



BRAZILIAN SMART CITIES: FROM PRINCIPLES TO PRACTICE

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When it comes to articulating principles for democratic smart cities, Brazil's recent efforts stand out. In recent years, Brazilian cities have raced to become “intelligent” by adopting new digital tools for connectivity, urban mobility, education, and public safety. To steer these projects, authorities have launched a range of new rules and institutions. **Documents including the Brazilian Charter for Smart Cities and National Policy for Smart Cities propose important democratic norms in this area, including respect for rights, public participation, and engagement with civil society.** On the ground, however, officials and vendors are still far from taking the steps needed to ensure that municipal digitalization serves democracy.

In the 2021 report “Smart Cities and Data Protection: Recommendations and Best Practices,”⁴⁴ InternetLab together with Article19 and LAPIN identified gaps in the management of Brazilian smart cities that threaten to seriously undermine democratic principles. These issues include a **lack of transparency, privacy risks, discrimination against historically marginalized groups, increased surveillance, and unbalanced relationships between local governments and private companies.** To ensure that smart city initiatives respect people's rights and respond to their wishes, we recommend that officials prioritize adherence to technical and legal standards, avoid dependence on vendors, and consider alternative approaches to digital development.

THE QUEST TO BECOME “SMART CITIES”

Designation as a smart city offers a coveted stamp of modernity and innovation. Although the formal title may be elusive—São José dos Campos was certified just this year as Brazil’s first smart city, according to criteria set by the International Organization for Standardization and the World Council on City Data—many Brazilian cities are working on digital projects that will allow these municipalities to bill themselves as “smart.”⁴⁵ What do their efforts entail? According to our study, the greatest share of **ICT (Information and Communications Technology) projects seem to be concentrated in four main categories: (a) connectivity, (b) urban mobility, (c) education, and (d) public safety.**

Connectivity projects are aimed at boosting citizens’ access to digital networks or services through infrastructure advancements, offering free Wi-Fi in public spaces, and facilitating access to government bureaucracies or public services, among other innovations. In *urban mobility*, the main ICTs involve databases, electronic ticketing, and smart traffic lights. *Education* ICTs include management and teaching software, while projects aimed at improving *public safety* might involve video surveillance cameras, mobile access to databases, or license plate recognition. Notably, **facial recognition technologies (FRTs)** that automatically identify individuals based on images of their faces are present across the mobility, education, and public safety sectors.



A “free internet area” in Manaus, Brazil.

There is a vast array of different technology companies offering these types of solutions in Brazil. Some companies specialize in smart cities technologies and sell business intelligence. Others focus on specific areas, such as mobility, health, or surveillance technologies. They are mostly domestic companies, but the procedures involved in concluding these contracts are substantively similar for both domestic and foreign vendors. Also common across all cases is the **opacity of the contracts, their terms, and their limitations**.

Recently, Brazilian public officials have put great effort into regulating these initiatives and establishing **national standards**. In 2019, the federal level government promulgated a National Plan for the Internet of Things, and in 2021 it adopted a Digital Government Law setting out frameworks to make public administration more efficient through de-bureaucratization, innovation, and digital transformation. In that context, a Digital Cities program was developed to help connect municipal public bodies to the ICT world. Some **municipalities have established their own programs, offices, and guidelines** to improve digital connectivity and digital governance tools.

In 2019-2020, through a participatory process that involved three rounds of consultations and input from more than two-hundred civil society stakeholders, Brazil's Ministry of Regional Development led the drafting of a Brazilian Charter for Smart Cities. The Charter aspires to be “a democratic political document that expresses a public agenda for the digital transformation of cities,” and it outlines 163 recommendations in support of strategic goals that touch on themes from sustainable development and urban inequality to data privacy.⁴⁶ A platform for assessing Brazilian smart cities was launched on the basis of this document, and its work has fed into the development of a National Policy for Smart Cities currently under discussion in the National Congress.

Many of Brazil's policies on smart cities show **awareness of the need to consult different stakeholders, prioritize human rights, and engage the wider public** in what the Charter calls “democratic management of cities.” The Digital Government Law, for instance, includes citizen participation as one of its principles. Some municipalities have grappled independently with the rights impacts of smart city ICTs: The city of Vinhedo near São Paulo, for instance, in 2018 approved Brazil's first act regulating municipal data protection.⁴⁷ This decision sets an important and positive precedent, as although data protection is regulated at the federal level in Brazil, municipalities can also enact subsidiary laws that may address local specificities.

Most important, the Charter establishes a number of key democratic principles. It stresses the **crucial role of civil society organizations (CSOs) as well as educational and research institutions** in disseminating knowledge and ensuring the quality of public debate; emphasizes that authorities should **hire project implementers that are committed to human rights**; calls for smart cities to meet **standards of cybersecurity, transparency, and privacy protection** with regard to their handling of data; and reinforces that these projects should **serve the public interest above all**.

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The effort to articulate a **participatory vision for smart cities** throughout this process is remarkable. It forms a notable contrast with the general practice of the Brazilian government in recent years, which repeatedly obstructed the participation of civil society in public policy councils. This divergence may stem in part from backing for the Charter's elaboration under a technical cooperation agreement between the governments of Brazil and Germany (started in 2015 with the terms of execution defined in 2017) that aimed to support the preparation of a national urban development strategy based on economic, social, and environmental sustainability.⁴⁸

TECH RISKS AND GOVERNANCE GAPS

Despite this promising vision, current practices around “smart city” ICTs in Brazil create **roadblocks to informed public participation**. In the absence of stakeholder engagement that might better reveal the needs and concerns of local communities, **the race to become “smart” could end up harming rather than helping municipal democracy**. Serious attention to human rights impacts and adequate understanding of new technologies themselves are also crucial. Researchers and civil society groups are currently leading initiatives to identify concerns and understand whether smart cities are genuinely improving citizens' lives.



View of the Operations and Intelligence Center, of the Public Security Secretariat of Bahia in Salvador, Brazil.

While some smart city ICTs may offer benefits in terms of efficiency, convenience, and connectivity, specific applications as well as the broad trend toward personal data collection also threaten democratic values. Digitalizing public services, for example, can **deepen social inequalities** since the digital divide (unequal access to digital networks across different social groups) can place these services out of reach for marginalized communities.⁴⁹ Digital educational technologies may also jeopardize privacy and equal opportunity for children and adolescents—a particularly vulnerable group.⁵⁰ And in the public safety field, the use of FRT has increased the number of people wrongly identified as having committed crimes.

Most smart city ICTs carry risks related to the use and handling of personal data.

Although many smart city projects use facial recognition technology (FRT), it is a highly controversial tool. **When São Paulo deployed FRT in its subway—under the justification of protecting commuter safety—research and advocacy organizations found that the technology contravenes Brazilian privacy laws.** In addition, it could produce discriminatory outcomes due to its higher rates of misidentification for certain groups (such as Black and transgender people).⁵¹ In 2022, several of these organizations—including Article19, the Brazilian Institute for Consumer Protection (IDEC), and the Public Defender’s Office of the State of São Paulo—filed a public civil action that managed to prevent implementation of the system for capturing and processing subway users’ biometric data.⁵² Following global appeals for banning FRT in public spaces, a group of CSOs in June 2022 launched the “*Tire meu rosto da sua mira*” (“take my face out of your sight”) campaign, calling for a general ban on FRT in public security.⁵³

Beyond these case-specific concerns, **most smart city ICTs carry risks related to the use and handling of personal data.** Speaking broadly, these projects frequently involve either (a) collecting new personal data from citizens; or (b) providing data that is already in the authorities’ possession to outside contractors. Sensitive information about individuals’ gender and sexuality, race and ethnicity, class, age, and address are often included. In a political context where powerful actors dispute the very concept of human rights and acts of violence are systemic, especially against historically marginalized groups such as women or LGBTQIA+ and Black people, this practice could endanger citizens’ safety as well as their rights to privacy and equal treatment. Moreover, the collective risk of these data-driven projects is greater than the sum of its parts, since personal data taken from different contexts can be combined in ways that present new threats to privacy and human rights.

In the face of these risks, transparency, stakeholder engagement, and clear human rights protections are critical. At present, however, municipal ICT projects often omit these safeguards. Private marketing and consultancy agencies have issued various rankings to assess smart cities (rankings that may sometimes be influenced by criteria other than the public interest).⁵⁴ Appearing at the top confers prestige and may make cities more attractive to additional companies deciding where to invest. **As cities race to boost their standing by deploying new ICTs, dangerous oversights in procurement and implementation can occur.**

Municipalities scrambling to make it to the top may not, for instance, adequately consider how their projects intersect with social and digital inequalities on the ground; effectively foster democratic participation in the planning and management of ICT projects; or ensure that citizens' privacy and other rights are properly protected. Haste to conclude contracts can also result in a **lack of transparency** about the process and **non-compliance with relevant international norms** (such as technical standards and guiding principles on business and human rights).

When it comes to privacy, ICT contracts often lack specific provisions on the use of data, even when the projects involve extensive access to personal information. Without such safeguards, data ownership may be unclear, and **citizens' data rights can become a bargaining chip** between public bodies and private companies. For example, disputes may arise around what happens to the personal data of users of a public service after the end of a public-private contract.

This possibility is all the more concerning in light of **widespread opacity around public-private partnerships** for municipal digitalization. Many of these agreements are not publicly available. Several requests for access to information made during our research went unanswered or received an incomplete response. This secrecy leaves open questions about what kind of projects are being implemented; why and for whom they are being implemented; what they will cost; and who sells and operates the resulting systems.

Finally, municipalities do not generally appear to have given much consideration to the risks associated with the technologies they are using: **Almost no authorities reported that they had carried out data protection or human rights impact assessments during the adoption and deployment of ICTs**—activities which should be standard practice. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the exact reasons why these assessments were not carried out, we believe it is due to a lack of awareness of the privacy laws that are now in force in Brazil, in addition to a general lack of interest in taking these precautions.

PATHS FORWARD

Bringing the practices of Brazilian cities closer to the aspirations expressed in the country's policies will require a more deliberate approach to existing models of implementation and an openness to new options. **InternetLab, Article 19, and LAPIN call for both the public and the private sectors to adopt a series of practices aimed at ensuring security, transparency, and respect for human rights.** Below are three key recommendations we wish to highlight:

First, **municipal agencies as well as private contractors should make an effort to observe relevant standards for ICT projects.** In addition to national policy documents, such as the Brazilian Charter for Smart Cities, these standards should include those set by international technical bodies (such as the IEEE, ITU, ISO,

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and IEC), and human rights commitments such as the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. These global and national frameworks establish useful principles for new technologies in areas such as interoperability (systems should be able to work and exchange information with others from different companies), efficiency, and scalability, as well as indicators for assessing particular ICTs on these dimensions. They also contain valuable norms for smart city projects in particular (for instance, that municipal authorities should dictate the ethical, technical, and social principles that underlie a smart city's operation explicitly).

Second, where possible given security and capacity considerations, **smart city projects should make use of non-proprietary software so that the management of cities does not become dependent on specific companies.** When applied to technologies that are used to provide public services, private intellectual property rights can create governance challenges. For example, vendors that supply key systems to municipal agencies may gain a de facto monopoly over that municipality's future ICT contracts, as officials seek to maintain existing systems and acquire compatible ones. Consequently, such dependence may enable the chosen companies to extract rents from the municipal budget, burdening the public treasury, or exploit the data collected from municipal ICT systems, thus endangering citizens' privacy.

Third, **public agencies should not assume that cooperation amongst themselves or with private companies are the only viable paths to implementing ICT projects.** Municipalities can also employ more inclusive, bottom-up approaches that draw on the strength of diverse stakeholders within society—such as **CSOs, independent collectives, social movements, universities, and research institutes.** In 2022, the city of Contagem in southeast Brazil, for instance, has strengthened partnerships with CSOs to improve ICT systems, standardize administrative processes, and improve transparency in contract management.⁵⁵



Municipal agencies and private contractors **should observe relevant standards** for ICT projects, such as national policies, technical standards, and human rights commitments.



Smart city projects **should use free software** where possible to avoid city management operations becoming dependent on specific companies.



Public agencies **should use more inclusive approaches** for implementing ICT projects—bringing in diverse stakeholders such as CSOs, independent collectives, social movements, universities, and research institutes.

Just as there is no accepted global definition of what a smart city is, we believe there is no formula for making a municipality “smart.” Certainly, this endeavor is not limited to establishing offices or projects and acquiring ICTs. Instead, the path runs through a long process of **analyzing and understanding the local context and the social reality of each city**, from its geographical position and material resources to the interests, needs, and capacities of the population when it comes to engaging with particular technologies. Municipal authorities must **leverage public participation** to deepen their understanding of social inequalities; craft context-appropriate digital strategies; and more effectively guarantee democracy, access, and justice for all.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors appreciate the contributions of the International Forum's staff and leadership, including Christopher Walker, John Glenn, Kevin Sheives, John Engelken, Rachelle Faust, Lily Sabol, and Joslyn Brodfuehrer, all of whom played important roles in the editing and publication of this report. Particular acknowledgment goes to Beth Kerley, whose support and vision for this project were vital to its completion.

In addition, Roukaya Kasenally would like to acknowledge the Hoover Institution and its ongoing China's Global Sharp Power Project for which she wrote a paper entitled, "The Trappings of the Mauritius Safe City." She has used some of the findings outlined in that paper in this report.

Finally, the Forum wishes to thank Factor3 Digital for their efforts and invaluable support in designing this report for publication.

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