

Management of Social Transformations
MOST

Discussion Paper - n° 39

**Geography of Illicit Drugs in the
City of São Paulo**

by

Guaracy Mingardi



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**Published by the MOST Programme
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
7 place de Fontenoy, 75732 Paris CEDEX 15, France
<http://www.unesco.org/most>**

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Geography of Illicit Drugs in the City of São Paulo

Abstract

This paper discusses the geography of drugs in the city of São Paulo, based on the quantity of drugs that had been sold, where, and by whom. Three data sources were used: 1) reports of an incident, which are the documents that police officials produce each time there is a complaint, 2) the book of police incidents of the Departamento estadual de narcóticos (DENARC, State Department of Narcotics) in São Paulo, and 3) investigation orders where all anonymous denunciations and accusations are registered. Approximately 500,000 documents were consulted, mainly because there are currently no reliable police statistics in the State of São Paulo.

Although the intent of this paper is to present facts rather than an analysis (which will be done in a later phase of the research), a few preliminary conclusions can be cited here:

- in São Paulo, Brazil's major economic center, the number of arrests of illicit drug users and traffickers is the highest nation-wide, mainly because São Paulo is the main cocaine export corridor from Bolivia and Colombia;
- crack stone prices vary from 3 to 10 reais (\$2-8 US) in poor areas, and other drugs are consumed in wealthier parts of the city. Marijuana is consumed by middle-classes; cocaine is trafficked throughout the city;
- there is no direct correlation between places of highest homicide rates and drug trafficking. There is no direct correlation between drug trafficking and homicide, or drug trafficking and violence, which proves that drug trafficking can develop differently according to socio-political-economic local contexts;
- around 12-15% of homicides are linked to drugs (according to data collected for one area of the city).

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Introduction

São Paulo is a city of approximately 10 million inhabitants. Since the first decades of this century it has been the principal industrial and financial center of Brazil. Until the beginning of the 1990s it attracted many immigrants from poorer areas. Now it is in a period of recession which has reduced employment opportunities, mainly in the industrial sector. The continued increase in population, over more than fifty years, has caused a disordered growth of the city, which is divided socially in three sections:

1. Downtown, now in decay.
2. Middle- and upper-class neighborhoods, usually located in a strip 3 to 10 kilometers from the center.
3. Periphery, where most of the poor reside, usually constituted by slums or precarious houses. Lower incomes are concentrated in the south and east.

Over the last thirty years, street crime has been moving to the periphery of the city. Now the south and east areas have the largest index of homicides, robberies, etc. At the same time the number of violent crimes has been decreasing downtown. The only exceptions are related to the traffic and use of illicit drugs.

The press pointed out the first changes on the users' habits. Journalists gave the name of *Cracolândia* ("Crack Land") to a ten-block area downtown where rocks of crack are bought and sold freely by street children.

In the beginning of the nineties, the media began to publish articles and discuss problems related to drugs practically every day, but with a new thrust in the debate. Before, the drug issue had been exclusively seen as a police subject, ignoring social factors. The most widely used illicit drug was marijuana, which constituted most of the market of São Paulo. During the end of the eighties, cocaine gained momentum, but it stayed behind marijuana, mainly because it is much more expensive. The street children are considered a problem that has persisted for almost two decades in large Brazilian cities. They are used to being addicted to industrial products, mainly shoemaker glue.

We can say that the popularization of crack changed the market's features. Within about two years this product started competing with marijuana. The first crack users were youngsters and adolescents from lower classes. For the first time, they were able to use a powerful drug paying a relatively low price. Later on, crack attracted street children, middle class youth, etc.

Nowadays, as we will see in this paper, crack shares the market with marijuana and cocaine, with serious consequences. The introduction of crack deeply altered the market, increasing the number of salesmen, buyers and sale points simultaneously. Another by-product was the appearance of thieves devoted to crime against property (robberies, thefts, etc.). These new drug dealers are responsible for an increase in violence within the drug market. In spite of exaggerated police evaluations affirming that most of the homicides in the city are linked to drug trafficking, we have no doubts that the current drug dealers kill more than their predecessors. The research results show that between 12% and 15% of homicides are directly related to trafficking. There are no studies about homicide rates linked to the use of drugs. According to information from the Public Prosecution Sector, the number of homicides of crack users has increased. However, we cannot prove or refute this statement.

The present paper is the initial part of a study that intends to understand the illicit drug market in São Paulo. Initially, our goal is to describe the market in a systematic way, trying to understand the performance of drug dealers, users, policemen, public prosecutors, judges, etc. It also has the purpose of checking possible social, economic and political changes caused by drug trafficking and the use of these illicit substances. Although we prefer not to advance any formal conclusions here, and limit ourselves to presenting facts, we do propose a few preliminary conclusions. A thorough analysis will be undertaken in later phases of the research process.

Drugs in São Paulo

In July 1997 research on illicit drug geography in the city of São Paulo was initiated¹. Our first step was a geographic approach to trafficking. We tried to visualize it by projecting the data on drug distribution and use of illegal drugs onto the map of the city of São Paulo. This approach was important because it allowed us to relate, in the various regions of the city, trafficking and the use of drugs with the socio-economic conditions of the people living there.

Our data comes from three different sources:

1. Reports of an incident (BO). This is a document prepared by the civil police registering a formal complaint. The majority of BOs refer to cases where someone was caught red-handed.
2. Book of police incidents from the Departamento Estadual de Narcóticos (DENARC), a specialized agency in the combat against drug trafficking.
3. Investigation Orders (OI). These are documents in which all the anonymous accusations, by letter or telephone, addressed to the Civil Police or to the Ouvidoria de Polícia (“Police Ombudsman”) are registered.

We chose to begin by basing this research work exclusively on official documents. The first reason was that through these documents we could start to draw a quantitative picture of the problem. It is evident that the data collected do not reflect the object in its entirety, but are only a first approximation to the subject. Our data differ in various parts from those produced by the police.

The research, both in this first phase and in those that will follow, will be limited to the city of São Paulo².

The role of São Paulo in the illegal drug trafficking in Brazil is relevant for several reasons:

- it is the major economic center of Brazil;
- the number of arrests of illicit drug users and of those who do the trafficking is the country’s highest;

¹ This research was done in São Paulo by the Fundação Escola de Sociologia e Política (FESP), with the support of ILANUD (Instituto Latino Americano das Nações Unidas para prevenção do delito e tratamento do delinqüente) and CONEN (Conselho Estadual de Entorpecentes). Guaracy Mingardi was the General Co-ordinator and the antropologist Sandra Goulart was responsible for the field work in this first phase.

² The population of São Paulo is around ten million inhabitants.

- a U.S. State Department Report says that São Paulo is one of the main cocaine export corridors from Bolivia and Colombia, besides being a money-laundering center.

Both the São Paulo civil and military police believe that the growth in homicides in recent years is closely related to drug trafficking. This relationship between international and local trafficking, users, and money laundering makes the city an ideal place to do research on the drug market and the possible socio-economic changes caused by them. In spite of this, no in-depth study on the subject has been done so far.

Trafficking in São Paulo: Preliminary Research

We do not yet have a systematic study of drug trafficking and drug distribution in the urban area of São Paulo. Neither the money involved nor the size of the illegal drug market have been quantified. In the State of Rio de Janeiro this question is studied more and is better known, perhaps due to notorious criminal groups, organized a decade ago, such as the “Comando Vermelho”.

The Instituto de Estudos sobre Religião (ISER) was responsible for the first known attempt to quantify aspects related to trafficking. In a study about urban violence they reached the conclusion that more than half of the homicides, around 60 %, had some link with cocaine trafficking.

Even in relation to qualitative work, the academic production from Rio de Janeiro has been more relevant. There are some studies that cover crime and drugs through works on the *favelas* (slums) or the outskirts of big cities, mainly in Rio de Janeiro. Among those, mention should be made of the research undertaken by anthropologist Alba Zaluar on the relations between dealers and local population in the Cidade de Deus district.

Magda Prates Coelho dealt with drug trafficking in the City of Rio de Janeiro when discussing the creation of the “Comando Vermelho”, an organization formed by prisoners and headed by bank thieves, that once dominated a great part of the traffic in Rio. According to her, the group opted in favour of trafficking.

In the press, Carlos Amorim (1993) has followed the line traced by M. P. Coelho. He wrote about the development of the criminal organization “Comando Vermelho”, but did not deal with the market as a whole. His objective was to see how much traffic growth had been facilitated during the first administration of governor Leonel Brizola in Rio de Janeiro (1983-1986).

Only one book, written by a journalist (Uchoa, 1996), tries to explore the drug market in São Paulo. He deals mainly with crack, with users and trafficking cases. He shows the crack development in the big city and how gradually it has conquered not only the poor users but also the ones in the middle and high classes. His mistake is not to discuss the sources, taking policemen's evaluations as facts. This is particularly true when assessing the relevance of the traffic in homicides. Two other journalists, Tognolli and Arbex marginally touch upon the traffic situation in São Paulo. Their book gives more attention to the international than to the local traffic.

Some studies take an historic approach. This is the case of Fonseca (1988), who describes the drug market in São Paulo in the first half of the century. Guido Fonseca, a police officer and school of police director, treats the subject from a police perspective, having the official police investigation reports as primary sources. Unfortunately he died before he could complete and extend the research to our days.

The information that follows is a first step in trying to overcome this knowledge gap. We will draw some preliminary conclusions based on the study of the illegal drug market in São Paulo.

Some Official Figures

The official DENARC reports register the growth of the drug market in São Paulo. The number of arrests (on the spot) shows a persistent increase as far as users and dealers are concerned. The same happens with drug addicts who spontaneously look for treatment. According to the official reports in 1996, the illicit drug most used was cocaine, closely followed by crack and then by “maconha” (marijuana).

As we shall see later those reports present some problems, reducing its utility for research. They are useful for checking the police work, but less interesting when trying to analyse and understand more deeply the drug phenomenon.

Table 1 : Annual figures of traffic offenses *in flagrante delicto* (1991-1996)

Year	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Offenses	284	406	507	408	637	689

Source: DENARC

As we can see from Table 1, there was an increase of 243% in the annual total of arrests made by DENARC over a period of six years. In part this was due to the department growth in terms of personnel and also to the establishment by the department of an intelligence division in 1995. However, it also reflects the rise in the number of drug dealers in the São Paulo market.

Table 2 : Origin of drug dealers arrested *in flagrante delicto* in the State of São Paulo, 1996

ORIGIN	Percentage
CITY OF SÃO PAULO	41.8
STATE OF SÃO PAULO	13.7
NORTHEAST BRAZIL	18.5
SOUTHEAST BRAZIL	7.0
SOUTH BRAZIL	5.0
CENTER WEST BRAZIL	4.1
NORTH BRAZIL	0.6
FOREIGNERS	13.7

Source: DENARC

The drug dealer who is active in the market of São Paulo (city and State combined) comes in 55,5% of the cases from the State and city of São Paulo, a fact that is not surprising. The traffic dynamic in many countries is to have retail distribution within local dealerships. In several preliminary observations, we know that the majority of dealers have been living in the city of São Paulo for a long time. The only surprise is the high number of foreigners. According to the policemen who prepared the statistics, a great number of those foreigners were caught in the State harbors or airports, leaving Brazil with cocaine.

Table 3 : Prisoner’s situation regarding the labour market

Job situation	Percentage
Employed	82.5
Unemployed	17.5

Source: DENARC

The figures of Table 3 are very unreliable for the following reasons. In order to obtain mercy from the law, it is extremely important to have a job and a permanent residence; this means that dealers who are arrested claim that they are employed. It is also easier to persuade a judge that the offender is a drug addict and not a traffic dealer if he is employed. It is therefore not surprising to find that the large majority of arrested dealers are recorded as being employed. Professional thieves do the same (Mingardi, 1992). It should be noted that in most cases, information given by the accused is not checked by the police, the Prosecution or the Judiciary. Even if caught telling a lie the accused will not receive any punishment, if he cannot be charged of false oath.

The unreliability of these figures is also confirmed by information given by drug users who spontaneously go to DENARC for treatment: out of the 818 persons who requested this service, 587 (71,8%) were unemployed.

Although not useful in identifying the unemployed, the DENARC data help to understand the involvement of children and adolescents in drug trafficking. The two following tables clarify important points on minors arrested for carrying or trafficking illicit drugs. Table 4 reveals that more than half of youngsters are looked after by an adult, possibly the supplier or boss.

Table 4 : Minors arrested due to drug traffic

MINORS ARRESTED	PERCENTAGE
Accompanied by an adult	53.0
Not accompanied by an adult	47.0

Source: DENARC

Table 5 : Illicit drugs found with arrested minors

DRUG	PERCENTAGE
CRACK	54.0
COCAINE	22.1
MARIJUANA	5.3
OUTHERS	18.6

Source: DENARC

The figures clearly show that the majority of children arrested by DENARC opted for crack. This option is relatively recent. The illicit drugs position in the “best selling” ranking varies over time, according to fashion or availability. The next two tables show how drug use has changed in the city of São Paulo, in the short period of five years (Mingardi, 1997).

Table 6 : Persons prosecuted for drug traffic or use in São Paulo in the last three months of 1990

SUBSTANCE	TOTAL	%
COCAINE	271	44.8
CRACK	4	0.7
MARIJUANA	330	54.5
TOTAL	605	100.0

Source: Public Prosecution

Table 7: Persons arrested by DENARC carrying drugs during a three-month period in 1995

SUBSTANCE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
COCAINE	104	46.4
CRACK	96	42.9
MARIJUANA	24	10.7
TOTAL	224	100.0

Source: Núcleo de Estudos da Violência (NEV), 1996

Crack, almost non-existent in 1990, had already a significant record in 1995, at least in the DENARC figures. Despite the fact that we have few relevant statistics on the subject, with the exception of those from DENARC, it is almost sure that crack was the drug that was most popular amidst addicts in this decade, mainly amongst the underprivileged young. A special group among these is the *meninos de rua* (street children), children and youngsters who live by begging and small illegal acts. Downtown São Paulo is their home and some of them choose the micro traffic through reselling crack stones as their main economic activity.

In the last decade the majority of youngsters used to smell *cola de sapateiro* (shoemaker’s glue), a substance sold legally, but with results similar to crack although of less intensity. With the increase of crack on the market and the reduction of its price, these children would opt for it. It then became common to see minors “pipando” (smoking crack) in certain areas of São Paulo.

We said earlier that the figures presented by DENARC are problematic, so they must be analyzed with care. The major difficulty is the Department’s size – one of the smallest – in terms of police structure. This prevents them from concentrating on the drug problem as a whole. Consequently DENARC’s administration tried to concentrate efforts on a few methods of approach, three at the most. For the last three years, for example, they have focused on the traffic dealers who trade the cocaine paste (used to make crack) and the small crack traffic dealers.

The first is due to a policy that tries to cut the supply. The second is almost used for media purposes: we see or read stories of boys using crack in downtown streets, Cracolândia. Another policy, applied recently, was the repression of the international traffic, mostly when carried out by foreigners who would leave the country with small quantities of cocaine. As a result Africans (from several different countries) were arrested (the Nigerians are the biggest group of foreigners imprisoned in São Paulo). If the policy were to stop foreigners coming into the country with cocaine, the prisoners would probably be “Latinos”, and not Africans. These policies, right or wrong, make the DENARC figures less reliable for scientific purpose.

The Departamento das Delegacias de Polícia da Capital (DECAP) data have very little value. Examples of this are the 1995-1996 figures of the reports containing monthly statistics from the 96 police stations of the City of São Paulo.

The problem with these reports lies in the fact that trafficking and user cases are mixed together, which does not allow to distinguish between the arrested drug dealers and the drug addicts. We only know that DECAP was responsible for the imprisonment of 2 124 drug traffickers and/or users in 1995. For 1996 the number was 2 025, showing a slight decrease. Another possible conclusion refers to the increased number of arrests, which, in both years, occurred in the downtown Police Station District, followed by the north and west sub-districts. The poorest areas and the east and south outskirts of the city were the regions where the least arrests occurred. This confirms, to some extent, the findings of our research, as demonstrated below.

The Drug Geography

A survey undertaken by our research group, using DECAP's data (Civil Police Reports), in the second semester of 1996, showed that marijuana was the illegal drug linked to the highest number of apprehensions: 505 cases, followed by cocaine, with 362 incidents. Crack came in third place, with 358 cases. The figures show that after the crack peak, in the decade's first half, marijuana was again predominant.

In the poorer segments of society, the only cocaine derivative to become popular was crack; but this occurred only after 1992. The youngsters from the outskirts kept using marijuana, until crack came to the market. The figures may not be accurate because some police officers register crack as cocaine if the stone is made from the paste of this substance.

Marijuana use is mainly found in the middle class districts, where it is still predominant. Among the four regions with a great number of cases involving marijuana, three are middle class neighbourhoods: Pinheiros (14 DP), Ibirapuera (27 DP) and Consolação (4 DP). The exception is the Police district of Vila Guilherme (9 DP), where due to several events that occurred at the main prison and the Carandiru Penitentiary Complex (with seven thousand prisoners) the criminal statistics are often over-emphasized.

Cocaine has only a small circulation in two peripheral city areas: South and East of São Paulo. The great number of apprehensions is concentrated in the city's central and northern areas. Furthermore, all the districts with a high rate of cocaine arrests are lower class areas.

From the five major regions in terms of crack-related offenses, four are located in the central part of the city: Santa Efigênia, (3 DP, the so-called Cracolândia), Santa Cecília (77 DP), Bom Retiro (2 DP) and Cambuci (6 DP). The arrests for use or trafficking are concentrated in the Santa Efigênia area, known since the beginning of the century as “ Boca do Lixo ” (Garbage mouth). This area has for a long time been known as a key area for trafficking. It was in this same region that, in the first half of this century, morphine and heroine were consumed for the first time (Fonseca, 1988).

Outside the City Center, crack is found in the extreme east and northern parts of São Paulo. This is interesting because those two regions have, generally speaking, quite different socio-economic conditions. The extreme east comprises the poverty belt, characterized by a high population density and low income³. The northern region in turn has a concentration of middle class and lower middle class; it has a smaller demographic density. Another factor to consider is that the majority of the military Police Officers live in this part of the city, which perhaps increases the level of repression.

In the southern area crack predominates in the Police District (DP) of Jabaquara, a region neither poor nor rich, that had a speedy growth after the metro arrived, twenty years ago. In the poorer districts of the region, crack is not found very much. It predominates only in Jardim Herculano and Cidade Ademar.

Table 8 places the total number of arrests in relation to the three illegal drugs. The figures were obtained through the reading of all the BOs (form in which a criminal event is registered) of drug trafficking and use.

Table 8 : number of apprehensions of illicit drugs by DECAP in the City of São Paulo, second semester 1996 (shown by Police District and type of drug)

[LEGEND: R = CRACK. M = MARIJUANA. C = COCAINE]

DP	1. NEIGHBORHOOD	CRACK	MARIJUANA	COCAINE	TOTAL	PREDOMINANT
1	SÉ	7	8	5	20	M
2	BOM RETIRO	15	7	3	25	R
3	SANTA EFIGÊNIA	73	18	24	115	R
4	CONSOLAÇÃO	8	27	8	43	M
5	LIBERDADE	9	12	10	31	M
6	CAMBUCCI	19	9	14	42	R
8	BRÁS	5	18	11	34	M
12	PARI	2	4	3	9	M
77	SANTA CECÍLIA	25	11	9	45	R
78	PAULISTA	1	2	1	4	M
	TOTAL	164	116	88	368	R
DP	2. NEIGHBORHOOD	CRACK	MARIJUANA	COCAINE	TOTAL	PREDOMINANT
16	VILA CLEMENTINO	0	6	7	13	C
17	IPIRANGA	1	5	3	9	M
26	SACOMÃ	1	5	2	8	M
27	IBIRAPUERA	5	22	16	43	M

³ The region has a heterogeneous population; there are middle and even upper class segments, but as a whole the extreme east is inhabited by the poor and also by the lower middle class.

35	JABAQUARA	12	7	4	23	R
36	VILA MARIANA	1	14	3	18	M
83	PARQUE BRISTOL	0	2	0	2	M
95	HELIÓPOLIS	1	2	3	6	C
96	MONÇÕES	1	4	1	6	M
97	AMERICANÓPOLIS	1	5	4	10	M
	TOTAL	23	72	43	138	M
DP	3. NEIGHBORHOOD	CRACK	MARIJUANA	COCAINE	TOTAL	PREDOMINANT
7	LAPA	1	9	1	11	M
14	PINHEIROS	10	20	9	39	M
15	JARDIM PAULISTA	0	5	4	9	M
23	PERDIZES	3	12	5	20	M
33	PIRITUBA	0	5	2	7	M
34	MORUMBI	1	3	1	5	M
37	CAMPO LIMPO	3	1	1	5	R
46	PERUS	4	8	3	15	M
51	BUTANTÃ	1	3	1	5	M
74	PARADA DE TAIPAS	9	3	7	19	R
75	JARDIM ARPOADOR	1	3	2	6	M
87	V. PEREIRA BARRETO	7	10	8	25	M
89	JARDIM TABOÃO	0	0	0	0	0
91	CEASA	5	4	1	10	R
93	JAGUARÉ	0	2	0	2	M
	TOTAL	45	88	45	178	M
DP	4. NEIGHBORHOOD	CRACK	MARIJUANA	COCAINE	TOTAL	PREDOMINANT
9	VILA GUILHERME	10	36	20	66	M
13	CASA VERDE	6	10	5	21	M
19	VILA MARIA	0	3	2	5	M
20	TUCURUVI	2	7	8	17	C
28	NOSSA SENHORA DO Ó	1	7	2	10	M
38	V. N. CACHOEIRINHA	8	12	11	31	M
39	VILA GUSTAVO	5	16	21	42	C
40	BAIRRO DO LIMÃO	4	6	5	15	M
45	VILA BRASILÂNDIA	6	5	7	18	C
72	VILA PENTEADO	8	7	7	22	R
73	JAÇANÃ	8	9	17	34	C
90	PQ. NOVO MUNDO	1	4	7	12	C
	TOTAL	59	122	112	293	M
DP	5. NEIGHBORHOOD	CRACK	MARIJUANA	COCAINE	TOTAL	PREDOMINANT
10	PENHA DE FRANÇA	2	10	6	18	M
18	ALTO DA MÓOCA	0	1	0	1	M
21	VILA MATILDE	6	4	6	16	RC
29	VILA DIVA	0	4	4	8	MC
30	TATUAPÉ	3	3	9	15	C
31	VILA CARRÃO	1	2	2	5	MC
42	PQ SÃO LUCAS	2	2	2	6	RMC
52	PQ SÃO JORGE	1	4	1	6	M

56	VILA ALPINA	1	4	4	9	MC
57	PARQUE DA MÓOCA	2	7	3	12	M
58	VILA FORMOSA	0	5	3	8	M
81	BELÉM	1	5	1	7	M
	TOTAL	19	51	41	111	M
DP	6. NEIGHBORHOOD	CRACK	MARIJUANA	COCAINE	TOTAL	PREDOMINANT
11	SANTO AMARO	3	1	3	7	RC
25	PARELHEIROS	0	3	0	3	M
43	CIDADE ADEMAR	3	5	2	10	M
47	CAPÃO REDONDO	2	2	3	7	C
48	CIDADE DUTRA	4	2	5	11	R
80	VILA JOANIZA	5	4	5	14	RC
85	JARDIM MIRNA	1	2	2	5	MC
92	PQ SANTO ANTONIO	0	0	0	0	0
98	JARDIM MIRIAM	1	4	0	5	M
99	CAMPO GRANDE	0	0	0	0	0
100	JD HERCULANO	2	0	1	3	R
101	JD. DAS EMBUIAS	0	0	0	0	0
102	SOCORRO	0	0	1	1	C
	TOTAL	21	23	22	66	M
DP	7. NEIGHBORHOOD	CRACK	MARIJUANA	COCAINE	TOTAL	PREDOMINANT
22	S. MIGUEL PAULISTA		5	8	18	C
24	ERMELINO MATARAZZO	0	0	0	0	0
32	ITAQUERA	2	4	4	10	MC
50	ITAIM PAULISTA	10	9	7	26	R
59	JD. DOS IPES	6	4	0	10	R
62	JD POPULAR	3	1	0	4	R
63	VILA JACUI	0	2	3	5	C
64	CIDADE A E CARVALHO	0	0	0	0	0
65	ARTHUR ALVIM	1	0	0	1	R
67	JD ROBRU	0	0	0	0	0
68	LAJEADO	0	0	1	1	C
103	COHAB II	0	2	1	3	M
	TOTAL	27	27	24	78	RM
DP	8. NEIGHBORHOOD	CRACK	MARIJUANA	COCAINE	TOTAL	PREDOMINANT
41	VILA RICA	0	0	0	0	0
44	GUAINAZES	0	0	0	0	0
49	SÃO MATEUS	0	0	0	0	0
53	PQ DO CARMO	0	2	0	2	M
54	CIDADE TIRADENTES	1	1	1	3	RMC
55	PQ SÃO RAFAEL	0	0	0	0	0
66	JD ARICANDUVA	0	0	0	0	0
69	TEOTONIO VILELA	0	0	0	0	0
7	SAPOPEMBA	1	2	4	7	C
	TOTAL	2	5	5	12	MC

Source: Boletins de Ocorrência – DECAP

Maps 1, 2 and 3 (see Annex) enable the visualization of the geographic distribution of apprehended drugs. To prepare these maps, the research team checked about 500 000 police investigation reports, which took several months of work. Some of the data for the other maps (4-7) came from the same sources.

It is important to point out the high visibility of crack: as the product with the most frequent appearance in the media, it seems as if it were the only drug used. This is due to three factors:

1. Many drug-addicts use it in downtown streets.
2. Of the three drugs mentioned here, crack is the one where the harmful effects come in a short space of time.
3. Crack quickly flooded the market. By 1990 it was almost non-existent, with 0,7% of arrests. But in 1995 it represented 42% of the apprehensions made by the Narcotics Department.

Another relevant point that we notice from the drug maps is the absence of a significant correlation between the places with strong trafficking and high homicide rates. The Police Districts of Santo Amaro (extreme south) have been the champions in homicides for more than a decade. Yet they register small and medium figures for both drug trafficking and anonymous accusations.

Maps 4, 5, 6 and 7 show that in the south region trafficking is not relevant. The first two show the arrests made by DECAP and by DENARC. The third one, from anonymous accusations, is important because it serves as a parameter to the other two, since it states the population's knowledge about trafficking in their area, while the other one only shows the police work. The map concerning the people arrested for drug use confirms the other three maps.

The São Paulo Market

According to several statements, there are at least three levels of illicit drug traffic in the city of São Paulo:

1. **Micro drug dealers:** they represent the major group. They are young, between 16 and 27 years of age. Basically they sell crack stones and small amounts of marijuana. They represent approximately 80% of those arrested for trafficking. Their kind of traffic may not be considered as organized crime. They mainly work on their own. They buy small quantities of marijuana or some crack stones, re-selling them for a small profit, a considerable part of which is used to buy drugs for their own consumption. Besides being unorganized, what they are generally poor.

Of the four case-studies described below, two were unemployed and another was a poor addict. None of them tried to make a serious offer to corrupt the policemen who arrested them. It is obvious that those micro trafficking cases do not involve Enterprise Criminal Organizations, or traditional criminal networks. They are mostly constituted by individual actions, and are frequently unorganized gangs. The only possible link between them and organized crime is in the type of clientele. A few are not drug addicts, and are involved only in selling. These individuals have the opportunity to grow and become small dealers.

Pedro was caught in a bar for selling two cocaine packets. He also had a small portion of marijuana. He had no police record and did not know a lawyer.

Luciano was arrested for selling three crack stones to a girl in downtown São Paulo, more precisely in the Cracolândia area. He confessed to be not only a seller, but also a drug addict. He also said that he sold to support his dependency. He had neither a police record nor a lawyer.

Hilário kept 19 grammes of crack in a building construction next to his house. 25 years old, he said that his only reason for trafficking was unemployment. No criminal record. No lawyer either.

Edson was used to selling cocaine and crack. At the time he was 18 years old, without a police record. He said he was a bricklayer assistant, but was unemployed.

2. **Small dealers:** they are usually retailers, but they also sell small amounts to other drug traffickers. They normally operate with quantities up to 10 kg. Small dealers may be individual dealers or managers at the “Boca” (spots where traffickers and users meet). In many cases, they have criminal record for trafficking or other crimes, most of the time against property. They do not act completely by themselves but together with the micro dealers. It is common for them to have from one to three partners or employees. The majority are more than twenty years old, some more than forty.

The two dealers below belong to the “small dealer” category:

Ávila was caught because he sold nearly 300 crack stones. His uncle and partner in the deal was arrested with him. None of them immediately gave their lawyer’s name. They were not armed.

Tibiriçá is a general trafficker, not specialized in one merchandise. After arresting him in his apartment the police found cocaine, cocaine paste, LSD, marijuana and ecstasy. Despite the evidence, *Tibiriçá* was wordless and did not call a lawyer.

Small peddlers are in the fringe group, between the gang and organized crime, depending on the geography. By their own evaluation the groups that act downtown are less organized, do not follow territorial limits and their hierarchy is rather underdeveloped. On the other hand, the “Boca” traffickers are more structured in some outskirt areas. There are several categories of traffickers: the “watchmen”, who warn in case of police arrival, the “pusher” (*passador*) or “airplane” (*avião*), responsible for delivering the merchandise, the “Boca”, the manager and the boss.

The retail drug price varies according to the place of sale. A good example is the crack stone. In some spots it may cost R\$ 10,00. (Ten reais), whereas, in the Cracolândia area, it could cost R\$ 3,00 (three reais).

3. **Medium dealers:** they act both as wholesalers and retailers. They can handle up to 250 kg.

Kito was arrested together with a helper in a truck, carrying 200 kg of cocaine base paste on their way to São Paulo. With this amount of base paste it is possible to produce between 700 000 and 1 million crack stones. *Kito* is a notorious person in the south part of the City of São Paulo, controlling the traffic in Vila Joaniza. He sells wholesale to small dealers who produce their own crack.

Both *Kito* and his assistant were accused for the first time. The drug came from a plantation in the interior of the State of São Paulo, where Bolivian traffickers threw it off an airplane flying at low altitude. The payment was made beforehand, via a bank

account. The gang had a permanent lawyer, known to work in big traffic cases. This implies a certain degree of business stability.

Apart from these three categories, there are occasional drug dealers who bring cocaine into the country. In general they are foreigners or inhabitants of Brazilian frontier regions with Paraguay or Bolivia. In most of the cases, they limit themselves to delivering the cocaine to the Brazilian side of the border – which is enough to make good profits. Some of them raise their income by bringing the drug directly to São Paulo. But those intermediaries are not always necessary. Some medium traffickers get the drugs near the borders. The small and the micro ones, in turn, would buy the products from their mates in the São Paulo market.

There is no information about the activity of big traffickers in the local market. Policemen and dealers say that the big ones are more active in the cocaine transport to other countries. The local market is so fragmented that it is not convenient for them to invest locally. The arrival of crack is perhaps the isolated factor that contributed most to this situation. Another factor is historical. There is no record of any big criminal organization in the last decades, with one exception: the “extermination groups”, usually composed of policemen, with unofficial relations to the state.⁴ So there was no group in charge of merchandise distribution or illicit services, before the great drug boom in the 70s and 80s.

This has not prevented big drug traffickers from using the City of São Paulo as a base. Very often the São Paulo Guarulhos International Airport is used to send cocaine to Europe or the United States. This is done particularly through the “mulas”, persons who carry or swallow small quantities of the substance. Those individuals do not act autonomously and almost all of them work for big African, European or Latin-American organizations.

The Civil Police estimates that they are able to arrest less than 10% of those mulas. However, the police can seize almost 100 kg of cocaine in one year, cocaine that would have been transported by the “mulas”; thus, one can deduce that annually at least one ton of the product leaves the country through the Guarulhos Airport.

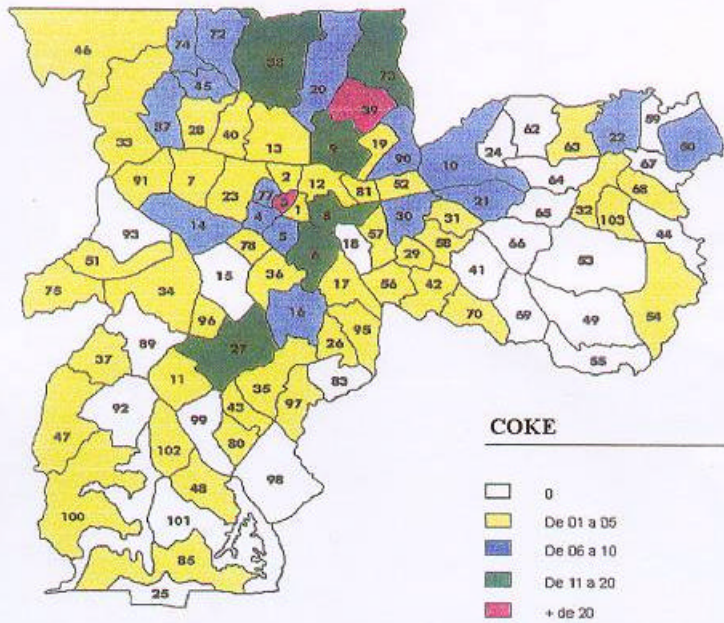
⁴ The extermination groups are notoriously known in Brazil as the Death Squads (“Esquadrões da Morte”); they are frequently linked to the State, but they used to act (or still do) in the killing of common criminals, as opposed to what happens in other countries in the Americas, where they specialise in the murder of rival groups. Nowadays military policemen and killing gangs have been hired by the traffic dealers from the outskirts of São Paulo to take the revenge over rival groups.

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Annex : Maps

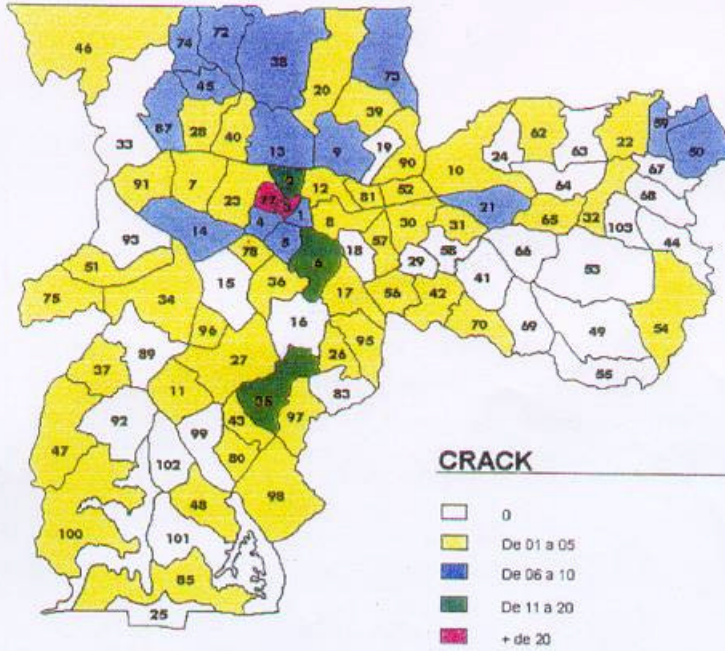
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BOLETINS DE OCORRÊNCIA - CAP

CRACK APPREHENSIONS FOR DP

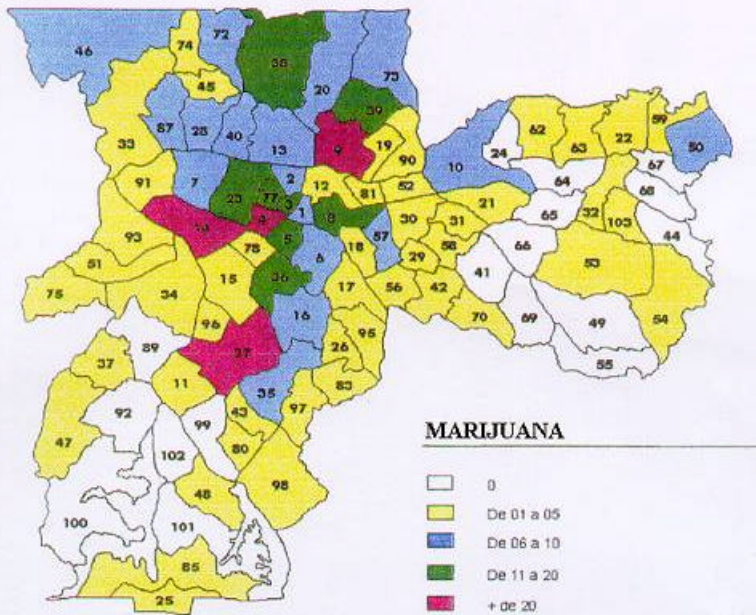
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BOLETINS DE OCORRÊNCIA - CAP

MARIJUANA APPREHENSIONS FOR DP

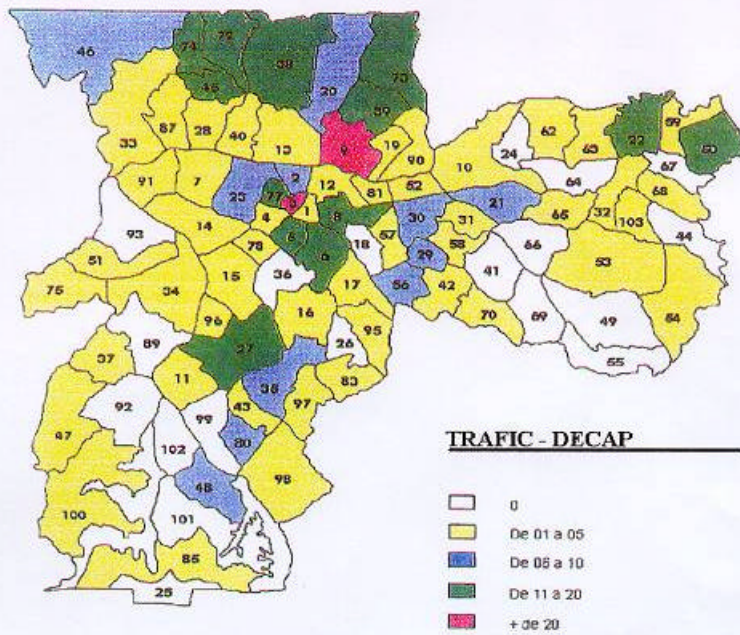
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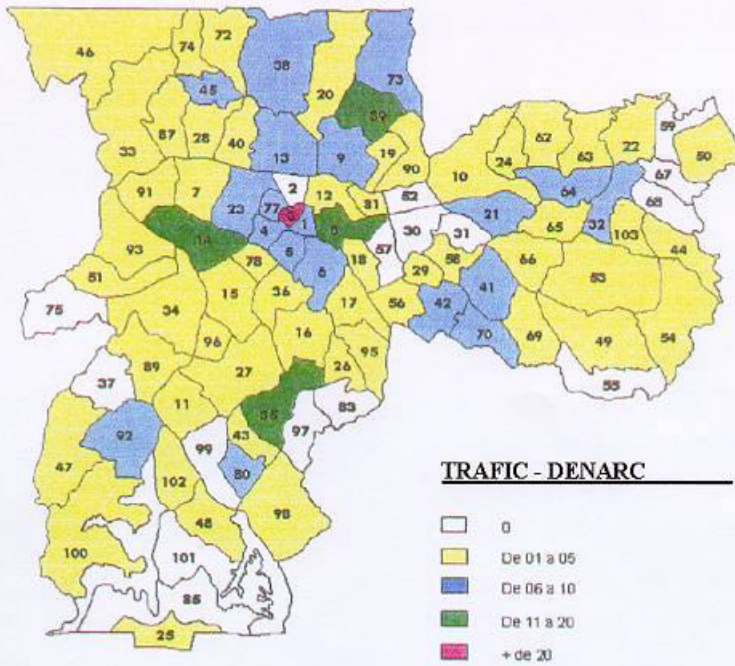
ARRESTS FOR DRUG TRAFIC

MUNICÍPIO DE SÃO PAULO - SEGUNDO SEMESTRE 1996



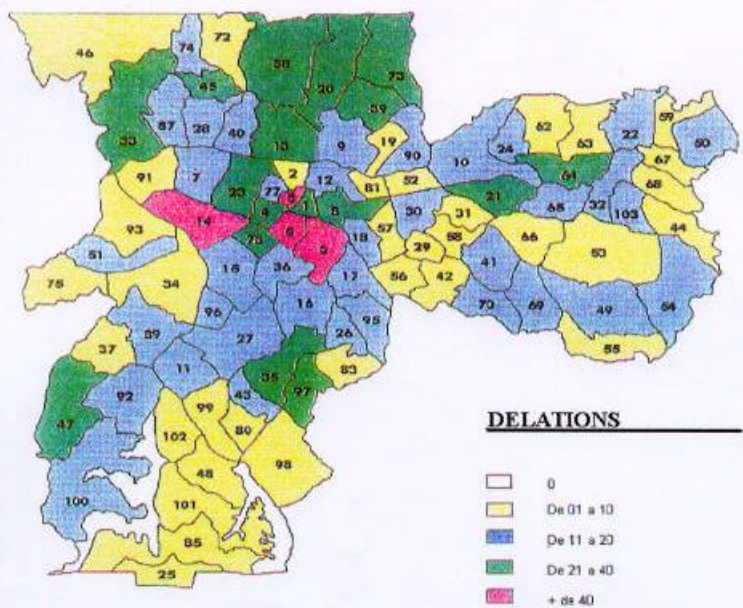
BOLETINS DE OCORRÊNCIA - CAP

ARRESTS FOR DRUG TRAFIC-DENARC
MUNICÍPIO DE SÃO PAULO – JANEIRO/AGOSTO 1997



LIVRO DE REGISTRO DE OCORRÊNCIA - DENARC

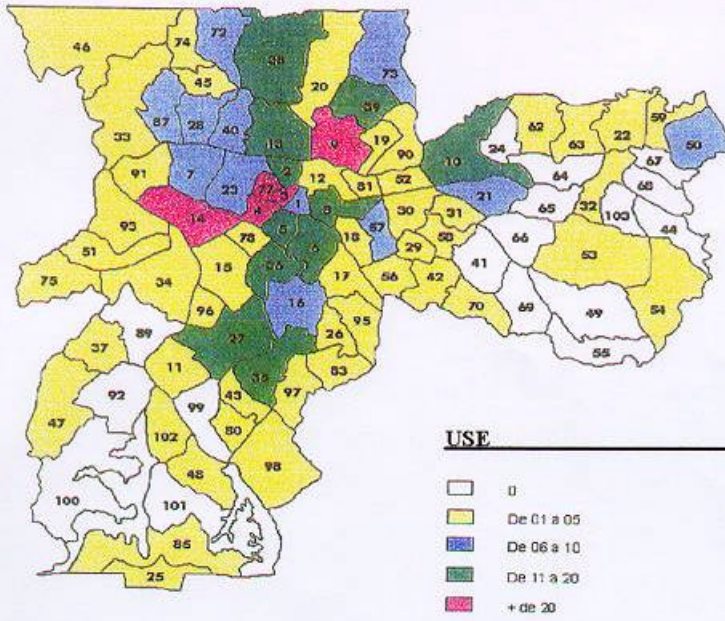
ANONYMOUS DELATIONS FOR DRUG TRAFIC
MUNICÍPIO DE SÃO PAULO – PRIMEIRO SEMESTRE DE 1997



ORDENS DE INVESTIGAÇÃO (OI) - DENARC

PEOPLE ARRESTED FOR ILLICIT DRUG USE

MUNICÍPIO DE SÃO PAULO – SEGUNDO SEMESTRE 1996



BOLETINS DE OCORRÊNCIA - CAP