

MURDER IN THE CITY OF SAO PAULO:

ANALYSIS OF
REPORTED INCIDENTS
FROM JANUARY
2012 TO JUNE 2013



Instituto **Sou da Paz**

A paz na prática

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Organization: Instituto Sou da Paz

1st Edition
São Paulo
2013

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PRESENTATION

This study presents an analysis of incidents of murder reported in the city of Sao Paulo from January 2012 to June 2013. Our objective in completing this report is to organize and share the information available concerning murder when it is first reported to the Civil Police¹ (i.e. the Incident Reports), with the hope of amplifying understanding about the phenomenon at large. Under what circumstances do these deaths occur? What are the profiles of the victims and the perpetrators? In which locations are these incidents most common? These are some of the questions that we sought to answer and that can contribute to the creation of policies better poised to confront homicide in the city.

If today the city of Sao Paulo demonstrates murder rates that are indisputably better than they were fifteen or twenty years ago (which does not diminish in anyway the relevance of the problem currently), this is a consequence of investment in intelligence that mapped areas with higher concentrations of crime, created profiles of victims and perpetrators, and

identified motives and weapons. The information that was discovered allowed for the implementation of preventative measures and investigations that directly impacted awareness about and reduction of crime.

This intelligent and strategic perspective of seeking to comprehend the dynamics behind killings should be well-publicized and incorporated as a common practice; however, the last official study released to the general public – the Anuário do Departamento de Homicídios e Proteção à Pessoa – was published in 2008. It is still a common problem in Brazil that when homicides take center stage, generally due to an increase in statistics, the debate is overrun by explanations based on stereotypes- oftentimes attempting to link fatalities to the drug trade without pursuing a deeper understanding of the situation and entering into dialogue with the reality of the facts.

Thus the importance of this research, which proposes to update the analysis of murders in the city with an eye towards verifying which of the character-

istics previously discovered – such as the high rate of victimization of young male adults, the involvement of firearms, and the relationship between homicides and interpersonal conflicts – have remained constant. Despite its limitations, considering that we are working with the first information received by the police, the analysis creates a panorama of murders in the city using constructive data that can suggest a certain path forward. We understand that this is a first step, and our hope is that it does not become merely a rote exercise, but that it can stimulate further research that continues to build greater knowledge of the dynamics associated with homicide in Sao Paulo.

We cannot forget to thank the Sao Paulo Public Security Secretary, Doctor Fernando Grella Vieira, the Chief of the Sao Paulo Department of Civil Police, Doctor Luiz Mauricio Blazeck, and the Director of the Department of Homicides and Protection of People (DHPP), Doctor Elisabete Ferreira Sato Lei, all of whose support was essential towards the completion of this report.

¹ (Translator's note) Brazilian police are divided into two central organs: Military Police- who perform active law enforcement on the street, and Civil Police- who preside over investigations.

// METHODOLOGY

According to the criminal statistics released by the Sao Paulo Department of Public Security (SSP/SP), from January 1, 2012 to June 30, 2013, there were 1,983 incidents of murder recorded in the capital, totaling 2,156 victims. For this study we sent a formal solicitation to the DHPP² and obtained copies of 1,818 murder-related Incident Reports that then passed through an initial screening³, resulting in a sample composed of 1,777 valid reports, representing 89.6% of the total count recorded by SSP/SP. The semiannual distribution of incidents and victims from the Incident Reports are provided in Table 1.

In the state of Sao Paulo the Incident Reports (IRs) have the following structure: first, there are fields to be filled with general information about the incident (such as the day, hour, address, type of location, and neighborhood). Then, there are fields for who reported the incident to the police, the perpetrators (in cases where the perpetrator is known), the victims, witnesses and other persons involved in the incident or on the record (for example, family of the victim that spoke to police about the death), and information regarding confiscated articles. Finally, the last field is the History, where the recorder describes the incident as it was related to them. The IR also presents information about the processing of the incident, or in other words, decisions made by the Chief of Police based on what was communicated to the Po-

// TABLE 1 – INCIDENTS OF MURDER AND NUMBER OF VICTIMS IN THE CITY OF SAO PAULO - BY SEMESTER

	1ST SEMESTER OF 2012		2ND SEMESTER OF 2012		1ST SEMESTER OF 2013	
	INCIDENTS	VICTIMS	INCIDENTS	VICTIMS	INCIDENTS	VICTIMS
STATISTICS FROM SSP/SP	586	605	782	892	615	659
ANALYZED SAMPLE	530	565	690	763	557	600

Source: SSP/SP. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

lice - such as forensics, processing of apprehended weapons, processing of the incident to the department chosen to carry out the investigation, etc.

Considering the principal objective of this analysis, which is to create a general overview of the circumstances associated with murders, identifying the profiles of victims, perpetrators, weapons used and motives, we did not use all of the information present in the IRs. Presented below is a list of the information that was collected and included as data in the study:

About the Incident:

- Number and year of the Incident Report
- Whether the perpetrator is known or unknown

- Address, type of location (according to the classification standard used in the Reports) and neighborhood
- Date and hour of the incident
- If there was more than one crime recorded in the Report
- Instruments of death grouped in the following categories: automobile accident, physical aggression (with body or any non-weapon instrument used as a weapon), cold weapon (any perforating or cutting instrument used as a weapon), firearm, not identified
- If the perpetrator was caught in the act

²The DHPP is a specialized department responsible for investigating homicides of unknown authorship.

³ Incident Reports were ignored even if murder was the reported crime depending on certain other factors, such as Reports without a record of a victim, threats of death or bodily harm, cases of robbery resulting in death, and deaths in confrontations with on-duty police officers.

About the perpetrator (in cases where the perpetrator is known):

- Socio-biographical characteristics: sex, age, color, profession, schooling and relationship with the victim

About the victim:

- Number of fatal and non-fatal victims
- Socio-biographical characteristics: sex, age, color, profession, schooling and address

Initially, we hoped to identify motives for the murders and create classifications. Our intention was to verify the level of involvement of futile (or non-gainful) motives in the death total⁴, as well as identify any possible new dynamics associated with murder. However, considering that our analysis is based solely on information included in the Incident Reports – and not on the proceeding investigations which certainly have much more information about motives – we decided not to use the term “motives” and instead created another classification of incidents in line with the information provided in the Report Histories. These characteristics do not necessarily point to motive, but toward how the killings happened. It is important to mention that in this classification we did not attempt to corroborate the veracity of the facts as they are reported in the History, but simply worked with the in-

formation as it was presented and grouped the cases in accordance with the following classifications:

- **Transit Accidents:** cases of death involving the running over of persons or collision of vehicles/motorcycles;
- **Disputes:** cases of death occurring during or shortly after an argument (except in the case where the involved parties are in an amorous relationship);
- **Premeditated Murders:** cases where the victim was surprised by an assailant (or multiple assailants) with the clear intention to kill: oftentimes with weapon(s) already drawn and/or discharging multiple rounds. Cases in which the perpetrators arrive by car or motorcycle and use something to cover their faces were generally included;
- **Reactions to Attempted Crime:** cases where the victim of a crime (usually attempted robbery) reacts and kills the criminal or a bystander;
- **Results of Police Action:** cases in which off-duty police officers witness an attempted crime and kill the would-be criminal, or also on-duty officers engage with a non-resisting person resulting in that person’s death;

- **Spousal Conflicts:** cases where the perpetrator and victim are in some form of conjugal relationship;
- **Discoveries of Corpses:** cases where an abandoned corpse is found, usually in a state of decomposition;
- **No Information:** cases without sufficient information to characterize the incident- for example discovering a person shot on the highway or finding a body without any identifiable indicators as to the cause of death.

The results of our study are presented in the following format: Chapter 1- general information regarding homicides, covering the profile of victims, distribution of incidents by location, characteristics of weapons used, and demonstrating the differences between cases of known and unknown authorship. Chapter 2- analysis of the most representative classifications encountered: cases characterized by Premeditated Murder, Dispute, Reaction to Attempted Crime, Spousal Conflict, Result of Police Action, and No Information. Finally, in Conclusion we will reconsider the principal findings of our work and compare the results with those of previous studies, looking to complicate some ideas and identify new tendencies and dynamics of murder in the city.

⁴ Studies concerning homicides committed in Sao Paulo and investigated by the Civil Police demonstrate a high percentage of deaths associated with interpersonal conflict, without any connection to criminal activity and in large part precipitated by banal motives. (LIMA, 2000; NEV/USP, 1997)

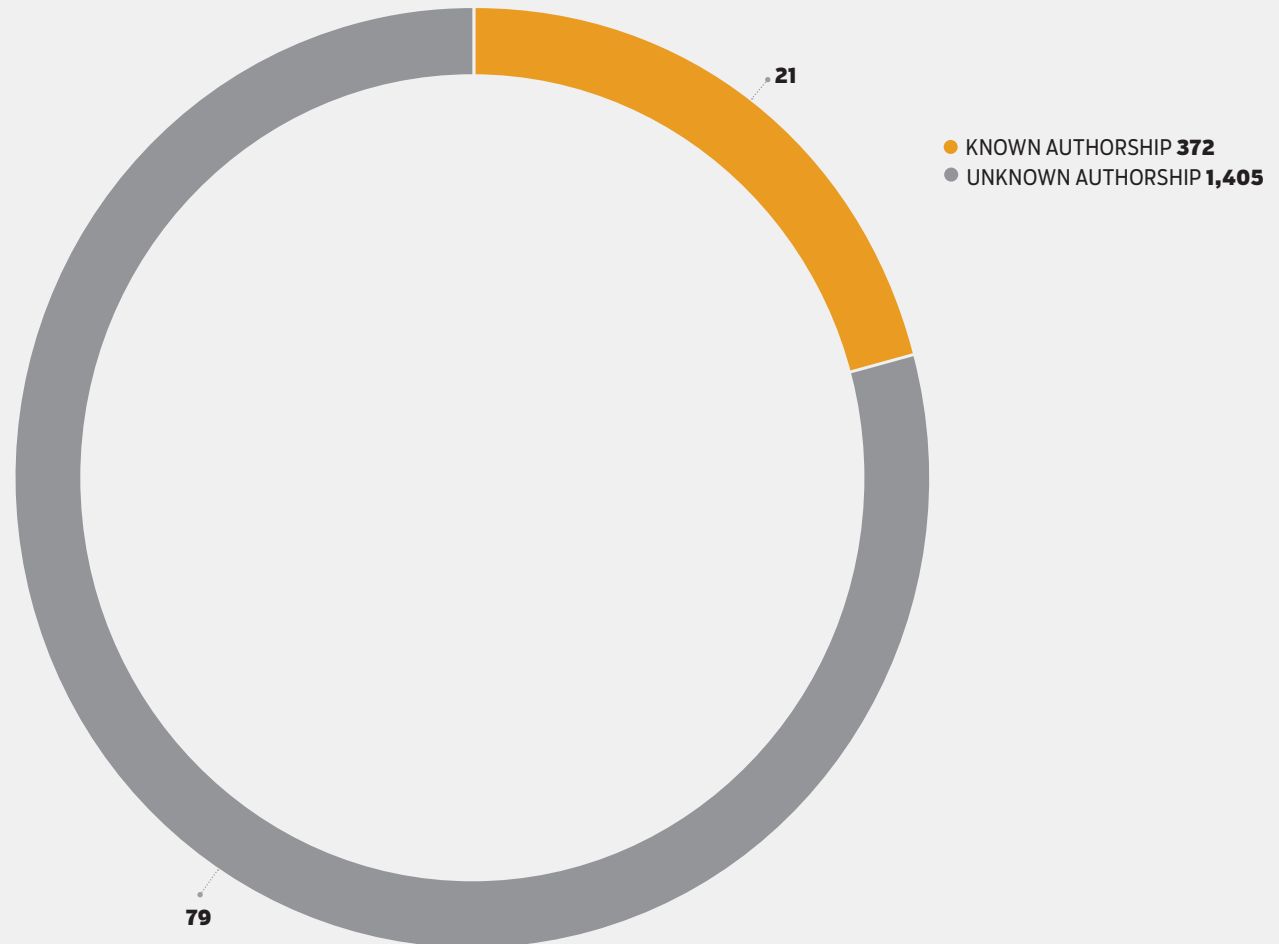
// GENERAL OVERVIEW OF MURDER IN THE CITY OF SAO PAULO

Our findings evaluated 1,777 incidents of murder recorded in Sao Paulo over a period of 18 months between January 2012 and June 2013. This period was considered a time of crisis for public safety in Sao Paulo due to the increased incidence of murder during the months of 2012 in comparison with the same months in 2011. The most marked increase happened during the second semester of 2012, which resulted in an excessive concentration of murders during this year, as is shown in Table 1, but as of January 2013 the numbers began to return to lower levels.

The 1,777 incidents analyzed in the study involved 1,928 victims, meaning that in the majority of cases there was only one fatal victim. In 162 of the IRs attempted murders were also recorded; in these cases, beyond the fatalities, wounded victims were also recorded totaling 228 persons.

As for the authorship of these incidents, the large majority (1,405 or 79%) are cases of murders by unknown perpetrators, a fact which presents an immediate challenge to the understanding of murder in Sao Paulo. There is an urgent need in the city to guarantee a policing structure capable of dealing with and diminishing this excessive volume.

// CHART 1 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDER INCIDENTS BY KNOWN OR UNKNOWN AUTHORSHIP (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

In a study of murder in Sao Paulo performed in 1995, Lima found that 91% of murders were of unknown authorship and of these only 29% (891) were ever solved. This percentage must be tied to the structure and resources of the Civil Police during this era; therefore it would be relevant to verify to what extent the Civil Police is prepared today to deal with the more than 1,400 cases to which we have previously referred.

Another statistic produced in the study is the percentage of cases with a known perpetrator in which the perpetrator was caught in the act: of the 372 incidents with known authorship, 134 of them were caught in the act, representing 36% of the total. This means that in the other 238 cases there is available information about the identity of the perpetrator, implying the necessity for greater investigative efforts to prove their involvement and try them criminally.

Considering the classifications of murders together with the characteristics present in the IRs, we identified significant differences between cases of known and unknown authorship (or by a known or unknown perpetrator). Table 2 reveals that the perpetrator is known predominantly in cases of Disputes, Spousal Conflicts, and Reaction to Attempted Crimes, beyond Transit

Accidents and Result of Police Action. On the other hand, murders with unknown perpetrators were more closely correlated with Premeditated Murder, Discoveries of Corpses and Disputes, with the caveat that in

almost half of all the cases there is simply not sufficient information to possibly classify the type of death.

// TABLE 1 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS IN THE IRs AND CONDITION OF AUTHORSHIP

	KNOWN PERPETRATOR	UNKNOWN PERPETRATOR
TRANSIT ACCIDENT	7.8 %	0.6 %
DISPUTE	37.1 %	6.3 %
PREMEDITATED MURDER	4.6 %	22.2 %
REACTION TO ATTEMPTED CRIME	10.2 %	1.8 %
RESULT OF POLICE ACTION	4.6 %	0.1 %
SPOUSAL CONFLICT	17.5 %	0.6 %
DISCOVERY OF CORPSE	2.2 %	16.2 %
NO INFORMATION	12.6 %	51.7 %
OTHER	3.5 %	0.4 %
TOTAL	100%	100%

Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

VICTIM PROFILES

Our analysis identified an extremely high percentage of male victims, representing more than 87% of all deaths, a trend that has been noted in previous studies about the city of Sao Paulo and other regions of the country as well⁵. However, when comparing the number of murders by a known perpetrator with those by an unknown perpetrator, we identified greater involvement of women in the known perpetrator victim pool. Women make up 27% of victims of known perpetrators, a percentage almost 4 times greater than in its counterpart. This difference is owed principally to Disputes (which in most instances involve people known to one another) and Spousal Conflicts.

With respect to the color of the victims, blacks (including both black and brown persons) represent almost half of all murder victims (49.1%), while whites account for 40%. When comparing between cases by known and unknown perpetrators, we did not identify a significant difference in the distribution of victims by color. What does merit attention however is the fact that blacks are overrepresented as victims; the 2010 national census data indicates that blacks make up only 38% of the total population of the city.

// TABLE 2 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDER VICTIMS BY COLOR AND CONDITION OF AUTHORSHIP

	KNOWN PERPETRATOR	UNKNOWN PERPETRATOR
MALE	72 %	90.8 %
FEMALE	27.3 %	7.1 %
UNKNOWN/IGNORED	0.8 %	2.3 %
TOTAL	100%	100 %

Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

// TABLE 3 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDER VICTIMS BY COLOR AND CONDITION OF AUTHORSHIP

	KNOWN PERPETRATOR	UNKNOWN PERPETRATOR
BROWN	41.9 %	39.6 %
WHITE	40.9 %	38.4 %
BLACK	6.1 %	9.9 %
YELLOW	0.3 %	0.2 %
UNKNOWN/IGNORED	10.9 %	11.9 %
TOTAL	100 %	100 %

Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

⁵ The data about mortality in Brazil, systematized and released by the Sistema de Informações sobre Mortalidade do DATASUS, demonstrate high male victimization rates in situations of aggression – the category in which homicide is included. In 2011, for example, 91% of persons who died in situations of aggression were male.

As for the age group of victims, youth (here classified as those between the ages of 15 and 29 years old) represent the plurality of casualties at 34.3%, followed by adults between 30 and 44 years of age. This distribution is maintained when comparing cases of known and unknown authorship; however if we consider that almost 30% of murder victims by an unknown perpetrator do not include information about the age of the victim, we can assume that the percentage of youth is probably even higher than the data shows.

YOUTH BETWEEN
15 AND 29
YEARS OF AGE
REPRESENT THE
PLURALITY
OF DEATHS
(34.3%)

Analyzing the distribution of youth victims, we identified a large concentration of deaths between the ages of 18 and 24 followed by the group aged 25-29, as Chart 2 shows.

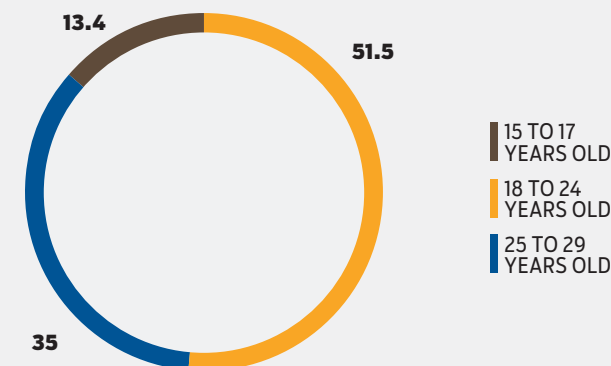
// TABLE 4 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDER VICTIMS BY AGE AND CONDITION OF AUTHORSHIP

	KNOWN PERPETRATOR	UNKNOWN PERPETRATOR
CHILD (0-14)	3.8 %	0.4 %
YOUTH (15-29)	39.9 %	32.9 %
ADULT 1 (30-44)	27.8 %	25.1 %
ADULT 2 (45-59)	14.1 %	9.4 %
ELDERLY (60 OR OLDER)	4.5 %	1.8 %
UNKNOWN/IGNORED	9.8 %	30.4 %
TOTAL	100 %	100 %

Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF MURDER IN THE CITY

// CHART 2 – DISTRIBUTION OF YOUTH MURDER VICTIMS BY AGE RANGES (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

WHEN AND WHERE MURDERS HAPPEN

Murders tend to be concentrated during the weekend: 39% occurring on Saturday or Sunday, with Tuesday and Wednesday having the fewest incidents, as Chart 3 shows. The comparison between known and unknown authorship does not reveal differences in this distribution.

Concerning the time of day, there is a greater concentration of cases at night and in the early morning hours- a tendency that holds true for cases both of known and unknown authorship. However, in cases of known authorship there is a greater preponderance of incidents in the afternoon than in the morning, whereas with unknown authorship the opposite is true, perhaps due to a greater concentration of cases during the early hours of the morning.

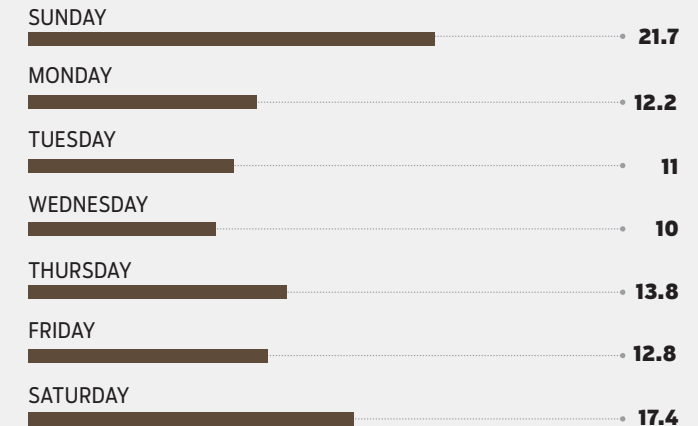
It is important to put some caveats on this data, because in many cases the time registered on the

IR actually records the moment that someone (oftentimes a police officer) found the victim and not necessarily the time when the homicide took place. Considering the characteristics of murders by unknown perpetrators, we can then suppose that the number that occurred at night or in the early morning is probably even higher because the circulation of people (an inhibiting factor for this type of crime) is much lower.

THERE IS A HIGHER CONCENTRATION OF CASES AT NIGHT AND IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS.

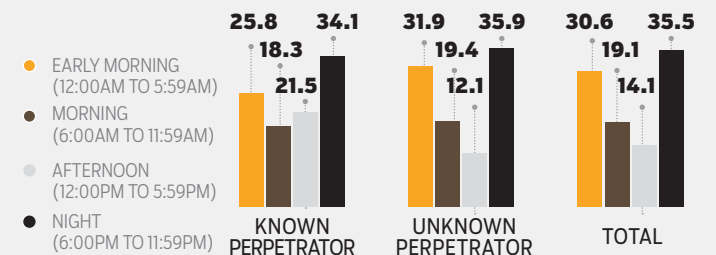
GENERAL OVERVIEW OF MURDER IN THE CITY

// CHART 3 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDER INCIDENTS BY DAY OF THE WEEK



Source: São Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

// TABLE 5 – DISTRIBUTION OF INCIDENTS OF MURDER BY TIME OF DAY AND CONDITION OF AUTHORSHIP



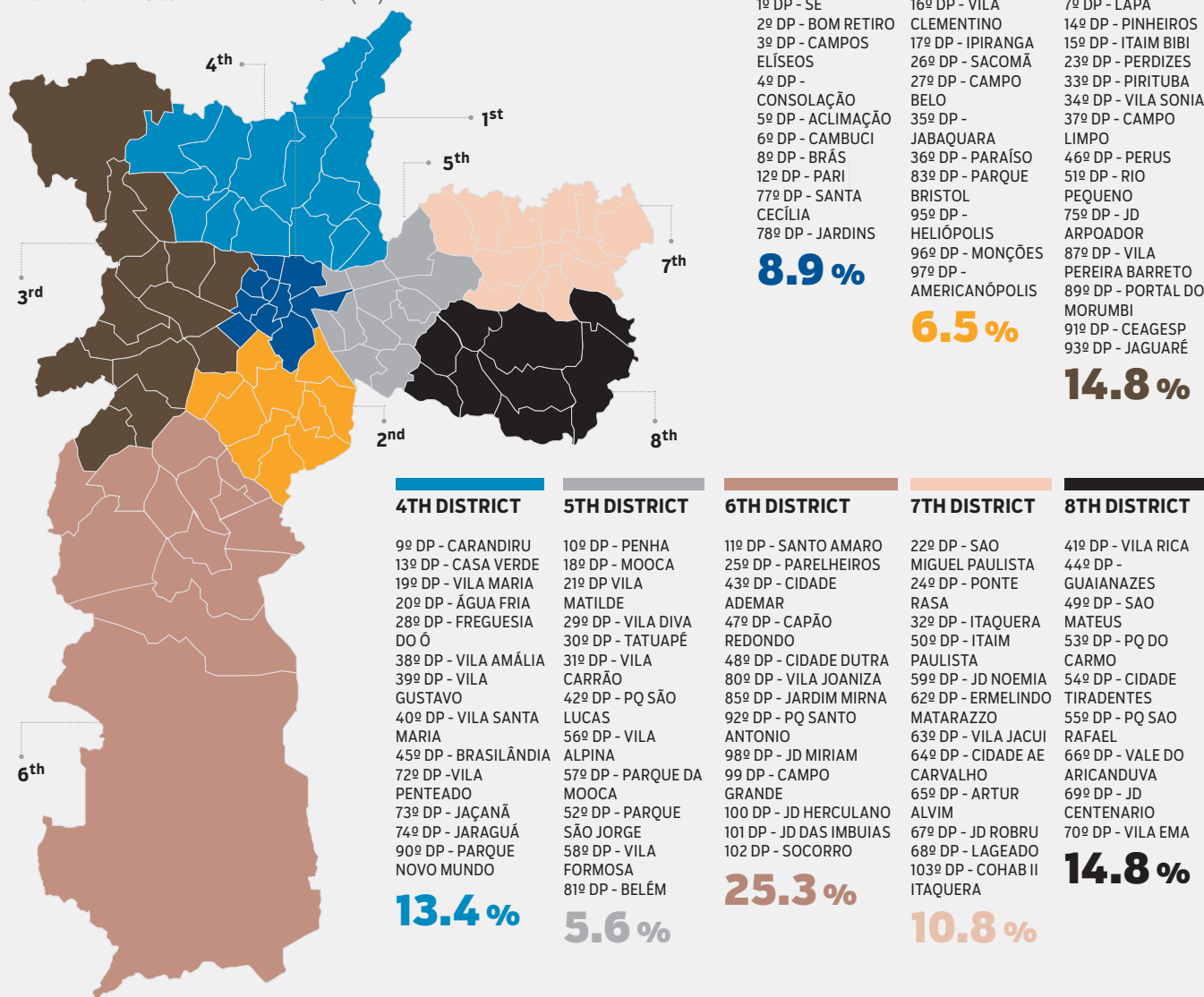
Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

Every IR notes the police precinct where the criminal event took place. We systematized this information for the study; however we decided to clarify our analysis by grouping the distribution of homicides into the eight larger districts of Sao Paulo, which contain the 93 different police precincts. This grouping facilitates the finding of concentration patterns and differences between murders with known and unknown perpetrators.

Generally, considering all of the recorded murders, there is a perceivable concentration in the 6th District, which is composed of diverse police precincts in the southern zone of the city, an area with historically high murder rates. The following maps reveal the differences in distribution between cases of known and unknown authorship by district.

Half of murders by a known perpetrator were located in three of the eight districts: the 6th, 8th, and 3rd (in order from most to least). Cases with an unknown perpetrator are most highly concentrated in districts 6, 3 and 4, which account for a little more than half of the sum total. The 5th and 2nd Districts present the lowest percentages of murder in the city for both types of incidents.

// CHART 4 – DISTRIBUTION OF INCIDENTS OF MURDER BY DISTRICT: KNOWN PERPETRATOR (%)

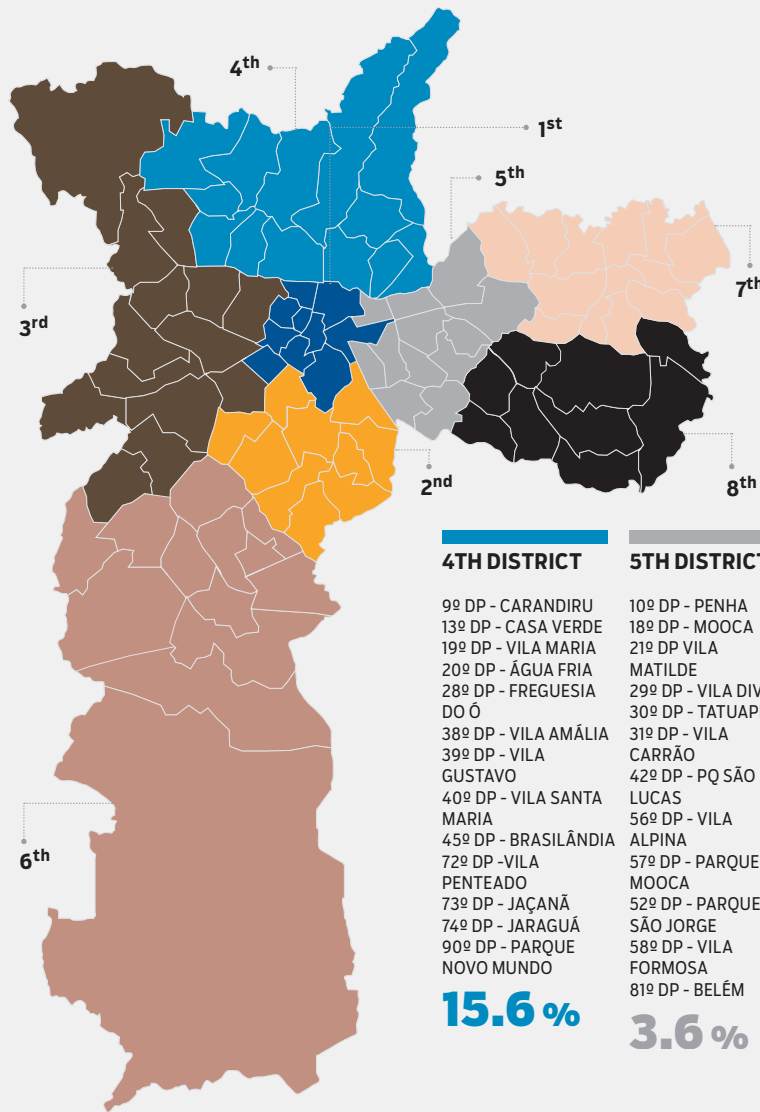


GENERAL OVERVIEW OF MURDER IN THE CITY

Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

To make a more correct and adequate comparison between the different districts, the homicide rate per 100 thousand inhabitants should be calculated. However, due to the fact that these population statistics are not available, this unfortunately was not possible.

// CHART 5 – DISTRIBUTION OF INCIDENTS OF MURDER BY DISTRICT: UNKNOWN PERPETRATOR (%)



GENERAL OVERVIEW OF MURDER IN THE CITY

1ST DISTRICT

- 1º DP - SÉ
- 2º DP - BOM RETIRO
- 3º DP - CAMPOS ELÍSEOS
- 4º DP - CONSOLAÇÃO
- 5º DP - ACLIMAÇÃO
- 6º DP - CAMBUCI
- 8º DP - BRÁS
- 12º DP - PARI
- 77º DP - SANTA CECÍLIA
- 78º DP - JARDINS

5.8%

2ND DISTRICT

- 16º DP - VILA CLEMENTINO
- 17º DP - IPIRANGA
- 26º DP - SACOMÃ
- 27º DP - CAMPO BELO
- 35º DP - JABAQUARA
- 36º DP - PARAÍSO
- 83º DP - PARQUE BRISTOL
- 95º DP - HELIÓPOLIS
- 96º DP - MONÇÕES
- 97º DP - AMERICANÓPOLIS

4.4%

3RD DISTRICT

- 7º DP - LAPA
- 14º DP - PINHEIROS
- 15º DP - ITAIM BIBI
- 23º DP - PERDIZES
- 33º DP - PIRITUBA
- 34º DP - VILA SONIA
- 37º DP - CAMPO LIMPO
- 46º DP - PERUS
- 51º DP - RIO PEQUENO
- 75º DP - JD ARPOADOR
- 87º DP - VILA PEREIRA BARRETO
- 89º DP - PORTAL DO MORUMBI
- 91º DP - CEAGESP
- 93º DP - JAGUARÉ

16.5%

4TH DISTRICT

- 9º DP - CARANDIRU
- 13º DP - CASA VERDE
- 19º DP - VILA MARIA
- 20º DP - ÁGUA FRIA
- 28º DP - FREGUESIA DO Ó
- 38º DP - VILA AMÁLIA
- 39º DP - VILA GUSTAVO
- 40º DP - VILA SANTA MARIA
- 45º DP - BRASILÂNDIA
- 72º DP - VILA PENTEADO
- 73º DP - JAÇANÃ
- 74º DP - JARAGUÁ
- 90º DP - PARQUE NOVO MUNDO

15.6%

5TH DISTRICT

- 10º DP - PENHA
- 18º DP - MOOCA
- 21º DP - VILA MATILDE
- 29º DP - VILA DIVA
- 30º DP - TATUAPÉ
- 31º DP - VILA CARRÃO
- 42º DP - PQ SÃO LUCAS
- 56º DP - VILA ALPINA
- 57º DP - PARQUE DA MOOCA
- 52º DP - PARQUE SÃO JORGE
- 58º DP - VILA FORMOSA
- 81º DP - BELÉM

3.6%

6TH DISTRICT

- 11º DP - SANTO AMARO
- 25º DP - PARELHEIROS
- 43º DP - CIDADE ADEMAR
- 47º DP - CAPÃO REDONDO
- 48º DP - CIDADE DUTRA
- 80º DP - VILA JOANIZA
- 85º DP - JARDIM MIRNA
- 92º DP - PQ SANTO ANTONIO
- 98º DP - JD MIRIAM
- 99 DP - CAMPO GRANDE
- 100 DP - JD HERCULANO
- 101 DP - JD DAS IMBUÍAS
- 102 DP - SOCORRO

27.6%

7TH DISTRICT

- 22º DP - SAO MIGUEL PAULISTA
- 24º DP - PONTE RASA
- 32º DP - ITAQUERA
- 50º DP - ITAIM PAULISTA
- 59º DP - JD NOEMIA
- 62º DP - ERMELINDO MATARAZZO
- 63º DP - VILA JACUI
- 64º DP - CIDADE AE CARVALHO
- 65º DP - ARTUR ALVIM
- 67º DP - JD ROBRU
- 68º DP - LAGEADO
- 103º DP - COHAB II ITAQUERA

12.9%

8TH DISTRICT

- 41º DP - VILA RICA
- 44º DP - GUAIANAZES
- 49º DP - SAO MATEUS
- 53º DP - PQ DO CARMO
- 54º DP - CIDADE TIRADENTES
- 55º DP - PQ SAO RAFAEL
- 66º DP - VALE DO ARICANDUVA
- 69º DP - JD CENTENARIO
- 70º DP - VILA EMA

13.7%

Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

INSTRUMENT UTILIZED

Firearms are the weapon most commonly used in murder, accounting for 61% of the analyzed cases. This statistic reinforces what has already been demonstrated in other studies about the participation and impact of firearms on mortality rates⁶.

In cases of murder by a known perpetrator, the percentage of homicides committed with a firearm is much lower and practically equals the number of homicides committed with a cold weapon – included in this category are cutting devices, most notably knives. Even so, there seems to be an association between the characteristics and motivations of murders and the type of instrument utilized in the act. It is worth remembering that murders by a known perpetrator principally refer to conflicts between people with amorous relationships or who were engaged in disputes.

// TABLE 6 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDERS BY INSTRUMENT AND CONDITION OF AUTHORSHIP

	KNOWN PERPETRATOR	UNKNOWN PERPETRATOR	TOTAL
TRANSIT ACCIDENT	7.8 %	0.6 %	2.1 %
PHYSICAL AGGRESSION	10.7 %	9.7 %	9.9 %
COLD WEAPON	38.9 %	10.1 %	16.1 %
FIREARM	38.1 %	67.4 %	61.2 %
NOT IDENTIFIED	4.3 %	12%	10.4 %
TOTAL	100 %	100 %	100 %

Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

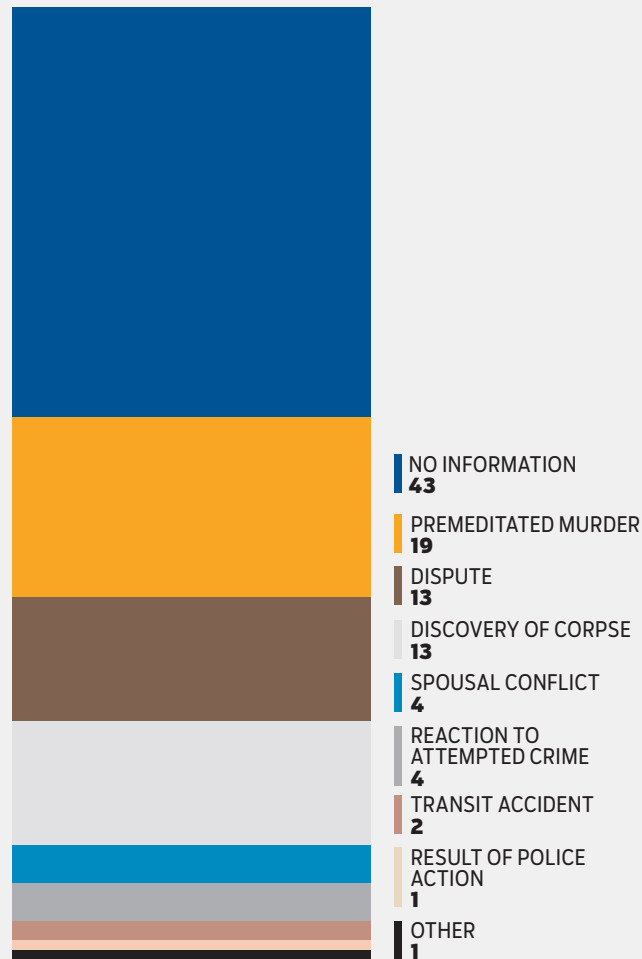
⁶ The study conducted by Lima identified that in 1995, 91% of murders by unknown perpetrators were committed with firearms; in the case of murders by known perpetrators it was 58%. (LIMA, 2000) Information about mortality in the city of Sao Paulo for 2011 indicates that in 68% of deaths caused by aggression a firearm was used. (PROAIM)

// CATEGORIZATION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS PRESENTED IN THE INCIDENT REPORTS

After grouping the murder incident information according to the circumstances presented in the Histories of the Incident Reports and the context of the killings, we attempted to deepen the analysis about the specifics of the incidents and delineate categories that take into account the characteristics of each analyzed case. This categorization is not meant to identify motivations or create explanations for the murders, but attempts to point out the principal criminal dynamics and their recurrence in relation to the total number of registered cases.

As a result, we obtained information about nine groups of circumstances (see the Methodology section for reference). Despite this however, 43% of all analyzed IRs could not be classified into any group of characteristics and remained as “No Information” cases, as Chart 6 shows.

// CHART 6 - DISTRIBUTION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS PRESENTED IN THE INCIDENT REPORTS (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

As our objective is to better understand characteristics of murder and identify which aspects merit greater attention, this chapter presents a more detailed analysis of some of these categories: Premeditated Murder, Spousal Conflict, Disputes, Reaction to Attempted Crime, Result of Police Action, and No Information. Transit Accidents will not be studied further due to their small representation and cases related to the Discovery of Corpses were excluded due to the dearth of information in the IRs – for the large majority of these cases, it is not even possible to identify the sex of the victims because of the state of the cadaver. The cases that fit within the category Other, because of their diversity and low representation, were also eliminated, but it is necessary to highlight that the cases of Result of Police Action, despite the fact that they represent a very small portion of the murders, were included in this analysis due to the large amount of information available in the IRs, making it possible to incorporate information from this phenomenon.

In summary, before commencing the presentation of the aforementioned six categories, it is important to

share a few observations about murder distribution by corresponding district. In Chapter 1 we presented in a succinct way how the murders are distributed in the city, using as the main point of comparison known vs. unknown authorship. Here, we will aggregate this analysis for the purpose of classifying the murders, which will permit us to discern differences and similarities between the types of homicides committed in the different regions of the city.

Our original intention was to present how each of the nine categorizations we defined were distributed throughout the eight districts of the city. However, if we used just the absolute data for each category analyzed by district, it would leave the impression that the 6th District is the most problematic area for every type of murder, which is not the absolute truth. The fact is that the 6th District is the locale in Sao Paulo with the greatest number of registered murders independent of any sorted category. As we do not have the population information available to us for the areas covered by the districts, or the socio-demographic makeup of these locations, it is not possible

to evaluate if the greater volume of incidents truly indicates a greater rate of victimization than in other parts of the city.

As an alternative, we opted for analyzing how each of the categories we created were distributed across each of the eight districts, looking to verify in which districts exist the greatest frequency of crime types in comparison with the city as a whole. Table 7 shows these findings:

// TABLE 7 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDERS BY DISTRICT AND BY CATEGORY OF DEATH (%)

	TRANSIT ACCIDENT	DISPUTE	PREMEDITATED MURDER	REACTION TO ATTEMPTED CRIME	RESULT OF POLICE ACTION	SPOUSAL CONFLICT	DISCOVERY OF CORPSE	NO INFORMATION	OTHER
1ST DISTRICT (114 murders)	1.8	18.4	10.5	3.5	0.9	7.9	14	41.1	0.9
2ND DISTRICT (85 murders)	8.2	18.8	12.9	3.5	-	4.7	11.8	38.8	1.2
3RD DISTRICT (286 murders)	1.4	9.8	16.8	3.5	1.7	2.4	13.3	49.3	1.7
4TH DISTRICT (269 murders)	0.7	11.9	23	2.6	1.1	4.1	12.6	42.8	1.1
5TH DISTRICT (71 murders)	5.6	18.9	9.9	7	-	2.8	14.1	39.4	2.8
6TH DISTRICT (481 murders)	1.9	13.5	20.6	4.6	0.6	3.1	12.7	42.2	0.8
7TH DISTRICT (221 murders)	0.9	14.5	21.3	2.3	0.5	6.8	12.7	41.2	0
8TH DISTRICT (247 murders)	3.2	8.1	17	2.8	2.4	4	15	46.2	1.2
TOTAL SÃO PAULO	2.1	12.8	18.5	3.6	1.1	4.1	13.2	43.6	1.1

Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

Generally speaking, in each district there seems to be fairly similar distributions of the different types of murder, starting with the percentage of cases with No Information, which does not vary much from district to district. Notwithstanding, it is necessary to highlight that the 2nd and 5th Districts are the locations where we were most successful at extracting information about the characteristics of different types of murder incidents.

As for the volume of cases by district, we can affirm that the 2nd and 5th Districts present similar numbers, with less than 100 cases; the 1st District has a slightly higher volume – approximately 100; the 3rd, 4th, 7th, and 8th Districts each have more than 200 incidents; and the 6th District has by far the highest numbers, registering more than 400 cases of homicide. Due to these divisions we decided to compare districts with similar number of incidents.

The 2nd and 5th Districts have quite similar distributions, with the predominant murder category (after No Information) being Disputes. Interestingly, neither of these districts reported any deaths as a Result of Police Action, which could indicate a different approach to policing by officers working in this area, even when they are off-duty.

In the comparison of the 3rd, 4th, 7th, and 8th Districts, the predominant category is Premeditated Murder, although in the 7th District Disputes have the second highest frequency whereas in all the other three Discovery of Corpse is the second highest. The 7th District also witnesses a preponderance of murders associated with Spousal Conflict, while the 8th District demonstrates a greater frequency of deaths as a Result of Police Action, which could indicate a different type of policing going on in that region.

Finally, we observed that the 6th District suffers most from Premeditated Murder, Disputes, and Discovery of Corpses respectively.

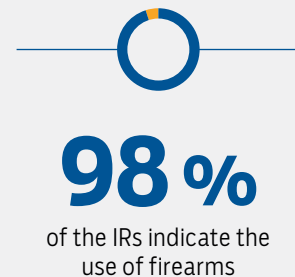
Despite the identified differences, it is worth noting that the changes in patterns of incidents by region has little to no impact on investigative work and the opening and closing of official police investigations. In the end, all of the analyzed regions present high volumes of murder by an unknown perpetrator, cases which should be forwarded to the DHPP for investigation.

PREMEDITATED MURDER

Situations in which the perpetrator demonstrates a clear intention to kill and initiates the altercation with some form of direct attack against the victim were defined as Premeditated Murders. Normally these involve cases where the victim is taken by surprise by one or more individuals and is immediately murdered without having the chance to defend themselves.

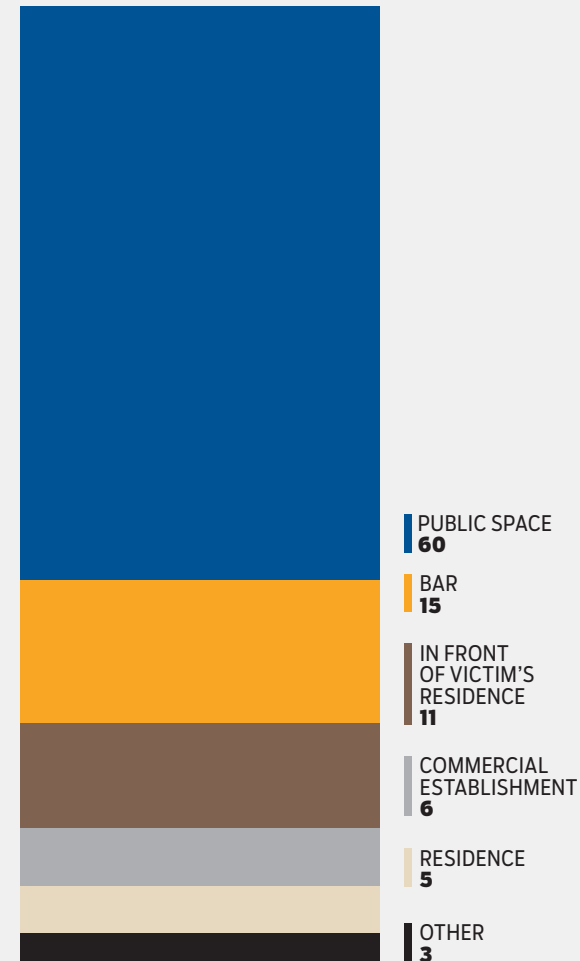
In our analysis of the IRs, we identified 329 cases that fit these criteria. In many of them it was recorded that the perpetrators took measures to hide their identities (using masks or helmets), which is supported by the fact that 95% of these murders are of unknown authorship.

Many of the IR Histories describe incidents of drive-by shootings (either by car or by motorcycle) enacted against victims in open locales. It comes as no surprise then that according to the Incident Reports, firearms were used in 98% of these cases and 60% occurred in public spaces. This is the type of murder that most frequently occurs in bars, an easy-access environment that facilitates “surprise attacks”.



CLASSIFICATION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS PRESENTED IN THE INCIDENT REPORTS

// TABLE 8 – PREMEDITATED MURDER BY AUTHORSHIP (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

CLASSIFICATION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS PRESENTED IN THE INCIDENT REPORTS

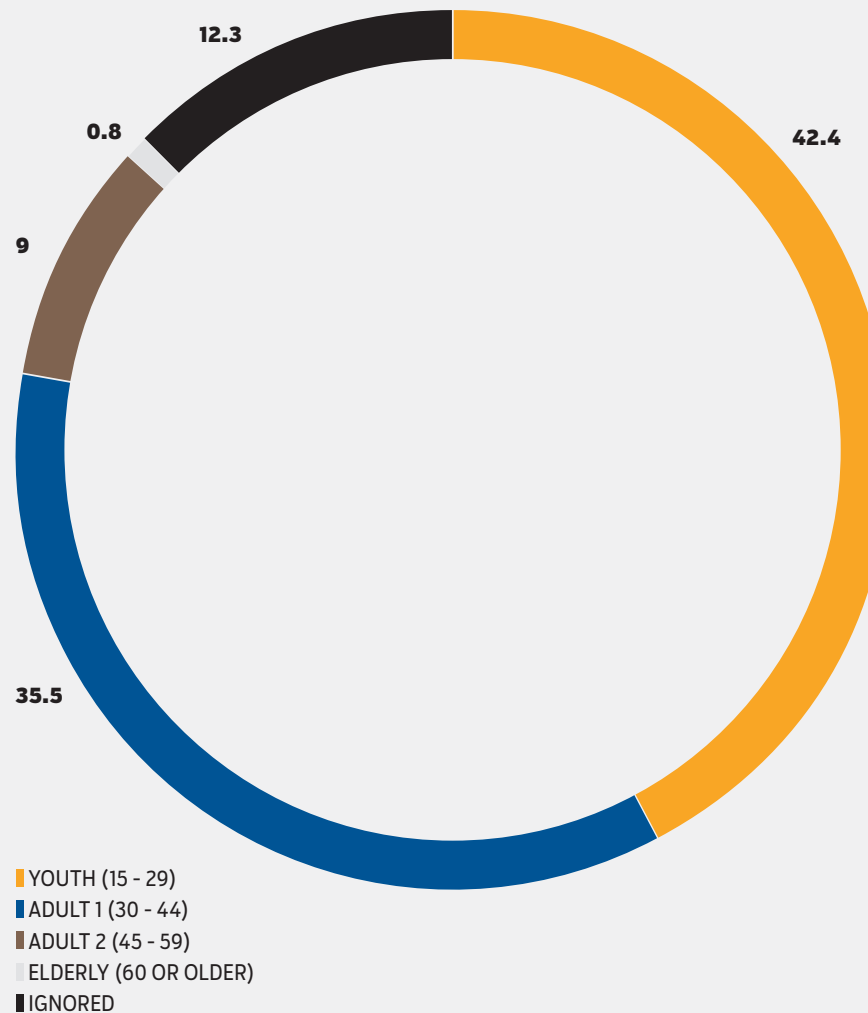
Half of these murders happened at night and 29% in the early morning, parts of the day with a diminished circulation of people on the street. As far as the semester in which the greatest number of occurrences was recorded, more than half (52.6%) of the cases analyzed happened during the second semester of 2012.

Our analysis counted 400 fatal victims and 176 non-fatal victims of these attacks, illustrating the fact that in 40% of cases there were multiple victims of either a fatal or non-fatal nature.

Fatal victims were overwhelmingly male (97%) and 42.5% were youth, with a significant supplement of adults between the ages of 30 and 44. Concerning the color of the victims, we noted that 45.8% were black and 42.8% were white, while it should be remembered that the black population in the city is proportionally smaller than the white population according to the 2010 census.

Unfortunately, a profile of the perpetrators is traceable only for a very small number of the IRs concerning unknown authorship. Only 10 of the perpetrators were identified, and even of these two cases have no information about their age and in another there is no information about their color.

// CHART 7 – AGE OF THE VICTIMS (%)



IRs WITH CHARACTERISTICS OF PREMEDITATED MURDER:
50% OF THE MURDERS HAPPENED AT NIGHT AND **29%** IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS.

97% OF FATAL VICTIMS WERE MALE.

45.8% WERE BLACK AND **42.8%**, WHITE.

Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

SPOUSAL CONFLICT

Cases of misunderstandings between two people in an amorous relationship (either current or past) that result in murder are classified as Spousal Conflict, and make up 73 of the cases in our study. In this group we considered only the cases in which the parties directly involved in the amorous relationship were also those that were killed, and not those where the fatality was of a third party.

Because these incidents take place between a perpetrator and victim who are in a relationship, the large majority of IRs record a known perpetrator

(89%), however the fact that there is still a portion that are classified as having an unknown perpetrator point to: (1) the police classified the partner of the victim as an investigated suspect on the basis of witness testimony but the case is still open and thus is still considered as having an unknown perpetrator or (2) there is possibly a divergence between our interpretation of the information and the police's interpretation.

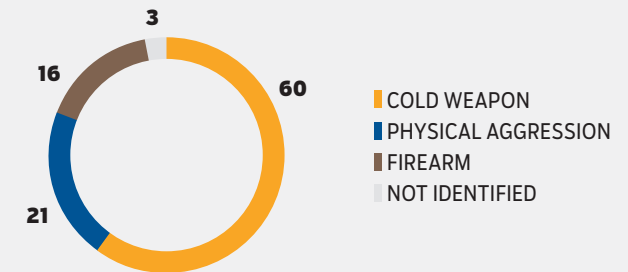
BECAUSE OF THE EXISTING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PERPETRATOR AND VICTIM, **89%** OF THE IRs PRESENT KNOWN AUTHORSHIP

In other words (to explain more clearly this possible methodological discrepancy) we followed the division of known vs. unknown perpetrators as they were classified by the police, but the categorizations of the different types of crimes found in the Incident Reports were done independently and based on our own reading and analysis of the incidents as they were recorded.

There were recorded in total 77 fatal victims, the large majority (72.7%) being female and 40.3% being youths between 15 and 29 years of age. Beyond this, there is an observable slight preponderance of whites among the victims (48.1%).

CLASSIFICATION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS PRESENTED IN THE INCIDENT REPORTS

// TABLE 10 – SPOUSAL CONFLICT BY AUTHORSHIP (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

FATAL VICTIMS TOTALED 77 PERSONS, **72.7%** OF WHICH WERE WOMEN. BY COLOR, **48.1%** WERE WHITE AND **42.9%** WERE BLACK.

// AGE GROUPS OF THE MOST EFFECTED VICTIMS (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

CLASSIFICATION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS PRESENTED IN THE INCIDENT REPORTS

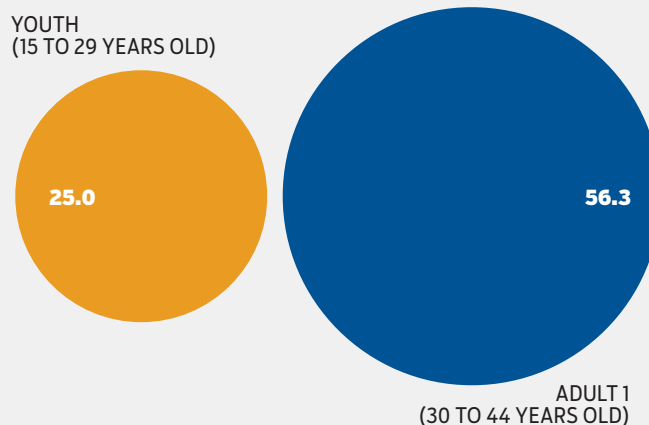
For the perpetrators, we can identify 64 of the 65 IRs analyzed with known authorship. Of these, 77% were described as being the current partner of the victim and 23% as ex-partners. The majority (83%) are male and more than half (56.3%) are adults between the ages of 30 and 44. As far as color, half are black and 45.3% are white.

Another point worth mentioning is that 75% of the incidents happened at the residence of the victim (or couple).

We observe that the profile of the perpetrators and victims and the information regarding the location of the incidents highlights the presence of domestic violence and the necessity for action aimed at fighting this phenomenon.

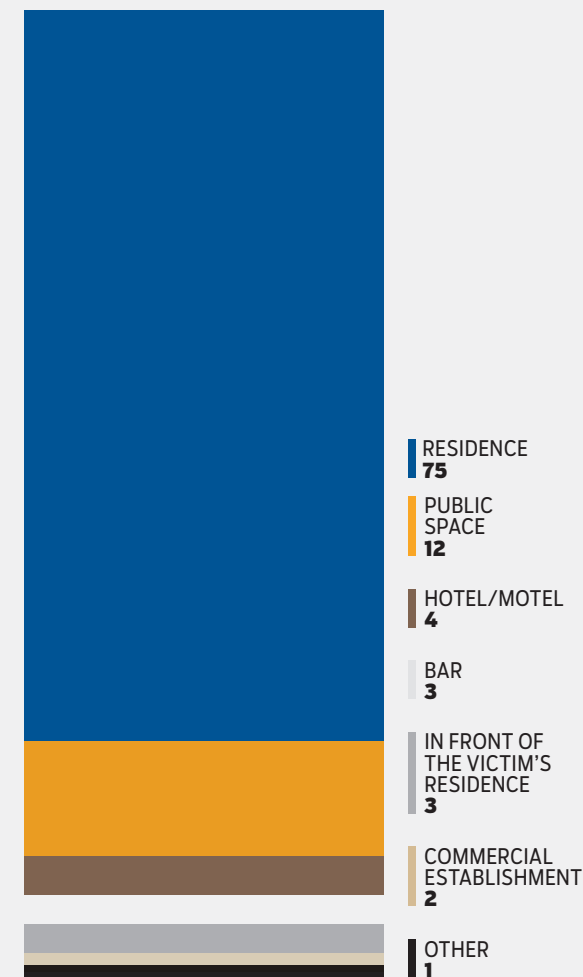
83%
OF THE PERPETRATORS WERE
MALE

// PRINCIPAL AGE GROUPS OF THE PERPETRATORS (%)



51.6 % OF THE PERPETRATORS WERE
BLACK AND **45.3%** WERE WHITE.

// CHART 8 – DISTRIBUTION OF SPOUSAL CONFLICT MURDERS BY INCIDENT LOCATION (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

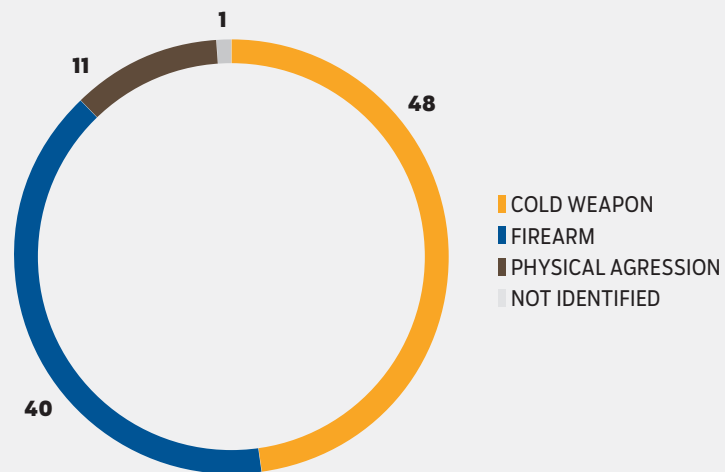
DISPUTES

Cases related to conflict between acquaintances, neighbors, family members, work colleagues, people in transit or any other situation involving arguments (even when it is not possible to identify the involved parties) were classified as Disputes. The only exceptions being for cases of Spousal Conflict, or for third parties killed during an altercation between spouses.

For the 227 Incident Reports analyzed, 138 (60.8%) had a known perpetrator.

Just as with the observed cases of Spousal Conflict, cold weapons were used in disputes more than any other type of weapon. Another similarity between these two categories is their distribution over the course of the day, with a predominance of cases at night (34%) and the early morning (31%).

// CHART 9 – DISTRIBUTION OF DISPUTE MURDERS BY INSTRUMENT (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz



OF THE 227 IRs ANALYZED,
60.8% ARE OF KNOWN
AUTHORSHIP

34% OF THE INCIDENTS HAPPENED
AT NIGHT AND **31%** IN THE EARLY
MORNING.

CLASSIFICATION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS PRESENTED IN THE INCIDENT REPORTS

Many different circumstances can fit into this group. Because of this, a myriad of different relationships between perpetrator and victim were identified. Of the 153 identified perpetrators in the IRs, 72.7%

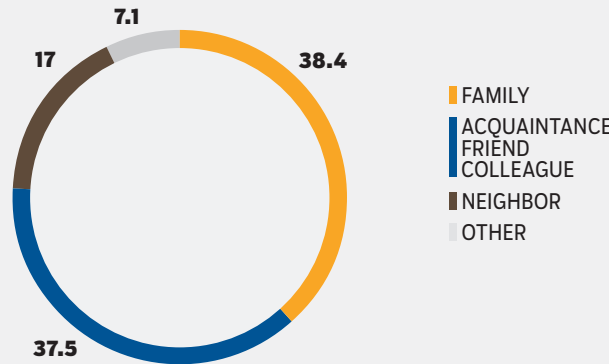
(112 persons) had some sort of relationship with the victim: 38.4% were family and 37.5% were acquaintances or work colleagues.

88.2%
OF THE FATAL
VICTIMS WERE
MALE

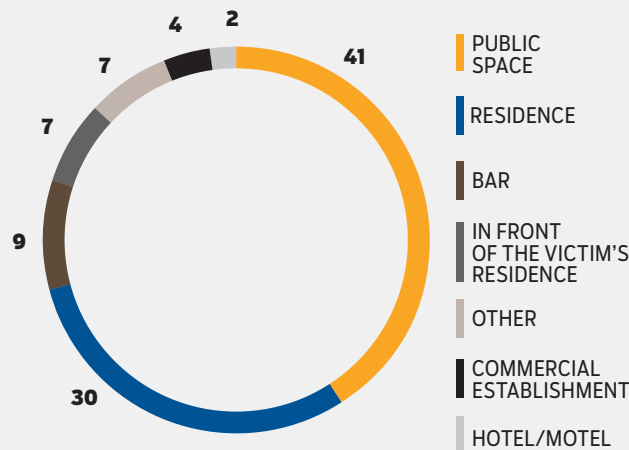
Seeing as how many of the cases involve conflict between family members, it is not surprising that 30% of the murders happened inside the resident of the victim, and another 7% in front of the residence.

In the 237 identified fatal victims there is a clear prevalence of men (88.2%) and blacks (51.9%). As has already been stated, this high representation of blacks in the victim pool demonstrates an over-representation of this population and thus a higher rate of victimization.

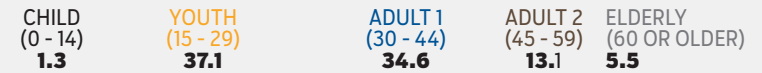
// CHART 10 – DISTRIBUTION OF DISPUTE MURDERS BY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERPETRATOR AND VICTIM (%)



// CHART 11 – DISTRIBUTION OF DISPUTE MURDERS BY INCIDENT LOCATION (%)



// AGE GROUPS OF VICTIMS (%)



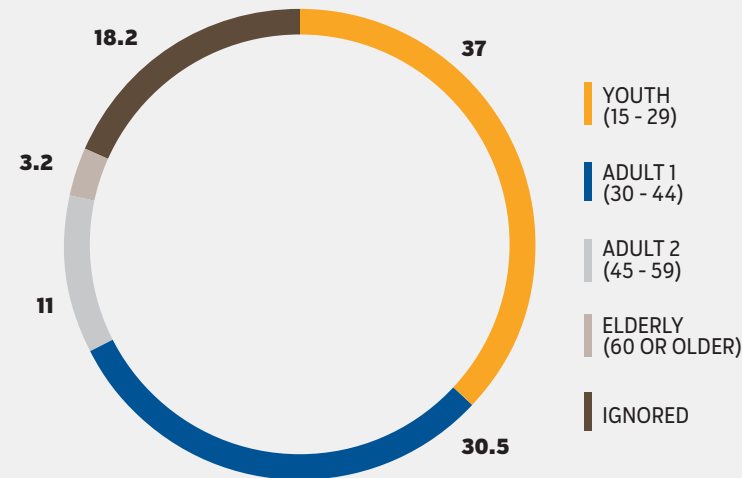
51.9 % OF VICTIMS WERE BLACK AND **35.4%** WERE WHITE.

Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

There were 154 perpetrators identified in the 138 Incident Reports in the pool of cases with a known perpetrator, meaning that some of the incidents were recorded with multiple perpetrators. The large majority of perpetrators were male (95%), and the plurality of them youth (37%), while still accounting for the fact that age was not reported for a significant number of the cases.

95%
OF THE PERPETRATORS WERE MALE

// CHART 12 – DISTRIBUTION OF DISPUTE MURDERS BY
AGE GROUP OF THE PERPETRATORS (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

60.4 % OF THE PERPETRATORS WERE
BLACK AND **37%** WERE WHITE.

REACTION TO ATTEMPTED CRIME

Murders classified in this group are those in which the victim of robbery, attempted robbery, or another like crime reacts and mortally wounds the perpetrator of the original crime. Generally, these are cases in which the victim of the crime had a firearm readily available, and when threatened did not hesitate to use it.

52% OF CASES HAPPENED AT NIGHT AND 24% IN THE AFTERNOON

Due to the fact that the IRs involve multiple crimes (the initial assault and the reaction

resulting in murder,) many of the cases present confusing information as to who is the perpetrator and who is the victim. For this reason, we reclassified the information to reconcile the data about the fatal victim and the perpetrator of the homicide in our analysis.

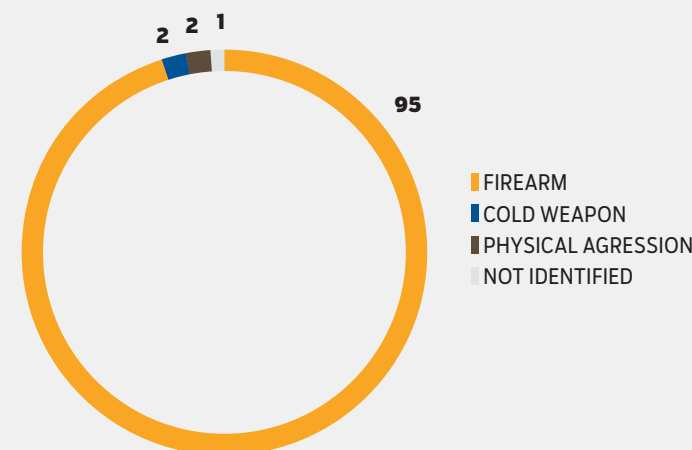
In part because of the existence of this confusion, some of the IRs were classified as having an unknown perpetrator in an attempt to bring into

consideration the nature of the robbery or other attempted crime. Generally, these are cases in which one of the culprits of the initial criminal attempt was able to flee the scene without getting caught.

Of the 63 incidents that compose this group, 60% were classified as having a known perpetrator and 40% as having an unknown perpetrator.

OF THE 63 INCIDENTS THAT MAKE UP THIS GROUP, **60.3%** WERE CLASSIFIED BY THE POLICE AS BEING OF KNOWN AUTHORSHIP.

// CHART 16 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDERS RELATED TO REACTION TO ATTEMPTED CRIME BY INSTRUMENT (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

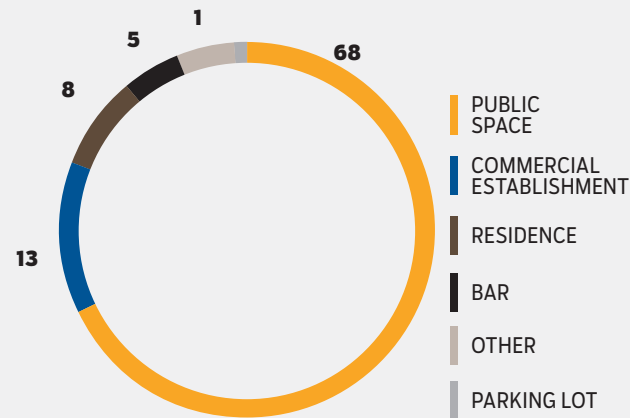
CLASSIFICATION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS PRESENTED IN THE INCIDENT REPORTS

Another point that is worth highlighting is that 69.8% of the cases with this classification happened during the first semester of 2013.

The locations where these incidents occurred were varied, however 68% happened in public spaces, most often involving attempted robberies at stop-lights. It is notable that 13% happened in commercial establishments. No other analyzed circumstance showed such a high participation of commercial establishments as an incident location.

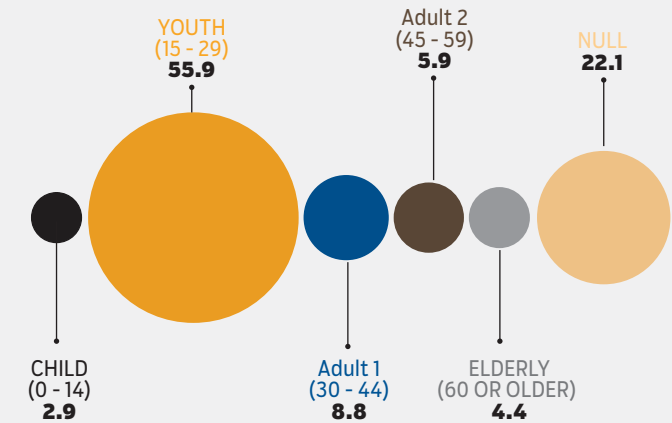
68 fatal victims were counted. Of these, 98.5% were male, 55.9% were youths, and 66.2% were black. Again, we must draw attention to the volume of black victims, representing massive victimization of this population group.

// CHART 17 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDERS RELATED TO REACTION TO ATTEMPTED CRIME BY INCIDENT LOCATION (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

// AGE OF THE VICTIMS (%)



98.5%

OF THE FATAL VICTIMS WERE
MALE

66.2 % OF THE VICTIMS WERE BLACK
AND **27.9%** WHITE

CLASSIFICATION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS PRESENTED IN THE INCIDENT REPORTS

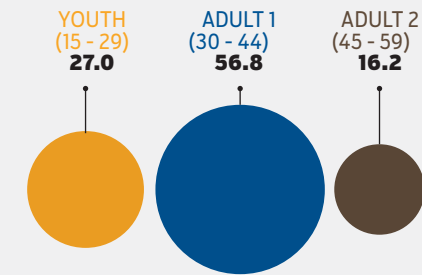
Of the 38 Incident Reports with a known perpetrator, 37 perpetrators were identified; a discrepancy that could mean that one of the IRs has a problem in its classification and does not have information about authorship, or that this Report is part of the group that we had to reclassify because of the issue regarding the definition of “victims.” The profiles of the perpetrators show that all of them were men, 41.1% were adults between 30 and 44 years old and 48.2% were white.

The most alarming statistic concerning perpetrators of murders in Reaction to Attempted Crime is the involvement of Military Police Officers. Of the 37 identified perpetrators we found that:

- **22** were off-duty Military Police, which represent 59.5% of the total;
- **2** were private security guards;
- **2** were retired Military Police Officers;
- **4** claimed as their profession: Police Chief, Police Investigator, Member of the Armed Forces, and Civil Police Officer;
- **7** were of other professions that do not have a license to carry a firearm.

Within the limits of this study, it is not possible to provide a definitive explanation for the significant participation of off-duty police officers as perpetrators in these killings; however we can offer a few possible hypotheses. The fact that the number of robberies has been constantly increasing in the city ends up effecting the entire population, including police, and this can contribute to increased assaults against these individuals who are authorized to carry firearms at all times. Another hypothesis concerns a gradual change in the way in which these incidents have been recorded. Considering that the large majority of these cases are concentrated in the first semester of 2013, it begs the question as to whether in 2013 the police starting classifying more rigorously the murders committed by off-duty officers in these circumstances – it should be remembered that since 2008, in the state of Sao Paulo these cases should be registered as murders, but as we do not have the entire data set available we cannot verify if similar cases before 2013 were being classified differently. It would be interesting to track the evolution of this phenomenon over the coming semesters and also perform a retrospective comparison.

// AGE GROUP OF THE PERPETRATORS (%)



100%
OF THE PERPETRATORS
WERE MALE

62.2 % OF THE PERPETRATOR
WERE BLACK
AND **21.6%** WHITE

RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

This category involves incidents of off-duty police officers intervening in an attempted criminal altercation. The difference between this and Reaction to Attempted Crime is that in this case the perpetrator of the homicide is a Military Police Officer who is not the direct victim of the original crime. Included as well are circumstances in which an on-duty officer engaged in an action that resulted in the death of the involved individual or any bystander. There were not included, however, situations that could be identified as “resistance to police resulting in death”.

Of the 19 murders classified in this group, 89% have a known perpetrator, a fact that can be explained (similar to the case of Reactions to Attempted Crime) by the possible confusion of perpetrator and victim in the IRs. As some cases possess more than one type of crime, it is possible that the classification of perpetrator/victim observed on the Incident Report does not refer to the murder but to the attempted crime.

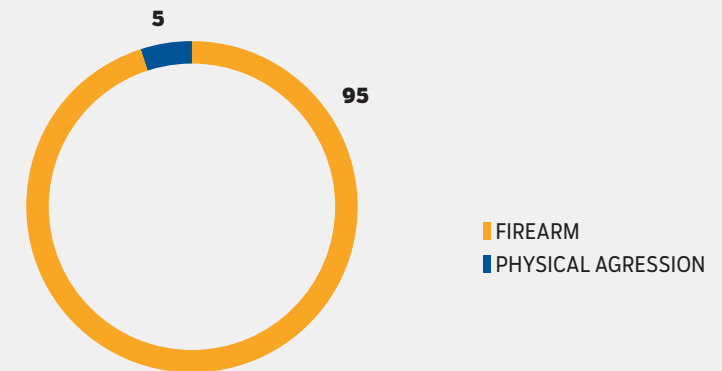
Seeing as how these cases involve police intervention, it makes sense that 95% of the murders were committed using a firearm. Interestingly, the other 5% of reports state that the weapon utilized in the homicide was physical aggression.

The majority of incidents occurred in public spaces, a factor also related to the policing nature of the situation, and the type of intervention being considered. As the following graphic shows, in general the murders in this classification happened in locales of open circulation - such as bars, commercial establishments, and public transportation:

OF ALL THE MURDERS THAT WERE CLASSIFIED IN THIS GROUP, **89.5%** HAVE KNOWN AUTHORSHIP.

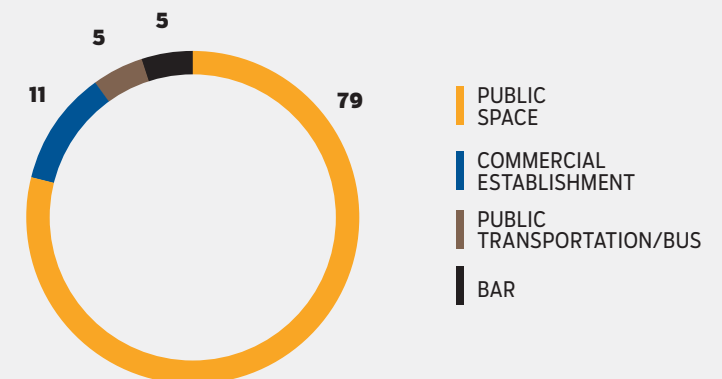
CLASSIFICATION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS PRESENTED IN THE INCIDENT REPORTS

// CHART 18 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDERS RESULTING FROM POLICE ACTION BY INSTRUMENT (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

// CHART 19 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDERS RESULTING FROM POLICE ACTION BY INCIDENT LOCATION (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

As far as the time of day of the incident, 37% occurred at night and 26% in the afternoon. As was verified in the cases of Reaction to Attempted Crime, the IRs falling under this classification were heavily concentrated in the first semester of 2013 (78.9% of them occurring between January and June of 2013). This could indicate either an increase in this type of incident, or a change in the classification of the information regarding cases involving off-duty police officers. It would be interesting to cross-check if possibly these incidents were previously being classified as cases of "Resistance Followed by Death."

37% OF THE MURDERS HAPPENED AT NIGHT AND 26% DURING THE AFTERNOON.

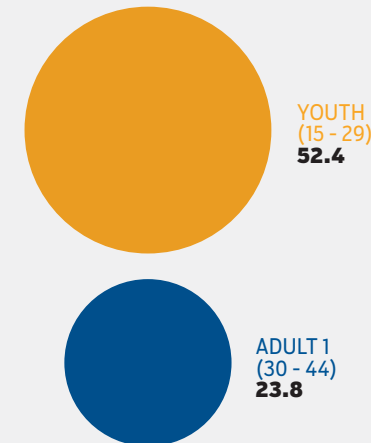
Amongst the victims are counted 21 fatalities: 95.2% of them male and 52.4% of them youth.

For IRs with a known perpetrator (17), 22 individuals were counted as perpetrators. 95.5% are men and 63.6% are adults between the ages of 30 and 44.

Of the 22 recorded perpetrators, 12 were off-duty Military Police Officers. This shows that they intervened alone in crimes, relying on being police officers and carrying a weapon, but without calling for backup or following the protocol that they would have if they had been on-duty. The other murders were perpetrated by Military Police Officers who were on-duty; however, these particular cases did not involve any sort of violent confrontation. Technically these cases classified as "Resistance Followed by Death" should be referred to as "Death Following Police Intervention"⁷.

95.2%
OF THE VICTIMS
WERE MALE

// COMPARISON OF MOST EFFECTED AGE GROUPS (%)



47.6 % OF THE VICTIMS WERE BLACK AND 42.9% WHITE

⁷ The resolution SSP-05 de 07/01/2013 determined that in the register of incidents involving on-duty police, expressions such as "resistance followed by death" should be substituted for "death following police intervention".

NO INFORMATION

This category pertains to murders in which it is not possible to observe any specific characteristics of the incident that would indicate some motivation, and sufficient information could not be obtained about the perpetrator to help understand the circumstances. In all there are 773 such murders.

94% OF THE MURDERS IN THIS GROUP ARE OF UNKNOWN AUTHORSHIP

38% OF THE MURDERS HAPPENED IN THE EARLY MORNING AND 36% AT NIGHT

Due to the utter lack of information regarding these killings, it is not surprising that 94% of these IRs report an unknown perpetrator, which matches the Premeditated Murder percentage for the highest percentage of unknown authorship.

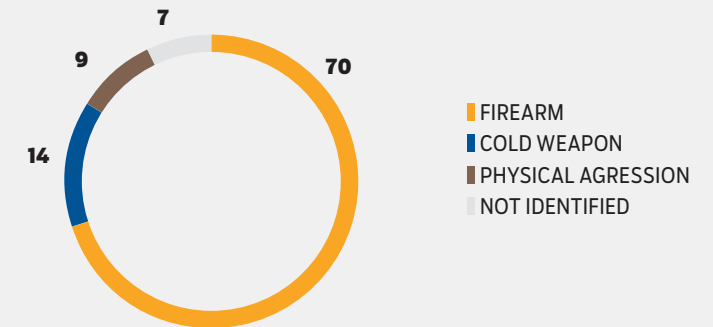
70% of the cases indicate the use of firearms as the instrument of murder, which in some aspects is an important piece of information for clarifying the circumstances and motives behind these deaths.

The majority of murders occurred during the early morning (38%) and night (36%).

Regarding the location of the incident, 70% happened in public spaces. However, it is important to point out that this is the classification in which exists the greatest diversity of incident locations, which could indicate variations in the circumstances and motives associated with the murders.

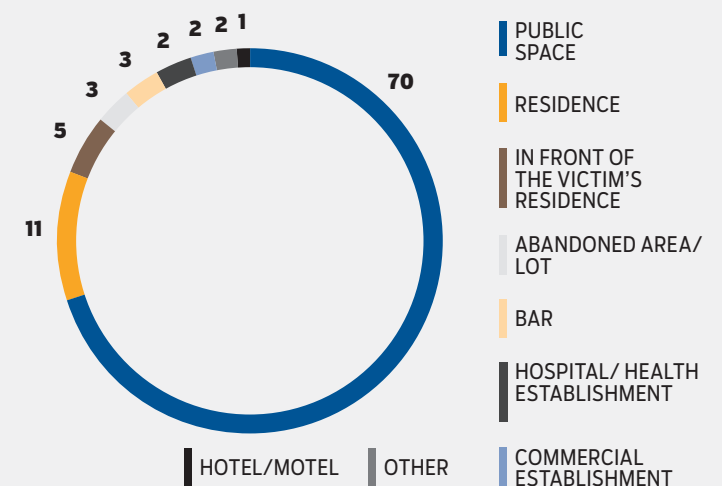
CLASSIFICATION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS PRESENTED IN THE INCIDENT REPORTS

// CHART 20 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDERS WITH NO INFORMATION BY INSTRUMENT (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

// CHART 21 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDERS WITH NO INFORMATION BY INCIDENT LOCATION (%)



Source: Sao Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

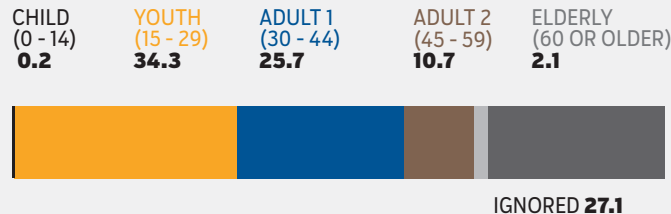
There are 822 fatalities counted amongst the victims, a much larger number than the number of IRs, which suggests that in this group are included many cases of multiple homicide. Men account for 92.2% of the deaths and the Youth age group is the most heavily represented at 34.2%.

Concerning color, blacks compose 51.6% of the victim pool, reinforcing our perception of the over-victimization of this population. As this is the largest category of murders, the high levels of black victims indicates that blacks are the most victimized group generally.

Regarding the profile of the perpetrators, only 28 individuals were identified as perpetrators of the 47 Incident Reports classified as being of known authorship. This is troubling information that represents a grave problem in the elaboration of these reports. Of these perpetrators, all of them were male and 42.9% were youths.

92.2%
OF THE VICTIMS WERE MALE

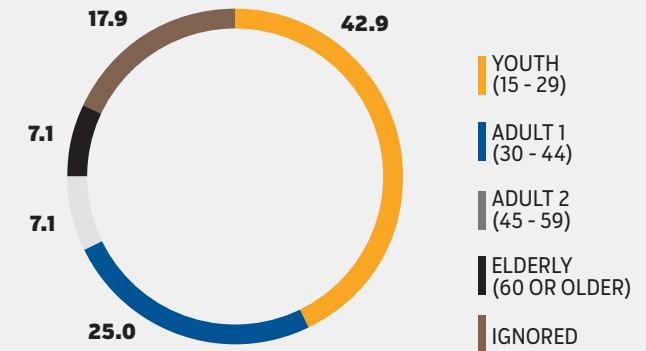
// COMPARISON OF AGE GROUPS OF VICTIMS (%)



51.6% OF THE VICTIMS WERE BLACK
AND **38.4%** WERE WHITE

CLASSIFICATION OF MURDERS BY CHARACTERISTICS PRESENTED IN THE INCIDENT REPORTS

// CHART 21 – DISTRIBUTION OF MURDERS WITH NO INFORMATION BY AGE GROUP OF THE PERPETRATOR (%)



Source: São Paulo Civil Police. Elaboration: Instituto Sou da Paz.

100%
OF THE PERPETRATORS WERE MALE
THE PERCENTAGE OF BLACK AND WHITE PERPETRATORS IS THE SAME: **46.4%**

// CONCLUSION

The analysis that we presented indicates that some characteristics elucidated in past studies about murder in the city of Sao Paulo have remained constant despite the passing of many years and a significant reduction in incidents overall. This could serve as an indication that certain dynamics associated with murder, or even the motivations behind homicide, have not changed. First and foremost, it is important to highlight the high percentage of cases without a known perpetrator, which has already been noted in other studies and could be associated with murders that are planned and executed with a high level of premeditation and stealth. A significant part of the murders are not related to cases of someone “losing their head”, making use of any available lethal object and mortally wounding another person, even soon after regretting the decision and turning themselves in to the police. What we observed in the Incident Reports generally were cases that seemed to have some level of forethought, with special emphasis in the killings that were classified as “Premeditated Murder.”

However, we cannot forget to mention that in comparison with what was verified in previous years, there was a relative increase of cases with a known perpetrator. In 1995, murders with a known perpetrator made up only 9.3% of the whole (LIMA, 2000), whereas in 2012 that percentage had increased

to 19.3%. It is important to note that a large part of these cases involve Disputes, Spousal Conflict, and cases involving police (usually off-duty and either the victim of an attempted crime or a witness to an attempted crime, in either case reacting and killing the criminal.) This does not mean that this type of crime increased – on the contrary, in absolute numbers and considering the growth of the population of Sao Paulo, the total of murders with a known perpetrator fell. Rather, what we are saying is that the participation of murders with a known perpetrator increased in proportion to the total of murders.

On the other hand, many of the records of murders by an unknown perpetrator include so little information that they had to be grouped into the category “No Information”. Other studies have also reported a high percentage of homicides whose police reports have almost no information about the circumstances of the death or even the victims themselves. It is true that in cases related to the Discovery of Corpses that often the corpse is already in a state of composition that makes it extremely difficult for the Incident Report (the first information reported concerning the death) to delineate very much helpful information. The question is how much farther the police have been able to advance investigations of these situations. However, as this was not the scope of this current study, it would be interesting to undertake other studies to attempt to understand how the

police proceed in investigating these murders.

Also, analogous with other studies, we identified that the majority of murder cases are recorded during the weekend and during nocturnal hours. In these moments the victims are more relaxed and vulnerable and, depending on the hour of the incident, there are few to no witnesses that can provide any information.

As for the spatial distribution of incidents, we verified that the district that registers the highest number of murders is the 6th, which includes diverse police precincts in the southern zone of the city, including those located in the area of Capao Redondo and Jardim Angela. On the other hand, the 2nd and 5th Districts, whose jurisdiction includes wealthier neighborhoods, report the lowest volume of murders. This data is similar to the statistics found in the 1995 study. (LIMA, 2000).

Our principal contribution for the analysis of the spatial dynamic of murder is the verification of its distribution by district in accordance with the classification categories utilized in our research. These statistics demonstrate differences between districts regarding the context of crime and show the need for the development of differentiated action by area that take these factors into account.

With respect to murder weapons, there is still a heavy influence of firearms on homicide. This is particularly true of Premeditated Murders and those classified as No Information. Lima (2000) already reported that 91% of crimes by an unknown perpetrator in 1995 were committed with a firearm. What we can say is that there has been a reduction of firearm usage in comparison to other weapons, especially in cases of Spousal Conflict and Disputes, where cold weapons have become more common. This could be a consequence of the implementation of the Disarmament Statute prohibiting the carrying of firearms by civilians and elevating the criteria for citizens to acquire firearms.

Concerning the profile of the perpetrators, our universe of analysis was severely restricted by the large volume of Incident Reports without a known perpetrator. Despite these limitations, we were able to identify that the majority of perpetrators are male and that many of them are youths, or adults between the ages of 30 and 44. We call attention to the age of the perpetrators because earlier studies suggested a younger profile (more heavily youth), which could indicate a shift in murder dynamics.

We did not observe any significant differences in the profile of fatal victims. They continued to be mostly men, youths, and black. This is the group

in the city of Sao Paulo that is most effected by external causes of mortality⁸. This is probably associated with the territorial distribution of violent death incidents, which tend to be concentrated in periphery neighborhoods where there is a predominance of blacks.

An observation that must be made concerning the profile of the victims is in regards to the increase in percentage of female victims in relation to prior diagnostics. Not all of them were killed in Spousal Conflicts (a situation in which there is a clear predominance of female victimization) which could indicate greater levels of involvement on the part of women in situations that put them at a greater risk of being murdered. Once again, this hypothesis can only be proved or disproved through access to more and better information, procured by investigative work aimed not just at identifying perpetrators, but also clarifying motives and circumstances behind the killings.

To conclude this report, we reiterate the importance of this type of study, which divulges important information for the elaboration of public policies for effective prevention, while at the same time suggesting hypotheses and questions that need to be addressed so that our understanding of the problem of murder in Sao Paulo can be better understood and dealt with.

⁸ Analysis completed by the Instituto Sou da Paz about the profile of victims by external causes of mortality in 2011 points out the high victimization of young black males. (BENTO and RECHENBERG, 2013)

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NORWEGIAN MINISTRY
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December 2013