

Public Security and Policy Networks in Brazil

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Abstract: This article discussed the problems of governance of the policy networks in Brazilian public security field. After distinguished the concepts of police, policing and policy, we will describe the constitution of public security networks on two issues concerning the residents of Brasília, the Brazil's capital: crime-related problems in schools and deaths in the traffic. Then, we will discuss the nature and the challenges of policy networks and evaluate the governance capacity of the Brazilian Secretariats of Public Security (SSP's). We conclude that there is poor governance capacity due to the historical functions of SSP's.

Keywords: Public Security, Policy Networks, Governance, Secretariats of Public Security, Brazil.

INTRODUCTION

In the last decades, violence and criminality have been identified as two of the main concerns among Brazilian citizens. The problems are many and complex, such as precarious working conditions for police officers, increasing fear of crime, high homicide rates, prison overcrowding and loosely coupled criminal justice system. However, there is no consensus on what problems should be the prioritized and the most appropriate solutions to solve them.

On the contrary, there is an intense dispute between the various actors that compose the field to determine the main problems and their solutions. As in other areas (i.e., health, education, mobility, environment, etc.), the formation of a public security policy agenda is a political and social process (Birkland 2001, Coob and Elder 1983)). The groups compete to form the agenda because no political system can process and solve all the problems at the same time. Although security is a common good, there are several competing interests: which neighborhoods will receive more police officers and the best equipment, which security career will be prioritized, and which social groups have received the main attention and care are some examples. And, of course, who will fund the policy.

Moreover, the "flow of problems" does not necessarily precede the "flow of solutions" (Kingdom 1995). Sometimes the solutions are presented (and acquired) even before the problem had been clearly defined. This happens more often when it comes to the acquisition of technological systems and equipment.

Often, the "solution" has been bought even before the problem was elaborated. The results could not be more disastrous: waste of money, misuse of equipment and abandon of the project (Cardoso 2013).

In other cases, good projects had been deployed and discarded in the "garbage can" for some reason (Cohen *et al.* 1972). Thus, other government's initiatives have been taken up again, even with other name, to respond to the political pressures suffered by public security authorities. Usually, such solutions have been reintroduced without the necessary re-adaptation of the original projects, both with respect to their objectives as well as their schedule. This happened, for example, with the implementation of the Pacifying Police Units in Rio de Janeiro. The project was first implemented in Anthony Garotinho's administration (1999-2002) and restarted during the administration of Sérgio Cabral (2003-2010), however without adjusting the initial planning (Cardoso 2010; Misse 2014).

And even in cases where the problems and their solutions are clearly defined, the implementation of public security policies faces serious obstacles. These happens for some reasons. First, these obstacles are regarded to the organizational culture and the resistance of the professionals in changing their work routines. Second, the obstacles are also related to the inadequacy of the structure of the organizations in charge to implement the policies. These two problems, cultural resistance and organizational inadequacy, have been pointed out as some of the main obstacles for the implementation of community policing projects in Brazil (Oliveira 2002).

All these problems of formulation and implementation are not new and are present in public security policies. But there is another aspect that I would like to discuss in this article. It is regard to the problems and challenges related to the governance of

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these public policies. Governance problems are not unique to the area of public security, but they acquire enormous importance due to its characteristics.

In the following sections, after distinguishing the concepts of police, policing and policy in the next section, we will describe two public security issues concerning the residents of Brasilia, the Brazil's capital, and their respective Public Policy Networks: crime-related problems in schools and deaths in the traffic. Then, we will discuss the nature and the challenges of policy networks. The following section will evaluate the governance capacity of the Brazilian Secretariats of Public Security.

1. POLICE, POLICING AND POLICY NETWORKS

Like other areas, the main public security policies imply the participation of many organizations and political actors, both governmental and non-governmental. These organizations and actors compose a public policy network that can be defined as the *"relatively stable set of relationships between political actors (public or private) that interact through a non-hierarchical and interdependent structure to achieve common goals"* (Bonafont 2004).

Two characteristics are essential to understand the functioning of these networks: autonomy and interdependence. In most cases, political actors do not, in fact, have hierarchical relationships with each other. However, these actors are interdependent, that is, the outcome of the policy depends on the participation of all. In a social structure of this nature, the challenge is to establish non-hierarchical social practices and structure of coordination, capable of planning and articulating the actions of the actors. I will call this capacity as governance.

In order to discuss the functioning of these policy networks in the area of public security, it is necessary to distinguish the following concepts: Police, Policing and Public Security Policy. Police organizations, such as we know them today, are not the only ones to have mandate to enforce the law. Food Surveillance Agencies, Municipal Guards, Transit Departments, among others, also have legal mandates. Therefore, the defining feature of the police is not its legal mandate, but rather the legal authorization to use force. Thus, we can define the polices as those organizations designed to social control with authorization to use force, if necessary (Bayley 1994).

Policing refer to different ways of employing police power, resources and equipment. Although policing

strategies are part of the police officers' routine, it is not unique to the police. Other public organizations may also, under certain conditions, carry out some kind of policing (i.e., Municipal Guards, Transit Departments and Armed Forces). In addition, in some situations (shows, football games, festivals, etc.) there are also forms of policing carried out by private security companies.

Public security policy, in turn, refers to a set of actions and procedures aimed at addressing a given problem through the allocation of public and private assets and resources. In the area of Public Security specifically, public policies involve other organizations, furthermore the police and their policing strategies. In other words, public security policies are not limited to police organizations. They often involve the participation of other organizations and actors.

Different policy networks are formed in relation to each specific issue. Each network covers a variety of conflicts, since there may be distinct diagnoses of the problems to be faced, as well as their different solutions. The actors related themselves, converging or diverging about the interpretation of these problems, assign relevance, strategies and actions to deal with them.

2. THE CRIME-RELATED PROBLEMS IN THE SCHOOLS

Violence in school is one of the main concerns of Brasilia residents. There are several types of violence that take place in a school: vandalism, robbery, aggression, threats, etc. In general, school professionals deal with problems of violence and crime as problems of day-to-day work, and seldom inform police about the events that have occurred or call social welfare institutions to deal with the problem from a broader perspective. On the other hand, most of the school community, especially the students, do not record their victimization situations to the police and do not even report them to the school staff. Thus, official statistics have been precarious to represent what actually occurs in schools. A more accurate analysis of the phenomenon can be obtained from the perception of the school community about the problem, but even in this context the application of different ways of collecting data leads us to different perspectives on the problem.

Thus, the Brasilia Public Security Secretariat decided to carry out a broader survey on the violence in schools. Then, a research was carried out that had

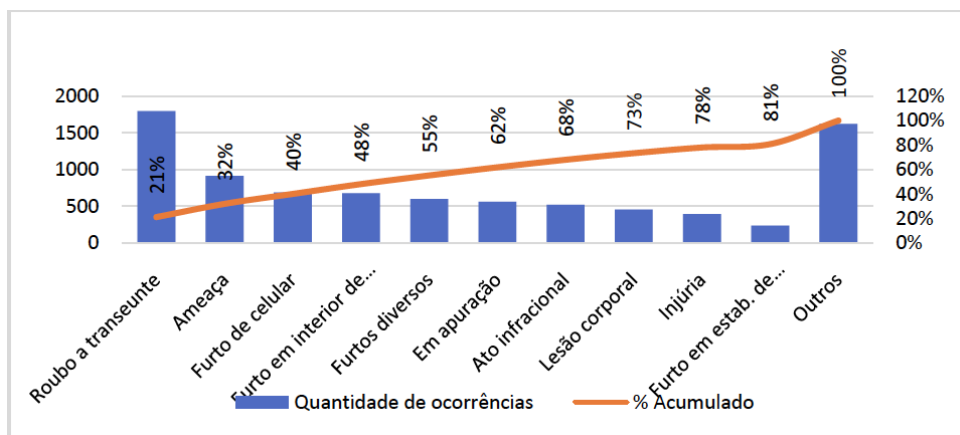


Figure 1: Types of Crimes in Brasilia's Schools – 2015.

Source: SSP/DF.

three different methodologies: a) survey of all police incidents involving incidents with the school community in the first half of 2014 and 2015; b) implementation of a survey that was completed by the directors of 126 schools in the administrative regions of Ceilândia and Planaltina; and c) open interviews with members of the community of the 20 schools with the highest number of occurrences registered by the civil police.

According to the survey, Brasilia registered 4252 crimes in the school's area, which includes both the internal and the external area. The underreporting rate is quite high: only 17.5% of criminal incidents occurred in schools are reported to the police. The most frequent crime registered are robbery (21%), threats (11%), burglary (8%) and vehicle theft (8%). Property crimes account for 48% of all crimes registered. While injuries account for 10% of the police records.

The period with the highest number of occurrences is between 12 and 15h on the week days. The period between 18- and 21h also show a significant number of occurrences. As for the week days, the level of

incidence is quite similar when we compare the records of Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday (Figure 2).

As for the spatial distribution of these occurrences, it has been found that it is a very concentrated problem: a few regions and schools account for many records. Only 3 regions (Plano Piloto, Ceilândia and Taguatinga) concentrate 46% of the total occurrences. Brasilia has about 1000 schools, but only 20 of them account for 22% of all recorded occurrences (Figure 3).

According to the SSP / DF survey, most of the crimes happened inside the schools (48%), 45% of which occurred in the facilities and 3% in the internal parking lot. About 39% of offenses occurred outside of school, either in the off-site parking lot (9%) or in the immediate vicinity (15%). Data also show that 15% of the records occurred in the school perimeter, but did not victimize people from the school community.

The survey also found that, although underreported, cases of threats, intimidation, fights and assaults are

| | 0 - 3h | 3 - 6h | 6 - 9h | 9 - 12h | 12 - 15h | 15 - 18h | 18 - 21h | 21 - 24h | Total |
|--------------|----------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Sun | 1 | | 6 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 23 |
| Mon | 2 | 3 | 122 | 125 | 241 | 157 | 109 | 59 | 818 |
| Tue | 1 | 1 | 105 | 126 | 210 | 160 | 167 | 71 | 841 |
| Wed | | 2 | 101 | 204 | 213 | 119 | 166 | 71 | 876 |
| Thu | | 3 | 89 | 146 | 210 | 157 | 167 | 62 | 834 |
| Fri | 2 | 2 | 106 | 142 | 168 | 112 | 124 | 56 | 712 |
| Sat | 2 | 4 | 6 | 11 | 12 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 48 |
| Total | 8 | 15 | 535 | 755 | 1057 | 714 | 743 | 325 | 4152 |

Figure 2: Distribution of Occurrences in the School Perimeter by Day and Time – 2015.

Source: SSP/DF.

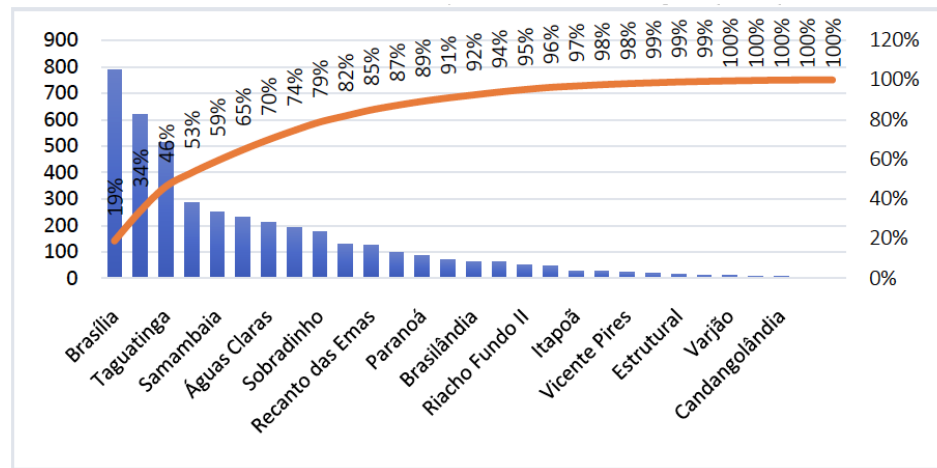


Figure 3: Distribution of Crimes by Administrative Region (2015).

Source: SSP/DF.

frequent. Over 84% of schools in Ceilândia and Planaltina experienced this situation. Most of these crimes occurred within or on the perimeter of the school. Students are the most frequent victims and offenders. The same can be said regarding acts of vandalism. In Planaltina, 69% of schools reported cases of student properties being damaged inside the school and 67% reported cases of school property being depredated. In Ceilândia, 70% of the schools experienced various acts of vandalism practiced by students and 66% experienced school property being depredated.

Regarding the presence of illicit substances and weapons, most schools in Planaltina reported cases of drug trafficking (65%), use of white weapons by students (57%). About 34% of schools reported cases of firearms possession by students. In Ceilândia, these percentages were: damaged student assets (59%), damaged school properties (63%), presence of illicit substances (53%) and possession of firearms by students (24%).

In the most schools, cases of assaults, fights, and threats, tend to have the same pattern of responses, which include calling parents, guiding them through dialogue, leading students to specific projects, and suspension and compulsory transfer. These are reactive measures that have not had significant effects on the frequency of cases. In cases of drug trafficking, sending students to police is still the more frequent response. There is also a low integration between the schools and the social protection network. In cases of gun use and drug trafficking, the patterns of school responses are quite varied, marking the absence of administrative guidelines.

Data from SSP show that most crime-related problems occur within the school environment. They are mostly property crimes or originate from conflicts between students, teachers and employees. Problems are concentrated in some regions and schools. In general, the responses schools adopt to solve problems are reactive, standardized, and disarticulated.

In Brasília, crime-related problems in schools have traditionally been treated as a police matter that should be solved by the police. However, the data shows that to deal with these kind of problems, police action is not enough. It is necessary to form a public policy network with the participation of other institutions to present adequate and effective responses. A public safety policy in schools cannot dispense the professionals of the Psychosocial Care Center (CAPS), the Social Assistance Reference Center (CRAS), the Children Protection Councils, as well as the initiatives developed in civil society for conflict administration.

So, in June 2015, the Public Security Secretariat (SSP) start to hold meetings aimed to establish a public policy network focused on crime-related problem in Brasília schools. The network should include representatives from different governmental areas, such as education, health, justice, labor, culture, sports, budget, besides the police. Despite being one of the main problems pointed out by teachers, students, staff and parents, the formation of the network did not prosper. This was partly due to the difficulties that the SSP had to prepare a working agenda with the several actors involved. In other words, structuring a network requires more than willingness to collaborate. An agency needs to coordinate, plan, and articulate actions. It is necessary

that this institution be endowed with great capacity for governance. This definitively were not the case of Public Security Secretariat of the Brazilian Federal District.

3. THE DEATHS IN TRAFFIC

Traffic accidents has been identified as one of the main problems of Brazilian cities. The studies make it clear that traffic accidents are a public health problem and that the public sector should act primarily to preserve life and health of people who suffer the physical, emotional and economic impacts of such accidents.

In 2005, about 34,381 people died of traffic accidents in Brazil. These numbers were as alarming as the homicide figures (55,312), given the high proportion of deaths in traffic accidents that are underreported. According to the Institute for Applied Economic Research - IPEA, the annual costs of traffic accidents exceed the figure of R\$ 27 billion, equivalent to 1.4% of Brazilian GDP.

In Brasilia, the problem is not different from other major Brazilian cities. Until the mid-1990s, death rates in the Brasilia transit were more than double the national rates. In 1994, the Brasilia death rate was 39.7 / 100,000 people, while the national average was 19.4. The year 1995 was even more violent. In this year, Brasilia had reached a catastrophic rate of 44.7 / 100,000 people killed in traffic, while the national rate had risen to 21.4 (Waiselfisz 2006).

Because of these numbers, Brasilia civil society began to pressure local authorities to seek solutions to this terrible reality. In February 1995, a set of measures was launched, which later became known as the program "Paz no Trânsito" (Peace in Transit). These measures brought two novelties in relation to the other traffic policies traditionally implemented in Brazilian cities: it focused on safety rather than traffic flow problems and implied in the participation of several actors.

Traditionally, traffic policies hitherto implemented in Brazil had focused only on the behavior of drivers and pedestrians. However, drivers and pedestrians are not the only social actors involved in traffic, which is made up of a much larger group and roles. All of them must be considered in an accident prevention plan. The roles involved in the circulation are performed by pedestrians, cyclists, drivers, passengers, police

officers, legislators, planners, operators, among others (Vasconcelos 2001). To improve safety conditions, the "Paz no Trânsito" program sought to involve as many actors as possible in the transit of the Brasilia.

The main priorities of the program were: a) to curb speeding, b) to control the consumption of alcoholic drinks, c) to intensify traffic education, d) to improve road conditions, e) to improve medical care and emergence services, f) to standardize the statistics. Initially, the following measures were taken to consolidate the program: 1) the creation of a special police unit to transit fiscalization; 2) the improvement of the School of Traffic; 3) the promotion of training courses for public school teachers; 4) the installation of electronic speed trap equipment; 5) the definition of the main critical points of traffic accidents; 6) the installation traffic lights; 7) the installation of walkways and lanes for pedestrians; 8) the adoption of security measures for collective transportation (Rodrigues 2007).

Despite the convergence of objectives, the support of the population was still lacking. On September 15, 1996, a major mobilization took place in the city, the second largest in the history of Brasilia until then. Approximately 25,000 people took to the streets and promoted the "Walk for Peace in Traffic". From then on, the program started to count on popular support. Four days later, 18,000 students from the city's schools also took to the streets for "Peace in Traffic". After this, the student movement, trade unions, businessmen, federal government, judiciary, church and universities also start to support the proposals.

It was created also a permanent Forum planned to coordinate the proposals of the different segments of civil society and the State. Soon the Forum constituted a space for debate and reflection. The meetings were held at the University of Brasília and were attended by approximately 80 representatives of Brazilian civil society: Churches, media; government; trade unions; universities, professional associations and others Non-Governmental Organizations.

In addition to the measures described earlier, the government and the media promoted educational campaigns. In October 1996, the "Stop at the Crosswalk" campaign was launched to sensitize the population to observe the traffic legislation that obliges drivers to give passage to people who cross the streets. Thanks to the support of the media and the intensification of surveillance, the campaign was a

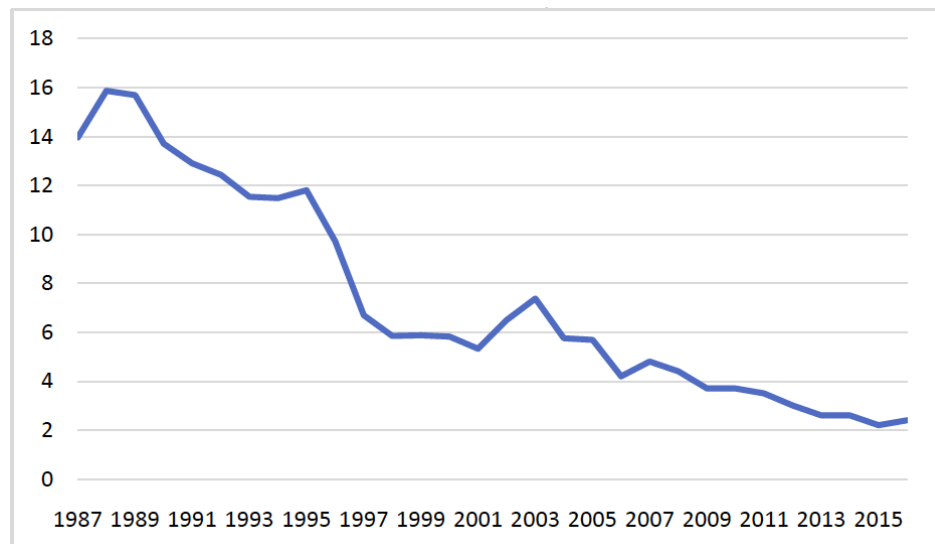


Figure 4: Death Rate in Traffic Accidents per 10.000 Vehicles.

Source: DETRAN / DF.

success. The drivers began to stop at the crosswalk with form of direct participation in the campaign. It was also created the "Death Counting Scoreboard", an electronic device installed on one of the main streets of the city to inform the reduction of deaths in traffic. The program symbol turned stickers into cars, bottoms, shopping bags, posters. In other words, the civil society adhered to the objectives of the program.

The results of "Peace in Transit" could soon be observed. In 1995, there were 652 deaths in the transit of the Federal District. This number dropped to 430 in 1998, corresponding to a 34% drop in total deaths. If we consider the death rate for each group of 10,000 vehicles, the drop was even more pronounced: from 11.8 in 1995 to 5.8 in 1998, a reduction of 50.8% (Figure 5).

The measures had different effects on the main groups of victims (Figure 1.2). In 1995, pedestrians were the most frequent fatal victims (304), followed by drivers (191) and passengers (152). This picture changed significantly after the implementation of most of the program initiatives. Of the total of 430 deaths recorded in 1998, most of the victims were drivers (158), followed by pedestrians (153) and passengers (119). In terms of death rates per 10,000 vehicles, pedestrians recorded the biggest fall (62.2%), followed by passengers (41.1%) and drivers (39.8%).

Among the measures implemented in the "Paz no Trânsito" program, stand out the implementation of pedestrian's crosswalk, the installation of electronic speed trap and the improvement of supervision and

surveillance conditions with the creation of the new traffic police unit. But certainly, the popular support was the most important aspect of the program.

The results of the program highlighted the need for broad participation of civil society, both in the discussion of problems and in their implementation. Respect for pedestrian crossway was only possible because the media support. Otherwise, it would not be possible to promote this change of driver behavior if the authorities relied solely on the traditional instruments of repression. The police, however had played an important role, were not the only actor involved in the policy. The Secretariat for Transport, the Media and the University also played an important role in building the network and planning initiatives.

Despite the success of the program, the permanent Forum for Peace in Transit, main responsible for the articulation of the various actors involved, was closed in 1999. And with that, program the Paz no Trânsito ceased to exist.

4. THE CONSTITUTION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC POLICY NETWORKS

In the two networks described in this article, the police were not the only actor involved in the policy. Both cases reveal the importance of public policy networks in security issues, but its constitution is not spontaneous, nor its institutionalization is guaranteed. Networks can address a specific domain of problems, defining agenda, formulating proposals, managing access to resources, organizing events and solving

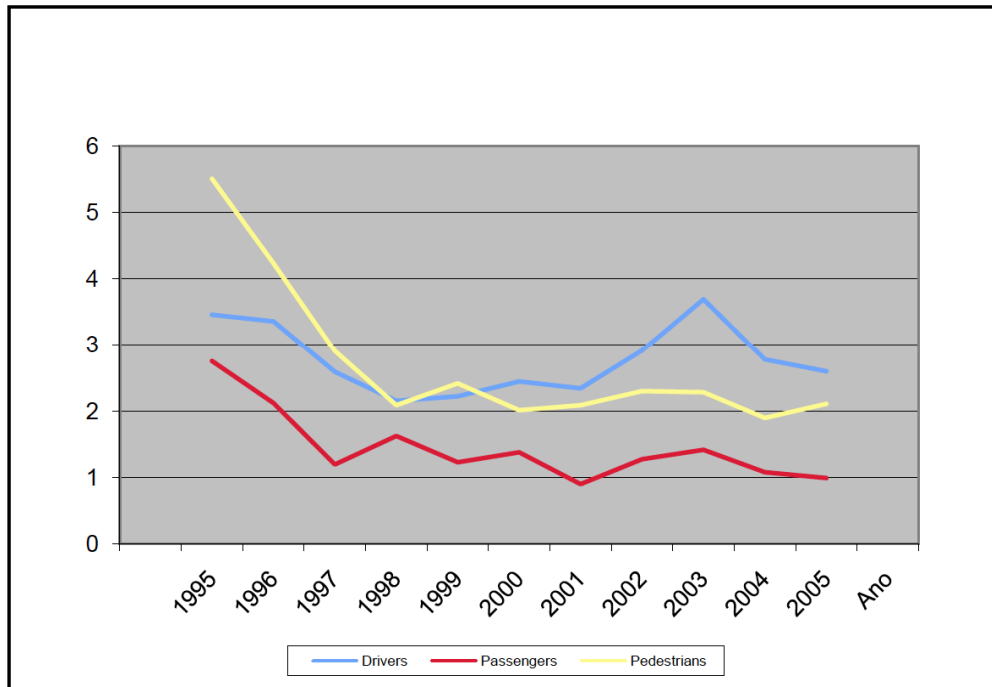


Figure 5: Fatal Victims by Type of Involvement – Federal District – 1995 to 2005.
Per 10.000 Vehicles.

Source: DETRAN / DF.

specific problems to a certain area, such as education, health, safety, etc. These networks overlap and interact with each other, characterizing a complex dynamic that some have called the "Organizational State" (Laumann & Knocke 1987).

One of the main research topic on public policy networks has been the identification and classification of the different types of networks in contemporary states. Generally, these studies try to classify the networks through the analysis of the actors involved. To do this, researchers choose the following variables to classify the networks: the number and type of actors, the arenas of interaction, the functions they play, the type of relationships that prevail among the participants, the power relations between them.

To understand the policy networks is crucial to analyze the actors who compose them, and the way they interact. However, we can learn much more about networks if we take them as a social structure that is not limited to its actors. Often, public policy proposals and outcomes are not clearly identifiable with the interests of any member of a network. Networks have their own dynamics that prevail over the individual interest. Therefore, to understand them it is necessary to analyze the aspects that structure the interaction between the participants.

Marsh and Rhodes (1992) developed a typology of public policy networks from the study of the relationship between central government and local authorities in Britain. They classify the networks according to: (i) the number of participants, (ii) the degree of integration between them and (iii) the distribution of resources (political, financial, organizational, etc.). The classification of Rhodes and Marsh describes two ideal types the networks: policy networks and issue networks. Between these two ideal types there are several possible combinations.

For the authors, the policy networks are composed of few actors that are characterized by the stability of the relations, a high degree of interdependence and great autonomy in relation to the other networks. They are quite integrated and usually originate from issues of governmental interest, such as security, health, education, science and technology. Rhodes and Marsh emphasize the predominant role of state actors since they concentrate the main political resources. The challenge of these networks is to open to the participation of other actors outside the traditionally established political community. This is one of the most frequent challenges of networks in public security: to increase the participation of actors in addition to the police and other security agencies.

Issue networks are an opposite ideal type. They have many participants who gather around specific themes. They are little stable, with an atomized structure and a low degree of integration among their members. In an issue network, the distribution of resources between actors inside and outside government is asymmetric, although there is no predominance in favor of any of them. The main challenge is to institutionalize this type of networks to produce coherent public policies. As we showed, despite its relative success, the network that was formed from the program "Paz no Trânsito" was not institutionalized and was extinguished.

Depending on the nature of the relationships between actors, public policy networks can perform different functions (Agranoff 2007). There are at least three types of functions performed by public safety networks: (a) to promote the exchange of information; (b) enhance surveillance and monitoring capacity; and (c) to increase the capacity to respond adequately to problems.

In the networks geared towards promoting information exchange, actors unite exclusively to exchange information on policies, programs, and technologies. The executive actions rest solely to actors alone and are not mandatory. It is common to create "forums" in defense of a given public policy, or to repeal certain legal status. In these cases, the various actors that compose these "forums" share information that justifies their political positions.

There are networks aimed to improve the capacity of surveillance and monitoring of certain social groups. In these cases, networks actors share their clients' financial, fiscal, phone and mail information. In the age of the information society, demands for partnerships that seek to share sensitive data and information about citizens are increasing to expand the state capacity to respond new risks and threats. Such demands for more monitoring, however, have forced us to discuss the limits and hazards of this type of surveillance. (Marx 1988).

There are also networks geared to implement problem-oriented policies. In these networks, the participants come together to carry out inter-organizational tasks, develop new collaborative initiatives to produce goods and services together. In the two examples above, we describe the networks of actors involved in responding to the problems of violence at school and in traffic.

5. THE BRAZILIAN SECRETARIATS OF PUBLIC SECURITY AND GOVERNANCE

Public policy networks have great potential to promote solutions to problems in public security. Its performance can be very effective in the exchange of information, in the diagnosis of new problems, in the creation of capacities, in the adaptation of existing solutions and in the development of new solutions, as well as in the formulation and implementation of joint programs and policies. However, the success of the networks does not imply in underestimating the difficulties in their management. Networks are considerably different from other organizations and their management implies important challenges. As much as actors are autonomous and interdependent, networks need to increase their governance capacity so that they can achieve their goals. In the field of Brazilian public security, in theory, it would be incumbent upon the State Secretariats of Public Security to formulate, implement and coordinate public security policies.

Although they play a relevant role, the State Secretariats of Public Security (SSP's) are very little known and studied. Their structure varies to each state as well as the profile of the professionals who work there. In addition, there are important differences with respect to their political status vis-à-vis the police. There are cases where the police are formally subordinated to the secretaries of public security. In other cases, police chiefs have the same prerogatives of the secretaries. These differences end up impacting on the governance capacity of these secretariats. Thus, in this section we analyze the governance capacity of the SSP's. That is, the ability of these secretaries to formulate and implement, coordinate and evaluate public policies.

Information on state public security secretariats was raised through a survey conducted by the Center for Studies on Violence and Security of the University of Brasília, with the support of the National Secretariat of Public Security (SENASP) of the Brazilian Ministry of Justice. The questionnaire was sent by SENASP to all 27 Brazilian states in 2010. The results show that, in general, the structure of SSPs is inadequate to reasonably perform their duties and competences. Despite the enormous variety of organizational structures, the most frequent problems are: a) lack of personnel to perform their functions; b) poor specialization and c) limited ability to articulate (Costa 2015).

In 2010, many State Secretariats were responsible for prison management (41%). The same situation can be verified in the areas of Civil Defense (32%), justice (18%). Regarding social defense, understood here as social policies for prevention of violence, less than 50% of SSP's had some prevention policy. Excess assignments contributed to weaken the SSP's governance capacity of coordination and articulation of public policies. Usually, the distribution of personnel in a secretariat ends up favoring execution activities instead of planning and coordination activities.

About the personnel performing the daily tasks of an SSP, most of the professionals working in a Secretariat of Public Security in 2010 came from the police agencies. There were few secretariats that counted with their own professionals. In general, SSP's personnel worked in very specific areas (i.e., technology, management, and budget). Only a few Secretariats that could counted on their own psychologists, social workers, managers and criminal analysts. In general, the Secretariats of Public Security had few professionals trained in strategic topics, such as human rights, financial management, human management, public policy and criminal analysis.

Since some of the public policies for the prevention of crimes and violence imply the need of other public agencies and civil society, the SSP's capacity of articulation became important. The survey showed that the SSP's articulation with the police agencies is very good. But the same cannot be said about the other state agencies (i.e. health, education, labor, social work, etc.). Only 27% of SSP's claim to have good or excellent articulation with municipal authorities. In 45% of cases, the cooperation was described as regular and 13 non-existent.

In general, SSP's articulation with civil society is also weak. Only 27% of the secretariats affirmed having good or excellent articulation with Non-Governmental Organizations. In 45% of cases, the cooperation is regular and 13% non-existent. The situation is similar about the universities. Only 27% of the state secretariats have good or excellent articulation with the academy. In 40% of the cases the cooperation is regular and in 18% it does not exist.

CONCLUSION

Public policy networks are fundamental for the implementation of public security policies. Due to the multiple actors involved and the absence of hierarchies

in their relations, these networks require a high governance capacity. The two examples we have described in this article, have shown how complex and diverse are the public policy networks. There are many actors that must cooperate. They need become a policy network. In some case, it is not difficult improve cooperation. The challenge is to open the network to new actors. In other cases, the challenge is to institutionalize the cooperation.

No matter the network nature, governance is essential to improve, coordinate and institutionalize cooperation. In Brazil, it depends upon the performance of the State Secretariats of Public Security. The SSP's are in charged to formulated and implement public policies on security issues. However, has we have shown, there is a fragile structure with low governance capacity of the state secretariats. The large number of assignments, with a great concentration on executive tasks, coupled with poor professional qualification of its staff and the reduced ability to articulate with agencies from outside the police system, have considerably reduced the governance capacity of the Secretariats of Public Security.

This picture must be analyzed in a historical perspective. Along the last 30 years, the SSP's were established and organized to perform some ceremonial function and managing conflicts between different police agencies. This deficient structure is the result of a configuration of the field of public security, in which the idea of public security policies was absent.

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Received on 25-02-2018

Accepted on 06-03-2018

Published on 11-04-2018

[DOI: https://doi.org/10.6000/1929-4409.2018.07.10](https://doi.org/10.6000/1929-4409.2018.07.10)

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