

For many periphery communities, the PCC is more than just a sophisticated criminal organization which provides security. The PCC is often called “the party” — in the same frame as political movements — by residents of periphery settlements where it holds a power base.<sup>6</sup> In addition to security, the PCC has a community outreach component, aimed at creating political and social support for the movement within the periphery population. Although much of the PCC leadership is incarcerated, and the organization depends on extortion and the illicit economy, the PCC is active in favela communities, providing social assistance programs and basic services to favela residents.<sup>7</sup> As a result, community perception of the PCC is significantly divergent from what is often

portrayed by the media.

The overwhelming presence of the PCC and its monopoly on violence within the favelas has occurred in the public security vacuum of periphery communities. The provision of security and basic services by the PCC, made possible by shady connections with public employees and a deep involvement in the criminal economy, is acting as a substitute for public security and government.

In time, as São Paulo becomes increasingly polarized and spatially segregated through the effect of increasingly violent private security forces, it may experience more regular occurrences of urban guerilla warfare. Addressing São Paulo’s permutations of private security and the

upswing in violence associated with these vigilante-style private actors is central to ensuring that the Mother’s Day violence of 2006 remains an isolated incident. ●

1 State of São Paulo, Police Ombudsman [2001].

2 Luiz Flavio Borges D’Urso, President of the São Paulo chapter of the Order of Brazilian Lawyers, called the six days of violence “urban guerilla war” when denouncing the attacks and calling for action by government.

3 Portal do Estado do Governo de São Paulo; Acervo de Dados em Segurança Pública.

4 State of São Paulo, Police Ombudsman [2001].

5 “The mob takes on the state,” *The Economist*, 18 May 2006, August 2006, [http://www.economist.com/displayStory.cfm?story\\_id=6950391](http://www.economist.com/displayStory.cfm?story_id=6950391).

6 Kleber Tomaz, “PCC conquista favela com leite e comida,” *Folha Online*, 2 July 2006, August 2006, <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/cotidiano/ult95u123422.shtml>.

7 Fabio Schivartche, “Secretário da Segurança diz que PCC é o Bolsa-Família da favela,” *Folha Online*, 20 August 2006, <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/cotidiano/ult95u125199.shtml>.

