

PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF THE PROJECT PUBLIC SECURITY IN BRAZIL: AN OUTLOOK^{1,2}

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1 INTRODUCTION

In Brazil, public security policy is historically structured under the primary competence of the states and the Federal District, mainly through its civil and military police, as provided for in the Federal Constitution of 1988. The federal government, in addition to having police with specific competencies (Federal Police and Federal Highway Police), since the 1990s, has increased its participation in the field. In this regard, institutions such as the National Public Security Secretariat (Secretaria Nacional de Segurança Pública – Senasp) and the National Public Security Force were created, besides the National Penitentiary Fund (Fundo Penitenciário Nacional – Funpen) and the National Public Security Fund (Fundo Nacional de Segurança Pública – FNSP).

In order to contribute to the federal government's planning for public security, Ipea, in partnership with SAE/PR, began to prepare a prospective project. Prospective methods aim to organize information to better define action strategies based on the basic principle that the future is multiple and uncertain, and the human being is its leading agent of change (Marcial, 2011).

The purpose of the work developed is to guide the actions matured in the present based on carefully built perspectives. The project, entitled Public Security in Brazil: an Outlook, intends to provide the basis to prepare the programs for public security included in the 2016-2019 Multi-Year Plan.

This research note presents the methodology and preliminary results of this work.

2 METHODOLOGY

A crucial process in this work is the building of prospective scenarios. Scenarios are views or stories about the future or the set comprising the description, coherently, of a future situation and the routing of events that allow us to move from a present position to a future one (Godet, 1987 apud Marcial, 2011). The method used to carry out the project was the *synthesis model of scenario planning methods*. This model was constructed by Marcial (2011) from the scenario planning methods of Godet (1993), Porter (1992), Schwartz (1996), and Marcial and Grumbach (2008).

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The steps of the project are defined in the following subsections.

2.1 Main question and scenario planning system definition

The system defines the initial scope of scenario-building works (box 1). The main question was: by 2023, will Brazil have managed to reduce violent crime and increase the population's sense of security compared to 2013? To answer this question, we held workshops with experts to determine the crucial aspects – listed in box 1 – that needed to be addressed.

BOX 1

Scenario planning system resume

Object: public security
 Time frame: 2014-2023
 Objective: provide the means to develop programs in the field of public security of the 2016-2019 Multi-Year Plan in public security
 Place: Brazil
 Purpose: reduce violence
 Intended recipient: MJ and MP
 Term: January 2014-June 2015
 Subject's main aspects: criminal justice system, public security policies, macro and micro-determinants of violence, sense of security, drug policy, organized crime and market, and public security

Authors' elaboration.

2.2 Retrospective study of the present situation and identification of seeds of the future

Two stages, foreseen in the synthesis model, were brought together in this project: the retrospective and situation studies and the identification of seeds of the future. According to the methodology, for the retrospective study, one should retrieve the history of events until the present rescue, connecting it to the main question and the scenario planning system.

To carry out this analysis, we held seven workshops for each crucial aspect previously defined. Ipea-SAE/PR teams attended the workshops, as well as collaborators from Ipea, the MJ, the SPI/MP, and external experts (mainly researchers in public security). The workshops aimed to identify seeds of the future. Seeds of the future are facts or signs in the past and present that indicate future possibilities (Marcial, 2011). We worked with three types of seeds: consistent trends, uncertainties, and actors' strategies.

Consistent trends mean events whose orientation possibility is consolidated and visible to the point of admitting their permanence in the reference period. They are also defined as very probable actors' or variables' movements within the study perspective. Uncertainties are tiny, poorly perceived signals that can change behavior in the future altering reality.

They are crucial to the study's central question. Actors are change facilitators, people, or institutions capable of changing the course of events through their strategy (Marcial, 2011). Identifying actors includes understanding the strategic goals of each one of them, their primary actions and projects, strategic partnerships, challenges, and constraints (Godet, 1993; Schwartz, 1996).

3 SEEDS OF THE FUTURE FOR PUBLIC SECURITY IN 2023: MEGATRENDS, ACTORS, AND UNCERTAINTIES

As a result of the seven workshops, we have defined the megatrends, the key uncertainties⁶ and the main actors able to influence the main question. These seeds of the future are described hereunder.

3.1 Megatrends

The outcome analysis of the seven workshops, together with the retrospective and the current situation studies, provided nine “megatrends” described as follows.

3.1.1 Maintenance of the young Brazilian demographic profile, with high social inequality and easy access to firearms

Studies indicate that certain crimes are related to an age group and the male gender. By 2022, there should be no significant change in Brazil’s demographic profile, keeping the population’s proportion of young people (15 to 29 years old) high. The recent demographic projection indicates that young men will go from 13.4% of the population in 2010 to 12.0% in 2020 (Cerqueira and Moura, 2014). This slight variation is unlikely to reduce violent deaths significantly.

3.1.2 Increase in violent crimes inland

Several studies have pointed out the increase in violent crimes in the countryside. According to the 2014 Violence Map, while homicide rates in the capitals fell from 46.1 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 2003 to 38.5 in 2012, in countryside cities (those that are not capitals or belong to a metropolitan region – MR), these rates increased, from 16.6 to 22.5 (Waiselfisz, 2014).

3.1.3 Maintenance of public security policies improvement

Brazil coexists with high levels of violent crime, a low sense of security, governance problems in public security, and considerable police violence. However, we expect that in the coming years, some movements towards improvement will continue, such as i) expansion of the federal and municipal governments’ roles in public security; ii) new institutional arrangements; iii) enforcement of new forms of policing; iv) initiatives for more effective punishment; v) information systems innovations; vi) police training innovations; and vii) integration between public security policies and other areas of public policy and institutions.

3.1.4 Growth of legal and illegal markets exploited by criminal organizations and strengthening of criminal groups in Brazil

According to estimates by the Brazilian Institute for Ethics in Competition (Etco), the underground economy in Brazil corresponded, in December 2012, to BRL 730 billion or 16.6% of GDP, including legal and illegal activities – sale or exchange of stolen goods and products, drug sales, prostitution, gambling, smuggling, fraud, theft, theft for own use etc. (Ibre, FGV and Etco, 2013). According to the same study, we can observe that this economy lost a share in the gross domestic product (GDP) (21% in 2003) but grew in transactions (BRL 663 billion in 2002).

6. We call key uncertainties those with more significant uncertainty but also greater motricity and less dependence.

3.1.5 Increase in the circulation of illicit drugs with the maintenance of policy of repression and supply restriction

In recent years, the circulation of illicit drugs in Brazil has increased. In a 2005 study by the Brazilian Center of Information on Psychotropic Drugs (Centro Brasileiro de Informações sobre Drogas Psicotrópicas – Cebrid), conducted in 108 cities with more than 100 thousand inhabitants, 5.2% of respondents admitted that they were sought by someone to sell them drugs. In the previous 2001 study, this rate was 4.0%.

3.1.6 Maintenance of high levels of victimization

Some crime levels have remained stable during the last few years. Homicides are estimated to have kept their levels at approximately 60 thousand (per year), more precisely between 2001 and 2010; 57,001 in 2001, the lowest of 56,418 in 2006, the top of 62,375 in 2009, and 60,015 in 2010 (Cerqueira and Moura, 2014). There are several factors, despite some advances in public security policy, that can contribute to the maintenance of high homicide rates, such as the maintenance of the young Brazilian's demographic profile, with high levels of social inequality and easy access to firearms; the intensification of the geographical redistribution of high rates of violent crimes; the growth of illegal crime markets and the strengthening of criminal organizations and groups in Brazil; and the increase in consumption and circulation of illicit drugs and maintenance of the supply restriction policy of repression.

3.1.7 Preservation of more severe sentences with an increase in prison population and expansion of electronic monitoring

The trend for more severe sentences should be kept in the coming years. In a recent survey by the Confederação Nacional do Transporte (CNT) and the Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário (MDA), 37.6% of respondents chose to lower the age of criminal responsibility from 18 to 16 years, and 9.9% preferred increasing sentences as the primary measure to contain violence (CNT and MDA, 2014). Among operators of the Criminal Justice System, congresspersons, and secretaries of public safety, there is also significant support for more severe sentences.

3.1.8 Maintenance of wide dissemination of criminal events, the feeling of insecurity, and considerable repercussion of some crimes in the media

Crime is central in television and radio programming, newspapers, and online media. In addition to the news broadcast on newscasts, there are programs mainly concentrated on this topic, such as Cidade Alerta, Polícia 24 Horas, and Brasil Urgente. The high audience level is not new, and it is reasonable to expect that there will be wide dissemination of criminal events, a vast audience of programs reporting cases of violence, and a considerable repercussion of some severe crimes in the media with an impact on the strong feeling of insecurity.

3.1.9 Increase in the privatization of security and broader dissemination of technologies

One estimates that the earnings of the private security sector went from BRL 7 billion in 2002 to BRL 43.5 billion in 2013 and is expected to reach BRL 50 billion by 2015. Moreover, regular companies grew from 1,386 in 2002 to 2,392 in 2013 (Fenavist, 2014). The reasons pointed out for the growth are increasing demand for services in cities due to the development of urbanization and the

purchasing power of the population, increase in urban violence and cargo theft and kidnappings, and replacement of organic security (companies with their own security structure) by hiring private security companies (Fenavist, 2013). Other factors can be increased insecurity and lack of trust in the police, which have already been addressed in the text. This expansion, coupled with public procurement, has led to more significant innovation and diffusion of technologies for security. For example, the use of security cameras has increased. For instance, the government of the Federal District intended to have, by the end of 2014, 835 cameras installed (Copa..., 2014).

3.2 Key uncertainties

The key uncertainties identified after concluding the workshops and subsequent studies are described next.

- Will an increase in inclusive social development impact violent crime rates?
- Will there be greater capacity for municipal intervention in public safety?
- Will there be greater operational integration among the police branches?
- Will the police's relationship with society improve in the coming years?
- Will there be a significant increase in the effectiveness of criminal investigation?
- Will federal entities have greater operational integration in the fight against organized crime?
- Will there be an improvement in the results of social reintegration policies?
- Will there be an improvement in the results produced by social and educational measures?

3.3 Actors

The main actors selected, due to their dynamic relationship with the key uncertainties, are: governors, the minister of Justice, the president, the secretary of Senasp, congresspersons, directors of the Civil Police, chiefs of the Military Police, civil society organizations (militant in the field of the criminal justice system), the Judiciary.

We also verified the ability of those actors to influence each one of the key uncertainties. From the final list of leading actors, we identified their objectives, partnerships, and constraints for each key uncertainties.

4 SCENARIOS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Four scenarios were built, whose description was based on morphological analysis⁷ of the key uncertainties, used to describe the plot of each of them. To create the scenarios, the leading actor's role was highlighted, the trends were, in general, kept, and the behavior of the key uncertainties varied depending on the plot of each scenario. The fictional scenarios constructed are described next.

- 1) Endemic violence – violent crimes and feeling of insecurity are on the rise, and institutions responsible for public safety are not articulated.

7. According to Marcial (2011, p. 245-246, our translation), morphological analysis is the "decomposition of a variable into several elements, identifying the forms and values they can take within the study's timeframe".

- 2) Social prevention – violent crimes are reduced and the feeling of security increases and state and city governments work with local actors to prevent violence.
- 3) Qualified repression – violent crimes are reduced, and the sense of security increases; in addition, the police become active in their relations with the community.
- 4) More repressive – violent crime levels remain the same, and there is a worse feeling of security; police distance themselves from the community.

The scenarios were assessed by the Ipea-SAE/PR team and collaborators from the MJ and the SPI regarding their possibility of occurrence, the consistency of causal relationship, actors, and results. Based on the scenarios and analysis, the following stages of the research will be developed to consolidate proposals and strategies for public security policies.

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