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**Violence and control: The Detecta surveillance system in São Paulo  
and the role of private vigilantism in the city's security practices**

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## Violence and control: The Detecta surveillance system in São Paulo and the role of private vigilantism in the city's security practices

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### Abstract

In 2014, the São Paulo state government announced the implementation of an unprecedented surveillance system, which would enable automated identification of criminals, and synchronize several data sources to enhance the police activity. This system was designed by Microsoft to strengthen the terrorism prevention in New York, and it was adopted to reorganize the way São Paulo's Military Police deals with public security. However, since its adoption, police brutality still rising, and the dispersion of cameras over both degraded areas and rich neighborhoods exposes the security policies as a way of governing the unease and attend private interests in this area. Moreover, the presence of a series of private companies and associations in the security milieu, instead of organizing a new model for facing crime, seems to promote a regime of visibility that focuses on the control of undesired flows of people in specific spaces. Then, drawing on Foucault's analytic of government, and on the Critical Security Studies, we explore how the introduction of the new camera system and data mining, far from overcoming the police inefficiency and arbitrariness, seem to reinforce traditional practices of discrimination, creating security perimeters and spaces of exclusion.

**Key-Words:** Surveillance; (In)security; Culture of Control; Governamentality; Segregation.

### Introduction

In 2014, the São Paulo state government announced a partnership with Microsoft and the New York Police Department to import a surveillance and monitoring system baptized as Detecta. The original device, called Domain Awareness System (DAS) is characterized as a technology for tracking and profiling criminal and suspicious conduct from analytical videos, integrating criminal databases and camera images. This system was developed in New York years after the September 11 of 2001 attacks as a way to mitigate the possibility of terrorist threats and increase police capacity to anticipate and react to criminal practices. The peculiarity of this technology is the capacity to construct statistical models, from massive analysis of public data, and its crossing with platforms of data criminal, and multi-order data, classifying groups of individuals, and pointing to patterns of future crime. Moreover, it incorporates image analytics algorithms, with capacity to "read" camera images and issue alerts if any programed action is detected.

This "statistical-predictive" knowledge, is presented as an urgent response to domestic terrorism, which demands police pre-emptive efforts to prevent its

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occurrence. Moreover, this same technology, invoked as an exceptional measure for the fight against terrorism, ends up having a dual functionality, employed to combat criminal activities, deviations and infractions of ordinary citizens, making them targets of suspicion (Graham, 2016).

Thus, drawing on Foucault's analytic of government, through his idea of *dispositifs*, and on the Critical Security Studies, this article aims to understand how the instauration of a new regime of visibility through Detecta system, spreading private "smart" cameras all over the city, introduces a kind of culture of control that reorders São Paulo's security practices. Even though Detecta does not fully incorporate the "predictive" technologies, such as the development of data banks, and video-analytic functions, our article will indicate how this partial adoption is sustaining a series of discriminatory and segregational practices in São Paulo. This would happen once the profusion of a culture of control over the public security apparatus, demands a permanent state of fear and mistrust, and the incorporation of a liberal-economic rhetoric in police practices.

This work is then divided into three parts and a conclusion section. Firstly, we debate the development of the DAS, and its relationship with the emergent culture of control and governmentality. Secondly, we address to the process of adaptation of the Detecta in Brazil, exploring the discourses and practices that lead to the formation and stabilization of the (in)security *dispositif*. At last, we describe the formation of the security perimeters, and how they become territories where a particular form of techno assisted violence is dominant, reinforcing segregationally practices in the city.

### **Security as Control: From DAS to Detecta**

In the early 2000s, David Garland points to changes in the policing model in the United States, moving away from reactive strategies of facing crime "directly", whenever a "advanced liberal" technologies of government were been developed. He demonstrates how a range of agencies, practices, discourses and policies will redirect their efforts towards producing targeted and community-based forms of policing aimed at "safeguarding order" and policing "quality of life". According to him, "policing became smarter" by approaching the community and emphasizing prevention by focusing on local circumstances for resolving crimes.

Essentially, what emerges is a new culture of police control, in which "information technologies and new managerial techniques have combined to produce greater control of resources and more targeted and punctual conducts" (GARLAND, 2008: 368). In addition, the adoption of cognitive assumptions linked to a neoliberal economic rationality is the mark of this new police culture, in which "the costs of crime are now routinely calculated, as are the costs of prevention, policing, prosecution and punishment; the numbers produced help guide policy choices and operational priorities "(GARLAND, 2008: 396).

This new culture of control has a strong parallel with the notion of governmentality explored by Foucault in the 1970s, where the dynamics of state action is substantially altered, figuring as a technique of government that relies on the

population and instrumentalizes an economic knowledge as a way of producing and conducting adequate behavior. It presupposes a permanent administration of fear, since the constant production and reproduction of threats to “freedom” are means of expanding the available instruments to combat and manage these same threats. It comes from the articulation between a Pastoral Power, which is anchored in the idea of salvation of the “flock” as a justification for conducting its conduct, and in the emergence of the liberal art of governing, which conceives the government as a reactive technique to the demands of a social body with an apparent economic-utilitarian rationality (Foucault 2008: 298). In this context, government technologies (or security technologies) operate in a way that systematizes, regulates and stabilizes social and power relations, avoiding both the dissolution of individual freedoms, or the imposition of a sovereign power and domination, as Lemke (2017: 27) points out. Thus, “governmental technologies bring together scientific knowledge, technical devices, anthropological hypotheses and architectural forms in strategic ways of establishing relations of conduct” (OPTIZ, 2011: 22).

The culture of control, therefore, is compatible with a governmental dynamic, since both have the objective to modulate the social body, either in its flows, or in the managing of the risks to the system’s instability. This is what Garland’s idea of culture of control is, a kind of criminology of everyday life, in which the processes and social arrangements in which people are immersed in, need to be integrated to produce less incentives to crime. As Garland points out: “(...) the criminology of daily life approaches the social order as a problem of system integration. They are no longer the people who need to be integrated, but the social processes and arrangements in which they live” (GARLAND, 2008: 388).

This “culture of control” is generalized with the development of the DAS by Microsoft and the New York Police Department in 2009. It integrates information from diverse databases with camera systems that have analytical reading of images, and peripheral police devices, enabling greater efficiency of service activities and dispatch, the construction of statistics and heatmaps of criminal practices, and proactive police actions. The DAS, in this sense, is a tool of counterterrorism, oriented to stop the preparation and terrorist attacks, but also employed to contain demonstrations, and minor crimes (NYPD, 2009: 02).

Thus, the DAS was responsible for organizing the public security as an instrument of control, on the one hand, introducing a system wide and permanent vigilance and suspicious, on the other one, it brings to the sphere of public security private companies and technologies, not as merely providers, but actors with great capacity of agency in the system. This active private role over security is intense in New York since the 2001 terrorist attacks, and increased in the last ten years, as we could see in the role of McKinsey consulting the NYPD, helping it to “shape its future” (AMOORE, 2013).

In this sense, the culture of control is inscribed in the DAS. The idea of an ubiquitous and permanent visibility is inscribed in the DAS through the code lines that compose its algorithms, and the infra-structure disposition of the system, making them “durable” and performative in society. This is clarified by the argument of a Microsoft

executive interviewed, "(...) [the DAS] has a price, from which is the source code that has been built on many good practices, and the translation of this knowledge is added to the reality of that new client. This is the concept called solution, where the context of the Detecta is inserted "(Microsoft Executive, 2018).

### **Towards a security dispositif? The public and the private in Detecta`s adoption**

Along 2013, attending a demand from the governor, the Secretariat of Public Security created a commission to investigate new technological solutions for security purposes developed around the world. During May, this commission visited several major cities, analyzing surveillance technologies, communication solutions, and proceedings adopted by police departments from London, New York, and Amsterdam. A report concluded that hybrid technological surveillance systems, both oriented to combat terrorism and crime are the vanguard of the solutions developed in the visited cities, and that the adoption of models similar to the New York`s DAS would be decisive for São Paulo. (ASSESSORIA, 2013)

Under the argument of reducing costs, and administrative clashes in police institutions, as well as to be more efficient and to produce more visible effects on crime reduction, the Detecta would have both the functionalities of images analytics, as well as the production of heatmaps in areas of crime occurrence, making police activity more taxable and proactive. According to the Secretariat for Public Security (2015), the intention was to expand the range of suspect profiles in addition to traffic-related activities, by crossing information from databases of other institutions (GOVERNO, 2015).

However, since its adoption, just a few information regarding the operation of the Detecta system has been revealed. Moreover, in the year 2016 a report was produced by the Court of Accounts of the State of São Paulo, which states that the system does not function properly, its functions of predictive policing are non-existent, and its data integration capacity is fragile (Tribunal, 2016). The Court pointed that the analytic systems were not integrated to the Detecta, some computers didn't work properly, there wasn't enough people working in the data processing, many police departments didn't have the access to the system, and mainly, the camera system wasn't duly spread over the city.

The argument mobilized by the authorities since then, is that the absence of resources, and enough ability to deal with this system forced the rearrange of Detecta as an extensive public-private assemblage, where the private sector had a major role in the scattering of cameras, and administration of information. However, the same report mentioned above shows that the commission was well aware from the very beginning that the private sector would play a vital role in making the system run, which points to a veiled intention of the government to force private transnational interests into public security, and involve it in liberal and market-based forces and arrangements.

Then, Detecta came to represent an umbrella system for scattering cameras and data integration, producing statistics and heatmaps assisting police forces in the subsequent resolution of crimes – in short, situational awareness. It integrates a

system of public cameras, from the Radar (linked to OCR systems), from the municipal system of Cameras and images, the City Cameras, and a system of private cameras of residents who adhere to the system. In our analysis, we verified that the dynamics of expansion of the camera system is commanded by the private sector, which begins to assume a disproportionate role in this relationship with Detecta's public dimension. However, this does not necessarily mean that Detecta is flawed, on the contrary, it configures a relationship in which public-private symbiosis is determinant in the security governance process.

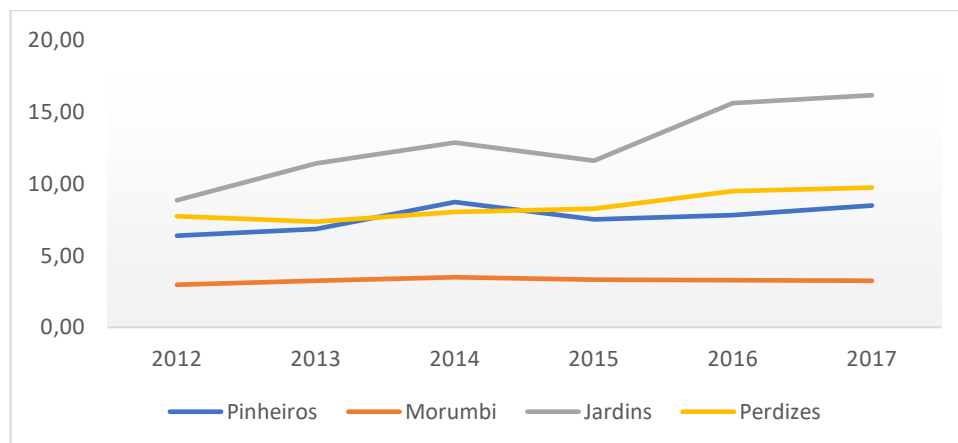
In this spirit, we understand that it is insufficient to solely analyze Detecta, ignoring the set of agents in its surroundings. Their relationships around Detecta are decisive to comprehend the effects of this system over São Paulo, be them projects in the municipal, national or transnational companies, such as Microsoft, Genetec, Techvoz, Seg D'Boa, Tacira and Aster, their operators (Civil Police, Military, Secretariat of Public Safety), or users, such as associations and institutions (Sociedade de Amigos do Alto de Pinheiros and University of São Paulo). The relationship among this actors seem to structure a powerful and symbiotic network where the lines of public and private security, business and rights, and even human and non-human agents are blurred, which demands from us not an approach over the essence of these parts, but over the set of relationships and strategies produced by this assemblage.

The organization of São Paulo's public security seem to work as a *dispositif* (CASTRO, 2016: 194) composed by police institutions, private companies, public and private enforcers, surveillance technologies, security perimeters, citizens, policies, all organized in a way to give space to a sort of strategies. The structure that organizes the security apparatus in São Paulo remains similar to its creation during the Dictatorial Period, marked by a strong hierarchy, and division of activities between the police forces, while Military Police is directed to protect the civil society through patrols, acting also over flagrant, investigative activities are left for Civil Police. As Costa and Ribeiro (2014) points out, there isn't a proper concept of public security developed in the Brazilian legal order, and all the subjects related to it comes from the 1930's or were complemented in the 1960's during the dictatorial period. Costa and Ribeiro, understanding the public security as a field with proper characteristics and dynamics, affirm that it is very heterogeneous, being influenced by several institutions and organizations, but the military still one of its most influential organizations. Under this influence, the police adopted repressive practices as dominant paradigms to deal with criminality, in detriment of forms of prevention and control, as Sinhoreto, Schlittler and Silvestre (2016) point out.

In this sense, Detecta do not affect the structure of this system, nor directly alters the parameters and characteristics of this apparatus, whose set of "traditional" relationships is described by Marcos Alvarez, et al. (2004) as elitist, excluding and usually violent against marginalized social segments. Rather, the urgency that it seems to respond is to move on with preventive strategies that, in its core, guarantees the maintenance of repressive and segregational practices. This may be observed from the data published by the Security Secretariat of the State of São Paulo (2018), since the adoption of the Detecta system (2014), there has been only a slight fall in robbery

rates in the city (from 209,536 robberies a year to 186,078, in 2017), in guilty homicides (from 587 to 423 in 2017). However, there was a large increase in drug trafficking (from 6521 to 9173 in 2017), and a huge jump in the occurrence of police violence, not only in the city but in the whole state (which jumps from 369 occurrences in 2013 to 939 in 2017).

**Graphic 1: Crimes Committed in “noble” neighborhoods in São Paulo, as % of residents**



Source: Secretariat of Public Security of São Paulo (2018)

The graphic 1 goes further and shows that the crimes committed in rich or upper middle class in São Paulo – spaces that have adopted Detecta or initiated its adoption – such as common robberies, homicides, drug trafficking, have slightly raised since the introduction of Detecta in the city. At the same time, the statistics from the Secretariat from the last ten years shows that the same crimes, mainly homicides and rapes, still substantially affecting poor neighborhoods in São Paulo, such as Jardim Herculano, Capão Redondo e São Mateus, which corroborates with the arguments of Paula Miraglia (2011) that violence still geographically distributed in an unequal way in the city.

The Detecta made police faster and even more efficient, with rapid communication and deployment, and more attentive to the demands of citizens when composed with communitarian police, however it was insufficient to inhibit patrimonial and clientelist influences over the public security apparatus. It scattered a common model of surveillance, produced jointly by private (transnational) and public institutions, reorganizing the public security as a public-private scopic assemblage, reaffirming its biased and segregational characteristics in the city.

In fact, most of the discourses recently deployed about the effectiveness of this surveillance system were not related exclusively to the high rates of crime in the city, but to its capacity to deal with problems that allegedly would arise from what James Holston (2013) call as “insurgent citizenship” in the city, often manifested in the multiple and intense circulation of people and groups of diverse origins and social conditions in spaces previously exclusive, such as public spaces in the city center, shopping malls, airports, and in noble neighborhoods. In view of this, the Detecta appears as an

instrument for governing and modulate the circulating flows of the city, potentially acting on problems like: the political instability and the political risks that allegedly would arise from the unprecedented popular manifestations; the agglomeration of people and risks of terrorist attacks during major events that would be based in the city; the confrontation with what the government labels as processes of great social degradation, as in the case of the region called "cracolândia", where there is a crescent struggling between real state interests and the permanence of homeless and drug-addicted people in the region of Luz.

The diagnosis that sustains the implementation of Detecta seem to respond to the intense circulation and mobilization that would allegedly produce it in some spaces. Therefore, enforcing the capacity of governing people in public spaces, interrupting its circulation, producing aesthetic spaces favorable for the producing of security, seem to be the strategic fulfillment that orients this *dispositif*.

However, for its internal stabilization and expansion, daily violence needs to be constantly addressed and recalled, and the state of mistrust must be permanently maintained. This perspective on the *dispositif* matches with the idea of securitization of social issues explored by Didier Bigo (1995), in which states that the increase of the capacity to govern security depends on the production of insecurity in the society itself. Strictly, also governmentality in Foucault, as explored by Lemke (2017) and Optiz (2011), presupposes a government (through) of fear, that is, the constant production and reproduction of threats to freedom, as a means of expanding the technologies available to combat and "manage" such threats.

In view of this, Detecta contributes to the formation of what seems to be a security *dispositif*, which consists of a set of public-private assemblages, information and communication technologies and infrastructures, that together with a civil participation, operates a discourse of fear on circulating flows of people, and its invisibility, at the same time that reshapes the landscape of the city by introducing perimeters of intense surveillance and control. This discourse is pronounced countless times in congresses, by authorities, businessmen and managers, in order to securitize circulatory flows of people in the city, understanding that any unregistered form of circulation, any deviant form of circulation of people in determinate neighborhoods may be considered a menace and trigger to the intensification of illegalities and disorder. As response, this *dispositif* proposes the scattering and integration of public-private cameras which, on the one hand, would help to reduce the costs of the management of public security through an automatic and constant monitoring of the city, on the other one, involves the citizens on an active exercise of vigilantism, stabilizing the *dispositif* by meeting their local demands.

With regard to state and municipal managers and the security agents operating the Detecta, there is a perception that this system would be useful to reduce the time of service and dispatch operations of officers and vehicles from the acquisition of a greater "situational awareness". More than that, the automation of the system would allow the rapid identification of vehicles from the analytical reading of license plates, easing approaches by the Military Police, and investigation and identification of suspects by the Civil Police.



Thus, the idea of integrating security systems that were once "inefficient" becomes the key to ensure security is efficiently governed. Projects such as Genetec's Citiwise and Microsoft's Public Safety & National Security, present in the districts of São Paulo, sustain that the security government would only be possible if distributed between security agents and residents, once the latter is responsible for surveillance and janitorial of their territories through the cameras. As stated by Amicelle et al (2015: 46), security devices perform security from the reconfiguration of social spaces, redefining borders and redistributing meanings in networks of relationships.

Among the events in public security in 2018 and 2019 that sought to present the systems that composes Detecta and other urban surveillance projects, four of them stand out: The International Security Conference & Exposition (ISC); Latin America Defense Security (LAAD Security); the "DroneShow"; and, finally, the Condominium Security Symposium organized by the state congressman "Coronel Camilo". In these spaces, the "networks of experts", mostly security and electronic security businessmen, defense companies and security agents, are in charge of the maintenance of a "semantic continuum" regarding the way security is managed, operating discourses of fear and exploring possible solutions. Based on Bigo's (2008) approach, these events demonstrate how security becomes an activity managed by "experts", organized in global chains of defense and security that:

(...) claim, by the "authority of statistics," to have the ability to rank and prioritize threats, and determine what constitutes security exactly. (...) Security is thus conceptually reduced to surveillance technologies, information extraction, coercive actions against social and state vulnerabilities, in general a form of general survival against threats from different sectors, but also, security is disconnected from human, legal and social guarantees and individual protections. (BIGO, 2008: 12).

Thus, the focus of their speeches and diagnosis is never directed towards the understanding of the threats with relative depth, but always pointed to the certainty that the gains of efficiency in police operations, and a regime of visibility will translate into the reduction of the discomfort. In the ISC Brasil 2018 event, it was common to find specialized magazines stimulating fear, the continuum of security (as if terrorist threats were related to crimes and other offenses in Brazil), and sustaining conservative agendas in order to deal with the security problems. Some of the headlines addressed: "Infrastructure: how a structural collapse can impact corporate and personal security planning"; "Terrorism: special edition on the attacks on the French newspaper and parallels with the Brazilian reality"; "Domestic terrorism and private security"; "Managing Uncertainty: The Art of Risk and Security Manager"; "Age of criminal responsibility, an enigmatic trilogy: maintain, reduce or extinguish". In general, the headlines sought to merge, moral panics, discourses of fear, "taboos," and suggest notions of entrepreneurship and "technophilic" solutions to deal with it.

As a smaller version, a condominium security event brought together in one room, security agents, representatives of Community Safety Councils (Consegs), businessmen, politicians, maneuvering the same security-surveillance logic, but emphasizing the participation of the community in the division of costs and

responsibilities for governing security. During the lecture of a Military Police commander about the series of crimes that occur around that business condominium, the audience (residents, trustees, presidents of associations and merchants) was asked to reflect on the importance of acquiring surveillance and security equipment and encouraged to join the *Vizinhança Solidária* program. This one, a project headed by the state deputy "Coronel Camilo", which organizes civilian vigilantism in their neighborhoods, helps to create an environment of engagement in security among the residents, as well as for the introduction of electronic surveillance systems, and presents recommendations ranging from "don't be indifferent to what happens around you"; "Be friendly [with employees], but discreet"; "Check the signs of danger in your neighborhood"; to "attention to common disguises", "be a good observer", and especially: "install security cameras", because "This visual control is fundamental, since an image can be decisive to prevent, repress or investigate a crime"(CAMILO, 2018).

It is precisely in this aspect, the sociotechnical organization of communities in middle and upper-class districts, that a new roll of security alarms and camera system companies begins to establish themselves. In general, they will mediate the relationship between residents' associations, technology companies, the state and municipality, on the one hand, guiding the acquisition, provision, installation of cameras, as well as communication systems among residents, in some cases even training the residents to identify problems. One of the biggest companies in this field understands its activity as a "social project", since it gives the sense of empowerment among the residents to deal with problems related to public safety.

The introduction of *Detecta* modifies a series of relationships, committing and empowering the private sectors and associations of residents to assist in "combating crime", activating them as a segment of the (in)security *dispositif*. But how this impact on the landscape of the city? How empowered citizens, security agents and algorithm-based systems combine themselves in an assemblage that intensifies the process of segregation in the city?

### **Newly Public-Private Security Perimeters, old Segregational Patterns**

Automation is nowhere 'complete', neither in São Paulo nor in New York, always depending upon some kind of human agency that unsettles the pipe dream of autonomous and technological perfection. In São Paulo, these systems are strongly dependent on public, private and civil security agents in monitoring processes, and producing information for the government strategies. This surveillance process is aided by the use of mobile phone applications made available to residents in security perimeters, which is not only directed to the monitoring, but to spot dangerous areas, to suggest better paths for the users to take, to have an exclusive channel to communicate with the private security agents or the police.

The subjective look of the security agent or of the vigilante citizen completes the surveillance apparatus with his "intuition" or "experience". Through this process, an extremely sophisticated surveillance system meets the tradition of prejudice and

discrimination that marks the state's police activity, as explored by Alvarez, Salla and Souza (2004) and Caldeira (2016). The Detecta, therefore, is ultimately manifested as a sociotechnical assemblage in which the human gaze, its biases, traditionalisms and prejudices will be incorporated into an amplified and sophisticated visualization apparatus, reconditioning it as an apparatus to modulate and constraint unwanted patterns of circulations in determinate spaces.

The Detecta fits perfectly in the security *dispositif*, by combining the customary discriminatory practices with an extended and distributed regime of visibility, controlling and modulating the circulations in specific environments of the city. This happens due to a dynamic of expansion of the camera system governed by the private initiative, which focuses on middle and upper-class neighborhoods in São Paulo, business centers, and in some public or private spaces of high public circulation, forming what we call "security perimeters". These territories are formed through the agency of national and transnational electronic monitoring companies, who convoke meetings with residents' associations, merchants and security agents, where they offer electronic solutions as effective systems to deal with the threats and its diffusion. They provide camera installation services, the provision of mobile applications for image access, communication between residents, sometimes training and exclusive access to private security guards or to the police.

In these perimeters the fear from crime, and from the circulation of unwanted people is constantly stimulated by electronic companies, police officers, and by the disordered communication in chat applications. This process together with the empowerment of the residents or workers to visualize, identify and "act" over certain "threats", helps to produce some adverse effects. As Lucas Melgaço (2010: 105) points out, often the sense of insecurity mobilized in certain spaces is disproportionate to real risks, and this forms a "psycho-sphere of fear" where ideas, beliefs, passions are determinant in the production of meaning for the inhabitants. According to the author: "The psycho-sphere appears as a precondition and justification for the installation of a security technosphere. It concerns all forms of technical materiality around the security ideal and obviously includes securitization processes".

Fueled by the availability of private surveillance resources for the expansion of the *dispositif*, this psychosphere potentiates tensions related to the circulation of "undesired" in these perimeters. As already mentioned in the "Vigilância Solidaria" primer, we notice that the circulation of people, as well as the multiplicity of adverse relationships that would allegedly lead to crime, are the objects to be securitized and maintained in permanent surveillance.

As David Lyon (2018) points it in his discussion of the new culture of vigilance that organizes contemporary capitalism, social and urban dynamics, the individual becomes an extremely relevant node in the network, since he deliberately produces information revealing a series of data considered precious for data analysis companies. In the same way, the inhabitant of these perimeters becomes a fundamental component of this security *dispositif*, not only as receptacle-amplifier of the discourse of fear that makes it grow, but as a producer-consumer of this surveillance system, a sort of essential hub that produces information through the

disposition and sharing of the links of his cameras. and permanently consumes the information produced by his and the neighbor's cameras. His untrained eye, conditioned by the perspectives of permanent suspicion from WhatsApp's community groups, and private consultant's lectures, makes prevail discriminatory practices against "undesirables" in these perimeters.

In a perimeter in Alto de Pinheiros, the company Aster operates a system called "Suspicious Cam". This system of cameras has an image analytic (an algorithm of analysis of images from pre-established criteria) that accuses the invasion of a certain space, issuing an event alert to private agents. This specific analytic is known in the market as "Loitering", which direct translation into Portuguese would be "vadiagem", a term that in Brazil refers to a 1941 law considered an elitist instrument for the subjection of the working classes commonly known as the "Lei da Vadiagem", which criminalizes the idleness of the individual, who in full force for work is circulating in public spaces. During the dictatorial period, this law, which is still in force in the country, was responsible for the majority of arrests in flagrante delicto in metropolitan areas. It is not surprising that this analytic seems to re-enact this subjugation practice in the form of a sequence of "source codes" that will compose the algorithm, justifying preemptive suspicions about people circulating in these securitization perimeters, attending to the demands of residents backed by the psychosphere of fear.

The algorithm is a product of human agency and action, the result of a series of interactions, disputes between values, interests, and programming that, as Bruno Latour (1991) asserts, are crystallized in artifacts. Depending on the arrangements between actants, that range from data scientists, companies, security agents, residents, camera systems, algorithms, and the past data that "trains the algorithm", a particular configuration of the analytics is developed, and ends up embodying several clientelist views of security. In this sense, that these analytics fix a certain pattern of conduct considered as normal by the actants who developed it, and anything that does not fit on that, may be subjected to suspicious alerts. The analytics tighten the possibilities of aleatory movements by their subjects, forcing a unique pattern of behavior considered normal, it constitutes some form of prediction that eliminates other possible courses of action, crushing the subjectivity of the individuals. The uncertainty and randomness of the individuals is translated by the analytics as a certain and clear disruption of the normality, authorizing and legitimizing discretionary actions under the preemptive-proactive mantle.

A case in which these assemblages between biased views and a system of increased visibility by the cameras is clear, is that of the University of São Paulo (USP), a securitization perimeter formed during the expansion of Detecta in early 2018, composed by a multiplicity of applications and cameras distributed across campus, and digital mediation platforms, allowing the territory to be electronically controlled from a monitoring center. With all of its accesses watched with cameras that can incorporate analytics, USP provides students and servers with a mobile application that includes a "panic button" that can issue alerts in the event of an incident. The alert issued is reported on a Google platform map on a screen, and the perimeter cameras are triggered. However, such a procedure is so rare that it often requires the head of

security to demonstrate its working to visitors. In general, the routine is the monitoring of the cameras by agents, who, as they say, have the "experience" to identify suspicious deviations and behaviors.

The cameras, however, were always pointed at the same people, young black or brown people who "diverged" from traditional student stereotype. The cases demonstrated also involved robberies committed by people with the same characteristics, making a recurring pattern appear. In an atypical situation during our visit, the security officer identified a suspicious behavior, a young man jumps the grids of one of the colleges, and is later surprised by the security agents. After verification, it was concluded that the young man worked with general services in that college and found in this "detour" the best way to get to his place of work, as he always did.

This "false positive" exposes the fact that cameras arranged in strategic places on campus, besides providing support for investigations, often tend to point to a type of unwanted circulation, aligned with an aesthetic pattern of the peripheries, reinforcing a legitimized by a regime of visualization in its records. On the other hand, what is interesting is that this regime of visibility exposes behaviors, deviations and practices that do not necessarily constitute a crime, but also do not fit into the acceptable patterns of this culture of control, which makes them capable of identification and modulation by private agents in the name of security, and a more "efficient" campus.

On one side, the prejudice of residents and workers of the security perimeters seem to interact with the cameras with analytic algorithms, making durable a permanent suspicious governed by algorithms and private agents. On the other side, in the perimeters without analytics, the state of suspicious is perpetuated by the assemblage between biased eyes and wide camera systems. The violence seen in these cases corresponds not only to a form of discrimination manifested in algorithms that acts "proactively", but also to the segregation produced by it, once it enables private groups to govern the circulation of people in certain areas, interrupting it whenever necessary.

## Conclusions

This research sought to explore how the process of inscription of police and military concepts in surveillance systems enables different translations when adapted in different contexts. Moreover, we intended to explore how new information technologies have conditioned security as a *dispositif* of control and illiberal governmentality, producing fears, establishing patterns of normality and diversion, and acting upon them. The sociotechnical and public-private assemblages that make up São Paulo's security *dispositif*, giving vent to the interests and practices of the agents, ends up establishing an illiberal form of governmentality, where the persistent intervention of the state and other agents are justified in terms of maintenance of freedom (OPTIZ, 2011), concentrating the decision on this respect in the hands of few people in perimeters, where prevails a mechanism of techno-assisted violence and discrimination.

It is in this sense that the exercise of security, is no longer a technology of disciplinary imposition, but figures as a form of governing the deviations, in which all are monitored but only what is considered threatening of "freedom" (for some people) is subject to redirection or modulation. This government is distributed among public and private security agents, residents and workers in security perimeters, and in cases where image analytics are present, this government is distributed between algorithms and sociotechnical apparatuses, also endowed with a capacity of agency for stipulate "normal" behavior and pervasive deviances (ROUVROY and BERNS, 2018).

When we first addressed to the Detecta system as an instrument that "reshaped" the public security apparatus, we didn't mean that it produced a disruptive change in the organization of policing and criminal activities are faced. Actually, it seems that with all technology brought up by Detecta, trying to reorder policing as a data-based activity, and aiming to reduce costs in certain way, the only visible result of its introduction is the active role of national and transnational companies in the modulation of the public policing and surveillance.

The formation of security perimeters is something that was not unheard of in the city, as Teresa Caldeira (2016) explores in her writings about fortified enclaves (condominiums) formed between 1980 and 1990. At that time, these walled enclaves were directly oriented to block the circulation of people, with a strong-armed presence of private agents, promoting a kind of insularity from the "outside's life".

These contemporary security perimeters, in contrast with the enclaves analysed by Caldeira (2016), do not block or avoid the circulation of people in the perimeters, rather it enables a modulated circulation, while requires a vigilant and janitorial attitude of the residents who, as an executive of a private monitoring systems points out, extrapolates security issues, governing multiple actions: if the children go to school, if they dispose of trash correctly, etc. Then, the appearance of security and control, the exposition of plates, cameras and warnings are understood as a fundamental tool to modulate the circulation of people in these spaces, diffusing a message of an individually empowered community, permanently vigilant against dissonant conducts.

Then, the introduction of the Detecta system in São Paulo seem to articulate private, clientelist and elitist interests into a public (in)security *dispositiff*, stimulating an appearance of security, while normalizes indirect forms of violence such as old prejudices and segregating practices. The vigilantism and the formation of security perimeters appear to be exaggerated responses from the Detecta to neighborhoods and spaces with relatively low crime rates, yet it empowers certain social groups and private companies to govern public security, making it even more porous and permeable.

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