

APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGY NARRATIVE

Case Selection

This paper is based on prior field research on three participatory security institutions in Latin America conducted for González's dissertation, which focused on the emergence of participatory security institutions in Argentina, Brazil, and Colombia. For this paper, we analyze São Paulo, Brazil's Community Security Councils (CONSEGs) to assess the extent to which participatory security institutions could ameliorate inequalities in policing. We selected the CONSEGs because of their institutionalization and internal democratic structure, the administrative overlap between police districts and CONSEGs, and spatial distribution of racial and class disparities in the city of São Paulo. The CONSEGs' institutionalization and internal democracy constitute a best-case scenario for a participatory institution that enables ordinary citizens to be heard through a meaningful institutional channel about their grievances with policing.

CONSEGs' Institutionalization

São Paulo's Community Security Councils were created in 1985. Unlike many other participatory institutions in Latin America (Mayka 2019), and participatory security institutions in particular (González 2016), the CONSEGs continue to operate to this day. This means the CONSEGs are relatively well-known by both state officials and civil society alike, and can be reasonably expected to stick around beyond the immediate future. The CONSEGs score highly on two indicators of institutionalization per Mayka (2019): routinization and infusion with value. Another component of the CONSEGs' institutionalization is that the CONSEGs are incorporated into the state's executive branch. The state's nearly 600 CONSEGs are supported administratively by a CONSEG Coordinating Office (*Coordenadoria*) within the State Secretariat for Public Security. The Coordinating Office collects meeting minutes and other CONSEG records, conducts technical visits, convenes regional meetings, and assists inactive or struggling CONSEGs. The Coordinating Office is staffed by regional advisors that support CONSEGs throughout the state, as well as advisors from the Military and Civil Police. Although CONSEGs have no formal policymaking or budgetary authority, they are formally incorporated in the structure of the executive branch, and the State of São Paulo continually invests material and human resources.

CONSEGs' Internal Democratic Structure

As noted in the paper, CONSEGs have low barriers to participation. CONSEGs hold monthly meetings that are open to anyone who resides or works in a given area. During these meetings, participants can bring demands, complaints, and questions to the local commanders of the state's Military and Civil Police forces, as well as municipal officials who work on issues including traffic, noise, and lighting. The participation of these police commanders and municipal officials is mandated by law. The councils are run by an executive board composed of neighborhood residents that is elected by active participants in the monthly meetings. The executive board of elected community members serves as an important liaison between the community at large and the police and the municipal Secretariat of Security.

Administrative Overlap between Police Districts and CONSEGs

The city of São Paulo is divided into 93 police districts, and each district is mandated to have a CONSEG whose jurisdiction corresponds to the territorial divisions of these police districts. All CONSEGs include as "natural members" (*membros natos*) the commanders of the local *companhia* (Military Police precinct) and *delegacia* (Civil Police precinct), who are required to participate in CONSEG meetings. In other words, police commanders, the highest authorities for each police unit in the territory, attend the CONSEG meetings. Although CONSEGs have no formal authority to ensure police compliance with their demands, the correspondence between the CONSEG and the police jurisdiction means that the police officials have considerable decision-making authority to implement citizen demands raised in CONSEGs, and, in theory, to respond to grievances over abuses that happened under their watch. At least in theory, the discourses and demand-making that emerge from the CONSEG stand to influence police behavior on the ground, since the local commander participated in the construction of said discourse and was present to hear said demands. To understand why this is the case, consider the alternative institutional design of Colombia's *Frentes Locales de Seguridad*, each of which cover an area of only a couple of blocks such that each police

station might contain dozens or even hundreds of Frentes, each of which would be hard-pressed to gain the attention of the local commander.

Spatial Distribution of Racial and Class Disparities in the City of São Paulo

While the CONSEGs operate throughout the state of São Paulo, our study focuses only on the city of São Paulo. The spatial distribution of racial and class disparities in the city of São Paulo makes it an ideal place to study the relationship between participatory institutions and unequal policing. As noted in the paper, São Paulo's geography reflects the city's patterns of social stratification. The city center and adjacent districts, as well as the western region, are, for the most part, higher-income regions with lower proportions of Black residents than São Paulo overall. By contrast, the northern, southern, and eastern peripheries of the city have lower incomes and higher proportions of Black residents. This spatial distribution of class and racial inequality means that we can examine whether CONSEGs generate discourses and claims-making that favor unequal policing in affluent and low-income areas, in both center and periphery. Still, these geographic regions are not a monolith, meaning that there is important within-district inequality. The city center, for example, is relatively well-off, but is also the epicenter of homelessness and the most visible zone for sex work. Lower-income, majority-Black peripheries, meanwhile, are marginalized relative to the rest of the city, but they are also characterized by stratification – for instance between better-off “*asfalto*” (paved roads) areas and poorer favelas. Below, we describe our strategy in selecting CONSEGs for further investigation to capture this variation in social stratification.

Field Research

Initial fieldwork for this paper was conducted by González in São Paulo, Brazil; Bogotá, Colombia; and Buenos Aires, Argentina over a period of 16 months in 2010, 2011, and 2012. Two additional months of field research was conducted by González in 2017 (one month) and 2019 (one month). Further fieldwork was conducted by a Brazilian research assistant in the summer of 2019 to collect supplemental evidence from a dozen interviews. During the two distinct periods of fieldwork (2010-2012 and 2017-2019), Brazil underwent a number of notable political changes that could potentially affect our findings, including massive protests that spread all over the country in 2013, the anti-corruption *Lava Jato* investigations, the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff in 2016, and the election of far-right Jair Bolsonaro as president in 2018. Each of these developments ushered in important transformations in Brazilian politics, and many of them related directly to policing. For instance, the 2013 protests led to many calls for police reform and even the abolition of the Military Police following widespread repression of peaceful protests. Meanwhile, as a candidate and as president, Bolsonaro has been an unabashed proponent of the police, even openly defending police violence (González 2020, 325-327). The protests and Bolsonaro brought heightened attention to the issue of police violence, at some moments making the position of the critics of police more salient, while at others elevating the preferences of those who demand a violent police force with few restrictions on coercion. These developments could certainly be expected to reverberate during CONSEG meetings in the period after the collection of meeting minutes and participant observation. Moreover, the emergence of the Black Lives Matter movement in the U.S., which placed the issue of police violence at the top of the public agenda, resonated around the world, particularly in racially diverse and unequal countries such as Brazil.

Although we acknowledge the significance of these key developments for the Brazilian political context and the subject of policing and citizenship in particular, the gap between the two periods of fieldwork is not a cause of concern in our analysis. First, the accounts that emerged from interviews conducted in 2017-2019 regarding the three mechanisms that produce asymmetric citizenship were fully consistent with our earlier findings from meeting minutes, participant observation, and earlier interviews. Advocates for marginalized communities interviewed in 2017-2019 described experiences of attending CONSEG meetings to elevate the rights of their community, only to find that other meeting participants sought to diminish those rights, an experience similar to the ethnographic observation from 2012 described in the main text. Similarly, the leader of a cultural organization for Black youth interviewed in 2019 described repressive police action in events they organized for Black youth, just as our 2012 ethnographic observation attests to repressive police action at street parties frequented by predominantly black youth in low-income peripheries.

Second, our findings across the two periods are consistent with other scholars' ethnographic studies of CONSEGs and their accounts of discourses that frame marginalized groups – particularly low-income

Black residents – as security threats, that push out the voices of marginalized communities, and that demand repression against them (e.g. Galdeano Cruz 2009, 78; Alves 2018, 326). Finally, while the Black Lives Matter movement resonated in Brazil and informed some social movement strategies, Black social movement organizing in Brazil has been robust for several decades (Paschel 2016; Hanchard 1994). For decades, racialized policing has been central to shaping Black identity and Black social movements in Brazil; the Unified Black Movement formed in 1978 in response to an incident of police violence. Black activists have long responded to claims about the ambiguity of Black identity in Brazil’s so-called racial democracy with the retort “if you want to know who is Black and who is not in Brazil, just ask the police” (Alves 2018, 328). This perspective is reflected in interviews we conducted with activists working in this space during the 2010-2012 fieldwork trip, and again in 2017-2019. Across both time periods, interview respondents working to combat police violence described the CONSEGs as hostile spaces.

Participant Observation

Participant observation of CONSEG meetings and other activities was key for this study. González observed 34 CONSEG meetings in the city of São Paulo, five regional meetings of CONSEG presidents and executive board members within the city of São Paulo, and five regional meetings of CONSEG presidents and executive board members within the State of São Paulo.

González selected CONSEGs for observation to maximize variation along geography, race, and class lines. She attended multiple monthly meetings for seven CONSEGs, and single meetings for five additional CONSEGs. Table A1 provides a list of CONSEGs observed which have been anonymized with geographic markers, noting the community’s racial and class composition,¹ and the number of meetings attended:

Table A1: CONSEGs Selected for Participant Observation

CONSEG	Community Racial and Class Composition	Meetings Attended
Central CONSEG I	Less than 1/4 Black; average income	1
Central CONSEG II	Less than 1/4 Black; average income	3
Downtown CONSEG II	Less than 1/4 Black; mix of low and above-average income	5
Downtown CONSEG I	Approximately 1/3 Black; mix of low and above-average income	5
Eastern CONSEG	Majority Black; low income	1
Northern CONSEG	Majority Black; low-income	3
South-central CONSEG	Vast majority white; mix of average and high income	1
Southern CONSEG	Approximately 1/3 Black; mix of low and average income	2
Southeastern CONSEG	Majority Black; low income	7
Southwestern CONSEG	Less than 1/4 Black; mix of average and high income	1
Western CONSEG I	Vast majority white; mix of above average and high income	1
Western CONSEG II	Vast majority white; mix of above average and high income	4
Total		34

These CONSEGs were selected to assess the extent to which relationships between police and community, as well as the nature of demands and claims-making, varied across communities with different demographic compositions, income levels, population densities, crime rates, and spatial location. There are many notable differences across districts. Some CONSEG meetings were attended almost exclusively by white residents (e.g., Downtown CONSEG II), while others were composed of a multiracial audience (e.g., southern CONSEG), or attended by predominantly Black and mixed-race residents (e.g., southeastern CONSEG). The types of issues discussed at meetings also varied. The mostly white and wealthy western CONSEG II, for instance, had little to no discussion of drug use or homelessness, nor complaints about unauthorized street parties – complaints that were much more frequent in downtown CONSEGs and

¹ We provide broad racial and class composition to maintain anonymity. Data on race (% of identifying as Black) and class (monthly household income) composition come from *Mapa da Desigualdade 2020* by Rede Nossa São Paulo, available at <https://www.nossasaopaulo.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Mapa-da-Desigualdade-2020-MAPAS-site-1.pdf> Last accessed: August 26, 2021.

CONSEGs in low-income peripheries, respectively. Beyond CONSEG meetings, there are broader differences across the districts, including disparities in levels of resources received by the local police stations in low-income and wealthier areas (González 2020, 106-110).

Despite these important differences, these diverse districts are nonetheless characterized by a shared feature that is particularly relevant for our analysis: considerable within-district inequality. Across nearly all CONSEG districts, relationships among residents are defined by within-district patterns of inequality originating from broader societal stratification, which in turn determines who belongs to what James Baldwin calls “that portion of the citizenry for whom the police work and who have the power to control the police” (Baldwin 1966). In downtown districts, business owners may seek to deploy police against people experiencing homelessness or informal street vendors, while in the urban peripheries, homeowners may support the criminalization of low-income majority-Black youth. The targets may differ, but the overall mechanisms that generate asymmetric citizenship remain similar across districts.

Even as CONSEGs in the periphery are marginalized relative to CONSEGs in what are known as São Paulo’s “noble areas” (*áreas nobres*),² inequality within each district is also palpable, meaning asymmetric citizenship is also reproduced in poor neighborhoods. Within-district inequality enables the sorting of residents into the categories of virtuous citizens and security threats, gatekeeping that encourages the participation of the former while excluding the latter, and demand-making that seeks to repress security threats in order to protect virtuous citizens.

We therefore expect that the three mechanisms will operate similarly across districts, even marginalized districts, because they are not homogenous and have the types of inequality that are conducive to asymmetric citizenship. Our empirical analysis bears this out. For instance, the lawyer and the advocate that work with low-income Black youth gave accounts of CONSEG meetings where police violence was justified. During participant observation of a low-income CONSEG meeting, González observed residents saying that police “did a service” by killing a young man alleged to have been stealing. These examples demonstrate that discourses of marginalization, gatekeeping, and demands for repression very much occur in marginalized areas.

How CONSEG Meetings Work

CONSEG meetings take place once a month, typically in a neighborhood location with an auditorium or classroom-like space, such as a school or university, business association, local theater, community organization, or municipal office. CONSEGs do not receive funding from the Secretariat of Public Security for their meetings or activities, so these spaces are made available to the CONSEG for free. The physical layout of meetings typically consists of rows of chairs where residents sit, facing a head table or stage, where CONSEG leadership, local police commanders, and municipal representatives are seated. Prior to the start of the meeting, CONSEG leadership asks residents to sign up on a list to speak during the meeting, sharing their request, demand, or complaint to the officials present. Some CONSEGs offer refreshments before or after meetings, typically at the expense of CONSEG leadership or contributions from local businesses. Many CONSEGs begin their meetings with the national anthem and saluting the flag, after which point CONSEG leaders introduce the authorities present and read the minutes from the prior meeting. Police and local officials then provide opening remarks, often addressing what actions were taken with respect to requests/complaints from the prior meeting, and providing updates on other recent occurrences or actions, including recent shifts in crime conditions or new safety campaigns. Police officials often make emphatic requests for residents to seek out the police with any information, and to file crime reports if they are a victim of a crime. After opening remarks by officials, the CONSEG president opens the floor to residents who signed up to make remarks. At any given meeting, 10 to 25 residents may speak to share their complaints, questions, requests, and, occasionally, thanks to the CONSEG and officials for satisfying a

² CONSEG presidents from “noble areas” sometimes made disparaging remarks against their counterparts in peripheral areas. In an interview with González, the white president of the well-to-do south-central CONSEG compared his experience to that of the Black president of the low-income southeastern CONSEG: “he doesn’t have academic training, he doesn’t have an office, he doesn’t have money, he’s in the middle of a favela... if there were an issue relative to CONSEGs, if written or televised press were to come, they would come talk to me because of how I express myself. If they were to talk to him, poor thing, he wouldn’t be able to do so.”

previous request. Residents typically stand facing the stage/head table, addressing their remarks to the officials present; occasionally, residents face their neighbors instead. Many remarks are not met with much response from either the audience or authorities, but officials sometimes respond directly to the resident’s remark. Remarks typically cover a wide range of topics common to urban life, ranging from insufficient street lighting and streets/sidewalks in poor condition to complaints about noise and traffic. As shown in the paper, residents often express complaints about populations they deem troublesome or threatening, including people experiencing homelessness, drug users, youth, irregular street vendors, among others. Residents often also report if they were recently the victim of a crime or discuss crimes that recently occurred in the vicinity.

Participation in meetings can vary considerably, as recent events in the neighborhood may raise concerns, and drive attendance, among different groups of residents. CONSEG presidents routinely complained in interviews that residents sought out the CONSEG when they had a problem, but did not return once the problem was solved. Accordingly, topics of discussion vary greatly across CONSEGS and even from one meeting to the next. For instance, for a CONSEG in a wealthy area, one meeting consisted almost entirely of questions about new rules regarding valet services, while in a CONSEG meeting in a low-income periphery, discussions of unauthorized street parties (*pancadões*) dominated the agenda. Meetings typically last an hour and a half to two hours, in addition to informal mingling before and after the meeting. Appendix C includes a sample set of meeting minutes, to further illustrate how ordinary CONSEG meetings function.

Interviews

Data for this study also were gathered through 72 interviews with relevant stakeholders, including CONSEG presidents and executive board members, current and former officials from the CONSEG Coordinator’s Office, local police commanders that attend CONSEG meetings, representatives from municipal agencies that participate in CONSEGS, other government officials that engage with security and human rights issues, and civil society organizations that work on security and human rights issues and/or represent marginalized groups. A breakdown of interviewees by category can be found below in Table A2. Interviews sought to understand the structure and functioning of the CONSEGS; the relationship between CONSEGS and police, including the CONSEGS’ level of influence; the role of CONSEGS within their communities; and the political and social significance of the CONSEGS. The interviews gave particular attention to the ways that marginalized groups are discussed within the CONSEGS, including how participants frame these groups as security threats and demand police repression during CONSEG meetings. Interviews with civil society organizations and state actors working to advance the rights of marginalized groups were key to identify the formal and informal gatekeeping mechanisms that prevent these figures from contesting police repression within the CONSEGS. Appendix D provides sample interview protocols for civil society groups representing marginalized groups and community members that participate in CONSEGS.

Table A2: Overview of Interviews

Category of Interview Respondent	# of Interviews
CONSEG presidents and executive board members	18
Current/former local police commanders	16
Civil society organizations	19
Current/former officials from the CONSEG Coordinator’s Office	8
Representatives from municipal agencies that participate in CONSEGS	9
Other government officials	2
Total	72

Research Ethics

Field research for this paper received approval from the IRBs at Princeton University (protocol #0000005357), the University of Chicago (protocol #17-0957), and Colby College (approval #2018-147). Interviewees (police, CONSEG leaders, local officials) were selected based on their participation in CONSEGS around the city of São Paulo. Despite the sensitivity involved in discussing policing in São Paulo, their participation in this research poses minimal additional risk beyond their decision to participate in CONSEGS. Research participants drawn from CONSEGS have self-selected to participate in public meetings specific to the topic of security in their communities, with a high likelihood that their remarks, and names,

may be recorded in the official meeting minutes. Therefore, participating in this research posed no additional risk beyond participating in CONSEG meetings with police and other public officials. Additional interviewees (civil society groups) were selected based on their work with the marginalized groups that we focus on in our study. Their participation in this research poses minimal additional risk beyond their decision to participate in this human-rights work. These individuals self-selected to engage in public facing advocacy work, such that our interviews asked them about issues they are involved with and publicly speak about in everyday life. Informed consent was administered via a consent script and oral consent, so that no documentation would identify interviewees. Written and audio materials from interviewees were recorded and stored without individually identifying information, using only a unique alphanumeric code. To preserve anonymity, this interviewee code is linked to individually identifying information in a single password-protected file.

Participant observation was conducted primarily at CONSEG meetings. Ordinary CONSEG meetings are open to the public; González attended regional meetings in the capital and the state by invitation (from either a CONSEG president or an official from the Coordinating Office). When attending a CONSEG's ordinary monthly meetings for the first time, González approached the president of the CONSEG to introduce herself as a researcher and to ask permission to take notes and record audio. In some instances, the CONSEG president would mention González's presence; in one instance the CONSEG president invited González to sit on the stage with CONSEG leaders and local authorities. In some CONSEGs more than one researcher and/or a local journalist was present, such that González was not the only observer present. At all activities, González took notes of officials present; attendance and composition of the audience (perceived age, gender, and race); remarks made by officials and comments made by attendees (including characteristics noted by speaker, such as if they were a business owner, student etc.); and conversations with officials and attendees after meetings ended. Written meeting notes identify public officials and CONSEG leaders, but no individual identifiers were recorded for ordinary residents that attended and spoke at meetings.

We obtained meeting minutes to construct the CONSEG dataset with permission of the CONSEGs Coordinator of the Secretariat for Public Security. Meeting minutes were digitized and stored in password-protected files.

Coding of CONSEG Meeting Minutes

Our paper analyzes meeting minutes from CONSEGs across the city of São Paulo to assess the generalizability of our findings from interviews and participant observation. Each CONSEG is required to submit its meeting minutes to the State CONSEG Coordinator. These meeting minutes record which public officials attended the meeting, document attendance, and summarize questions and comments made by community members, as well as reports and responses by public officials. The meeting minutes capture the main themes that emerged during CONSEG meetings, but do not constitute a transcript of proceedings.

Physical copies of the meeting minutes were obtained from the Coordinator's office; already digitized copies were not available for the vast majority of CONSEG meetings. A research assistant digitized all available meeting minutes from the Coordinator's office for 2010, 2011, and part of 2012, matching the period of participant observation of CONSEG meetings.

Across the three years for which we had meeting minutes, we selected the 2011 meeting minutes for analysis because 1) we had the full year of minutes (unlike 2012) and 2) this was not an election year (unlike 2010), suggesting that the findings would be more representative of a typical year. We obtained a total of 793 meeting minutes for 87 of the 93 CONSEGs in the city of São Paulo; the remaining six CONSEGs did not have meeting minutes on file.³ A sample meeting minutes document can be found in Appendix C in the original Portuguese and translated into English. The document was obtained from the website of the Centro/Bela Vista CONSEG and is offered here only for illustrative purposes.

Overview of Coding Goals and Logistics

³ We are missing meeting minutes for the following CONSEGs: Campo Belo, Interlagos, Jardim Mirna, Sapopemba, Sé-Arcadas, and Vila Guilherme. It is unclear if these CONSEGs did not meet in 2011, or if they simply failed to submit their meeting minutes to the Coordinator's office.

We worked with a team of research assistants to manually code each set of meeting minutes. We adopted this approach, rather than using a text-as-data analysis strategy, for a number of reasons. The digital copies of meeting minutes were not searchable PDFs, so a text-as-data strategy would require an additional step of re-writing the PDF contents to turn it into searchable text. This additional step would have added an exorbitant cost, and would have required other tradeoffs that would weaken our analysis. Since we did not have to redirect research resources to rewriting meeting minutes, we were able to manually code all available meeting minutes for the city of São Paulo for 2011. Given that we used the meeting minutes to interrogate the generalizability of our findings from participant observation and interviews, it was important to examine patterns across the 793 sets of meeting minutes, covering 87 of 93 CONSEGs in the city.

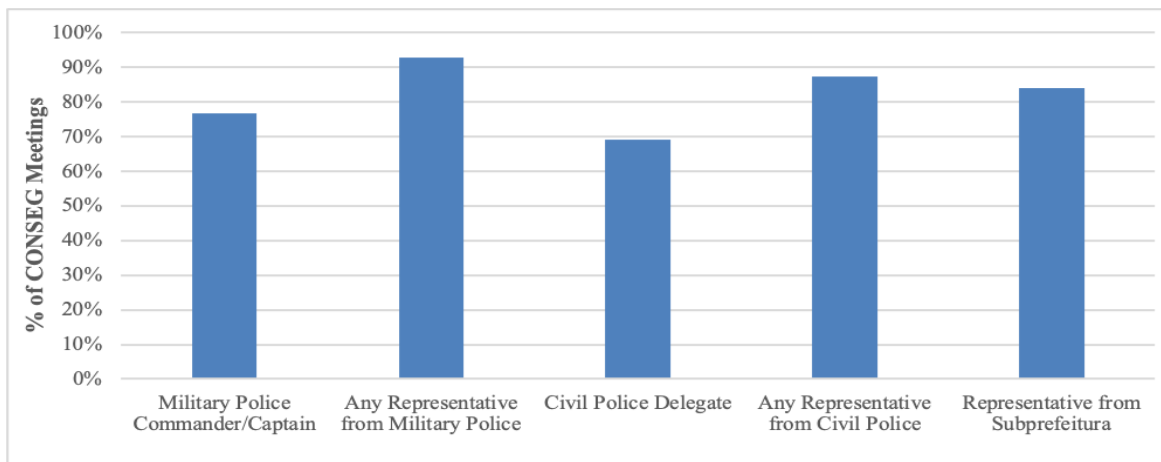
RAs coded the meeting minutes to provide evidence for 1) institutionalization of the CONSEGs; 2) whether marginalized groups are described as security threats or as rights-bearing citizens; and 3) demands for repression against marginalized groups and state responses to these demands. This coding was conducted in 2019 and 2020, following the completion of participant observation and interviews. We defined a list of marginalized groups that were subject to both societal exclusion and police repression as the subject of our coding: 1) children, adolescents, and youth; 2) people experiencing homelessness; 3) drug users; 4) sex workers; 5) LGBTQ+ individuals, 6) street vendors; and 7) recyclers/waste pickers. We developed this list inductively based on our prior knowledge of societal exclusion in São Paulo, existing scholarship, and participant observation of CONSEG meetings. In another context, the relevant marginalized groups could vary – for example, they might include immigrants, or religious minorities. The above list of groups is specific to the context of São Paulo, yet we expect the dynamics of marginalization, asymmetric citizenship, and repression to apply broadly to cities with high levels of inequality.

The authors produced a coding instrument, which can be found in Appendix B, to code each set of meeting minutes. We implemented a pilot run, with the authors and two research assistants coding a sample of meeting minutes to test the list of questions, to train RAs in coding, and to ensure consistency in coding. In coding a response to each question, the RAs justified their response, which the authors later used to adjudicate any inconsistencies and to check for errors. We tested for inter-coder reliability with a sample of approximately 10% of the meeting minutes.

Coding for Institutionalization

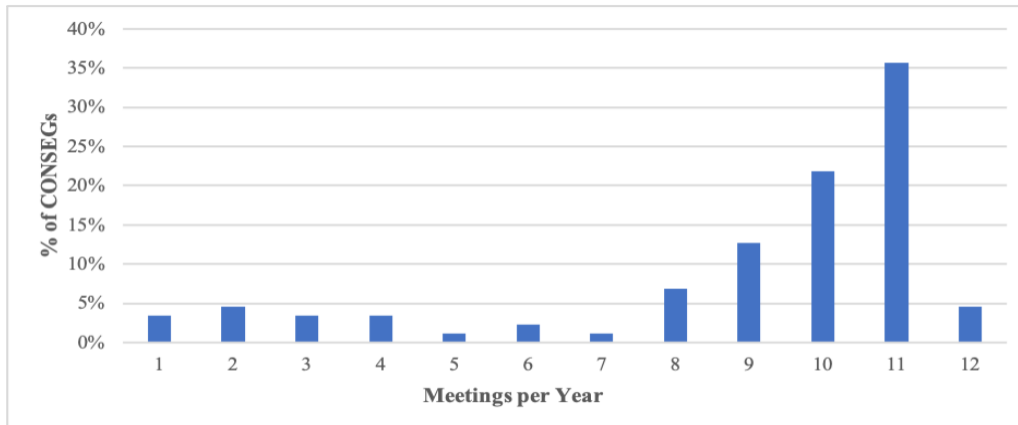
We evaluated institutionalization using a series of questions. We use the number attendees as a marker of how much community members value the CONSEGs. We recorded whether state officials, including commanders and representatives of the Military Police and the Civil Police, representatives from municipal agencies, and elected officials, attended the CONSEG meeting (Figure A1). We also tracked the frequency of CONSEG meetings; Figure A2 shows that the vast majority of CONSEGs met at least every other month.

Figure A1: CONSEG Meetings with Key State Officials Present



Source: CONSEG Meeting Minutes Dataset

Figure A2: Frequency of CONSEG Meetings



Source: CONSEG Meeting Minutes Dataset

Coding for Designation of Marginalized Groups as Security Threats

To assess whether a marginalized group was described as a security threat during CONSEG meetings, the questionnaire included separate questions about whether members of each marginalized group were mentioned 1) committing illegal activities, 2) committing violence, 3) inspiring fear, or 4) being disorderly. We coded the meeting minute as describing a marginalized group as a security threat if it included any of the above indicators; often, meeting minutes will describe the marginalized group as a security threat in multiple ways. We also asked whether CONSEG participants mentioned the marginalized group as being in need of protection, which would signal a social-citizenship discourse that frames the group as citizens in need of state assistance, rather than as a security threat.

To assess whether the group was described as committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities, the coders looked for references to violent crime, theft, drug sales, underage drinking, sales of alcohol to minors, among others. One of the coders noted that “sometimes, I got the sense that participants would simply accuse based on perception rather than concrete knowledge given the number of times that someone would just throw in “minors” or “drugs” in the mix of their complaint about a party. Whether a law was actually broken or not, it is difficult to say.” This comment fits with our argument that participants use discourses that paint marginalized groups as criminal, regardless of whether laws have been broken.

To determine whether the marginalized group was described as violent or potentially violent, the coders looked for explicit mentions of violence (e.g. describing someone attacking or threatening residents with a knife), as well as complaints about the hypothetical danger presented by that group. In practice, the meeting minutes recorded few instances of direct violence being committed by members of marginalized groups; instead, most responses came from complaints that a group *could* become violent, or that they seemed violent, often without explaining why.

To assess whether there was a mention of fear, we instructed the coders to only include explicit mentions of fear – for example, the Portuguese words/phrases “*assustado*,” “*com medo*,” “*aterrorizado*,” “*não posso sair da casa*,” etc. (afraid, frightened, terrorized, I can’t leave the house). This approach surely undercounts how much participants used language of fear in the CONSEG meetings, but we preferred to be conservative and leave the interpretation for our direct observation of CONSEG meetings.

Describing members of the marginalized group as disorderly occurred frequently in the meeting minutes – more often than committing crimes, being violent, or causing fear. Complaints about disorderly behavior included objections that marginalized groups were loitering, making noise, hanging out on the corner and being up to no good, causing a mess, begging for money, or harassing community members, among others. This category did *not* include mentions of illegal acts that would merit police interventions. Often, entries in this category included grievances about the mere presence of a group in a place – particularly for complaints about people experiencing homelessness. Frequently, references to crimes, violence, and fear were added onto the initial complaints about disorderly behavior.

We also coded for whether the marginalized group was discussed as being in need of protection or assistance, or mentioned as the victim of a crime, rather than being the source of insecurity. Rarely did

CONSEG participants discuss marginalized groups as being in need of protection and thus present them as being rights-bearing citizens. The one exception was children and adolescents: participants frequently demanded increased policing to protect innocent children — but often did so by distinguishing the “good” children from “dangerous” children. Participants demanded greater protection for their own children, or for children they knew. This exception further reaffirms our argument that participants use discourses to distinguish virtuous citizens in need of protection from those who are dangerous security threats.

Table A3 provides summary statistics for these questions for all CONSEGs, and notes whether each marginalized group was mentioned as criminal, violent, causing fear, and/or disorderly at least once over the course of 2011. Some groups were mentioned more frequently than others; children, adolescents, and youth as well as drug users were mentioned as security threats across most CONSEGs in the city, while LGBTQ+ individuals and waste pickers were discussed as security threats in only a handful of CONSEGs. Table A4 presents another way of parsing the data, giving summary statistics for all meeting minutes across CONSEGs. Whereas Table A3 shows the consistency of discourse defining marginalized groups as security threats across different CONSEGs, Table A4 captures the overall frequency of these claims.

Table A3: Percent of CONSEGs Portraying Marginalized Groups as Security Threats

	% of CONSEGs Describing Group as Criminal	% of CONSEGs Describing Group as Violent	% of CONSEGs Mentioning Fear of Group	% of CONSEGs Describing Group as Disorderly	% of CONSEGs Defining Group as Security Threat
Children, Adolescents, and Youth	42.5%	12.6%	3.4%	36.8%	66.67%
Drug Users	21.8%	12.6%	9.2%	56.3%	66.7%
People Experiencing Homelessness	9.2%	6.9%	3.4%	32.2%	48.3%
Street Vendors	6.9%	1.1%	0%	32.2%	33.3%
Sex Workers	4.6%	0%	1.1%	11.5%	13.8%
LGBTQ+ Individuals	1.1%	0%	0%	4.6%	5.7%
Recyclers	0%	1.1%	0%	6.9%	6.2%

Source: CONSEG Meeting Minutes Dataset. A group is described as a security threat if it is described as criminal, violent, causing fear, or disorderly.

Table A4: Percent of CONSEG Meeting Minutes Portraying Marginalized Groups as Security Threats

	% of Meeting Minutes Describing Group as Criminal	% of Meeting Minutes Describing Group as Violent	% of Meeting Minutes Mentioning Fear of Group	% of Meeting Minutes Describing Group as Disorderly	% of Meeting Minutes Defining Group as Security Threat
Children, Adolescents, and Youth	8.1%	2.3%	0.4%	6.8%	14.4%
Drug Users	3.5%	1.6%	1.0%	17.3%	18.5%
People Experiencing Homelessness	1.4%	0.8%	0.4%	7.8%	7.8%
Street Vendors	0.9%	0.1%	0%	4.8%	4.0%
Sex Workers	0.5%	0%	0.1%	1.3%	1.5%
LGBTQ+ Individuals	0.1%	0%	0%	0.6%	0.6%
Recyclers	0%	0.1%	0%	0.9%	0.9%

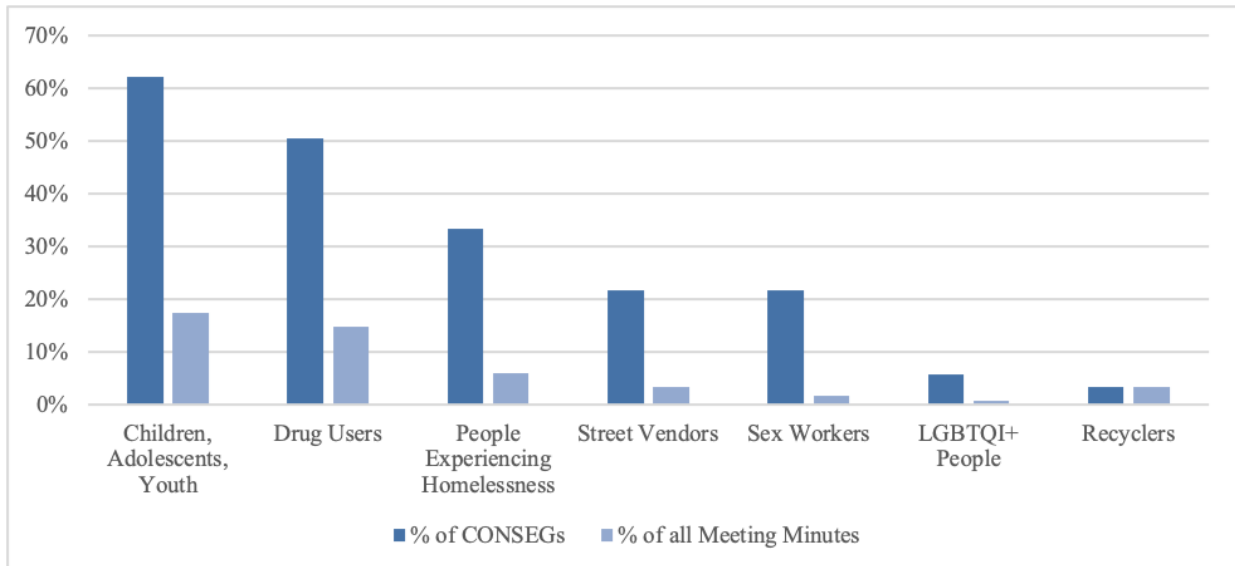
Source: CONSEG Meeting Minutes Dataset. A group is described as a security threat if it is described as criminal, violent, causing fear, or disorderly.

Producing Demands for Repression

We coded meeting minutes to assess whether participants demanded police repression of marginalized groups during CONSEG meetings. At times, participants explicitly asked police to use force to arrest or remove members of a marginalized group from a particular area. While participant observation revealed that CONSEG participants sometimes explicitly ask the police to use extrajudicial violence against marginalized groups, the meeting minutes recorded more muted demands for repression. Sometimes, these demands for repression took the form of requesting greater police presence in an area after describing the threat posed by a marginalized group, or simply asking the police “to do something” about the marginalized group. In this context, “doing something” did not mean provide greater services for these groups. Figure A3 demonstrates both the percentage of CONSEGs in which participants demanded repression of marginalized groups in any meeting, and the overall percentage of meeting minutes containing those demands.

Coding for demands for repression inevitably involved a degree of judgment by the research assistants, who needed to sort through whether participants were simply asking for police presence or if the demand clearly signaled police presence to use coercion against a marginalized group. The coders looked for the language used to describe the group (for example, if a pejorative term is used), and overall context. Given the degree of discretion and judgement involved in these calls, two research assistants both coded each set of meeting minutes to assess whether citizen demands could be considered calls for repression. Mayka checked roughly 25% of these records for accuracy in coding and adjudicated any disputes among RAs.

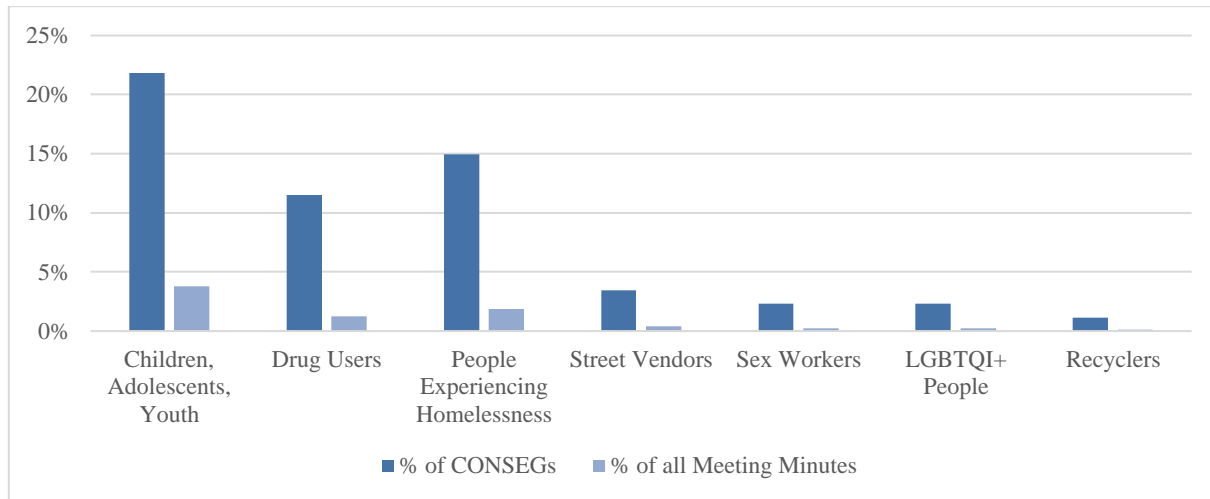
Figure A3: Demands for Police Repression of Marginalized Groups within the CONSEGs



Source: CONSEG Meeting Minutes Dataset

We also examined the extent to which police engaged with citizen demands for repression in a way that supported those demands. We coded meeting minutes for whether police described committing, mentioned future plans to commit, or expressed general support for repressive policing. Sometimes police made these statements in direct response to demands made at that meeting by community members, while other times police referred back to demands made in a previous meeting, or mentioned repressive acts committed recently as an update for the CONSEG. Figure A4 provides a breakdown of CONSEGs and meetings that featured such statements by police against the marginalized groups central to our study.

Figure A4: Police Statements Promoting Repression of Marginalized Groups within CONSEGs



Source: CONSEG Meeting Minutes Dataset

Regional Variation among CONSEGs Spanning Socioeconomic and Racial Categories

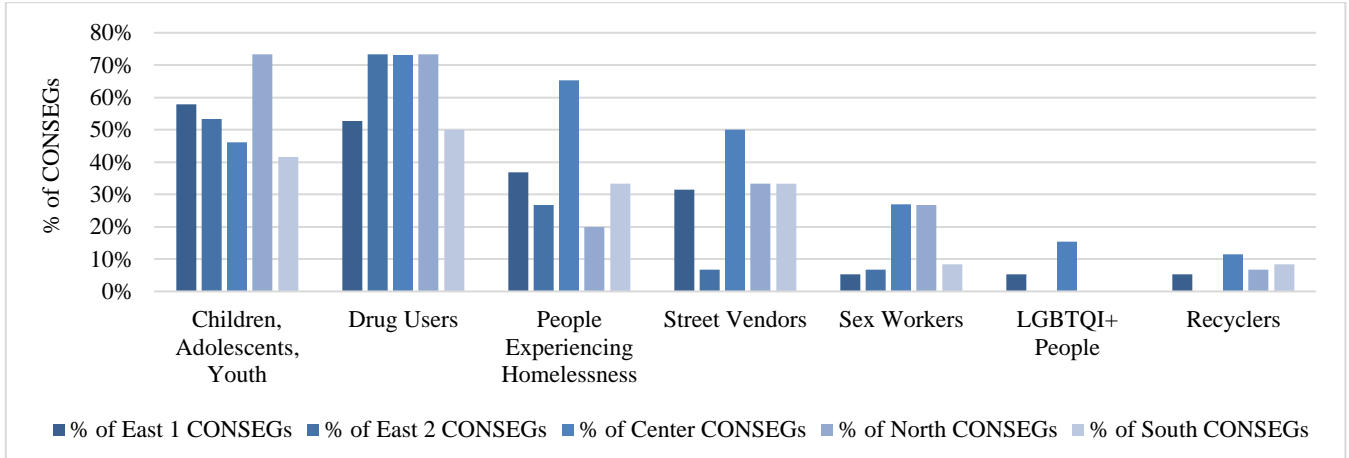
As noted above, we selected CONSEGs for participant observation to assess whether the three mechanisms producing asymmetric citizenship operate similarly across CONSEGs in districts that vary along socioeconomic or racial composition. This variation enables us to examine whether CONSEGs in marginalized districts generate discourses that define marginalized groups as security threats, exclude them from participation, and demand repression against them. Figures A5, A6, and A7 provides a broad overview of this variation, extending the analysis presented in Figures 2 and 4 in the article.

We grouped CONSEG districts according to the spatial categories developed by SEADE, the statistical agency of the State of São Paulo: Expanded Center, North, South, East 1, and East 2.⁴ Expanded Center includes the city’s central and western regions, the city’s most affluent districts, along with a few middle- and upper-income districts in the southern region. The North and South refer to districts in the city’s northern and southern peripheries; while the city’s densely populated Eastern periphery is divided into two regions, with districts closer to the center (and relatively better-off) in East 1 and more distant (and more marginalized) districts in East 2. According to SEADE’s analysis, districts in the Expanded Center overall have considerably higher levels of education, lower levels of unemployment, lower levels of informal employment, and higher average monthly income than districts located in the North, South, and Eastern peripheries. The Expanded Center districts also have lower proportions of Black residents, according to São Paulo’s Municipal Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality.⁵

⁴ SEADE (Fundação Sistema Estadual de Análise de Dados). “São Paulo Diversa: Uma análise a partir de regiões da cidade.” Secretaria de Governo, Governo do Estado de São Paulo, January 2020.

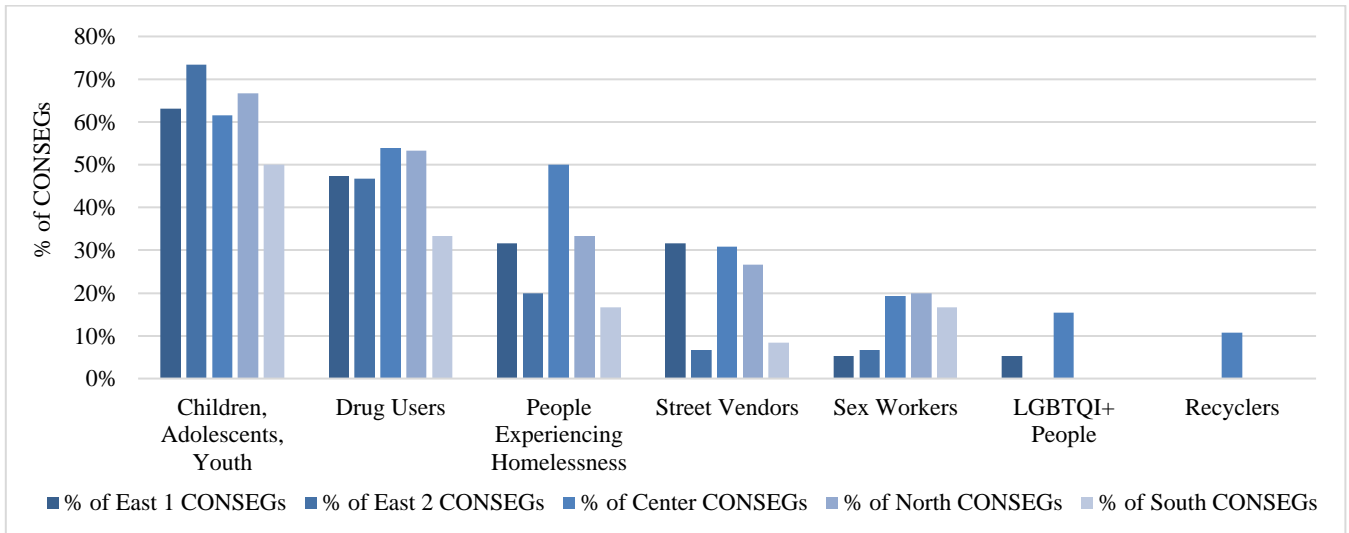
⁵ Secretaria Municipal de Promoção da Igualdade Racial. “Igualdade Racial em São Paulo: Avanços e Desafios.” Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2015.

Figure A5: CONSEGs Framing Marginalized Groups as Security Threats by Region



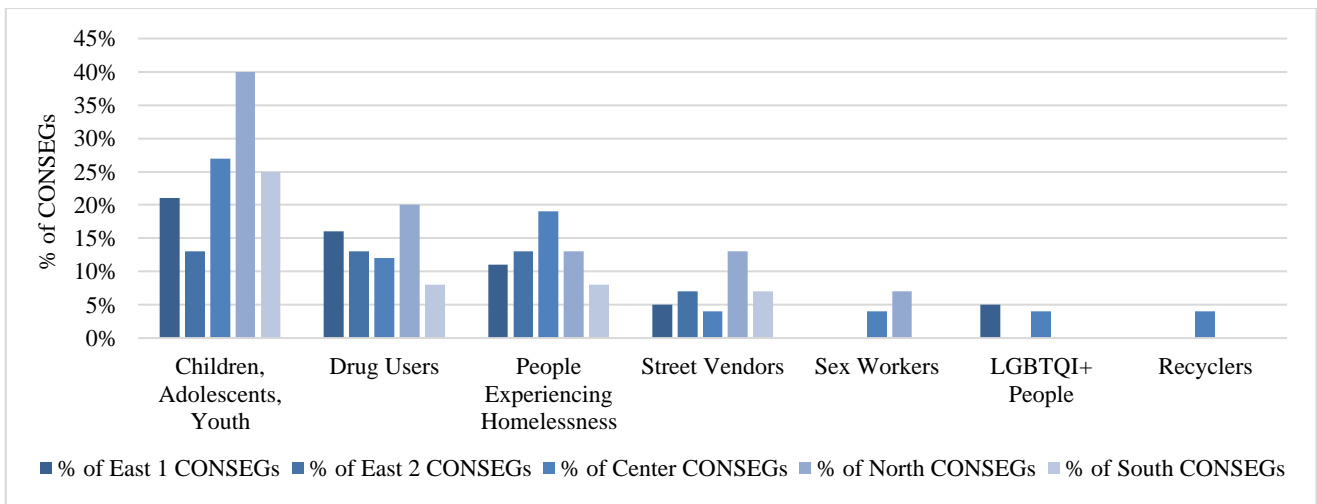
Source: CONSEG Meeting Minutes Dataset

Figure A6: CONSEGs Demanding Police Repression of Marginalized Groups by Region



Source: CONSEG Meeting Minutes Dataset

Figure A7: Police Statements Promoting Repression of Marginalized Groups by Region



Source: CONSEG Meeting Minutes Dataset

Despite this considerable demographic variation, CONSEGs in all regions frame marginalized groups as security threats (Figure A5), express demands for their repression (Figure A6), and featured statements from police promoting their repression (Figure A7). As we might expect, there is some variation in the groups most subjected to these frames and demands for repression in different regions. CONSEGs in the Expanded Center, for instance, are more likely to frame people experiencing homelessness as security threats and demand repression against them, due to the greater concentration of this population in the city center. Despite variation, however, these charts demonstrate that the three mechanisms that produce asymmetric citizenship operate in CONSEGs across the city, in wealthy and low-income regions alike. These figures reinforce the findings from participant observation and interviews presented in the main text showing that marginalized groups within marginalized regions also face asymmetric citizenship.

Expectations of Bias in CONSEG Meeting Minutes

The meeting minutes are summaries of CONSEG meetings, not transcripts, and thus will summarize discussions in ways that reflect the biases of the CONSEG secretaries that write these records. We expect that these biases would understate the degree to which participants use dehumanizing language that present marginalized groups as security threats, and would sanitize citizen demands for violent police repression. For instance, the meeting minutes might summarize a participant's rants about people experiencing homelessness as filthy degenerates that are ruining a neighborhood as simply a complaint that homelessness is causing sanitation problems. Moreover, the meeting minutes might refer to marginalized groups without labeling them as such, simply mentioning "criminals" or "suspicious people." In practice, both community members and police officers present at the CONSEG meeting might understand that these "criminals" as members of marginalized groups without having to spell it out. The CONSEG meeting minutes thus likely miss a number of references to marginalized groups that were understood by those in the meetings.

Thus, the CONSEG meeting minutes offer a conservative estimate of the discourses we analyze in this paper. In practice, the discourses of asymmetric citizenship are likely more widespread than we capture in our summaries of the meeting minutes – a possibility supported by González's participant observation of a number of CONSEG meetings. Even with these undercounts, we find substantial evidence that the CONSEGs frame marginalized groups as security threats and reproduce demands for repressive policing.

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APPENDIX B: CONSEG MEETING MINUTES CODING INSTRUMENT

I. Background Information

- Name of CONSEG
- Date of meeting
- Where was meeting held?
- Members of executive committee present
- Natural members present
- Municipal authorities present
- Elected officials present
- How many people attended meeting?
- Which civil society organizations attended meeting?

II. Children, Adolescents, and Youth

- Were children/adolescents/youth described as committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities?
- Describe any references to children/adolescents/youth committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities.
- Were children/adolescents/youth described as violent or potentially violent?
- Describe any references to children, adolescents, or youth being violent or potentially violent.
- Was there a mention of fear of children/adolescents/youth?
- Describe any references to fear of children, adolescents, or youth.
 - Do not infer what "fear" means--only include discussions name fear directly (e.g. assustado, com medo, aterrorizado, they can't leave the house, etc.)
- Were children/adolescents/youth described as disorderly?
 - Complaints about disorderly behavior should not include violence or crime. This question refers to complaints about loitering, making noise, hanging out on the corner and being up to no good, etc. It may also include references to street children washing car windows, being dirty, loitering, etc.
- Describe any references to children, adolescents, or youth being disorderly.
- Was there a mention of lowering the age of legal adulthood in criminal cases?
- Describe any discussion of lowering the age of legal adulthood in criminal cases.
- Is there a mention of a pancadão or baile funk?
- Describe the discussion of the pancadão/baile funk.
- Was there a mention of a child, adolescent, or youth being a victim of a crime/needing protection?
- Describe any discussion of a child, adolescent, or youth being a victim of a crime/needing protection.
- Describe any additional discussion of children/adolescents/youth not captured by prior questions.
- Were any demands for state intervention made regarding children, adolescents, and/or youth?
- List any state entities mentioned in these demands for intervention, and note which demands were made of which state entities (e.g. officials from municipal, state, or federal state agencies, or elected officials)
- Were there demands for increased collaboration among different state entities? Explain.
- Describe the response, if any, by public officials to the statements/demands made by attendees regarding children/adolescents/youth.

III. People Experiencing Homelessness

- Were people experiencing homelessness described as committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities?
- Describe any references to people experiencing homelessness committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities.
- Were people experiencing homelessness described as violent or potentially violent?
- Describe any references to people experiencing homelessness being violent or potentially violent.
- Was there a mention of fear of people experiencing homelessness?
- Describe any references to fear of people experiencing homelessness.

- Were people experiencing homelessness described as disorderly?
- Describe any references to people experiencing homelessness being disorderly.
- Was there a mention of a people experiencing homelessness being a victim of a crime/needing protection?
- Describe any discussion of people experiencing homelessness being a victim of a crime/needing protection.
- Describe any additional discussion of people experiencing homelessness not captured by prior questions.
- Were any demands for state intervention made regarding people experiencing homelessness?
- List the state entities (if any) mentioned in these demands for intervention, and note which demands were made of which state entities.
- Were there demands for increased collaboration among different state entities? Explain.
- Describe the response, if any, by public officials to the statements/demands made by attendees regarding people experiencing homelessness.

IV. People Who Use Drugs

- Was drug sales/trafficking mentioned? Focus only on drug sales/trafficking, not drug use.
- Describe discussion of drug sales/trafficking.
- Were people who use drugs described as committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities?
- Describe any references to those who use drugs committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities.
- Were people who use drugs described as violent or potentially violent?
- Describe any references to people who use drugs being violent or potentially violent.
- Was there a mention of fear of people who use drugs?
- Describe any references to fear of people who use drugs.
- Were people who use drugs described as disorderly?
- Describe any references to people who use drugs being disorderly.
- Was there a mention of a people who use drugs being a victim of a crime/needing protection?
- Describe any discussion of a people who use drugs being a victim of a crime/needing protection.
- Describe any additional discussion of people who use drugs not captured by prior questions.
- Were any demands for state intervention made regarding people who use drugs?
- List the state entities (if any) mentioned in these demands for intervention, and note which demands were made of which state entities.
- Were there demands for increased collaboration among different state entities? Explain.
- Describe the response, if any, by public officials to the statements/demands made by attendees regarding people who use drugs.

V. Sex Workers

- Were sex workers described as committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities?
- Describe any references to sex workers committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities.
- Were sex workers described as violent or potentially violent?
- Describe any references to sex workers being violent or potentially violent.
- Was there a mention of fear of sex workers?
- Describe any references to fear of sex workers.
- Were sex workers described as disorderly?
- Describe any references to sex workers being disorderly.
- Was there discussion of commercial sexual exploitation of children or sex trafficking?
- Describe any references to commercial sexual exploitation of children or sex trafficking.
- Was there a mention of a sex worker being a victim of a crime/needing protection?
 - Do not include commercial sexual exploitation of children or sex trafficking
- Describe any discussion of a sex worker being a victim of a crime/needing protection.
- Describe any additional discussion of sex workers not captured by prior questions.

- Were any demands for state intervention made regarding sex workers?
- List the state entities (if any) mentioned in these demands for intervention, and note which demands were made of which state entities.
- Were there demands for increased collaboration among different state entities? Explain.
- Describe the response, if any, by public officials to the statements/demands made by attendees regarding sex workers.

VI. Street Vendors

- Were street vendors described as committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities?
- Describe any references to street vendors committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities.
- Were street vendors described as violent or potentially violent?
- Describe any references to street vendors being violent or potentially violent.
- Was there a mention of fear of street vendors?
- Describe any references to fear of street vendors.
- Were street vendors described as disorderly?
- Describe any references to street vendors.
- Was there a mention of street vendors being a victim of a crime/needing protection?
- Describe any discussion of street vendors being a victim of a crime/needing protection.
- Describe any additional discussion of street vendors not captured by prior questions.
- Were any demands for state intervention made regarding street vendors?
- List the state entities (if any) mentioned in these demands for intervention, and note which demands were made of which state entities.
- Were there demands for increased collaboration among different state entities? Explain.
- Describe the response, if any, by public officials to the statements/demands made by attendees regarding street vendors.

VII. Waste Pickers/Recyclers

- Were waste pickers/recyclers described as committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities?
- Describe any references to waste pickers/recyclers committing, or potentially committing, illegal activities.
- Were waste pickers/recyclers described as violent or potentially violent?
- Describe any references to waste pickers/recyclers being violent or potentially violent.
- Was there a mention of fear of waste pickers/recyclers?
- Describe any references to fear of waste pickers/recyclers.
- Were waste pickers/recyclers described as disorderly?
- Describe any references to waste pickers/recyclers being disorderly.
- Was there a mention of a waste pickers/recyclers being a victim of a crime/needing protection?
- Describe any discussion of a waste pickers/recyclers being a victim of a crime/needing protection.
- Describe any additional discussion of waste pickers/recyclers not captured by prior questions.
- Were any demands for state intervention made regarding waste pickers/recyclers?
- List the state entities (if any) mentioned in these demands for intervention, and note which demands were made of which state entities.
- Were there demands for increased collaboration among different state entities? Explain.
- Describe the response, if any, by public officials to the statements/demands made by attendees regarding waste pickers/recyclers.

VIII. Additional Information

- Provide any additional information that will help contextualize the responses above. Were different viewpoints represented? Was there discussion of some other marginalized group discussed that was not included in our list? Did members of/advocates for marginalized groups participate?

APPENDIX C: SAMPLE MEETING MINUTES

BELA VISTA/BIXIGA CONSEG MINUTES OF THE ORDINARY MEETING OF MARCH 2012

Date: March 26, 2012 Start Time: 7:30 pm End Time: 9:30 pm Place: BRIGADEIRO THEATER - Av. Brigadeiro Luiz Antonio, 884, Bela Vista, São Paulo/SP. Present at the meeting: 51 people.

Board members present:

President Fabio Arduino Portaluppi
Vice President Reinaldo Rodrigues Leite
1st Secretary Luciano Martins de Farias
Director of Social and Community Affairs Inês Correa Athanzio
Director of Local Action Flávio Guarniero

Members of the Ethics Council

Arlete Martins da Silva
Claudio Marzucca
Maria Teresa Helene Lemos Reis

Natural Members:

Commander of the 1st CIA of the 11th BPM/M - Capt. PM Giampaolo Donato Giaquinto

Authorities present:

Deputy Delegate 5o DP - Dr. Ricardo Juliano S. Prezia (representing born member Civil Police)
Representative of the Subprefeito da Sé - Francisco Carlos Rueda
Representative of CET Edgard de Souza
Ilume's representative - Wilson Roberto Jerônimo
CDHU's representative - Luciano Gama

Subjects Discussed:

The start of the meeting was called by the President of this CONSEG with the composition of the directing table, presenting to all the authorities present and requesting a salute to the National Flag, which was immediately done. He then informed that the minutes of the previous meeting are available on our website, and if anyone has any objection to them, please inform us for analysis. Mr. President addressed the electoral period of our CONSEG, informing that those interested should register until the next regular meeting in April.

Continuing with the meeting, the floor was given to the representative of the natural member of the Civil Police, Dr. Ricardo Juliano S. Prezia, who after greeting everyone made a brief report of the activities of the 5th PD in the last month.

Continuing the meeting, the Military Police's natural member, PM Giampaolo Donato Giaquinto, after greeting the presents, informed the change in command of CPA/M1 and presented a brief report of the activities of the 1st Company of the 11th BPM/M in the last month.

Mr. President read an e-mail sent to this CONSEG by Mr. Candido, regarding the performance of the 1st Company of the 11th BPM/M and of Sergeants Santiago and Luciana, who saved his father from extortion.

Next, the floor was given to the representative of the Sub-City Hall, Mr. Francisco Carlos Rueda, who greeted everyone and spoke about the problem of abandoned vehicle frames, and that the problem of a place to keep them hasn't been solved yet.

Mr. Edgard de Souza, CET's representative, introduced himself to those present, making himself available and providing his contacts. He also talked about the demands that were pending, bringing feedback to the community.

Following the meeting, Mr. Luciano Gama, CDHU's representative, greeted everyone present and talked about CDHU's work in the region of our CONSEG. He spoke about the lack of short-term solutions, and at this moment he was questioned about the issue of long and medium-term solutions, which was immediately answered by the representative. Mr. Oscar Porcino approached the Maria José Street, being informed by Mr. Luciano Gama that he wouldn't know how to answer this fact and would need to do a survey. Mr. Henrique asked about the joint work between CDHU and SEHAB, being informed that the two bodies have a partnership with good results since the Serra government. Mr. Ivan talked about the existing problems in the region of Conde de São Joaquim Street, where there are some CDHU actions, and showed the problems that these actions are bringing to the region. Mr. Luciano addressed the issue, thus generating a heated and very important debate, which had to be interrupted due to time constraints.

Mr. Wilson Roberto Jerônimo, Ilume's representative, introduced himself to those present, and was available to all. PM Capt. Giampaolo approached the points of poor lighting that generate great risk of insecurity, highlighting the surroundings of the Condessa and Pedroso viaduct, besides Rua Barão de Ijuí. Mr. Fernando requested better lighting in the underpass of the Treze de Maio Street near Brigadeiro Luiz Antonio Avenue. The representative of Ilume informed that in case of poor lighting the best would be to request through CONSEG to enter the programming of the new project of lighting improvement, where they change the bulbs thus generating a better lighting in place. He also informed that this kind of request must take a long time, due to the fact of having a great demand. Mr. Flávio mentioned the implantation of the school security area in our region, where Ilume should be a partner. Mr. Magno questioned about the lack of lighting in an area of Artur Prado Street and Mr. Oscar took the opportunity to inform that this problem actually covers the whole extension of it, because the lighting on Artur Prado Street is weak. Mr. Fernando said that the biggest problem is the tired lamps. Mr. Haroldo said that the problem of poor lighting is in fact in practically the entire Bela Vista area.

Mr. Inês, representative of the Guardianship Council, talked about the work of the Council in our region and took the opportunity to explain about the agreement with Mackenzie University and Unip, bringing to the population psychological care through interns. Finally, the council's representative left the council's contact information.

Afterwards, the floor was given to those present who had previously registered.

1 - Mr. Oscar Porcino questioned about the vehicles that pass by Maria José Street, but don't work in some of its locations, such as, for example, the establishment 407.

PM Capt. Giampaolo informed how the vehicles work in our area and said that in the case cited as an example, the complaint is not justified, after all, the problem is not the police, but the lack of education. He also reminded that the police can't act without a crime.

2 - Mr. Ivan questioned about drug users carrying and using drugs anywhere, bothering residents and pedestrians who use the place where they are. He also talked about "boquetas", citing Conde de São Joaquim Street and Maria José Street, among others.

Dr. Ricardo Prezia informed that the biggest problem in relation to the complaint was the change in the law that no longer allows the arrest of the user, but should warn him, preparing a detailed term and releasing him. He also talked about the work done in the region with drug seizures through investigations. PM Capt. Giampaolo took the opportunity and talked about how the drug seizure was made recently in the region by the military police.

3 - Mr. José Magno informed that last Friday, the 23rd, between 10pm and 11pm, at 1186 Brigadeiro Luiz Antonio Avenue, there were three disagreements between parties, which generated aggression, requiring better policing in the region.

PM Capt. Giampaulo informed that the disagreement between the parties unfortunately does not characterize a crime, and that it would be necessary for one of the parties to complain about the aggressions suffered.

4 - Ms. Margarete requested a better inspection regarding the pedestrian crosswalks on Pio XII Street, that on Thursdays, during the street fair that happens there, people stop their cars on the crosswalk, damaging pedestrians, especially wheelchair users that use the crossing there.

5 - Mr. Jose Faller, thanked in relation to the attendance of the 5th DP, in which the same, despite having three people ahead in attendance, the same did not take 40 minutes. He also talked about the attention and respect when attended by Dr. Glauce and Dr. Ricardo.

At this moment Mr. Claudio took the opportunity to thank and reiterated that he also needed to be attended by the 5th PD and was attended quickly and efficiently.

6 - Mr. Haroldo complained about the bad care of the parking area used by the 2nd and 3rd Cia of the 7o BPM/M, located at the bottom of the viaduct of the East-West connection, next to Prof. Laerte Ramos Carvalho Street. He also talked about the serious problem on the mentioned street, from Major Diogo Street to Italo Bagnon Square, with the high rate of "street dwellers".

The Council of Guardianship informed that the biggest problem is that people don't want to leave the place and by force of law nobody can remove them. He also illustrated this by citing an example of action at the site.

7 - Mr. Haroldo requested measures in relation to the sidewalks on Major Diogo Street and Brig. Luiz Antonio Av., which are being taken over by students and drug users, thus not allowing the passage of pedestrians.

8 - Mr. Jose Magno asked for inspection in relation to the Bar situated on the corner of the street Maria José Com Brig. Luiz Antonio, that for lack of acoustic isolation brings big problems for the residents of the place. He also reinforced the complaint from Mr. Haroldo Lago, about the bars on the sidewalk of Major Diogo Street and Brigadeiro Luiz Antonio Av.

Mr. José Magno thanked the subprefecture for attending to the previous complaint regarding the use of the sidewalk by trucks, thus solving the problem.

We moved on to the honorees for the month of February 2012.

Note: Among the demands requested here or in writing were generated 14 requests of those present for the authorities.

By determination of Mr. President, the absence of the 2nd Secretary Mr. Rui Vilcek de Souza Mello and the effective member Mrs. Alexandra Zakie Aboud is justified.

Place and date of the next meeting:

Venue - Brigadeiro Theater - Avenida Brigadeiro Luis Antonio, 884. Date - April 30, 2012 at 7:30 p.m.



CONSEG - BELA VISTA / BIXIGA

Conselho Comunitário de Segurança

Órgão da Secretaria de Segurança Pública de São Paulo

Correspondente às áreas do 5º DP, Seccional Centro e 1ª Cia do 11º BPM/M

Regulamentado pelo Decreto Estadual 23.455/85 e 25.366/86 da Resol. SSP 47/99 - Lei Comp. 974/05 de 21/09/2005

ATA DE REUNIÃO ORDINÁRIA DE MARÇO DE 2012

Data: 26 de março de 2012 **Horário de início:** 19h30min **Término:** 21h30min

Local: TEATRO BRIGADEIRO – Av. Brigadeiro Luiz Antonio, 884, *Bela Vista, São Paulo/SP.*

Presentes à reunião: 51 pessoas.

Membros da Diretoria presentes:

Presidente	Fabio Arduino Portaluppi
Vice Presidente	Reinaldo Rodrigues Leite
1º Secretário	Luciano Martins de Farias
Diretora Social e Assuntos Comunitários	Inês Correa Athanazio
Diretor de Ação Local	Flávio Guarniero

Membros do Conselho de Ética:

Arlete Martins da Silva
Claudio Marzucca
Maria Teresa Helene Lemos Reis

Membros Natos:

Comandante da 1ª CIA do 11º BPM/M – Cap. PM Giampaolo Donato Giaquinto

Autoridades presentes:

Delegado Adjunto 5º DP - Dr. Ricardo Juliano S. Prezia (**representando membro nato Policia Civil**)
Representante do Subprefeito da Sé – Francisco Carlos Rueda
Representante da CET Edgard de Souza
Representante da Ilume – Wilson Roberto Jerônimo
Representante da CDHU – Luciano Gama

Assuntos tratados:

Foi determinado o início dos trabalhos pelo Sr. Presidente deste CONSEG com a composição da mesa diretora, apresentando à todos as autoridades presentes e solicitando uma saudação à Bandeira Nacional, o que de imediato foi feito. Na sequência informou que a ata da reunião passada está à disposição em nosso site, e se alguém tenha alguma objeção quanto à mesma, nos informar para análise. Foi abordado pelo Sr. Presidente em relação ao período eleitoral de nosso CONSEG, informando que os interessados deveriam fazer sua inscrição de chapar até a próxima reunião ordinária em abril.

Prosseguindo com a reunião foi dada a palavra ao representante do membro nato da Polícia Civil, Dr. Ricardo Juliano S. Prezia, que após cumprimentar a todos fez um breve relato das atividades do 5º DP no último mês.



CONSEG - BELA VISTA / BIXIGA

Conselho Comunitário de Segurança

Órgão da Secretaria de Segurança Pública de São Paulo

Correspondente às áreas do 5º DP, Seccional Centro e 1ª Cia do 11º BPM/M

Regulamentado pelo Decreto Estadual 23.455/85 e 25.366/86 da Resol. SSP 47/99 - Lei Comp. 974/05 de 21/09/2005

Dando continuidade à reunião, o membro nato da Polícia Militar, Cap. PM Giampaolo Donato Giaquinto, após cumprimentar os presentes, informou a troca no comando do CPA/M1 e apresentou um breve relato das atividades da 1ª Cia do 11º BPM/M no último mês.

O Sr. Presidente leu um e-mail enviado a este CONSEG pelo Sr. Candido, em relação à atuação do comando da 1ª Cia do 11º BPM/M e dos Sd. Santiago e Luciana, que salvaram seu pai de extorsão.

Em sequência, foi dada a palavra ao representante da Subprefeitura, Sr. Francisco Carlos Rueda, que cumprimentou a todos, e falou em relação ao problema das carcaças e veículos abandonados e que ainda não foi resolvido o problema de local para guarda dos mesmos.

O Sr. Edgard de Souza, representante do CET, se apresentou aos presentes se colocando a disposição e passando seus contatos. O mesmo ainda abordou em relação às demandas que estavam pendentes trazendo retorno a comunidade.

Em sequência a reunião, o Sr. Luciano Gama, representante da CDHU, cumprimentou a todos os presentes e abordou em relação ao trabalho da CDHU na região de nosso CONSEG. Foi falado em relação à falta de soluções em curto prazo, sendo neste momento questionado sobre a questão de soluções a longo e médio prazo, sendo de imediato respondido pelo representante. O Sr. Oscar Porcino abordou em relação à Rua Maria José, sendo informado pelo Sr. Luciano Gama que não saberia responder em relação a este fato e precisaria fazer um levantamento. O Sr. Henrique perguntou em relação ao trabalho conjunto entre a CDHU e a SEHAB, sendo informado que os dois órgãos executam uma parceria de bons resultados desde o governo Serra. Sr. Ivan fez uma abordagem sobre os problemas existentes na região da Rua Conde de São Joaquim, onde se tem algumas ações da CDHU e demonstrou os transtornos que essas ações estão trazendo para a região. O Sr. Luciano Abordou quanto ao assunto, gerando assim um debate caloroso e de grande importância, que por força de tempo precisou ser interrompido.

Prosseguindo com a reunião o Sr. Wilson Roberto Jerônimo, representante da Ilume, se apresentou aos presentes, ficando a disposição de todos. O Cap. PM Giampaolo abordou em relação aos pontos de precária iluminação que geram grande risco de insegurança, destacando as mediações do viaduto Condessa e Pedroso, além da Rua Barão de Ijuí. O Sr. Fernando solicitou melhor iluminação nos baixos do viaduto da Rua Treze de Maio nas proximidades da av. Brigadeiro Luiz Antonio. O representante da Ilume informou que em caso de iluminação fraca o melhor seria solicitar através do CONSEG para entrar na programação do novo projeto de melhoria de iluminação, onde se trocam as lâmpadas gerando assim uma melhor luminosidade no local. Informou ainda que esse tipo de solicitação deve demorar, pelo fato de ter uma grande demanda. Sr. Flávio citou a implantação da área de segurança escolar em nossa região, onde a Ilume deveria ser uma parceira. Sr. Magno questionou em relação à falta de iluminação em uma área da Rua Artur Prado e o Sr. Oscar aproveitou para informar que esse problema na realidade engloba toda a extensão da mesma, pois a iluminação na Rua Artur Prado é fraca. O Sr. Fernando abordou que o problema maior são as lâmpadas cansadas. O Sr. Haroldo abordou que o problema de iluminação fraca na realidade é praticamente em toda a região da Bela Vista.

A Sr Inês, representante do Conselho Tutelar, abordou em relação ao trabalho do mesmo em nossa região e aproveitou para explanar em relação ao acordo fechado com a universidade Mackenzie e Unip, trazendo para a população atendimento psicológico através de estagiários. Finalizando a representante do conselho deixou o contato do mesmo.

Na sequência, foi passada a palavra aos presentes que efetuaram a inscrição prévia.



CONSEG - BELA VISTA / BIXIGA

Conselho Comunitário de Segurança

Órgão da Secretaria de Segurança Pública de São Paulo

Correspondente às áreas do 5º DP, Seccional Centro e 1ª Cia do 11º BPM/M

Regulamentado pelo Decreto Estadual 23.455/85 e 25.366/86 da Resol. SSP 47/99 - Lei Comp. 974/05 de 21/09/2005

1 – Sr. Oscar Porcino questionou em relação às viaturas que passam na Rua Maria José, mas não atuam em algumas localidades da mesma, como por exemplo, o estabelecimento de nº 407.

O Cap. PM Giampaolo informou como funciona a atuação das viaturas em nossa área e abordou que no caso citado como exemplo, a reclamação não procede afinal o problema não é de polícia e sim de falta de educação. Lembrou ainda que a polícia não pode agir sem delito.

2 – Sr. Ivan questionou com relação aos usuários de drogas portarem e fazer uso das mesmas em qualquer lugar, incomodando os moradores e pedestres que utilizam o local em que estão. Falou ainda em questão das “boquetas” citando a Rua Conde de São Joaquim e Maria José entre outras.

O Dr. Ricardo Prezias informou que o maior problema em relação à reclamação foi a mudança na lei que não permite mais a prisão do usuário, devendo sim adverti-lo, elaborando um termo circunstanciado e liberando o mesmo. Aproveitou ainda e abordou em relação ao trabalho feito na região com apreensão de drogas através de investigações. O Cap. PM Giampaolo aproveitou e falou como foi efetuada a apreensão de drogas realizada recentemente na região pela polícia militar.

3 – Sr. José Magno informou que na última sexta, dia 23, entre as 22h e 23h, na altura do nº 1186 da Av. Brigadeiro Luiz Antonio, ocorreram três desentendimentos entre partes, gerando assim agressão, sendo necessário melhor policiamento na região.

Foi informado pelo Cap. PM Giampaolo, que o desentendimento entre as partes infelizmente não caracteriza delito, que seria necessário uma das partes reclamar das agressões sofridas.

4 – Sr^a. Margarete solicitou melhor fiscalização em relação a faixas de pedestre na Rua Pio XII, que as quintas durante a feira livre que ali acontece, as pessoas param seus carros sobre a faixa prejudicando assim os pedestres, principalmente cadeirantes que ali se utilizam da travessia.

5 – Sr. José Faller, Fez agradecimento em relação ao atendimento do 5º DP, no qual o mesmo, apesar de terem três pessoas a frente no atendimento, o mesmo não demorou nem 40 minutos. Falou ainda em questão a atenção e respeito quando atendido pela Dr^a Glauce e Dr. Ricardo.

Neste momento o Sr. Claudio aproveitou para agradecer e reiterou que também necessitou de atendimento pelo 5º DP e foi atendido de forma rápida e eficiente.

6 – Sr. Haroldo reclamou em relação ao péssimo cuidado da área de estacionamento utilizado pela 2ª e 3ª Cia do 7º BPM/M, situado nos baixos do viaduto da ligação leste-oeste, ao lado da Rua Prof. Laerte Ramos Carvalho. Falou ainda do grave problema na rua citada, desde a Rua Major Diogo até a Praça Ítalo Bagnon, com o alto índice de “moradores de rua”.

O Conselho tutelar informou que o maior problema é que as pessoas não querem sair do local e por força de lei ninguém pode removê-los. Ilustrou ainda citando um exemplo de atuação no local.

7 – Sr. Haroldo solicitou providencias em relação às calçadas da Rua Major Diogo Com Av. Brig. Luiz Antonio que estão sendo tomadas pelos estudantes e por uso de drogas, não permitindo assim a passagem de pedestres.

8 – Sr. Jose Magno pediu fiscalização em relação ao Bar situado na esquina da Rua Maria José Com Brig. Luiz Antonio, que por falta de isolamento acústico trás grandes problemas para os moradores do local. Reforçou ainda em relação a reclamação do Sr. Haroldo Lago, falando dos bares ali no calçamento da Rua Major Diogo e Av. Brigadeiro Luiz Antonio, que estão colocando mesas atrapalhando assim os pedestres que utilizam do calçamento.

O Sr. José Magno agradeceu a subprefeitura pelo atendimento a reclamação anterior em relação ao uso de calçada por caminhão, resolvendo assim o problema.



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Passou-se aos homenageados do mês de fevereiro de 2012.

Obs.: Entre as demandas solicitadas aqui ou por escrito foram geradas 14 solicitações dos presentes para as autoridades.

Por determinação do Sr. Presidente Abona-se a falta do 2º Secretário Sr. Rui Vilcek de Souza Mello e da membro efetivo Srª Alexandra Zakie Aboud, pois, as mesmas foram justificadas.

Local e data da próxima reunião:

Local – Teatro Brigadeiro – Avenida Brigadeiro Luis Antonio, 884.

Data – 30 de abril de 2012 às 19h30min.

Luciano Martins de Farias
Secretário

Fabio Arduino Portaluppi
Presidente

Dr. Carlos Eduardo Silveira Martins
Delegado Titular do 5º DP

Cap. PM Giampaolo Donato Giaquinto
Comandante da 1ª Cia. do 11º BPM/M

APPENDIX D: SAMPLE INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Sample Interview Questions for Respondents Representing Marginalized Groups

1. Can you tell me about your background and trajectory, and how you came to work in this area?
2. Can you tell me about your organization and your work?
3. Can you tell me about the work of your organization in the rights of people experiencing homelessness/drug users/sex workers/low-income youth/sex workers/recyclers/street vendors?
4. How would you describe the situation of the human rights of people experiencing homelessness/drug users/sex workers/low-income youth/sex workers/recyclers/street vendors in the city of São Paulo?
 - Probe: What kinds of protections are offered by the state, and are they effective?
 - Probe: Have things gotten better or worse in recent years?
5. What are some of the challenges or threats faced by people experiencing homelessness/drug users/sex workers/low-income youth/sex workers/recyclers/street vendors in São Paulo?
 - Probe: are there specific groups in society that are the source of these threats?
 - Probe: can you give an example?
6. How do you are people experiencing homelessness/drug users/sex workers/low-income youth/sex workers/recyclers/street vendors are seen or treated by broader society?
 - Probe: can you give an example?
7. How would you describe the relationship between the police and people experiencing homelessness/drug users/sex workers/low-income youth/sex workers/recyclers/street vendors?
 - Probe: Do the police protect the security or otherwise help this group?
 - Probe: Has this group suffered violence or abuse by the police? Can you give specific examples?
 - Probe: Why do you think the police has treated this group in this way?
8. Do you know about the conselhos de segurança pública, also known as the CONSEGs? Have you (or anyone from your organization) ever attended CONSEG meetings?
 - Probe: If yes, can you tell me about these experiences? Can you give more detail/examples?
 - Probe: If not, why not? And what do you think would happen if you tried to participate?
 - Probe: Do you see the CONSEGs as a useful place to advance the rights of people experiencing homelessness/drug users/sex workers/low-income youth/sex workers/recyclers/street vendors? Why or why not? Can you give an example/provide more detail?
9. Do you think the CONSEGs are influential or powerful spaces for people to make demands on the police? Why or why not?
 - Probe: Are they more useful for some people or groups than they are for others?
 - Probe: Can you give an example/provide more detail?
10. What would you change to make CONSEGs and police more responsive to human rights of people experiencing homelessness/drug users/sex workers/low-income youth/sex workers/recyclers/street vendors?
11. Finally, can you recommend anyone else I should talk to?

Sample Interview Questions for Community Members and CONSEG Presidents

1. What is your occupation?
2. How long have you lived in this neighborhood?
3. How long have you participated in the community forums? (If president, how long have you been president?)
4. Why did you get involved in the community forums initially?
5. What activities does participation in these forums usually entail?
6. How many people generally participate in the meetings?
7. In your experience, do people who participate in these meetings generally also participate in other community activities or organizations?
8. Which neighborhoods are represented in this particular community forum? What is the socioeconomic level of these neighborhoods?
9. In your opinion, what is the general tone of police-community exchanges in these forums?
10. What are the primary challenges with respect to security in this/these neighborhood(s)?
11. In your opinion, have security conditions changed in the last 5 years? How?
12. How would you characterize police-community relations in this area? Have the community forums had any effect on these relations, as far as you have been able to tell?
13. How would you characterize police involvement in the community forums?
14. Have other government officials participated in the community forums? How would you evaluate their participation?
15. How did community members react to the idea of collaborating with the police in this way?
16. Have you received useful information about how to avoid becoming a victim of crime as a result of your participation in the community forums? What type of information did you receive?
17. Have you reported specific information about criminal activity to the police during or after a community forum? (Do not tell me what information you provided.)
18. What action(s) did the police take as a result?
19. Have others provided such information in meetings you've attended? What was the police's response?
20. Have you made specific requests to the police regarding security in your neighborhood? If so, what did you request? How did the police respond?
21. Have others made such requests during meetings you've attended? What was the police's response?
22. Are there formal channels for making those types of requests? What are these channels?
23. In your opinion, what should be the objectives of the community forums?