of discourse that will provide the framework of this research. The idea of discourse deployed here is the one developed by Foucault. In this sense, "the concept of discourse in this usage is not purely a 'linguistic' concept. It is about language and practice. (…) Discourse, Foucault argues, construct the topic. It defines and produces the objects of our knowledge. It governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about" (Hall 2001: 72). What is important here is the idea that discourses seek to establish new truths. In a Foucauldian approach, "things mean something and are true (…) only within a specific context" (Hall 2001: 74). Further, "the

concept of discourse is not about whether things exist but where meaning comes from" (idem: 73). Thus, it is possible to say that discourses produce knowledge that has a specific meaning in a particular historical moment.

In order to understand how Foucault conceives the linkage between knowledge and truth, it is important to understand how power and knowledge are linked. Power, as Foucault (1979: 8) defines it, "should be considered much more as a productive network, which runs through the whole social body, than a negative instance whose function is to repress". Foucault criticizes in all his work the idea that power belongs to the state, the reduction of the analysis of power to the scheme suggested by the juridical constitution of sovereignty (Foucault 1999). Instead, it is necessary to think about power in terms of power relations (idem). He defines these two schemes by the expressions "contract-oppression", which would be the juridical scheme, and the "war-repression" model, which would be the scheme of struggle and submission (the historical political discourse). It is also necessary to say that "knowledge does not operate in a void. It is put to work, through certain technologies and strategies of application, in specific situations, historical contexts and institutional regimes" (Hall 2001: 76). Likewise, "knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to *make it true*. All knowledge, once applied in the real world, has real effects, and in that sense at least, 'becomes true'. (…) Thus, 'there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations" (Foucault, 1977: 27 cited Hall 2001: 76). Here it is possible to see that a "regime of truth" is sustained by a discursive formation (Hall 2001: 76). As such, truth becomes, in a Foucauldian perspective, the real effects produced by knowledge, which was defined by discourses that produced meanings and meaningful practices.

Discursive production establishes a regime of truth. This statement is relevant here to explain the structure of the next chapters. We can say that the relations that allow the researcher to define "what sort of links can validly be recognize between all these statements that form, in such familiar and insistent way, such an enigmatic mass" (Foucault 1969: 30) - or a field of knowledge - are not "characterized by the language used by discourses, nor the circumstances in which they are deployed, but discourse itself as a practice" (idem). Hence, the research gives attention to the way language is connected to practice, especially in the analysis of the interviews. The Foucauldian approach will be important here exactly because the definition of discourse helps to sustain the hypothesis that what is being called as "new paradigm" in safety policies is more about formation of a discourse and consequently the production of a regime of truth that will allow new political arranges.

The hypothesis is that the political model is first sustained by a new discourse and then this new discourse produces institutions and behavior. This means that in the public safety field it is necessary to form a new discourse around crime control in order to define new policies and political arrangements instead of believing that technical and circumstantial factors such as crime rates increasingly lead directly to a shift in public policies. Neither this shift in the "general form of law nor government" (Hall 2001: 77) are reproduced at the lower levels. The Foucauldian hypothesis states that power (of the discourse) works by a capillary movement: "such an approach 'roots [power] in forms of behavior, bodies and local relations of power which should not at all be seen as a simple projection of the central power" (idem). In this sense, the methodology used here takes into account that "to define a group of statements in terms of its individuality would be to define the dispersion of these objects, to grasp all the interstices that separate them, to measure the

distances that reign between them" (ibidem). Thus, the relation between speech and practices and different groups' speeches will be displayed through the work.[2]

The interdependence between discourses, truths and power has also been analyzed by Bourdieu (Simioni 1999). "Like Foucault, or from Foucault, Bourdieu analyzes power not as an attribute but as relations and something that permeates the entire society" (idem: 111). He approaches discourse as the establishing of positivity, realities. Bourdieu also relativizes the Enlightenment assumption that science would be a promoter of truth speech since endowed with a neutral rationality. Hence, he observes in the scientific discourse the interweaving of power, interests in dispute in a particular social field and utterances. Despite important distinctions between them it is possible to understand their work as two complementary theoretical constructions. In this sense, discourse formation, in Foucaudian terms and the notion of field found in Bourdieu´s work will be important here.

Bourdieu defines field broadly as an 'area of production, circulation and appropriation of goods, services knowledge, or status, and the competitive positions held by actors in their struggle to accumulate and monopolize these different kinds of capital' (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992 cited in Albright 2007: 107). About the scientific field, Bourdieu says that "since all practices are geared towards the acquisition of scientific authority, what we ordinarily call 'interest' in a scientific activity is always a double-sided: epistemological conflicts are always, inseparably, political conflicts" (Bourdieu 1983: 124). The scientific field, the author says, produces and assumes a specific form of interest and designates for each researcher their own political and scientific issues, according to the position they occupy in the field. The idea of field is interesting for this work because it allows us to locate the rise of the new safety discourse within a specific field – and so, to try to understand external resistances that prevent the legitimation of the truths produced within the field. Bourdieu highlights that technical capacity – called competence in the scientific field - cannot be separated from extrinsic interests. Accordingly, the legitimacy required for a consensus touches not only on technical but also political issues - to fight the imposition of dominant knowledge. Furthermore, Bourdieu, in his analysis of the distribution of capitals inside the field and so its structure observes that "the opposition of conservation strategies and the strategies of subversion tends to weaken the extent that the homogeneity of the field grows and correspondingly decreases the likelihood of recurrent major breakthroughs for the benefit of many small permanent revolutions" (Bourdieu 1983: 137).

These assumptions are important for the understanding of the dynamics between knowledge production made by scholars and the practice of safety policies which involves different expertise. The issue of public policy involves the intersection between three fields of symbolic dispute: the scientific field, the field of policy makers and thirdly, that of the police forces. According to Bourdieu, in the scientific field "producers tend only to have their own clients as potential competitors, the greater the autonomy of the field. (…) In an autonomous scientific field, particular producers can only expect recognition of the value of their products from other producers" (Bourdieu 1983: 127). In this sense, one hypothesis that will be examined is that the truths produced by the scholars, when absorbed by policy

---

[2] It is not the aim of this research to build a genealogy of knowledge in Foucault terms. A genealogic project would be the one which "allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today" by the "union of erudite knowledge and local memories" (Foucault 1999: 13). The genealogy consists in raising the dissent knowledge that was never considered in the knowledge´s hierarchy and science (idem: 12). It is not the aim of this project to look at what was considered unqualified knowledge and discover the struggles that were kept quiet. But it will nevertheless work with "this discourse which reveals the continued existence of a war in society [and] it is a historical-political discourse, a discourse in which truth functions as a weapon for a partisan victory" (idem: 324).

makers and police forces, are legitimated by external actors but they suffer from the influence of others symbolic capitals. Lima says that "there is a bridge between academic production and the public policy arena, themes in which social demand and applied research are an important part" (Lima 2010: 40). The results of researches that challenge the paradigm of "national security" are not purely absorbed in practical terms. Despite that, it is necessary to investigate the relation between a new discursive formation and policies to find the possibilities for alteration of the current political model.

Having presented the theoretical framework of the analysis of the formation of the new paradigm discourse and its relation to the dominant political model of public safety, it is important to present the structure of this work. First, it is necessary to analyze what has been said about the role of municipalities in public safety. The main ideas founded in the literature about this topic must be presented briefly. Some arenas of debate will be investigated: literature produced by scholars, the National Conference of Public Safety, and the National Program for Public Safety and Citizenship. This review will be supplemented by interviews with those in charge of the implementation of the "new paradigm" in public safety to make a further exploratory analysis and also to check for the existence of counterfactuals.

At this point it is necessary to distinguish between two kinds of literature that address the importance of municipalities in public safety. The first chapter presents the first group which is composed by articles written by scholars, some of them professionals who work with safety policies and crime prevention. The second type of literature, discussed in the second chapter, is a key set of policy documents produced in the First National Conference of Public Safety (CONSEG). This material is important for our analysis since it shows the very latest debates about the topic, the result of dialogues between different groups within society. The conference was held on August 27th - 30th, 2009 in Brazil. This conference took place after 1,433 preparatory conferences (informal meetings, municipal and state´s conferences), bringing together the main proposals and guidelines that emerged from the previous meetings. In order to understand how the new paradigm was constructed it is necessary to listen to several different participants working in the field of safety: Policy makers, workers (police forces, municipal guards and penitentiary agents) and civil society (including academics). The first CONSEG gathered those involved in this matter and produced material that has been considered the basis for future definitions in safety policies. Thus, our research does not have the purpose to analyze the conference as an object *per se*, but as an arena that enables the analysis of the emergence of a new discourse about public safety. One of the main resolutions adopted in the conference was for the "legal and statutory recognition of the importance of the municipality as co-manager of the area, strengthening its role in social prevention of crime and violence" (Final Report from National Conference of Public Safety 2009: 80) and at this point we are on the verge of introducing a "new paradigm" in public safety that includes a new role for municipalities. In other words, the Conference helped to establish a new way of talking about crime control, to bring all fragmented elements of the "new discourse" to the center of the field. The presence of groups positioned differently in the field and the result of the meeting will be analyzed in the light of the theory of the field as an arena of political struggle for scientific dominance (Bourdieu 1983: 126).

A deeper exploitation of the safety discursive formation and the idea of the introduction of a new paradigm in public safety will take place in the third chapter which will present the result of interviews with public safety policy makers. The fourth chapter provides an analysis of the effects of the new paradigm on the political structure regarding safety policies.

All the material that was reviewed in this work refers to the Brazilian reality and required translation into English; full responsibility for the translation of these quotations lie with the author. The work considers a specifically Brazilian issue.

Hence, this work arises from the author´s own possibilities of translating not just the language but a whole universe itself.

With this framework in mind, the next pages will analyze and explain the public safety issue as a discursive formation.

Chapter One - Crime prevention: decentralization and integration of safety policies

Scholars have given different explanations of the phenomenon of violence in Brazil, especially in big urban centers. It is important to take them into account to understand the context of the debate about municipalities. This paper will focus on the last three decades, since this is the period when Brazilian society experienced a large increase in the crime rate and feelings of lack of safety. Since the 1970s the Brazilian urban population has surpassed in growth the rural population. The urban centers have been growing faster and in an unplanned way. Given that the phenomenon of violence has been studied primarily in urban areas and this wide urbanization is very recent, our focus is on the explanations for this phenomenon from 1980 until now.

Before entering into the debate about violence and approaches to it, it is necessary to define what has been understood as such. Violence is a complex issue that cannot be explained by a single decisive factor. This explains why violence has been studied by different disciplines such as psychology, sociology, law, public health, anthropology, history, and so forth. The public dimension of this phenomenon has been treated as "public safety", where politics meets law and, also, sociology regarding the explanations for violence and its control within society. Adding complexity to the issue, not just the factors of violence are subject of studies but also the understanding of the very concept of violence is not the same in different periods of time. In this manner, the responses to the problem of violence vary over time, and consequently the definition of public safety policies.

Violence, understood here as "intentional act that causes damage" (Pinheiro and Almeida, 2003:13), can be divided into three main categories, according to WHO (*World report on violence and health* cited in Pinheiro and Almeida 2003: 22): self-directed violence, "in which the perpetrator and the victim are the same individual and is subdivided into self-abuse and suicide"; interpersonal violence, that "refers to violence between individuals"; and collective violence, that "refers to violence committed by larger groups of individuals and can be subdivided into social, political and economic violence". In Brazil, the biggest problem regards interpersonal violence, which has been increasing specially since the 1980´s. This fact made Brazil one of the most violent countries in the world, concerning this type of violence[3].

In this way, interpersonal violence should be more specified here: "[It] is subdivided into family and intimate partner violence and community violence. The former category includes child maltreatment; intimate partner violence; and elder abuse, while the latter is broken down into acquaintance and stranger violence and includes youth violence; assault by strangers; violence related to property crimes; and violence in workplaces and other institutions" (WHO *World report on violence and health* cited in Pinheiro and Almeida 2003: 22). In Brazil the main crimes related to interpersonal violence are homicides, robbery, theft, burglary and domestic violence.

Another important concept to define the object of our study is the idea of public safety policies. Basically, this is a set of programs and governmental goals to

---

[3] The homicide rate in Brazil has grown 32% in 15 years: the rate of homicide deaths in the country increased from 19.2 in 1992 to 25.4 in 2007 to 100,000 inhabitants. Men had a rate (47.7) significantly higher than among women (3.9). Between 1992 and 2003 the ratio has grown and since 2004 there was a downward trend (IBGE - Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics 2010, 13).

confront the problem in order to organize social life and achieve public interest aims. The problem at stake is the maintenance of public order in the face of criminality, including concerns about violence and feelings of lack of safety (Filocre 2009:148). Public safety policies can be preventive or reactive. The latter refers mainly to police forces and criminal justice responses to deviance. The former can be divided into three moments: primary prevention, which is oriented to the entire population of a territory; secondary, aimed at individuals who present special risks of involvement in criminal conduct; and tertiary prevention, oriented to offenders or victims (Dias Neto 2005: 120).

Having defined what is being considered as violence, it is possible to contextualize the studies about the phenomenon. Very briefly[4], during the 1970s crime was seen by scholars as a result of political and economic structures based on contemporary explanations such as Marxism. However, those understandings about violence engendered a criticism of the correlation between crime and poverty. This correlation could cause more violence since it could lead to an increase of police violence against the poor. Movements for Human Rights during the 1970s were focusing "on protecting and fighting to defend the political rights of those who opposed the authoritarian regime and who were brutally repressed. Toward the end of the dictatorship in the 1980s, human rights movements concentrated their efforts on blowing the whistle on police violence, taking action and highlighting the lack of effort to stem the tide of rising criminal violence. In this period, Brazil saw a decline in the State's capacity to impose law and order, evidenced by growth in criminality and in the number of breakouts at prisons and Youth Correctional Facilities (known as *Febem*), as well as in court delays in ruling on criminal proceedings, among other indicators" (Adorno, 2003: 111 cited Lima 2010: 18). For this reason, according to Vasconcelos (2009) during the 1980s, a transition period in democracy, scholars started to relate the authoritarianism of the state to the growth of interpersonal violence. An important argument was the connection between violation of rights and acceptance of authoritarian values with interpersonal violence (Vasconcelos 2009: 146).

"The acceptance of authoritarian values and beliefs by various sectors of the population would result in complicity with human rights violations and a moral exclusion of other social groups, expressed by the tacit support for and sometimes active participation in lynching, vigilante groups and death squads. With continued monitoring of violations of human rights came the conclusion that most of these violations do not occur in a vacuum, but tend to happen in situations where the rights of people are already being violated. (…) The violence by state agents, combined with an inadequate or insufficient public policy and resources to prevent crime and protect the individual rights would create an environment where interpersonal violence can flourish." (Cardia 2003 cited in Vasconcelos 2009: 146).

After that, scholars turned to an analysis not just focused on the state but on social control within society; sociability and forms of interaction among individuals; relationship between authoritarian political culture and democratic political culture (Adorno 1996 cited Vasconcelos 2009:112). Also, the introduction of human rights as a subject that belongs to safety policies and not as discourse to protect criminals was encouraging more studies in the area (Vasconcelos 2009).

Human rights have led scholars to a more contemporary perspective which developed the idea of lack of mediation by public institutions and the legal system, generating human rights violations. "[The] hypothesis that the continuing violation of human rights is one of the elements that undermine the building of a universal citizenship and credibility of democratic institutions (especially the actors in charge of law enforcement and peace building in society) is based on the existence of a

---

[4] For a more detailed view about the different approaches about the phenomenon of violence, see Vasconcelos 2009.

limited citizenship, a constituent part of a political culture marked by the non-institutionalization of social conflicts, the normalization of violence and the reproduction of the structure of existing power relations." (Vasconcelos 2009: 132). This approach is based on the idea of the social organization of crime based on analysis of economic and urban space changes that affected Brazilian reality in the last decades (idem: 174). "The focus shifted steadily from State to society. Studies on the subject in the 1990s sought to emphasize the changes in the architecture of cities as well as in the landscape and behavior of individuals in response to the surge in urban crime (Adorno, 1994; Caldeira, 2000; Feiguin & Lima, 1995; Lima, 2002, Zaluar, 1984; 1994 and 1998). At the same time, these studies looked to discuss the aspects of legitimacy and recognition of the police and courts as adequate forums for mediating and resolving social conflicts (Tavares dos Santos and Tirelli, 1999; Adorno, 1996; Lima, 1997)" (Lima 2010: 18).

The second period of researches on violence -as described above- is bringing together approaches from public health and urban sociology. Here we find literature discussing the importance of local policies and consequently, the role of municipalities in public safety. Hence, there was a shift in the civil society and state discourses, to promote the idea that all state spheres should be included in the debate on crime reduction. One of the main arguments to justify the inclusion of municipalities is the fact that crimes are local, they happen in a specific place with specific problems. Another important argument is coming from scholars who study violence who are attributing as a feature of violence the social and spatial exclusion of parts of society (Vasconcelos, 2009).

1.1. Implementation of a preventive model: the process of decentralization.

Thus, the literature is calling for a more preventive approach towards crime control. Crime prevention is based on the understanding of the causes of violence and institutional arrangements that can prevent crime from happening. Prevention is represented by ceding the "national security" paradigm which represented a militaristic and repressive approach to crime control. The preventive paradigm is implemented through public safety policies. The literature highlights two main important features of these policies: the decentralization of policy management and the interdisciplinary treatment of the phenomenon of violence. In this section the idea of decentralization and the arguments for it will be presented.[5]

The literature mainly opposes the idea that public safety is a responsibility of the governments of the states. Brazil is a Federal republic with three federal entities: the federal government, state governments and municipalities. The Brazilian Constitution, approved in 1988, in its article 144 attributes to the state governments the responsibility for civil and military police forces. The sole mention

---

[5] Theoretical scholars were used as the reference to construct the description made above of the context within which the discussion of causes of violence took place. Now, for the task of putting together the literature that can answer the questions formulated above, it will be necessary to consider the work of scholars who use evaluative research to measure the effects of criminal justice interventions, and even promote the decentralization of security policies. This distinction is relevant since the second group of scholars is composed of professionals who work with applied research, and also participate more actively in public policy debates and intervention projects. These professionals usually work in governmental institutions or in non-profit organizations which deal with violence issues. The exceptions will be pointed out. Work concerning the decentralization process in the public security sphere is incipient until now, despite the intense debate about this topic. An effort was made in this research to discover the main articles that consider the question. To conclude in regard to this distinction between what is being called "academic scholars" and "interventionist scholars", it is important to situate the groups inside the scientific field in terms of demand: a reference to this relation between scholars and public policies can be seen in Lima´s research (2010) about the academic work on violence in Brazil. The author says that "ten research groups [among 18 that answered the questionnaire] confirmed that their projects were directly related to the formulation, execution and evaluation of public policies, such as advisors and consultants for government, research on violence in schools, youth, development of computer systems for criminal registries, and methods to evaluate indexes of computer searches in the area of forensic science" (idem: 23).

of municipalities is in paragraph 8 which says that "municipalities can constitute civil guards responsible for protecting municipal goods, services and buildings according to the law".[6] According to the Constitution, the federal government´s involvement in safety policies is limited to Federal Police actions; control of activities related to guns and private safety enterprises; and production of law in the criminal and penal area (Kahn and Zanetic 2005:3). Hence, the literature is not arguing against the states´ control of police forces but putting forward a different concept of public safety: the emphasis is not on the justice system but on crime prevention and violence control both by the federal government and, mainly, municipalities.

As regards this proposed conceptual change in what has been called public safety policies it is possible to find authors who are pointing out the necessity of a revision of the law through a constitutional amendment (without going deeply into the subject) and others who are proposing a wider interpretation of the Constitution. In the scope of the literature discussed here there are different approaches to what should be the role of the municipalities but it is also possible to say that the concept of decentralization of public policies underlies all articles which have been found. So, there is no proposal to take from the state the responsibility for the police administration (at least no serious one) but to produce new institutional arrangements. The main actions that are being implemented in some municipalities are: diagnosis about local reality and victimization research (which shows what kind of violence people are worried about); action plans with the establishment of priorities; identification of programs to have as good models; training and improvement of the agents involved (municipal guards and NGOs), and evaluations of actions and of communication with citizens about the actions (Azevedo e Fagundes 2007: 3).

It can also be said that there is no extensive discussion about whether the decentralization of public safety is good, efficient or not, and which are the legal and political consequences of the "new " approach. In the articles to be studied, the authors assume that the present model to deal with criminality is not efficient in relation to its purposes. They argue that it could be possible to give a new interpretation to the Constitution, following the same path taken for other fields, such as health and education, which went through a successful decentralization process. Besides a lack of discussion, there are some arguments for decentralization. They will be presented in this section, but it is necessary first to understand the concept of decentralization. Dias Neto, an academic scholar and critic of the idea of a "new prevention", which is described here as a "new paradigm", has summarized and classified the different views related to centralization: The *administrative approach*, based on the transfer of responsibilities and of the institutional and operational powers of the central State to the peripheral State; the *economic approach*, related to the concepts of "Deregulation" and "privatization" and mainly to the encouragement of the transfer, from public to the private, of authority, functions and resources; the *political approach*, based on the reform of decision-making processes of the State, seeking its democratization, exploring the direct participation of citizens in public policy planning (Dias Neto 2005 cited Azevedo and Fagundes 2007:8). It is possible to say that the literature considered here is inclined to the first and the third strands. The second model works basically with private security firms , which can be found in Brazil too, although it is accessible to few people. Besides that, the literature is going in an opposite direction, showing that privatization of safety can produce more segregation and violence.

In this sense, in Brazil, decentralization would mean mainly a more democratic decision-making process with all entities of the federal structure involved with safety policies, and also with social participation. This is what the literature is

---

[6] Infraconstitutional legislation regulating municipal guards still does not exist.

proposing. The next chapter will show that the transference of responsibilities from the central state to peripheral administrations is also another feature of the process of implementation of a new paradigm. But with regard to the literature, decentralization means the expansion of the responsibilities for crime control – from the state government to the whole federal structure. Besides that, the management models used in public administration in the majority of the cities still do not support such arrangements to invest in safety and to incorporate civil participation.

Despite the quality of Dias Neto´s classification, it is possible to look at the literature about decentralization – or the municipalization process – from another perspective that can be more useful to see the power struggle involved in the discourse production. This point will be considered further in the second chapter. Dias Neto´s classification regards the methods for processing the decentralization, and, hence it is possible to see an apparent homogeneity in the literature. Thus, it is important to classify the arguments in the literature also according to the motives for the process of municipalization in order to establish the relationship between motivations, and the different reasons for the proposals for decentralization and the introduction of a new paradigm. "It is to understand the statement in the narrowness and uniqueness of the situation" (Foucault 1969: 31).

Thus, another classification will be introduced here of the arguments presented in the literature about this shift in public policies. Of course this classification relates to the main characteristic of the argument, once each explanation is consider in relation to its internal (regarding its determination) and external interests (Bourdieu 1983: 124). The *historical approach*, involves a belief that decentralization is a natural and expected path; the *geographical approach*, leads to the conclusion that the process is a result of a technical demand; and the *political approach*, entails a non- technical explanation, or an interest orientation;

If the arguments for decentralization are understood in such terms it is possible to see that they are not always antagonistic but they show how the field has still been analyzed and theorized. What it is possible to see in common between all arguments is the view that violence and insecurity became a problem for the population and, also, an issue to be dealt with in a different manner from the current model.

Ludmila Ribeiro and Luciane Patrício (2008) argue that in the last two decades the phenomenon of violence has reached territories far from the big centers and capitals. This was the context that gave the municipal sphere increased importance in actions related to public safety (Waiselfisz 2004 cited in Ribeiro e Patrício 2008). They argue that until the early 1990´s article 144 of the Constitution was an argument used by municipal administrations to keep the topic – safety - far from the political agenda. But during the 1990´s the perspective of decentralization has affected many areas (education, health, housing, etc.), specially boosted by the obligation to implement collective councils with equal representation between government and civil society in many political sectors. Safety was influenced by this process of decentralization (Ribeiro e Patrício 2008:7). Their argument is a historical one.

Another explanation for the need to introduce municipalities into public safety is the territorial, cultural and social diversity within Brazilian society, and it is characterized by the geographical approach. Carolina de Mattos Ricardo and Haydee G. C. Caruso use this argument and say that since Brazil is composed of more than 5,500 municipalities which are autonomous entities it is not possible to have a centralized view of public policies. They say that the federal state cannot produce politics in this diverse context because they are formulated in general terms. The difficulties of managing homogeneous safety policies would be the explanation for the strength that the idea of local power has obtained in public debate in recent years (Ricardo and Caruso 2007: 103).

Tulio Kahn and André Zanetic (2005), in an article that tries to sum up the main features of the role of municipalities in public safety raise another point of view. They argue that the increase in homicide rates and the feeling of lack of safety in society has forced politicians to do something about the population's biggest worries. The authors highlight that the shift in the federal and municipal involvement with public safety is directly connected with the concerns of the voters, who supposedly do not differentiate between the responsibilities of each governmental sphere (idem: 4). In order to demonstrate the reaction of federal and municipal spheres the authors consider some new programs that were implemented during the 2000s.

Another author, Marcelo Ottoni Durante (2009) argues that in the recent decades the increase in the "problem of violence" – not only in terms of numbers of occurrences but also in the unsafe feeling of the population - "and the recognition that safety policies that were State´s priorities were not able to produce satisfactory results led to a growth of demands for a wider responsibility for solutions to the problem of violence " (Durante 2009: 117). The author works with the importance of civil society in the context of violence, arguing that the state has been shown to have no capacity to control criminality alone. In addition Kahn and Zanetic and Durante are justifying the demand for new arrangements using a political approach in the sense that they are arguing for an interest orientation (either politicians´ or civil society interests).

All these authors are arguing for a new political arrangement regarding safety policy formulation and implementation. But they justify the importance of a new political arrangement with different arguments for it. It is possible to say that there is a consensus about the necessity of a new arrangement that would make more political-administrative spheres responsible for public safety. At the same time, there is no dominant reason for this.

1.2. Implementation of a preventive model: the interdisciplinary model.

Thus, a significant shift in the management of public policies is an important feature of the process described in the literature. The direction of decentralization has been developed in a vertical way, with a call for the involvement of all federal entities in safety policies. But in a horizontal direction the movement is the opposite: arguments for the integration of governmental areas can be found in the literature. To this effect, there is a proposal for the integration of the operations of government and institutions; of education with health, social assistance, urban planning; in the production of knowledge and information.

However, it is not clear whether the involvement of many areas in safety projects is a new way of treating the problem of violence or if it is a new discourse bringing in different topics and labeling them with the issue of safety. This hypothesis does not include an evaluation of the effects of the discourse. In other words, does a shift in discourse promote different attention to the "cause" of violence, or does it mean an actual change in concrete policies? Some new institutions have been created in the past decade, but also old responsibilities of the State are now being described as security matters. The new institutions will be discussed further below, but it is important to bring up the idea of integration of governmental areas in order to discuss the nature of the changes proposed. This debate also evolves the difference between state and governmental politics, since a different interpretation of the existing law could lead politicians to interpret in different ways the role of municipalities in public safety. This means that a preventive approach to crime can have different meanings regarding municipal obligations; also different meanings of social policies and safety policies and the relation between them can generate different practical consequences (this will deserve more attention in the conclusion). In this section we will examine the idea of integration presented in the

literature and the arguments for the inclusion of different policy areas in the field of safety.

Fagundes (2007) says that the interdisciplinary approach to safety policies is necessary to treat violence and the feeling of insecurity once these phenomena are multivariate: gender, race, social class, geographical location, among others, can influence both insecurity and crime (Dias Neto 2005 cited in Fagundes 2007: 27). This author also says that there must take place a re-evaluation of police force functions that lead to an integrated way of working with other institutions aiming at a problem solving orientation based on a preventive posture (idem). Fagundes adds that this preventive posture relates to integration between police and citizens through preventive education and participation in communitarian councils for instance. This would lead to the incorporation of social intervention policies, seeking social contexts that are causes of violence. In this direction, urban planning, education, culture, leisure, employment policies, among others, should be incorporated in the preventive paradigm (Fagundes 2007: 28).

Kopittke (2010) discusses the social participation from a public safety policy perspective in the light of Democratic Theory. He studies the restructuring of the National Board for Public Safety. In this article it is possible to find the recognition of a cultural change such as the dichotomy between repression versus prevention and the affirmation that there is already an understanding about the necessity of the participation of different social actors in the struggle against violence. But the author highlights that the networks and movements which have been contributing to a strong shift in the field´s culture still do not have a formal space to act more incisively in policy formulation (Kopittke 2010: 149). The author is arguing that there is a need to integrate different areas and also with civil society but he observes that this is impeded by institutional constraints.

Ricardo and Caruso (2007) argue that the focus on the province´s obligation for police administration and thus the exclusion of municipalities from safety policies constitute a punitive and militaristic view about safety. The punitive view refers to the "idea that violence and crime can be reduced to the ability of the organs of public safety and criminal justice to arrest criminals" (idem: 105). The militaristic view means "working with the idea that the disorder and conflict must be fought, cut off and suffocated" (ibidem). The authors defend a qualified repression against crime but allied with municipal preventive initiatives. They argue that this municipal role is fulfilling municipal legal responsibilities (idem:104). "If we take a look in the federal model after 1988 we will see that it attributes to municipalities the management of public services of local interest such as health and education, environmental protection and the protection of cultural and historical goods and development and ordering of urban spaces. Therefore, if local policies are conceived in an integrated way and having as joint focus the ordering of public space and crime prevention, the result will be the 'full development of municipal social functions ensuring the well being of its inhabitants' as proposed by art. 142 of the Constitution" (idem: 105). The authors argue that it is possible to attribute and charge municipalities with responsibilities for public order and violence prevention based on the existent legal system. In this sense, Ricardo and Caruso are arguing that a preventive initiative is a municipal responsibility and municipal safety policies should be interdisciplinary. They argue that this is possible since local administrations already have social responsibilities that must be integrated through a crime preventive approach. Their argument goes in a different direction from Kopittke´s argument, as the latter says that there is no institutional framework for the participation of other areas in public safety prevention policies.

Tulio Kahn and André Zanetic (2005) present the sharp decrease in homicide rates in the State of Sao Paulo (from 2000 to 2005 there was a reduction of 37%) and point out the main possible factors responsible for this. They analyze some municipal interventions and their relationship with the decrease of rates: the

publicizing of an anonymous informant phone number and its effects on the amount of information passed to the Police; effects of the statute on disarmament; effects of the closure of bars overnight ; introduction of municipal guards and municipal secretaries for safety; and social investments. What can be seen as a new institution within the policies described is the introduction of municipal secretaries. But according to the authors, they have the duty to do "urban improvements - lighting, cleaning, noise, visual and environmental; measures to expand education, culture, sports and recreation for young people, especially the poor urban areas; action in partnership with the state government; establishment of safety councils with the participation of community and decentralization of actions; campaigns of citizen awareness against weapons, violence and discrimination; regulation of and granting of licenses for establishments that have frequently been involved with crimes and misdemeanors, such as bars, car dismantling and brothels; feedback towards the municipal civil guard (GCM) in the direction of community policing, emphasizing aspects such as preventive policing, police foot patrols, recruitment in the community and integration with the community (Kahn and Zanetic 2005: 50). Some of these attributions are related to duties that municipalities already have and others are related to a political willingness of the local authority to work towards crime reduction. An example of an existing duty is urban improvement. An attribution related to political willingness could be for instance the campaigns. But the important point to be made is the fact that the municipal public safety secretaries are implementing or organizing social policies and bringing them into the sphere of crime prevention.

Dias Neto (2005: 85) resumes the arguments outlined above by saying that "preventive actions require an interdisciplinary effort to understand homicide as a social phenomenon associated with deviations in the socialization process, unemployment, lack of leisure, consumption of alcoholic beverages, availability of firearms, and a violence culture, among other factors". As a consequence of this interdisciplinary treatment of preventive policies it is possible to observe a symbolic efficiency in extending the reach of criminal policies in the sense that crime prevention comes to be seen not as a by-product of the performance of local administration but as horizontal task (Dias Neto 2005: 135).

This chapter presented the idea of crime prevention that can be found in scholarly work. First was shown briefly the development of the understandings of crime. While researchers in the academic sphere were producing an understanding of the phenomenon of violence related to social and spatial inequalities, scholars conducting applied research were saying that these assumptions should lead to a focus on the citizen more than on the protection of the state. A preventive approach to crime appears and has as main features the decentralization of safety policies and the intersectionality of areas of expertise. These features represent, for the literature, a new paradigm in safety policies, which could be introduced by a shift in the way safety is understood and so the legal safety framework is interpreted.

Chapter Two – The National Conference on Public Safety: results of a discourse articulation

This chapter deals with the material produced in the context of the First National Conference of Public Safety (CONSEG). The main texts produced in the CONSEG context will be analyzed in order to identify the ideas and policies that were consolidated in the Conference. They are important to understand the changes that are underpinning the "new paradigm" and the policy shifts that are the focus of this research. This chapter will also present Renato de Lima´s (2010) analysis of the participant groups in CONSEG and their adherence to the so called "new paradigm" in public safety. The author shows a map of positions and political-ideological tides among the participants of the Conference that will be helpful for the introduction of the idea of "discourse" within the context of safety policies.

The Base Text was prepared by the Ministry of Justice with some contributions from entities that were represented in the Preparatory Forum (for the National Meeting) together with the Organizing Committee for the National Conference of Public Safety. Its main goal is to "contextualize the topic in the light of the policies and recent achievements and to guide the process of discussions during the various stages of the event" (Base Text 2009: 3). The focus of the Conference was the discussion of the scope of executive power functions related to public safety and the establishment of a dialogue with its current programs and policies. Thus, it is important to highlight that it is possible to find the same discourse, or philosophy, found in the literature described above: the idea of decentralization, which means an expansion of the public safety debate beyond the scope of state governments, and the idea of an integrated management of safety policies: "From the perspective of policy planning, the strategy has become the implementation of a joint agenda of safety - between the federal, states and municipalities - which has a clear interface, expressed in joint actions. However, it is necessary not just to review the federal structure, with the appreciation of the role of the municipality, but to train and sensitize managers from other areas (such as health, education, social welfare and urban) for the intersectionality of safety policy" (idem: 33). But the difference in this case is the focus on federal role. Many passages stress the municipal role but highlight the induction of federal government into the operation of municipal institutions. This point of view is not presented in the articles that support the participation of municipalities quoted above. In those articles it is possible to extract the idea of municipalities as protagonists in crime prevention in specific policies. It is also possible to say that the discussion about federal transfer of funds is unacknowledged in the academic literature. The Text points out that all this discussion is proposed without interference with the federal charter (outlined by 1988´s Constitution): There will not be a revision of constitutional legislation with respect to the role of municipalities and federal government in public safety. It is possible to say that all measures proposed are based on a wider interpretation of the legal system, opening the possibility for all federal entities to participate in crime prevention. In this sense, there is a claim for a discursive shift.

In order to situate the federal participation in the debate, it is important to say that in 2003 the Ministry of Justice started a program of fund transference from the federal to the municipal level. This program was started in 2003 and it was enabled by Law 10,201 approved in 2001 and then reinforced by Law 10,746 passed in 2003. The latter envisages that the National Fund for Public Safety (FNSP) will support projects in the area of public safety and violence prevention which fit into the directives of the plan of public safety of the Federal Government. In this sense, all the debate around municipal participation in public safety can find some way of being implemented, once it becomes possible for the municipalities to have funds allocated for the purpose of safety. So it is possible to affirm that the effective participation of municipalities in crime prevention was enabled by a change in law despite all the discussion about whether it was possible to implement public safety policies by municipalities without changing the Constitution and its federal charter. It is also possible to say that the law promotes the decentralization of policies and a federal centralization of the establishment of policy guidelines. In this context was born the possibility of the National Conference: the federal government through the Ministry of Justice sponsored and encouraged the Conference and the material that became the starting point of the debate. But at the same time the Conference was held with the participation of all members of the federation and diverse actors involved with the topic of safety.

The Text has an introduction into the topic of violence and then some points to be developed through seven lines of work.[7] The Text points out that the selection of

---

[7] The lines of work are: Democratic management: social and external control, integration and federalism; Management and financing of public policies on security; Professional enhancement and optimization of working conditions; Qualified repression of crime; Social prevention of crime and violence

these topics was a result of the profile of urban violence in Brazil, despite a lack of data about this. It also states that the National Conference will promote a horizontal decision-making process and show that a new public management is also involved. The Introduction to the Text claims a true cultural change, and proposes a "new paradigm" in public safety: the idea of "citizen safety". In better words, the end of the dichotomy between prevention and repression and the idea that is not the State that should be protected but the citizens. The new paradigm includes the participation of different actors and governmental areas such as education, health and even urban planning. The Final Report is studied here because it shows the resolutions that shape the acceptance of the so-called "new paradigm" in the Base Text.

The Final Report was written by an autonomous agency for monitoring and evaluation of public policies and correlated projects. The document articulates the principles and guidelines that were approved by the Conference to comprise the direction of future safety public policies. The Final report also presents the methodology used in the Conference for the definition of the main resolutions which were passed: Forty work groups were created and the results of their discussions were presented in panels in order to enable the participants to follow other groups´ discussions and to post comments about the proposals. The comments could be supportive or not. In a second moment, participants voted on the main principles and guidelines for public safety policies by putting colored stamps under the proposals. The result was a ranking of the ten principles and forty guidelines receiving the highest votes, and the 3 with highest votes in each line of work and the 19 highest overall. The Final Report shows five final principles of ten and nine guidelines that are related to the topic of prevention and the municipal role in safety policies and they will be presented here.

2.1. Structuring a new paradigm: decentralization and integration as principles and guidelines

It is possible to divide the consolidated ideas in the Conference into two main groups: the understandings of the most effective ways to deal with crime control; and the understandings of the changing conditions of the state governance of crime. Some of the principles and guidelines presented here could be located in both categories, but the division was made to facilitate the analysis.

The first set of ideas comprehends two principles and two guidelines (Final Report 2009:80):

> "Principle 4)[8] To foment, guarantee and consolidate a new conception of public safety as a fundamental right and to promote structural reforms in the organizational model of its institutions, in the three levels of government, democratizing, prioritizing the strengthening and the execution of the SUSP - Unique System of Public Safety -, of the PRONASCI - National Program of Public Safety with Citizenship - and of the CONASP - National Council of Public Safety with Citizenship" (265 votes).

> "Principle 6) To be guided by intersectionality, transverseness and systemic integration with social policies, especially in education, in order to prevent accident, violence and crime, and to recognize that these phenomena stem from multiple causes (economic, social, political, cultural, etc.). and that it cannot be the sole responsibility of public safety agencies" (243 votes).

> Guideline 32) "Emergency care in the city – To structure and expand the network of the Prevention, Emergency Services and Accidents System in all municipalities in

---

and building a culture of peace; Guidelines for the Penitentiary System; Guidelines for the Prevention System, Accident and Emergency Attendances.

[8] The order of the principles is related to the number of votes that each one has received. The fist was the most voted and the last, the principle with less number of votes.

Brazil, prioritizing services to municipalities where the risk of accident or disaster is recognized" (203 votes).

Guideline 39) "Violence prevention – To establish programs for primary prevention of violence, focusing on traffic, health, education, culture, entertainment, sports, social welfare and urban planning areas for intersectional policies for public safety and encouraging the adoption of the philosophy of communitarian police "(170 votes).

The second set of ideas is expressed by three principles and seven guidelines (idem):

"Principle 2) Guided by maintaining the current constitutional provision of the organs of the area, according to article 144 of Federal Constitution" (455 votes).

"Principle 5) It is guided by the legal-lawful recognition of the importance of the municipality as co-administration of the area, strengthening its action in the social prevention of crime and of the violence" (258 votes).

"Principle 9) To establish an autonomous, independent, deliberative, participatory, tripartite national system for safety advice to promote social control in the three spheres of government, having National Council for Public Safety - CONASP as important deliberative body of shared management" (112 votes).

Guideline 5) "Municipal Councils - create, deploy, organize, restructure in all municipalities, safety councils, community councils of public safety, with advisory and deliberative powers, to formulate and evaluate Public Safety Policies, with equal and proportional representation, with their own budgetary allocation in order to ensure sustainability and the conditions necessary for the effective functioning and continuity of CONSEG as a forum for greater deliberation. Structuring GGIs (State and Local) as a way to integrate society and the executive power, with equal and proportional composition" (799 votes).

Guideline 8) "Municipal Guards – To regulate the Municipal Guards as municipal police: defining their constitutional mandate, regulate the category; ensure statutory rights, such as working hours, career, retirement, physical and mental care, the prison regime, housing programs, life insurance, and criteria for psychometric exam every four years, with a public competition and the minimum requirement of a high school diploma" (607 votes).

Guideline 11) "Role of municipalities – To define and regulate the role and the constitutional mandate of municipalities in regard to Public Safety" (514 votes).

Guideline 20) " National Council for Public Safety – To restructure the National Council for Public Safety and reform the state and municipal councils considering the principles of democracy, representation, equality, autonomy, transparency, and focusing mainly on combating corruption, service delivery quality of the population and permanent articulation with the social forces. For this purpose: to elect its members every two years, through conferences and forums in which there is full social participation; to tailor their actions to local and regional operation of the instruments of democratic control with monitoring of quantitative and qualitative data from situations of violence and criminal incidents; to provide advice, purposive and deliberative inspection, adjusting its resolutions to the guidelines and regulations of the Ministry of Justice and to maintain a close relationship with all the safety councils and others in order to facilitate joint working; to manage all their resources to participate, and ensure that they are effectively used in achieving their goals. Also to develop and to enhance the political and administrative structure of the National Council for Public Safety in accordance with the legal state and municipal councils of safety, considering the principles of democracy, representation, equality, autonomy and transparency, focused on combating corruption and the quality of service provision for the population" (305 votes).

Guideline 23) "Municipal Cabinets of Integrated Management – To Create, organize, deploy, compose, and strengthen democratically Integrated Management Cabinets at all three levels of government to: promote joint action and coordinated public safety agencies with public and private institutions, respecting and accepting guidelines and the deliberations of public safety councils" (283 votes).

Guideline 28) "Pronasci – To establish, maintain and improve the National Program of Public Safety with Citizenship (PRONASCI) in all areas of the country on a permanent basis" (213 votes).

Guideline 38) " Councils – To Create, refine and structure the functioning of the Councils of Public Safety at the three government levels, as well as Community Councils, and deliberative areas of Public Safety Policy, in equal and proportional form (civil society, managers and workers) integrating them into the Integrated Management Offices (GGI)" (177 votes).

The first set of resolutions brings in the concept of intersectional policies. Safety is expressed as a fundamental right of citizens. It seems that once safety become a right, it is necessary to prevent violence and also to integrate different political areas to prevent the causes of violence.

The second set of resolutions expresses the concept of decentralization of safety public policies. Some practical results were achieved, such as social participation in communitarian councils and the strengthening of municipal guards. The decentralization contributes to reinforcing the municipalities and federal participation through the PRONASCI program.

It is clear that the main ideas brought out in the Conference follow scholars´ claims: crime prevention, decentralization and integration of political areas became common understandings about the direction of future safety policies. These principles show that there is in some sense a common discourse among the participants of the Conference and in the resolutions, and also that it is aligned with the claims in the academic literature. Thus, according to the division adopted in this paper it can be said that there is an accepted wisdom that says that to deal with crime control it is necessary to integrate different political areas; and the governance of crime should be the responsibility of all federal entities, from the municipal sphere to the federal government. Through the principles and guidelines presented it was possible to see that different statements that were appearing in scholarly publications were put together. The Conference resulted in a continuity of different statements, and has produced more definition in the body of discursive events (Foucault 1969) about public safety.

2.2. Public safety policies: discourse and its technologies

The resolutions quoted above have been translated into policies. Some of them had already been developed and were reaffirmed during the Conference. Others found endorsement with the resolutions for their implementation. The Ministry of Justice is promoting the Unique Public Safety System - SUSP. It was created in 2003 and the project to regulate it as a State policy was submitted to the National Congress in 2007, although up to September 2010 it had not been approved. Despite this lack of regulation, it is already being implemented as a governmental program. This system will be integrated by all entities listed in Constitutional article 144, i.e., the police forces, and also by National Force of Public Safety (a special federal police). The members "will act within the limits of their competence, in a cooperative, systemic and harmonic manner" (Normative act project 2007: article 7º). As regards civil guards, the project determines that "they will be able to collaborate in supplementary activities for prevention in the cooperative implementation of the politics of public safety of the federalist entities" (idem).The aim of the system is to integrate the action of police forces keeping their autonomy untouched through (I) planned and combined actions, (II) mutual acceptance of the records of occurrences and of investigative procedures, (III) information sharing and (IV) interchange of scientific and technical knowledge (idem). This system has promoted the implementation of Governmental Cabinets of Integrated Management (GGIs in the state sphere) through cooperation covenants between states and federal government.

The Base Text shows that the "new paradigm" was highly promoted by the National Program of Public Safety with Citizenship (Pronasci). It is very important to point out that the federal government takes responsibility for the implementation of this new direction that has led to a horizontal process of decision with the participation of civil society, government and public safety workers (proportionately represented in the Conference). While SUSP was developed to integrate governmental spheres in order to promote cooperative work among them, Pronasci was designed to strengthen federative and communitarian ties. Established in 2007 the program (Pronasci) promotes the creation of "federal, state and municipal structures involved in the promotion of policies of crime prevention with the capacity of articulation among them" (Base Text: 21) in order to "strength social and communitarian networks; respect the principles and guidelines of decentralized management and participatory social policies and resolutions of social policy councils; intensify and expand measures to cope with organized crime and police corruption; promote safety and peaceful coexistence"; among others (idem: 22) . By the second semester of 2010 the program had reached 150 municipalities in 22 states. It is a federal program but its adoption depends on local politicians and the establishment of covenants. Guideline 28 from CONSEG establishes that Pronasci should be improved and should become a state policy, i.e., a permanent program. Guideline 23 promotes the policy of GGIs and encourages their organization.

The program establishes the introduction of Municipal Cabinets of Integrated Management (GGIs) based on a progressive municipal involvement with the issue of safety. "It is a permanent space for dialogue between government bodies and institutions, without affecting their autonomy and without any kind of functional subordination or politics, but in order to formalize and strengthen the participation of local governments in public safety policies and coordinated action of public safety institutions" (Base Text : 22). The GGI is a requirement for the municipality to participate in PRONASCI´s actions despite the need to consolidate this policy. Some of the objectives of GGIs are: to establish a statewide / national network of exchange of information, experiences and practice management, which provides a national planning system with agendas for regional and national forums; to develop a strategic plan of integrated actions to be implemented; to develop indicators; to identify demands and list priorities through diagnostic research; to spread the integrated management philosophy; to ensure representation of the National Public Safety Secretary (Senasp) to promote communication, articulation and achievement of goals (idem: 23).

The program is the main structure introduced for the municipalities since the appearance of the prevention discourse and municipal participation and it is the unique new institutional arrangement made by law for municipalities (Municipal Public Safety Secretaries are not an obligation). GGIs have been implemented with Federal financial support. Thus, considering the discussion about whether a municipal role is more a new discourse than a new legal and institutional arrangement, GGIs are a unique step in the direction of concrete implemented policies to empower municipalities. These cabinets are still thought of as an institution to promote the articulation among federative members. To this effect, the autonomy or at least the authorship of municipal policies is not completely clear.

SUSP and PRONASCI are federal programs which have gained importance after their resolutions were approved in the First National Conference of Public Safety. To complete federal participation in the safety debate, there is another important request: the National Board for Public Safety (CONASP). After the first CONSEG, this nearly inactive board was reformulated and went through a transitional phase. It was launched initially in 1990 by Decree nº 98.936/90 and it was the reason for a new regulation in 1997 (Decree nº 2.169), which established CONASP as a collegial body of technical cooperation among federal entities in crime control and directly subordinate to the Ministry of Justice. The Board should define a national

safety policy; it has eight members and civil society participation is only via a member of the Bar Association, although this is not required (Kopittke *et al.* 2010: 152). In 2003 the Board´s bylaw was adopted that allowed external participation, without voting rights. Kopittke says that CONASP has its origins in the same trend observed in other areas of public policy after the 1988 Constitution, but unlike other agencies, this had only the function of advising the minister, without the participation of other segments, such as civil society and workers in the area of safety. "So while most of the policies went forward into a new institutional model focusing on joint management and reliability of various actors and sectors involved in the related policy, public safety remained with a pre-constitutional design that has not been adapted to the new mechanisms and dynamics of public management in Brazil after the return to democracy" (idem).

CONASP resolutions had no legal force: "In almost twenty years of formal existence the board had an insignificant role in public safety policies" (ibidem). After the Conference, Conasp was reformulated with the support of principle 4 and 9 and guidelines 5, 20 and 38 of CONSEG´s resolutions. The board will now have participation of civil society, public authorities and workers in the safety area. Its main responsibilities are to establish guidelines for the actions of the National Safety Service and to monitor the implementation and allocation of resources related to them; to articulate and to support, systematically, state, federal district and municipal public safety aiming at the formulation and implementation of common basic guidelines, and the potential exercise of its statutory mandate and regulations; to study, analyze and suggest changes in relevant legislation; to encourage national debates around safety issues; to articulate itself about research institutes to develop national indicators for policy evaluation; among others (Final Report 2009, Kopittke et al 2010).

In Kopittke´s article can be noticed the idea that the restructuring of the CONASP was a natural and necessary path to be followed once other areas of public policy have councils with those responsibilities.

Another instance occurred in the direction of strengthening the municipal role in safety area is the National Council of Public Safety Secretaries and Public Managers. The council brings together policy makers who are interested in implementing safety policies in the local sphere. The president of this council represents local policy makers in the National Council of Public Safety (CONASP).

At the local level preventive projects are being developed. They vary strongly according to the municipality. But it is possible to say that some policies are found in many places where municipal government is developing safety projects, such as: diagnostic research, creation and improvement of municipal guards, creation of a Public Safety Secretary, monitoring systems (surveillance with cameras), creation of municipal safety councils and communitarian councils, local forums for crime prevention, gender and youth violence reduction programs.

Guideline 8 proposes the regulation of civil guards (municipal guards) as police forces. In the year 2000, thirteen Proposals of Amendment to the Constitution about the matter went to the National Congress (De Souza, 2000). None of them have yet been formulated. Nevertheless, many municipal guards were created in the 2000s based on current legislation. Other local projects are inserted into what can be called social policies, although they are related to crime prevention. In this sense, they do not interfere with the federal charter. They expand the role of municipalites regarding the participation of local government in safety public policies but only if these policies are understood in a broader manner. In better words, these projects are part of safety policies if the understanding of the meaning of safety is broader than police work against crime.

2.3. New paradigm acceptance within National Conference

In Chapters One and Two the effort was to outline what has been called the "new paradigm" in public safety. It is important to present the groups that are consolidating the new mainstream - the idea that municipalities are important to crime control and the need to integrate different political areas in the prevention of violence.

The work of Renato de Lima and Wagner de Mello Romão (2010) has produced a four-fold classification of the different groups at the Conference, according to the kind of safety policies they support. The work was justified by the fact that "one of the major challenges faced when approaching and measuring an incipient process is to define the current state of play and the methodological parameters to enable proper technical and conceptual measurement of the states and/or movements associated to it" (Lima and Romão 2010: 98). In brief, the authors have identified the following: I) the current public safety organization model is suitable and the existing problems concern lack of financial and human sources. This group relates safety almost exclusively to the work of police forces. Social participation is managed carefully."If proposals for change become inevitable, the discussion invariably resorts to legal solutions, such as calls for tougher penal measures, a lower age of criminal responsibility, and/or speeding up the legal proceedings" (Lima and Romão 2010: 103). II) People who highlight the necessity of legal reforms "but only as far as to broaden the powers of current institutions to act. (…) Professional valorization is limited to pay hikes and greater availability of personal protective equipment (bulletproof vests) and family protection devices (insurance, housing)" (idem). Social participation has been seen positively but without concrete proposals. III) "Regard improvements in management as a way forward in dealing with problems related to crime, violence and insecurity" (ibidem). There is an emphasis on police work and the need for management innovation and technological improvement seems essential but insufficient without the inclusion of new actors. Social participation seems positive, and professional valorization (including human rights precepts) seems crucial. IV) People who do not recognize the efficiency of the current model. Their opinion is extreme, for instance, they reclaim the end of military police (ibidem). "These groups are not homogenous although they show degrees of adherence to different models of public safety in Brazil" (Lima and Romão 2010: 104).

What is interesting for the present research is less the differences among the participants in the Conference than the fact that 70% of the 789 respondents, when asked to insert themselves through self-identification in one of the four currents defined earlier, admitted to be in groups III and IV. The percentage of 70% belonging to group III and IV changed when the researchers asked the respondents their opinion about five different topics.[9] The result is quite different: 48.3% is in groups III and IV. 78.8% is identified with just one group and 21.2% belong to more than one current. 12.5% of the respondents could be identified with group II and III. This shows that the definition of boundaries between what can be considered "old or new paradigm" is not completely clear. This remark will offer elements for further analysis..

This chapter demonstrated that crime prevention and a new paradigm in safety policies are being institutionalized through a greater acceptance of its features. The new discourse was brought to the center of the field and it is being accepted by different groups (at least some statements of this new discourse). Once it is possible to say that there is a tension between management and the legal sphere of

---

[9] "The technique adopted entailed interviewees stating the degree to which they agreed or disagreed (totally or partially) to a number of statements carrying particular meanings.Responses were pre-codified and positioned along the current scales in order to balance the number of phrases associated to each of the four currents" (Lima and Romão 2010: 77).

public safety (especially because of article 144 of the Constitution), thus the Conference moved towards legitimating the debate.

Chapter Three - Public policies: a new field arises

After analyzing the articles and the material produced in the Context of the First National Conference of Public Safety it is possible to identify the directions that public safety policies are taking. Until this point there is some consensus that a new direction has been proposed and somehow implemented with the idea of a "new paradigm" in public safety. In this chapter we will analyze interviews with policy makers involved with crime control and violence prevention.

The aim of these interviews was to enable an exploratory analysis of the issues considered so far only through articles and documents. Five semi-structured interviews were conducted.[10] Three were with municipal secretaries of safety. Carlos Sant´Ana, Secretary of Safety in São Leopoldo, state of Rio Grande do Sul; Renato Perrenoud, Secretary of Safety in Santos, state of Sao Paulo; and João Sana, Secretary of Safety in Vitória, capital of Espírito Santo state and president of the National Council of Public Safety Secretaries and Public Managers. Another interview was done with José Vicente da Silva, colonel of Military Police of the state of São Paulo, former National Secretary of Safety Policies and former coordinator of community safety councils in Sao Paulo state. The last interview was conducted with Cristina Vilanova, general coordinator of preventive actions for public safety of the National Secretary of Public Safety that comes under the Ministry of Justice. The group selected covers all federal spheres: the municipal is represented by secretaries, the state sphere by Col. Vicente and the federal government by Cristina Vilanova. Ms Vilanova and João Sana were members of the organizing commission of the National Conference of Public Safety.

3.1. Understandings of the state/governance of crime.

The main aspects that can be clarified through the interviews concern the nature of municipal participation in crime control and violence prevention; the need for and form of a legal regulation of the role of the municipality; decisive factors that are pushing municipal participation in safety policies. The responses of the interviewees can be classified according to the four-fold division applied to the CONSEG´s resolutions. In better words, they show the understanding of the interviewees of effective ways to deal with crime control and of the state/governance of crime.

In advance it is possible to say that the consensus and homogeneity found in the literature and in the Conference resolutions cannot be found when practical policies and policy makers' speech are under scrutiny.

3.1.1. The role of municipalities.

The first point to be considered is how the interviewees see the role of municipalities in public safety. Cristina Vilanova says that the participation of the local sphere in safety policies is fundamental. "The municipalities should take the leading role in implementing actions of violence prevention, integrating different knowledge and expertise. The public manager has better conditions to have a consistent diagnosis of the violence dynamic in the municipality and hence to carry out, build and implement public policies". João Sana also advocates that municipalities should promote public safety policies, but he emphasizes the "federal integration, i.e. the municipality has a role to play in safety in a perspective of integration of state and federal governments. Another essential principle is the intersectional and joint approach". Both of them believe in an important role to be played out by municipalities and the necessity of integration. But the former declares that the main activity of the municipality should be the development of

---

[10] Details about the methodology are in Appendix 1.

preventive policies and the latter highlights the role of integrating all governmental spheres. Sant´Ana goes in the same direction, "making very clear which is the role of municipality – as the entity which articulates safety agencies and policies, whether federal, state or municipal ones". Whereas Perrenoud says that municipal participation nowadays is essential "not just in preventive issues, which is a municipal original obligation, but also the repressive part together with the policies". With this in mind, he also highlights the importance of the municipality, however bringing in a third role, which would be collaboration with police forces in crime repression through civil guards. "Today the military police can not ensure public safety without the support of municipal oversight, municipal guards. (…) We are preparing a GM force to be the local police as soon as authorized by law". José Vicente expresses another point of view and says that the main role of municipalities is prevention in a broad sense through maintenance of public order, especially in big cities. He disagrees completely that civil guards should have police powers, so he limits the municipal role to the restoration of degraded areas – what he defines as "environmental interventions" – that promotes a recuperation of social values that had been lost. In this sense municipal preventive policies should do these kinds of interventions. Cristina also supports preventive policies but focusing on definition of the activities of civil guards and training of such forces, allied with diagnostic research about local demands.

3.1.2. The Municipal role and the legal system.

Another important issue that was revealed in CONSEG´s resolutions was the need for legal regulation to define the role of the municipality. The opinions of the policy makers who were interviewed vary a lot about this topic. Some took the view that it is essential to regulate the field of action of the municipal guards. According to Cristina, "there is no need for legislative amendment, but to lay down new rules for the powers of the municipal guards, considering that paragraph 8 of Article 144 of the Constitution provides that 'the municipal government may establish civil guards to protect public goods under the law'. The problem is this law was never drafted. In this sense is necessary to elaborate it in order to delimit the role of municipal guards (GM), given the existing safety system. Today, since the GMs are acting without effective legislative support, this leaves a lot of room for interpretation about the powers and duties of these professionals, resulting in overlapping of work among professionals, particularly between the Municipal Guard and the Military Police". João Sana shares this opinion. Some others support the opinion that it is not enough to regulate the powers of civil guards. "Changing only the law of the guards does very little since the police force regulation also dates from the dictatorship period", says Perrenoud. Sant´Ana believes that beyond the regulation of the work of GMs it is necessary to regulate the Unified System of Public Safety (SUSP) to define the role of the local sphere in public safety. A fourth opinion is that there is no need for legal regulation of the safety area, "it is good as it is" says José Vicente.

About this topic another important observation must be made. The principles expressed during the National Conference – CONSEG show that now there is a direction to be followed. What was proposed by the Base Text was somehow aligned with the academic literature claims, as these principles express the ideas of decentralization and integration between areas and governmental spheres. But at the same time it is possible to identify a contradiction: principle 2 and principle 5 are in a sense contradictory. The former supports the current constitutional arrangement and the latter proposes a legal recognition of municipalities as co-manager of public safety policies (co-manager, since the claim is for the integration of the efforts between all federal entities, and also because it is not possible to exclude the states´ control of police forces). João Sana was asked about this contradiction. First, he made clear that "[these] principles explain to us a number of concepts of public safety that are in dispute". Then, he explained – about principle 2 - that "this thesis, which was voted as the second runner-up, just has to

do with movement performed by Military Police especially related to defense, so to speak, of its market reserve (or its corporate interests), which was uncompromisingly defended." He also explained that this defense was an answer to an old proposal regarding unification of police forces, a proposal that Sana classified as being contradictory with the proposal of the Conference. Concerning the 5th principle, he was asked about the intention of the voters, if it concerned a legal change in the role of municipal guards. He answered that the role of the municipality goes beyond the guards, for instance the local administration should manage policies for youth since 70% of homicides occur among this group. He argues that youth policies in this case could be seen as safety policies. So he was asked about the meaning of the "legal-lawful recognition of the importance of the town" and he said: "I believe it involves a reinterpretation, for me the need is to recognize that the municipality is not a federal entity in the 2nd category, and I truly consider that what we set out there was a referendum for the PRONASCI policy."

Sana´s interview shows that group interests are represented through the principles which were voted on, and agreement on them was not unanimous even if such disagreements were not stated in the Final Report. About principle 2 and 5, Cristina says that "some principles and guidelines adopted seem a setback because there was an approval of no amendment to art. 144 since specialist sectors, prison guards and civil guards valued their autonomy as police institutions. In the case mentioned, the recognition of the municipality - and that is how we are working -, it is in fact the recognition of the municipality under SUSP and its prevention activities, working for the regulation of the powers of the Municipal Guard from the point of view of prevention, management of local safety, in a cooperative manner with the other institutions of public safety. In this sense, I do not believe there is a contradiction between this principle and the regulation of GM competence, considering that paragraph 8 has already established the possibility of creating GMs. The principles and guidelines adopted at CONSEG now are the lines on which the CONASP and the federal government, state and municipal governments should work to guide and motivate public safety policies under its responsibility. There is also a need for approval by Congress of the regulation of SUSP".

Sana´s interpretation of principle 5 goes in a more symbolic direction. He says that the legal recognition of the importance of the town is a principle to strength the role of municipality and to support the PRONASCI policy. Cristina has in a sense a different interpretation, when she says that principle 5 was passed to allow the regulation of GMs and to recognize the role of municipalities through SUSP policy. But at the same time she is calling for a unity of the discourse, saying that despite the contradictions and disputes the Conference has agreed a line of work.

It is possible to say that the apparent consensus evolved from the Conference is not so strong and this aspect can burden a deeper look into those transformations in the model.

3.1.3. Factors for the introduction of the municipalities in public safety.

Another topic that appeared in the review of the literature, which was also developed in the interviews, relates to the factors that have led to the introduction of local sphere in safety arena. High crime rates and consequently public concern about safety were the main factors for Sant´Ana. But he points out that public concern did not lead the population to charge local government directly: "Today it seems that much of the research, if there is any, about what concerns Brazilians in any region finds that public safety is in the first place. So the authorities worry about it." But this explanation is not merely about votes. It also concerns local management, so it is a political explanation in a broader sense: Sant'Ana continues, "[Public managers think] 'we have a problem that must be resolved or else all other policies of the municipality will not work'. Including economic issues, e.g. lack of

businesses in a given region because certain cities are not safe and the companies install their enterprises in another city."

Another explanation comes from José Vicente. His explanations could be classified as geographical, but still different from those found in the literature. He says that "the city has gained a much greater role in the life of Brazilian society and this process has extended to successive responsibilities, for instance, in education and health. In other words, the management closer to the citizen has the most chance of success". But he says that policing is the only public service that is far from the citizen and there are good reasons for that, the model is suitable. So, he concludes that progress in the sense of giving greater power to the mayor matches with the fact that "the police are also discovering that the problem of crime is not just a matter of offenders and victims but also the place where they meet is a crucial factor. Crime has circumstantial factors". He argues that policemen are now identifying the local focus of crime, and thus working at the local level with different strategies. Vicente says "I support in an article I wrote what I call municipalization. (…) The problem is that state police, civil and military, should look at the peculiarities of each site". He advocates that the municipality is important, but depends on the police actions in the problematic areas. Sana takes another direction, arguing that the main factors for a new role of local governments are: "the failure of public safety polices developed until recently based on the interpretation that states were the only federal member responsible for them" and also, SUSP and PRONASCI propositions. Thus, he points to the failure of what he calls "the former interpretation" and the role of federal government.

Perrenoud argues that the Constitution established that police power is restricted to federal and state governments. And "the city only began to enter into this process because of the decrease in federal and state public funds for the system, leading to the absence of police in the cities. This led to a process in which the mayors were forced to create civil guards to address the lack of police." He takes a historical approach, when it was natural to respond to this problem.

Cristina mentions geographical, historical and political aspects, and argues that "considering the size of the country and the amount of tasks for the states a new space for preventive action has been created". She says that this is also linked to the growth of violence and criminality and to well-known examples such as Medellin and Bogotá in Colombia.

3.2. Understandings of ways to deal with crime control.

The topics analyzed above through the answers of the respondents can be related to the understanding of the state governance of crime. Another important element to understand the different discourses here presented is the respondents' understandings of the most effective way to deal with crime at municipal level.

For Sana, an intersectional and cross sectional approach is the ideal. "Safety should not be treated only by the secretary of safety, but should be treated in a way which involves all the other departments, especially the departments concerned with social policies. Therefore, we consider that the issue of safety should be treated under the various disciplines since violence is a multifaceted phenomenon and needs to be studied from many different angles or perspectives". Moreover, he says it is crucial to ensure social participation (especially through participation in councils), and ensure a civil guard which acts in a preventive way. Along the same lines, Sana understands that the articulation of social policies with social participation allied with a qualified[11] repression is the most effective way to deal with the phenomenon of violence.

---

[11] Here the world "qualified" means based on intelligence work and on respect for human rights.

Carlos Sant´Ana also advocates an articulated policy but among all federal members, as well as for crime prevention. Some examples of articulated policies quoted by him are the GGIs; municipal monitoring with cameras and the sharing of information with police forces; and victims´ reception services inside police stations. In terms of prevention, Sant´Ana quotes the organization of workshops for training professionals to deal with concepts of citizenship, sexuality, youth and violence. In addition, policies of vulnerability reduction with respect to primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. In addition to articulation and prevention he points out the importance of social participation in the design of a municipal plan of urban safety through public hearings in order to clarify social demands.

Perrenoud recognizes that primary prevention through maintenance of social and urban space is already a municipal obligation. With regard to criminality he advocates that crime prevention should be done by police forces and affirms that the civil guard in his municipality has been trained to exert police powers as soon as the law permits. In relation to police preventive work he encourages integration between police and community.

Cristina argues in favor of preventive work and discussions with community leaders to ensure social participation in the discussion, implementation and assessment of public policies. About violence prevention Cristina says that good experiences in crime prevention were focused on action concerning urban planning, infrastructure, access to public facilities in the areas of education, culture, leisure, and the implementation of services aimed at conflict mediation in social and criminal vulnerable groups. In this sense, she advocates a broad preventive intervention.

José Vicente supports with regard to public safety what he call municipalization of safety. He characterizes municipalization as the policy within which state police forces – civil and military- consider the peculiarities and characteristics of each city. He also supports the creation of an integrated center for police operations (and argues that people do not know if they should call the fire department, police or civil defense, and so there should be a single telephone number for all these services). Despite the fact that to municipalize means for him police local action, he argues that the municipality must be responsible for the restoration of public spaces and for the reduction of crime opportunities. Regarding long-term policies, he says that local authorities should do preventive work focusing on youth programs such as professionalization workshops and reduction of teenage pregnancy.

Chapter Four- Analysis

Until this point an effort has been made to develop several analyses of the debate which generated a discourse about the new paradigm for public safety in Brazil: a review of academic papers from projects evaluating the public policy sector and the key principles and guidelines approved by vote at the National Conference of Public Safety concerning the decentralization of safety policies and its development beyond the repressive role exerted by the police; an explanation of the views of managers of public safety policies about how to deal with violence and crime control and the political arrangements needed to implement this control. It was possible to identify changes in their discourses, which have produced practical changes in the subjects of this debate. This paper aims to answer the questions it posed at the start, such as: do changes in the discursive level modify the existing political model? Further, do regulatory changes - even modest or limited until now - modify the current model of crime control that has been attacked by introducing the idea of a "new paradigm"?

According to the literature, the model to be attacked and overcome, is that based on repression as a way of combating violence; with safety policy as belonging to the state level of government. The new model would introduce the idea of prevention as a fundamental conception of safety policies; the integration between

different policy areas such as health, education, urban planning, etc., with the safety area; the local management playing a major role in prevention and acting as a co-manager of public safety policies and as an articulator of the three spheres of government.

The terms of the debate have changed in practice; at least there is evidence of this transformation in recent publications on combating crime and the role of government sectors related to safety. Furthermore, managers have incorporated in their speeches, the words "integration", "articulation", "municipalization" and "prevention". "National security" became "safety policy". Besides the terms of the debate, there are some ongoing government programs that aim to strength the role of municipalities in the safety field, as already mentioned SUSP, PRONASCI and CONASP, regional and federal boards of municipal managers and even the National Conference, a project conducted by Brazilian Ministry of Justice. Finally, the acceptance by local managers that they should address the issue of safety on their government agendas, as noticed in the interviews with municipal agencies and the participation of local managers in the implementing councils.

Aside from the formulation of the ideals of the "new paradigm" there are some consistent points that emerged from the interviews, which will be discussed as follows. The first point is the idea of the new paradigm that has emerged so far. All efforts have been made to point to the main ideas proposed in all areas. Thus, it was possible to identify, as mentioned, that there are points of agreement. But we have also pointed out different interpretations of the same concept about what can be understood as decentralization, prevention, and the role of county and municipal guards. The most relevant here would not be to discover the correct explanation of this issue and it seems, in reality, that there is not only one truth about what caused the search for a change in the vision of society of the control of violence[12]. The important task was not to point out similarities and differences between the statements but "concerning those large groups of statements" (Foucault 1969: 42) to find out if there is a unit, if it is possible to find that they form a discourse able to overcome the "old" one. The task that Foucault proposed - to find a discursive unity - was an important framework for analyzing the interviews: "Hence the idea of describing these dispersions themselves; of discovering whether, between these elements, which are certainly not organized as a progressively deductive structure, nor as an enormous book that is being gradually and continuously written, nor as the *œuvre* of a collective subject, one cannot discern a regularity: an order in their successive appearance, correlations in their simultaneity, assignable positions in a common space, a reciprocal functioning, linked and hierarchical transformations. Such an analysis would not try to isolate small islands of coherence in order to describe their internal structure; it would not try to suspect and to reveal latent conflicts; it would study forms of division. Or again: instead of reconstituting *chains of inference* (as one often does in the history of the sciences or of philosophy), instead of drawing up *tables of differences* (as the linguists do), it would describe *systems of dispersion*" (idem: 43)*.*

Having reviewed the different groups of statements presented, a system of dispersion that shows regularity and so a discursive formation can be observed: it is not possible to find a very strong unity through the object of the statements, since some are related to crime, others to public policies, or public administration, and so on. The form and type are diverse also, partly because different areas of expertise and contexts were involved. Permanence and coherence is not the node that gives unity, what could be seen through the interviews. In the end, some

---

[12] For sure the new discourse emerges from an ongoing policing crisis, but it is not possible to say that there is always a necessary relation between material forces and political discourse and political institutional answers to that. The political field is a field of choices. For instance, corruption is a strong problem in Brazil and there is no new institutional arrangement seeking the solution of the problem with the same scale of the policies that are object of this research.

identity and persistence of themes could be found but there were different approaches to the themes in the last decades (idem: 36-43). What could be found was regularity between all the statements regarding object, type, permanence, identity and so on. In other words, none of these unities were found in any single one but there is a regularity across all statements and across the fields in which the statements were produced. The important thing is to see that all the arguments lead to the development of the idea that the model considered as the "old paradigm" is no longer useful, it is not effective anymore. And this would be the truth that comes out. The claim for a new paradigm is found but its terms are still being absorbed, constructed and interpreted, as the interviews have shown.

4.1. Discursive formation: consequences of a process

Chapters one, two and three have shown steps for the introduction of a new discourse in public safety. New statements about the political administration of crime, political and governmental programs, acceptance from local managers that they should treat violence as part of their responsibilities could be seen.

But to answer the question about the impact on the current political model it is important to analyze what elements the new discourse still does not overcome and whether this new discourse is introducing a real break with the old and on which level.

An important practical consequence arises from the fact that there are important points to be clarified despite the influence of a general discourse among policy makers: the space for the application of different practices within the same paradigmatic concept. That is, old practices can be seen between the lines of the present statements, as can be seen in the responses of Colonel José Vicente and manager Perrenoud. When Vicente speaks, for example, he advocates decentralization and suggests that this would be characterized by police attention in their actions to local problems, the spatial / situational characteristics of crime. And Perrenoud says he is preparing officers to act as a local police force as soon as the law permits. This represents for him the municipalization of safety. For the others who were interviewed, decentralization should come with a new focus of public policy, that of prevention, and based on this conception, the municipality would have a key role. One could argue that both Jose Vicente and Perrenoud fit into the group that represents the old paradigm, which is true. But it is interesting to notice that they make use of the same concepts coming from the discussion of the new safety model.

We can observe another consequence of the different uses of the concepts produced: the role of police activity. The safety concept introduced by the idea of a new paradigm also entails the coexistence of dispersed and heterogeneous statements, which were divided into individual speech groups. Likewise, the idea of prevention is often pervaded by the conception that there should be a strengthening of the municipal guards and of their regulation. Some statements advocate more repressive action by the guards and others say that they should act preventively, but it seems that there is a fine line between these two points of view. That is, the so-called "new paradigm" does not break with concepts of police work which were hallmarks of the "old paradigm". And terms such as prevention and decentralization are often used as arguments for strengthening the work of city police officers and a more effective police, especially the military.

A third point that deserves mention as a factor that facilitates the preservation of the "old paradigm" is that the manager needs to have a political will (which may emerge for various reasons) to implement such preventive actions at a municipal level. Most of the respondents point out a basic question: Joao Sana highlights that "the manager who wants to contribute to safety in your county can do it" in his evaluation of the process of the role of municipalities growth in the last decade.

Perrenoud expresses the same opinion, when he says that "the municipality follows public safety closely. Today we depend on mayors who are aware of this issue. The mayor of Cubatao [the town near Santos, where the secretary works] thinks that public safety as it stands today is only a police role, she does not have a municipal guard, she does not develop any effective action in terms of police action and all the corrective public safety is only a police duty." He adds: "we depend on the understanding of the Mayor, you see, to structure and develop this area. If he does not want to do so, he does not have to, do you understand? ". Cristina Vilanova, referring to the Federal Government's role in public safety policies, says: "I believe that the influence of federal government funds encourages promoting and guiding the activities of municipalities in the SUSP, which aims at preventing violence. It is also essential that the municipal administration should provide resources on safety." What we can observe in this situation is a belief that the federal government should be the developer of political matters, which was clear at the National Conference of Public Safety. That is, the rulings of the federal government, made possible through political programs, promote changes in more peripheral levels of the administrative power. But what might be seen is that this action seems weak since there are power struggles for the formation of truths in this field. Therefore, mayors can even be "induced" to address violence prevention, but often, as shown above, the idea of prevention, if implemented, may vary within a very diverse spectrum. And that depends on the "sensitivity" of the manager.

Carlos Sant'Anna also addressed the issue of non-mandatory actions expected by the new paradigm: "I think that the political will of the manager is essential. (...) This is in the Constitution; the county can and should participate in these things. But there is no doubt that it is a matter of political will of the manager. (...) By the time the manager says 'this is a municipal matter, a municipal project' and if any problem occurs on a surveillance camera [installed by the city of Sao Leopoldo in partnership with the military police] the county will have to answer for it. Then the city starts to be responsible for these problems or for the lack of solution to the problems of public safety." Sant'Anna's speech is very interesting, which shows that, once the county takes responsibility for the safety issues, and even makes public hearings with the public to discuss the demands and to explain that the county should be involved with safety issues - as suggested by the secretary on another occasion – it starts to engender the need for practical actions by the municipal administration. He reinforces the idea that people did not use to ask the local government for more security, but from the moment it was proposed, they began to demand it. And it is also interesting that, as he says, people do not necessarily demand prevention policies that were the responsibility of the city, but mainly the action of the police, and more police officers on the streets. Hence, the willingness of the manager will become crucial in a way, through the transformation of the understanding of the role of the municipality. The case of this particular city shows that the construction of a new truth from this new knowledge, once addressed to new social groups, begins to transform institutional practices. That is, it is necessary to believe in the role of the local government, in order to force the manager to act in his area in an effective way. It is possible to realize in this case, that decentralization of administration creates a power in Foucauldian terms, not exercised over society, but held by society. In other words, both the academic literature and the huge National Conference which was attended by all active groups in the area of safety, as well as the population itself, are changed by the introduction of a new discourse. This is neither a new law, nor a force of some federal programs, but an idea that arises and begins to cause practical effects.

This conclusion runs counter to other authors´ conclusions, such as Skogan (1990 cited in Dias Neto 2005: 135) who analyses the "political economy of disorder" in North American cities. He says that "conditions for the development of an area - both in the sense of prosperity, as the deterioration - depend largely on external decisions taken by large business and government actors". In other words, what we

argue here is that shifts in public policies are, at least in Brazil, more dependent on changes caused by the production of a new truth which eventually have effects on institutions. What we can see is that government actors take decisions based on a dominant discourse – which does not mean that they interpret it in the same way. This could explain the different understandings of safety policies found and explained here, which mean that the changes in crime rates and municipal development occurs to the extent that a new discourse impose new truths.

Related to the idea of persistence of some features of what has been called the "old paradigm" – which persist while the discursive formation about what is new in safety is not complete, is not solid yet – it is important to introduce an idea of Dias Neto (2005). He raises an argument from Heinz (Heinz 1997 cited in Dias Neto 2005) that the idea of prevention is not new. It always has been implemented by local power, even if as an indirect outcome of the common exercise of municipal duties. What is new is the view that crime prevention should not be a byproduct of those duties but a separate and related task. In other words, safety policies should pass through other policies such as urban planning, health, education and so forth. Dias Neto says that this broader concept of safety which makes prevention become no longer the sole purpose of criminal justice to become a related purpose of other state systems (especially social systems) blurs the differences between punishment room and political room, between criminal policies and social policies. (Dias Neto 2005: 100).

4.2. Continuums in the discourse

This statement has two important consequences for the dominant political model in Brazil regarding public safety. The political field was always the field within which legal statements, of juridical truths, were legitimized. In the case of public safety, an inversion took place: a juridical vision, an understanding about the lost legitimacy of the legal system (specially the Constitution) and consequently, the political field was the arena of production of new truths. The National Conference was the pinnacle of this process of legitimation of truths based on ordinary law and governmental programs.

The second consequence for the dominant political model (which excludes municipalities from the legal regime of crime control) was generated by the introduction of the idea of crime prevention and consequently the concept of integration between several areas. "It can be said that social policies become a "matter of public safety" when the criminal perspective becomes hegemonic in interpreting it" (idem: 75). This hegemony of the criminal perspective that is claimed with the introduction of the "new paradigm" is not necessarily challenging the dominant political model. In order to strength this argument it is important to make a parallel between the main features of the "new paradigm" and the idea of community corrections put forward by Stanley Cohen (1994). Cohen analyzes decarceration policies, although it is very plausible to find a parallel between this movement and the discourse on crime prevention. Both represents two aspects of the crime control apparatus and both are sub-fields of what could be called the sociology of deviance.

Cohen says that in the literature of community treatment for deviance control it is possible to find "two sets of assumptions (…) repeated with the regularity of a religious catechism": the first that "prisons and juvenile institutions are simply ineffective"; community alternatives are much less costly; and they are more human. The second set concerns the idea that "the state should be committed to avoiding doing more harm than good – 'therefore' policies such as decriminalization, diversion and decarceration should be supported" (Cohen 1994: 342). Analyzing the policies that are developed based on those assumptions, the author argues that " behind these specific policies lies an overall commitment to almost anything which sounds like increasing community responsibility for the

control of crime and delinquency" (idem: 343). In addition to this community movement we have the distinctions "inside/outside", "guilty/innocent", "imprisoned/released", and so forth. It is very similar to what has been seen in the documents and speeches here presented: first, everything that sounds like strength of municipal role in safety and integration of different political areas should be supported. Second, the distinctions that represent the apparent divergence between the "old" and the "new", which would be repression/prevention, centralization/decentralization, individualization/integration of political areas, and so on.

But the main idea that could be an important parallel is Cohen´s concept of "correctional continuum". This means that these distinctions actually have no clear boundaries. "It is by no means easy to answer questions such as where the prison ends and the community begins or just why any deviant is to be found at any particular place" (Cohen 1994: 344). This continuum is present in the idea of prevention: repressive forces are claimed to be important actors in preventive polices, for instance, the creation and regulation of municipal guards are seen as an important feature of the "new paradigm". The blurred relation between public safety and other regimes such as health and education also seems to produce a continuum between what should be social policies and crime prevention.

This idea of a continuum of repressive-preventive policies shows the limits of challenging the dominant crime control model that is being criticized by those who enforce the "new paradigm" by means of changing the discourse and producing new truths.

Cohen makes an important observation: "There can be little doubt that the intentions behind the new movement and – more to the point- its end results, are often humane, compassionate and helpful. Most clients, deviants or offenders would probably refer this new variety to the stark option of the prison. But this argument is only valid if the alternatives are real ones" (Cohen 1994: 350). Here these words fit well. The aim of this work never was to take a position against or in favor of the shifts here analyzed. The aim is to explore the way shifts in public safety policies occur and to what extent they promote real changes in the current crime control model.

Another indicator that there is a continuum which limits the real introduction of a new public policy is the concept of social harm developed by critical criminology. Hillyard and Tombs (2005) claim that a social harm approach could be more "theoretically coherent and more progressive politically than the current, generally accepted, notion of crime" (Hillyard and Tombs 2005: 14). "The study of harm permits a more wider investigation into who or what might be responsible for the harm done, unrestricted by the narrow individualistic notion of responsibility or proxy measures of intent sought by the criminal justice process" (idem: 17). As was shown, within the new discourse about crime control in Brazil, it is possible to find some characteristics of the social harm approach being claimed for. For instance, responses to the problem of violence are now demanding "debates about policy, resources, priorities, and so on" (idem: 18); the arenas of debate are being expanded and are going beyond the criminal justice system; the discourse around safety is in a sense challenging the "overly-individualistic and apolitical forms of analysis embraced by the notion of risk" (Pearce and Tombs 1998, Rigakos 1999 cited in Hillyard and Tombs 2005).

Furthermore, the very idea of changing the discourse more than the legal system is already a consequence of the harm approach: "a commitment to a focus upon social harms does carry with it two standpoints. First, that intellectual and political activity does not privilege law as a site or activity or struggle; and, second, that intellectual and political activity can address harm without making reference to law". It is possible to say that intellectual and political activity is not privileging law as a site or struggle of safety policies in Brazil. But at the same time the very

objectives of the policies are the same as those of the "old paradigm". Even if in Brazil the idea of social harm is not applied with this terminology it is possible to see that scholars are seeking the consequences of this approach in the conduct of public policies. But at the same time there is no discussion about the concept of crime. The focus of all policies is interpersonal violence classified as a low number of crimes and characterized by the individualistic form of analysis. In this sense, the new paradigm can be applied only before the violent act occurs. After that, the action is given the same treatment as it always had within the criminal justice system. Furthermore, "disciplines produce and reproduce their objects of study. Thus, no matter how deconstructive radical, critical criminology is, in the very fact of engaging in criminology, this at once legitimates some objects of "crime". In this direction, the object of the policies – no matter whether municipal or state policies – is the same and it is being reproduced by old or new discourse.

Finally, the distinction proposed by the 1988 Constitution between "national safety" and "public safety", enforced by the introduction of the new paradigm discourse can be seeing as an indication of the distinction between different periods or different paradigms in the area. But the idea of a continuum seems still present here. In order to discuss this last point it is necessary to introduce a distinction made by Brodeur (2007) between high policing and low policing. High policing is a term that defines the political priorities of national states, policies related to security issues. Low policing on the other hand upholds the law the way citizens expects, it is disconnected from politics. The author says that "Protection of national security is the *raison d'être* of high policing. (…) In its democratic variant, high policing agencies are tasked to protect the nation's political institutions and Constitutional framework" (Brodeur 2007: 28). Low policing is the "everyday policing largely performed by agents in uniforms". High policing can be summarized as the intelligence services that protect the state apparatus.

So, the distinction between high and low policing can be seen through the extreme division between safety and criminal intelligence. Brodeur describes this division by saying that "all law enforcement agencies [low policing] are geared to convicting perpetrators in criminal proceedings. Due to the public nature of these proceedings, intelligence agencies are extremely reluctant to share information with police organizations because they fear that their sources and methods will be disclosed in criminal proceedings between agencies" (idem: 29). In the context of the present research it is possible to assume that during the 1987-1988 Constituent Period there was an effort to strength low policing and its public procedures as the way to treat violence issues. Safety polices relate to low policing instead of a national security approach.

The manifested function of the new paradigm discourse would be to overcome definitively the national security paradigm and introduce human rights, transparency and the idea of prevention in low policing actions. But in disagreement with Brodeur´s distinction it is possible to say that there is no strong separation between high and low policing. There is a continuum which allows low policing to feed into high policing. About manifest and latent functions of law (and here of discourse and political struggles) Merton says: "This is the rationale for the distinction between manifest functions and latent functions; the first referring to those objectives consequences for a specific unit (person, subgroup, social or cultural system) which contribute to its adjustment or adaptation and were so intended; the second referring to unintended and unrecognized consequences of the same order"(Merton 1968: 109).

In this sense, the programs developed by the federal government, for instance SUSP and PRONASCI, are introducing the preventive approach in low policing actions but through the integration of police force actions, planned and combined actions, mutual acceptance of the records of occurrences and of the investigative procedures information sharing and interchange of scientific and technical

knowledge. Besides that, Pronasci was designed to strengthen the links between federal and community levels; formalize and strengthen the participation of local governments in public safety policies and the coordinated action of public safety institutions. It is possible to say that all these measures reinforce the federal structure and a bottom-up flow of information. The so called new paradigm is giving to the federal government an important role in safety policies and, in its turn, the federal government is connecting municipalities with crime control policies. The new discourse allows the protection of political institutions through specific criminal policies. This is why it is possible to say that there is a continuum connecting safety policies to national security.

Conclusions

In this work the task proposed was to analyze the idea of the introduction of a "new paradigm" in public safety policies. This idea was circulating in different groups that deal with public safety and deserved attention. The focus was to find what was the nature of this shift and in which sense the shifts have altered the current political model with regard to public safety.

After reviewing the formation of this new discourse it was possible to find shifts in the discourse about how public policies should be implemented and about how to control and to implement those policies. Despite some new political programs that are producing practical outcomes in the political administration of crime control, shifts in the current political model are still depending on a major shift in the discourse about it. This means that a new discourse is circulating within different groups but has not yet the strength to establish homogeneous practical outcomes. Lima and Romão (2010) have showed that people are inserting themselves inside the theoretical current that represents the main ideas of the "new paradigm". The research which let the participants of the Conference determine the group with which they identified themselves produced different results from the research in which the same interviewees should "state the degree to which they agreed or disagreed (totally or partially) with a number of statements carrying particular meanings" (Lima and Romão 2010: 102) in order to allow the researcher to locate them inside groups. This means that while people identify themselves with the statements that compose the new discourse, at the same time their own statements are very diverse and not necessarily related to the new paradigm. In this sense, people are reproducing the new discourse but giving a different meaning to it. New truths are still being composed by struggles that are located at a pragmatic level.

Assuming that discourse is the way policies are changed in Brazil and that the main shift is until now at the discursive level, it was not possible to describe the shifts in the political model in a precise way. What appeared as a result of the research was more the persistence of important features of the dominant model than practical shifts. Of course, it is necessary to point out that ten years ago local power was not involved in criminal policies as it is today. But as argued above, this involvement is more at a discursive level than in the sphere of public policies.

The Foucauldian approach to discourses contributes an important element: "the practices within institutions for dealing with the subjects – medical treatment for the insane, punishment regimes for the guilty, moral discipline for the sexually deviant – whose conduct is being regulated and organized according to those ideas" (Hall 2001:73). This element links the organization of ideas within a discursive formation with the practices within institutions for dealing with the object of the discourse. This element helps to elucidate the conclusion that there is a new discourse in public safety, and also there are new practices. But the former is not solid enough to regulate social practices in new ways in a widespread and strong way. The National Conference of Public Safety produced a more continuous and homogeneous discourse. It also gave the new paradigm a centrality and a symbolic

power than the shift produced during the Constitutional Constituent period. Besides that, a break with the old paradigm and old – or current – practices did not occur until this moment.

In this manner, the argument goes against the mainstream which suggests a movement of progress in safety public policies, specially boosted by some federal programs and the spread of agreement on the introduction of the "new" paradigm consolidated in the National Conference for Public Safety. The conclusion that arises from the literature and speeches here displayed is positive: there is for sure an expansion of means of safety, especially if it is understood in terms of the power of the discourse being exerted through society and not over it. But this claimed progress brings with it some contradictions that can be explained by the fact that the power of discourse is exerted through society, the domination of the process will never be complete so the progress and the influence of the discourse cannot follow just the direction of what is considered as progress.

There is an expansion of means of control, but with contradictory consequences. For instance, decentralization, which is the main feature of the analyzed process, has as a practical consequence more accessibility to social participation and this is happening through municipal councils and public managers' councils that are being created. One cannot deny this advance in terms of implementation of the new paradigm. But at the same time it is possible that community control of public policies may decrease and hence the accountability of crime control bodies. The installation of surveillance cameras, which is seen as something that could be done by municipal authorities together with police forces, is not accessible to the citizen. This kind of policy demands regulation and transparency but still this control is not implemented with a full agreement of the community nor is it open to the public. In another direction, the debates that were held in the National Conference, and hence the fact that safety became an open debate, make it more accountable. But on the other hand, communitarian control of crime generates less accountability. These contradictions seem inherent in the process and they explain the continuum between high and low policing to which reference has been made.

The conclusion of this work is not the denial of shifts either in public safety policies nor in the political model that sustained how policies are implemented. The conclusion is that there is a new discourse being constructed but not a new paradigm, since there is no clear break with the old model. The issue is more complex and shows more contradictions than assumed by the literature about the topic and also, by the policy makers. One hypothesis for the complexity of the topic, and for the maintenance of its contradictions, was the idea that the discourse is still in formation. Another feature of this process and which influences the existence of continuums is the fact that politics was the field in which all these new truths were legitimated.

References

Albright J., Walsh C. S. and Purohit K. D., 2007. Towards a Theory of Practice: Critical transdiciplinary Multiliteracies *In*: D. McIrney, S. V. Etten and M. Dowson eds. *Standards in Education*. United States: Information Age.

Azevedo, R. G., Fagundes, A. L., 2007. A municipalização da segurança pública no Brasil: pressupostos teóricos e critérios para a implementação de políticas de segurança pública. *Revista de Estudos Criminais*, 7 (26), 89-106.

Base Text for the National Conference of Public Safety [online], 2009. Brasília, Ministry of Justice. Available from: http://www.conseg.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&id=209&Itemid=154 [Accessed 2 June 2010].

Bourdieu, P., 1983. O campo científico. *In:* R. Ortiz ed. *Pierre Bourdieu*. São Paulo: Ática, 123-155.

Brodeur, J. P., 2007. High and Low Policing in Post-9/11 Times. *Policing*, 1 (1), 25-37.

Choukr, F. H., Ambos, K., 2004. *Polícia e Estado de Direito na América Latina*. Rio de Janeiro: Lumen Juris.

Cohen, S., 1994. *Social Control*. Darmouth: Stuart Henry.

De Souza, J. R. C., 2000. *Legislative Consultancy of the House of the Representatives on Municipalization of Public Safety*. Brasília: Consultoria LegislativaDias Neto, T., 2005. *Segurança urbana: o modelo da nova prevenção*. 1ª ed. São Paulo: Revista dos Tribunais & Fundação Getúlio Vargas.

Durante, M. O., Sandes, W. F., 2009. Avanços na democracia brasileira: a participação da sociedade civil na Conferência Nacional de Segurança Pública. *Revista Brasileira de Segurança Pública,* 3 (5), 116-127.

Fagundes, A. L., 2007. *A municipalização da segurança pública: estudo de caso em São Leopoldo –RS*. Master Thesis. Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul.

Filocre, D. Classificações de políticas públicas de segurança pública. *Revista Brasileira de Segurança Pública,* 3 (5), 146-158.

Final Report from National Conference of Public Safety [online], 2009. Via Pública. Available from: http://www.conseg.gov.br/index.php?option=com_docman&Itemid=342 [Accessed 2 June 2010].

Foucault, M., 1979. *Microfísica do Poder*. São Paulo: Graal.

Foucault, M., 1999. *Em defesa da sociedade*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes.

Foucault, M., 1969. *A arqueologia do saber*. 7ª ed. Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária.

Ghiringhelli de Azevedo, R. and Fagundes, A. L., 2007. A municipalização da segurança pública no Brasil: pressupostos teóricos e critérios para a implementação de políticas de segurança pública. *Revista de Estudos Criminais*, 7 (26), 89-106.

Hall, S., 2009. Foucault: power, knowledge and discourse. *In:* M. Wetherell, S. Taylor and S.J. Yates, ed. *Discourse Theory and Practice.* London: Open University Press, 72-81.

Hillyard, P., Tombs, S., 2005. Beyond Criminology? *In*: Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, ed. *Criminal obsessions: why harm matters more than crime.* King´s College London, 06-23.

IBGE - Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, 2010. *Sustainable Development Indicators*. Brasília: Ministry of Planning, Budget and Management.

Kahn, T., Zanetic, A., 2005. O papel dos municípios na segurança pública. *Estudos Criminológicos*, 4, 1-68.

Kopittke, A. L., dos Anjos, F. A., Oliveira, M. S. C., 2010. Reestruturação do Conselho Nacional de Segurança Pública: desafios e potencialidades. *Revista Brasileira de Segurança Pública*, 4 (6), 146-159.

Law nº 10.201/2001. National Fund for Public Safety. Presidency of the Republic.

Law nº 10.746/2003. National Fund for Public Safety. Presidency of the Republic.

Lima, R. S. and Romão, W. M., 2010. How to measure adherence to the new paradigm proposed by the organizers of the 1st National Conference on Public

Security? *In*: Lima, R.S. *Between Words and Numbers: Violence, Democracy and Public Safety in Brazil*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag, 82-97.

Lima, R.S., 2010. *Como medir a adesão ao novo paradigma proposto pela organização da 1ª Conferência Nacional de Segurança Pública? Between Words and Numbers: Violence, Democracy and Public Safety in Brazil*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag.

Merton, R. K., 1968. Manifest and latent functions. *In*: R. Boudon and M. Cherkaoui eds (2000). *Central Currents in Social Theory – Contemporary Sociological Theory 1920-2000. Vol. VIII*. London: Sage Publications, 97-131.

Programa Nacional de Segurança Pública com Cidadania (Pronasci) / Ministry of Justice, 2007. Normative Act project from Ministry of Justice on Unique Public Safety System [online] (2007). Available from: http://portal.mj.gov.br/pronasci/data/Pages/MJE24D0EE7ITEMIDF7316436C7B442728214A0E68B0E89C4PTBRNN.htm [Accessed 12 August 2010].

Perrenoud, R., 2007. Políticas municipais de segurança: a experiência de Santos. *Revista Brasileira de Segurança Pública*, 1 (1), 92-101.

Pinheiro, P. S., and Almeida, G. A., 2003. *Violência urbana*. 1st Ed. São Paulo: Publifolha.

Ribeiro, L., Patrício, L., 2008. Indicadores para o monitoramento e avaliação das políticas municipais de segurança pública: uma reflexão a partir de um estudo de caso. *Revista Brasileira de Segurança Pública*, 2 (3), 6-29.

Ricardo, C. M. and Caruso, H. G. C., date. Segurança pública: um desafio para os municípios brasileiros. *Brasileira de Segurança Pública,* 1 (1), 102-119.

Sapori, L.F., 2010. Torre de Babel. *Revista Brasileira de Segurança Pública,* 4 (6), 160-165.

Stenson, K. and Edwards, A., 2004. Policy transfer in local crime control: beyond naïve emulation. *In:* T. Newburn and R. Sparks, ed. *Criminal justice and political cultures: national and international dimensions of crime control*. Cullompton: Willan, 209-233.

Simioni, A. P. C., 1999. Os efeitos dos discursos: saber e poder para Michel Foucault e Pierre Bourdieu. *Plural*, 6 (1), 103-117.

World Health Organization, 2002. *World report on violence and health* [online]. Available from: http://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/definition/en/index.html [Accessed 12 August 2010].

Could this be the correct link of this resource? http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/en/

Zaverucha, J., 2008. La militarización de la seguridad pública en Brasil. *Revista Nueva Sociedad*, 213, 128-146.

Appendix One. Methodology used in the interviews

Five interviews were done. The interviewees are:

1) Carlos Sant´Ana, Secretary of Safety in São Leopoldo, state of Rio Grande do Sul. Interviewed in July 13th, 2010. Phone interview.

2) João Sana, Secretary of Safety in Vitória, capital of Espírito Santo state and president of the National Council of Public Safety Secretaries and Public Managers. Interviewed in July 14th, 2010. Email and phone interview.

3) Renato Perrenoud, Secretary of Safety in Santos, state of Sao Paulo. Interviewed in July 20th, 2010. Phone interview.

4) José Vicente da Silva, colonel of Military Police of the state of São Paulo, former National Secretary of Safety Policies and former coordinator of communitarian safety councils in Sao Paulo state. Interviewed in July 13th, 2010. Phone interview.

5) Cristina Vilanova, general coordinator of preventive actions in public safety of the National Secretary of Public Safety that belongs to the Ministry of Justice. Interviewed in August 2nd, 2010. Email interview.

The group selected is covering all federative spheres: the municipal is represented by secretaries, the state sphere by Col. Vicente and federal government by Cristina Vilanova. Ms Vilanova and João Sana were members of the organizer commission of the National Conference of Public Safety.

The number of interviews was set by saturation standard once the topic could be covered in a satisfactory way.

The interviews were semi-structured in order to encourage more in-depth answers. There was pre-written questions made for all respondents. But eventually for each of them one question was made with regard to their specifically participation or point of view on safety issues. The questions were made by email and telephone conversation, according to the respondents' availability. On average, each interview made by phone is thirty minutes long.

Finally, regarding ethical considerations during the application of the interviews, all of them were accompanied by a demand for consent from the participant to authorize the use of his/her name and the use of a record player. In this research it was impossible to have the respondents as anonymous because the analysis will take into account the type of participation they have inside safety field.

Appendix Two

Questionnaire applied to Brazilian policy makers in the area of public safety (common questions):

1) How do you see the participation of municipalities in the area of public safety? Telling a little of the actual participation of municipalities.

2) What would be your assessment of the process that has occurred over the last ten years of expansion of county space in safety policies?

3) Why the municipalities have become relevant to public safety? What factors fueled this process of participation?

4) This process requires a modification of the legislation on safety issues (speaking of constitutional changes and infra constitutional)? If not, explain how do you see the legal question within the so-called "new paradigm" of safety.

5) There are benefits for the city - from the point of view of society but also as federative entity - in this process?