INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN FORTALEZA: A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE EXCLUDED

OS ASSENTAMENTOS PRECÁRIOS EM FORTALEZA: UM BREVE PANORAMA DA QUALIDADE DE VIDA DOS EXCLUÍDOS

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this research is to verify the situation of precarious settlements in the city of Fortaleza and to investigate the most appropriate measures to reduce the levels of poverty identified in these places. For the investigation, bibliographic research and the quantitative analysis of secondary data that represent the reality of these settlements were used. The thematic relevance of the work is due to the identification, especially after the year 2000, of the increase in the poverty rate, a fact that led to the social and economic exclusion of part of society. As a consequence, there was a gradual increase in the number and size of regions in the urban area where basic rights for the survival of individuals are not guaranteed. It was concluded that, given the complexity found in the settlements, the solution proposals, hitherto applied in Fortaleza (the repressive intervention in the State to reduce the violence in the events of January 2019, as well as the proposal presented in the "Fortaleza 2040 Plan")), are not sustainable in the long term. In this sense, joint action between the

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State and civil society in the planning and execution of more inclusive public policies is pointed out as a viable path.

Keywords: Informal settlements. Favelas. Poverty. Public policy. Fortaleza.

1 INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS

Liquid society is a term made up by sociologist and philosopher Zygmunt Bauman (2001) to define and analyze life in postmodernity that, in the author's view, has become much more of an ideology than a circumstance of life. In criticizing the postmodern world, Bauman verifies the volatile character of everything that orbits the life of the social being as opposed to the expected stabilities of the outdated modern world. Changes in the behavior of social groups in the so-called "liquid era" are consequences of the emergence of the technological character[1] at the center of social relations. The 21st century inaugurated the technological individual, who has quick access to knowledge and social relationships that take place on the palm of the hand, through an intelligent device that connects everything and everyone online, even replacing bonds that were previously physically and personally carried out.

In contrast to the technological evolution and the social transformations distinctive of postmodernity[2], many individuals have been removed economically and politically from the minimum conditions to be considered productive people. Thus, they ended up being excluded from the group of those who are considered socially active individuals. In the face of social exclusion due to postmodern globalization, inequality increased and poverty reached worrying levels in the early 2000s especially in emerging countries, as seen in the statistical analysis prepared by Amartya Sen and Bernardo Kliksberg (2010).

In Brazil, a country that is always seen as the one of the "future", the poverty scenario follows the pace of Latin America and the number and size of places in the urban area where the basic rights for the survival of individuals are not guaranteed – such as education, health, safety and leisure – gradually increases.

Based on these aspects related to the quality of life of the so-called "poor citizens" of the metropolitan regions, an effort is made in this article to clarify the main consequences of these clusters of individuals and the reasons why they are rejected from social relations outside their settlements. Furthermore, it is not an objective here to find the last solution for the social groups of

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poor citizens, but to verify which instrument is the most effective to reduce the difference between these citizens and those who indeed live in the consumer society and are able to enjoy at least a minimum quality of life.

In order to pursue the objectives outlined here, in addition to this section, the article was divided into other three sections, the first of which deals with the conglomerates of poor citizens in the urban area, mostly called precarious settlements; meanwhile, a specific analysis will be made of these precarious settlements in Fortaleza, capital of the Brazilian State of Ceará. In the next section, a summary is made on the the poverty panorama in Latin America and the public policies adopted to resolve this multidimensional social phenomenon which is always present in the continent. In the section that precedes the concluding notes we seek to contribute to the debate on solutions to reduce or at least improve the quality of life of residents of precarious settlements, with the joint action between civil society and the State as a basis for their development.

2 PRECARIOUS SETTLEMENTS

In Brazil, the problem of violence in large cities has raised the concern of the non-poor and the elite in relation to poverty and inequality. According to Elisa Pereira Reis, it is the problem of security and the maintenance of order that seems to frighten them. Through her work, the author enables the development of a different understanding on social disparities (REIS, 2000).

In her conception, the elite constitute people who occupy high positions in certain institutions and who control material and symbolic resources. It should be noted that this control is not limited to the control of patrimonial nature, but also to the ability to influence decisions that underpin its own power. It is this elite that at certain moments in Brazilian history – for some interest and often with an egoistic background – decides to mitigate poverty and "grant" citizenship to Brazilians.

By reading the work of several authors dealing with the theme, it is possible to verify that each country followed its own path in the definition of its concept of citizenship[3]. TH Marshall (1967) describes in an almost linear way the process lived by the English throughout history. Other countries, such as France, Germany, Italy, the United States and Brazil, followed different paths. Accordingly, the debate about social rights and the democratic regime is of great importance in the construction of the Brazilian citizenship (GRIN, 2013, p. 87).

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According to José Murilo de Carvalho, citizenship is a historical phenomenon. Therefore, many paths led to the same destination, since the ideal of full citizenship is quite similar in the western tradition (CARVALHO, 2018, p. 17). Thus, the greatest importance of knowing these paths – as they are so diverse – is perhaps to observe their great contrasts and predict future developments.

The author points out two major relevant differences to the path followed by the British and by Brazilians. The first refers to the great relevance of social rights in relation to other rights in Brazil, while the second refers to the contrast related to the sequence in which Brazilians acquired the rights. After all, according to the author, in the Brazilian case, social rights preceded civil and political rights (CARVALHO, 2018, p. 18). The inversion of the English order led to this status being called by the author as "stateship" in contrast to citizenship (CARVALHO, 2018, p. 221).

Thus, when we speak of English, French, Italian, German or Brazilian citizens, we are not talking about people under the same conditions. After all, the struggle for rights has always taken place within the nation-state. It is always a national political struggle, where the citizen who emerges from it is also a national. When conceived in this way, it appears that the formation of citizenship is the result of how people relate to the State and the nation. For the author, people become citizens as they begin to "feel part of a nation and a state" (CARVALHO 2018, p. 18). This notion of belonging is of particular relevance when dealing with issues related to the Right to the City.

The elites' lack of a sense of belonging may explain why they have always shown great ease in tolerating poverty. Retracing the thought of Elisa Reis, Brazilians lack the notion of interdependence in society. The fact that social rights first emerged in a vertical manner deviated from the opportunity of forming a feeling of horizontality, of equality. One is accustomed to find in the State – often peacefully – the solutions to collective problems (REIS, 2000).

Thus, at the same time that a feeling of social responsibility is lacking among the members of the elite, the perception of the role of workers in sustaining the social order is relativized. An interesting fact is how to explain that, although the elites show great sensitivity to the problems related to poverty and inequality, they do not show a more consistent interest in the eradication of these miseries. Thus, although they criticize and denounce the omission of the State, the elites are not really committed to contributing to collective solutions.

> A forte resistência a medidas distributivistas diretas e a aposta na educação como fórmula soma diferente de zero são uma indicação de que elas não parecem reconhecer uma efetiva interdependência social. Em outras palavras, elas não vêm o problema da pobreza como algo que afete a sociedade como um todo[4] (REIS, 2000, p. 149).

In addition, it is interesting to notice that according to elites, formal education is often seen as the only resource to be exploited, with the aim of providing the poorest sectors of the population with conditions to compete for a better life. This idea, in a way, reflects the exaggerated optimism of the developmental era. It is obvious that formal education is an important aspect for a good solution proposal; however, it is necessary to reflect much more on the other aspects involved.

Lea Guimarães Souki, in a 2006 work entitled "The current status of T. H. Marshall in the study of citizenship in Brazil", highlights other characteristics of the Brazilian elite. According to the author, there is no conception that the country should find balance on the national elite part. On the contrary, in the face of a crisis the elites in Brazil always think about the possibility of withdrawing with their families to other countries. This shows that they do not have the feeling of belonging that characterizes the English, as diagnosed by Marshall (1967).

Accordingly, segmented occupation of spaces subject to economic and market rules is observed in large cities. In this process of accommodation, invariably the poor are displaced to the periphery of large cities, where the worst general conditions of life and security are generally set. The areas occupied by these people generally constitute "precarious settlements".

In the international literature, to characterize precarious settlements, the term slum is used. In the early 19th century, the term was used to characterize deteriorated areas of London, which had precarious construction conditions, a high level of unsanitary conditions and a high population density. In its original sense, slum would correspond to the term "cortiço" in Brazil. However, over time, the term has come to be used to represent the most visible manifestations of urban poverty in developing countries (QUEIROZ FILHO, 2015, p. 344).

Thus, slum is characterized by settlements in which homes combine some deprivations such as inadequate access to drinking water, inappropriate access to sanitation and other infrastructure, low structural quality of homes, overpopulation and residential insecurity characterized by a lack of protection by the State against illegal or arbitrary evictions (QUEIROZ FILHO, 2015, p. 344).

Although often referred to in this section, the characterization of poverty has not been adequately addressed. Thus, in order to better analyze the reality of precarious settlements, it is necessary to investigate the possible ways of characterizing poverty, since many of the people who

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live in these conglomerates live in conditions that many authors refer to as "extreme poverty" (OSORIO; SOARES; SOUZA, 2011).

2.1 What is poverty?

Through historical analysis, it appears that in the first moment, the concept of poverty is related to the minimum conditions of physical survival (subsistence), establishing the minimum food that would guarantee energy and nutrients necessary to ensure the life of a person. It is possible to enumerate two moments when this criterion was substantially important: the first, represented by the English Poor Law and the second as a reaction to the difficult moments experienced in Europe, after World War II. If in the first moment, state activity was residual, in the second, due to issues of social cohesion, the attack on poverty became a public policy of great relevance (MARSHAL, 1967).

From the 1970s onwards, the needs approach gained importance. Thus, the poor are defined as those who have not met their basic needs (RABENHOST, 2007). In the new concept of combating poverty, there is a multifaceted vision, dividing the elements of protection into two groups. In the first, the aim is to guarantee a minimum standard of private life for a family group (food, housing, etc.). In the second, a minimum standard of living for the community is drawn, such as drinking water, health services, public transport, education, etc. (ROCHA, 2003).

Thus, the approach to basic needs represents a deepening in relation to subsistence, since the concerns go beyond the minimum survival requirements. The concern with basic rights for individuals and the community makes clear the concern with economic and social development. Therefore, poverty must be overcome as a way of promoting the dignity of individuals and the development of society.

The recognition of social and institutional structures paved the way for another conception of poverty: relative deprivation. In this conception, attention to a greater number of indicators is granted. For the calculation of the index, each of the indicators receives a relative weight, due to the interests of society and the individuals that are part of it. It therefore deviates from universal indicators. In this perspective, poverty is defined in a comparative degree to the social context in which one lives (CRESPO; GUROVITZ, 2002).

Thus, a poor person is one who does not obtain sufficient resources and living conditions to enable him/her to normally play roles in society, in his/her relationships or to behave as expected, as a member of society. It should be noted that in order to characterize poverty deprivations could

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occur in any of the spheres of the person's life: at work, at home, in the neighborhood and in the family.

In a short synthesis, it is possible to highlight two differences in the forms of characterization of poverty hitherto analyzed. In this model, it is emphasized the importance that is given to people's opinions in relation to the factors that should be included in the analysis, as well as their personal assessments in relation to their own wellbeing conditions. To avoid deviations caused by opinions particularly biased, there are objective and subjective evaluations. The former refer objectively to the idea of economic wellbeing, which is generally quantifiable. The latter refer to less tangible aspects that are subjectively assessed, such as access to justice, health, work, leisure, culture and other.

The great lesson brought by this conception of poverty is that in order to understand what poverty is, it is necessary that this analysis be made from the conceptions of individuals and not through mere objective indicators. Thus, what individuals and the community understand as deprivation and as a desired standard becomes central to the analysis. A social and economic discussion based on the living conditions of a certain community within a certain period of time takes on special relevance.

In addition to the concepts already presented, it is also possible to conceive the idea that poverty comes from the deprivation of capacities, whose great interpreter is Amartya Sen (2010). This approach seeks to place greater emphasis on social justice, focusing on aspects such as development, wellbeing, freedom, equality, inequality and other. Furthermore, the essential core is the ability of individuals to enjoy the life they have chosen. To enable that, the author warns about the need for some instrumental freedoms to be enjoyed, among them, economic opportunity, political freedoms, social facilities, guarantees of transparency and protective security.

Moreover, it is necessary for a person to have or develop skills that allow them to lead a dignified and integral life, through individual and collective actions, in order to get out of poverty. Thus, it is hold that the vicious cycles that leads to situations of scarcity and deprivations are broken through the development of capacities, providing a better life condition. In addition, as Martin Ravallion points out, it starts from the idea that the "life standard" metric is based on life, not on the possession of commodities (RAVALLION, 1992).

Finally, the concept of poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon represents the evolution from an analysis focused on a specific aspect, such as income, to an approach that considers several aspects. In this approach, human life is interpreted as something complex, current conceptions move in that direction. Thus, far beyond income, several dimensions of life must be considered in the

analysis of people's living standards. The lack of access to certain standards of living, under certain conditions, would constitute a situation of deprivation, being able to define if it is a condition of poverty.

> Em suas manifestações subjetivas, o fenômeno provoca nas pessoas sentimentos de impotência diante de seus destinos, de falta de esperança, de vulnerabilidade, de insegurança e de falta de poder político. Além disso, como a pobreza não se esgota nos aspectos materiais e individuais, mas inclui as relações sociais, como o acesso ao trabalho e à assistência, as abordagens multidimensionais abarcam ainda dimensões sociais e mesmo políticas relacionadas a essa questão[5] (CODES, 2008, p. 24).

The approach has as an advantage the possibility of a deeper analysis of poverty, enabling the use of the most diverse dimensions for its analysis. Through multidimensionality, it is even possible to better adapt to the environment, representing almost perfectly the relevant aspects of reality. In addition to the possibility of representation, it allows different approaches to be analyzed, according to the aspects that are intended to be studied highlighting one dimension or another.

Moving slightly away from the complexity of the various possible concepts of poverty, in general terms, poverty can be understood as the situation of deprivation of what is considered essential for a dignified life within a society in a certain period of time. However, the definition of dignity or the limit of what can be considered the essential minimum makes much more difficult the task of defining what a poor person really is.

It appears that the concept of poverty has also felt the action of time. In the beginning, it was closely linked to geographic aspects, characterizing poverty as a natural consequence of life in a given region. In the next moment, it was understood as an infirmity of a certain civilization and, finally, as something present in all societies on a global scale (SANTOS, 2010). It is emphasized that the issue of poverty is a central theme of social issues, verifying its essentiality for a better understanding of the creation and development of precarious settlements.

In the context of the surplus of people, "poverty" analyzed from the capitalist model is structural and intrinsic, being necessary for capitalist development itself[6] (MONTAÑO, 2012, p. 281). Accordingly, it cannot be seen as a natural consequence or a transitory disease of a particular society. Regardless of the economic or political model analyzed, one must understand "poor person" as the one who does not have the essential minimum to establish a dignified life by his/her own means of production or with the assistance of the State.[7].

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2.2 The human surplus deposit.

The cluster of individuals and their families in a given territory of the urban area is insufficient to define the concept of a *favela*, which in its greatest territorial extension and number of individuals can be called precarious settlement.[8] Experts gathered in Nairobi at the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-habitat) advise that:

> The operational definition of a slum[9] that has been recently recommended (by a United Nations Expert Group Meeting (EGM) held in Nairobi from 28 to 30 October 2002) for future international usage defines a slum as an area that combines, to various extents, the following characteristics (restricted to the physical and legal characteristics of the settlement, and excluding the more difficult social dimensions): inadequate access to safe water; inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; poor structural quality of housing; overcrowding; insecure residential status. (UNITED NATIONS HUMAN SETTLEMENTS PROGRAMME-UN-HABITAT, 2003, p. 12).

Starting from the problem of precarious settlement, Fernando Cavallieri et al (2016, p. 413-414) when characterizing and analyzing precarious settlements from Rio de Janeiro, finds along with data from IPEA, that an inadequate home is one that has two of the following characteristics: i. absence of water from general supply; ii. absence of sewage through a general network or septic tank; iii. absence of an exclusive bathroom at home; iv. absence of durable roof and walls; v. densification at home, that is, more than 3 (three) people in the same room used as dormitory; and, vi. urban land irregularity. Therefore, a home that is framed in the context of inadequate housing consists of an environment that is not prone to grant a dignified life to its residents and consequently for the development of society.

In summary, precarious settlement is the term used to define large conglomerates of individuals who live in precarious situations of health, food, hygiene, housing and education. It is found that life in these conditions is somehow related to the general increase in crime rates. It should be noted that it is obvious that spatial problems do not fully explain the dysfunctions of a society. However, it gives rise to a fundamental question about the existence of pathology of space. Furthermore, non-exclusive public spaces are essential to social cohesion and integration. Conversely, abandoned, isolated and degraded spaces benefit events of violence in addition to generating a sense of insecurity (DANTAS, 2011, p. 99).

Zygmunt Bauman in his work "Wasted Lives" analyzes the role of defective consumers in society, these individuals being the group of "people in need of money that would allow them to expand the capacity of the consumer market, and that create a new type of demand to that the profit-oriented consumer industry cannot profitably respond or 'colonize'" (BAUMAN, 2005, p. 53).

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When they live in a consumer society these individuals are seen as "surplus" people who metaphorically are called "human waste"[10] by the author.

Metaphorically, Bauman (2005) cites the example of a crowded van, which is the symbol of an active society and its members are the individuals "that matter". In this scenario, the "human waste" would be rushing to become part of this van, which in each turn threw out more and more members. Applying this idea to the precarious settlements, the residents of these places are outside the consumer society and for several reasons[11] are kept outside the social circle of consumption and are no longer considered valuable individuals.

Based on the idea that the human reject does not receive attention or maintenance to change their status as inactive consumers, drains are created – consciously[12] or not – to separate them from active consumers, who are considered useful for postmodern society. Precarious settlements work as an urban outlet for individuals who are not part of the consumer society either because of the obvious economic impossibility of joining this select group or due to the absence of cultural identity[13] with them. Similarly, precarious settlements of large urban capitals function more like large landfills, separating "good" from "bad" individuals and making invisible a reality that can no longer remain that way.

Certainly, problems involving precarious settlements are not restricted to the Brazilian territory. The problem can also be identified in the remainder of Latin America, with varied origins. Contrary to what one might think, one trace in common is that these informal settlements are not illegal, in the sense of involving invasion of privately owned land. They are illegal in the sense of not being in compliance with local urban planning and regulatory controls.

> Ele terá a casa correspondente a seu crédito, isto é, a seu valor social medido pelos padrões do banco. "Quanto você vale?" – esta é a pergunta que faz o vendedor, armado para avaliar o valor social do cliente de modo tão econômico quanto possível, no menor tempo possível. [...] O crédito personalizado é dado não em função da posse de bens visíveis, mas em função do que os economistas chamam de renda permanente: o que é avaliado é o que você vale na escala de sua vida[14]. (BORDIEU, 2014, p. 45-46).

In many cases, families acquire a share of "gross" land or without public services – usually on the periphery – from speculators of "pirate" land (as Professor Sheila Foster called it) who subdivides them for low-income "consumers". Although, technically, there is no invasion of property (as a rule), many of these homes lack title deeds. In the opinion of Professor Foster (2009, p. 304-305):
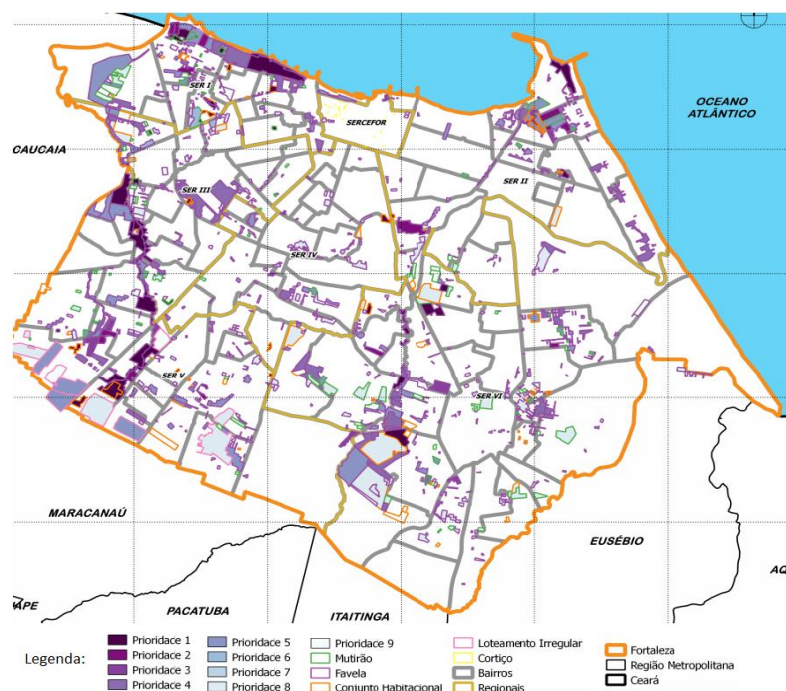
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> Informal settlements represent a form of "self-help" that enables poor families to secure decent housing at a time when many Latin American cities are exploding and expanding with new immigrants.13 This urban "self help," or urban informality, arises out of the failure of both the market and the government to provide an important or essential urban service, here affordable housing. The influx of new (and often global) capital and increased competition for scarce resources creates tremendous demand for affordable housing in major Latin American cities, pushing the borders of the city increasingly to the outer periphery. Both the subdividers and the purchasers of these subdivided plots are in a sense rationally responding to very high entry barriers to formal housing markets and transaction costs generated by cumbersome or inappropriate land use regulations.

In fact, the author makes a comparison between the urban contexts presented above with the "The Tragedy of the Commons", by Garret Hardin (1968). Emphasis is placed on the difficulty of "open" access to exhaustible resources and also partly holds local governance accountable. It is for this reason that it is necessary to reopen the discussion on what is the best way to manage resources, taking into account the local demands and specificities of each country/state/city. Thus, we move on to the specific study of the city of Fortaleza in the Brazilian state of Ceará.

2.3 The reality of settlements in the Alencarina[15] Capital

Despite being correlated, violence should not be seen as a consequence of the poverty of a certain group of individuals, considering that there are several factors exterior to the economic situation that also make a society violent or peaceful. However, violence is unfortunately a social fact more present in economically unstructured groups, either due to the lack of investment in education, health and leisure or due to the standard deviation of conduct when there is no clear and well-established model to guide attitudes of a given society, thus generating a social anomaly[16] (DURKHEIM, 2003).
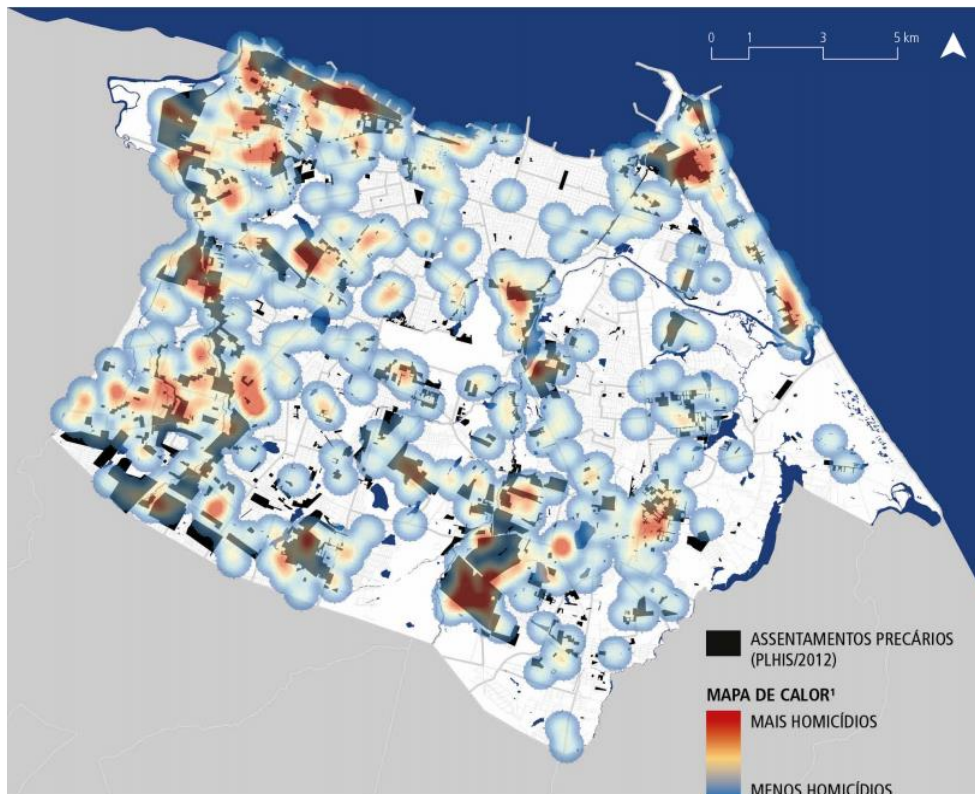
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Figure 1- Map of Precarious Settlements

Source: (PHISFOR, 2017).

Fortaleza has been in the spotlight of national and international media as one of the most violent capitals in the world. In a survey carried out in 2016 by the Mexican NGO *Seguridad, Justicia y Paz*, which verified the number of homicides per 100,000 (one hundred thousand) inhabitants[17], the capital of the State of Ceará was placed as the 35th[18] most dangerous city in the world (MEXICO, 2016). In the Alencarina capital alone there are 856[19] precarious settlements distributed throughout the city, which occupy 12.5% of its entire territory[20].

Apparently, the extent of precarious settlements is small, when viewed from the perspective of the occupied territorial space (figure 1). However, the panorama changes if we take into account that 1,084,891 people – which comprise 271,535 families – live in this tiny territory. Thus, 40% of the *Fortalezenses* live in a precarious way, in little more than 12% of the extension of the city (BRASIL, 2016).

It is not possible to say that violence, or even criminality, is a consequence of a poor society. However, the reality of the capital of the State of Ceará demonstrates that there are more homicides in the precarious settlements (figure 2), which makes these places the most violent in the city.

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Figure 2 - Map of Precarious Settlements and Homicides in Fortaleza

Source: (PLANO FORTALEZA 2040).

Violence, drug trafficking and the high number of homicides are strongly present in marginalized groups, who are stigmatized by these aspects and excluded from what can be considered a functional society. These social illnesses are products of several factors, such as the lack of infrastructure, leisure, health and quality education, thus generating a parallel society – almost invisible – within the social body of an urban capital, which has no basic means of survival, thus creating an environment conducive to criminality.

> A exclusão social, ao lado da desarticulação familiar, coloca um setor da juventude na região em uma situação de "jovens encurralados" que, diante da ausência de respostas por parte das políticas públicas, podem se sentir atraídos pelas *maras*[21], colocando-se disponíveis para recrutamento pelas máfias do tráfico de drogas e do crime organizado[22] (SEN, 2010, p. 241)

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Viewing poverty as the cradle of crime is the result of a perfunctory analysis of precarious settlements and violence, as did Luiz Eduardo Soares when stating that less simple crimes that occur close to the peripheries are carried out by the born poor, meanwhile complex and financial crimes are stimulated by impunity[23].

> Em outras palavras, pobreza e desigualdade são e não são condicionantes da criminalidade, dependendo do tipo de crime, do contexto intersubjetivo e do horizonte cultural a que nos referirmos. Esse quadro complexo exige políticas sensíveis às várias dimensões que o compõem[24] (SOARES, 2006, p. 93-94).

It is possible to highlight the treatment that these environments receive from public policies as an obstacle to the solution of precarious settlements. In general, investments in these areas are mainly focused on programs aimed essentially at public security, which do not offer sustainable solutions related to the existing problems. Solutions like these end up making it difficult to diagnose real problems. It is necessary to change the focus and seek long-term functional solutions.

3 STATE INTERVENTION: THE POINT BETWEEN PATERNALISM AND ANTIPATERNALISM.

From the perspective of the constant presence of the State, there is a strong debate among paternalists and antipaternalists. The latter defend the diminution of the State's power from a liberal perspective, while the former value the strong State presence through social and economic intervention. Therefore,

> O paternalismo, enquanto tal consiste exatamente na ação dos pais para tomar as decisões em nome dos filhos e, assim, protegê-los de sua própria racionalidade deficiente. A posição antipaternalista engloba, dessa forma, a noção de que é necessário presumir que todos os adultos são mais ou menos equivalentes no uso da razão[25] (MIGUEL, 2015, p. 609).

Starting from a paternalistic premise, the solution to the existence of precarious settlements is usually drawn from the intervention of the public authorities in areas that, apparently, will solve the poverty factor[26] of these clusters. Otherwise, it is necessary to verify that the direct intervention of the State in precarious settlements may not result in the most adequate solution for their development. Making use of the state apparatus and public policies to try to resolve the various

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deficiencies of a precarious settlement is to adopt the large responsibility of guaranteeing the minimum quality of life for several local residents.

In a deep analysis of Rio de Janeiro's precarious settlements, Fernando Cavallieri (CAVALLIERI et al., 2016) finds that these urban areas do not have – for the most part – access to basic instruments for the maintenance of urban life. Basic sanitation and private bathroom at home are considered luxury items for most of the residents of settlements, due to the costs involved.

Facing the need to completely transform precarious settlements into decent housing, that is, with minimal structure to establish a family home, the city of Fortaleza enacted goals in the Fortaleza 2040 plan (BRASIL, 2016, pp. 17-22). This plan established goals such as the reduction of informality of the economy, the decrease in the number of young people who do not work nor study, foster employment and the productive inclusion of the needy population, strengthen handicrafts and structure and consolidate the capital's street commerce.

The planning to solve has as its main pillar the economy and how to make productive all the "human reject" that lives in precarious conditions[27]. It happens that at least in the city of Fortaleza planning does not establish concrete determinations for the permanent solution of the inhabitants of settlements, since it neglects to determine effective public policies. Thus, the State with its paternalistic character, seeks to solve the problem of settlements by taking responsibility for that, in a way that investment and public policies need to go through a series of stages managed by the state entity itself. An example of this reality is the need to regularize street market, so that the human surplus that lives in precarious settlements becomes, at the very least, productive for the consumer society.

> Na medida em que as cidades têm sido espaços de vigorosos conflitos e lutas de classe, a administração pública viu-se muitas vezes forçada a suprir os bens públicos (como habitação de interesse social acessível, sistema de saúde, educação, pavimentação das ruas, saneamento e água) a uma classe trabalhadora urbanizada. Embora esses espaços e bens públicos contribuam intensamente para as qualidades comuns, faz-se necessária uma ação política por parte dos cidadãos e das pessoas que pretendam apropriar-se deles ou concretizar essas qualidades. A educação pública torna-se um comum quando as forças sociais se apropriam dela, protegendo-a e aprimorando-a em benefício mútuo[28] (HARVEY, 2014, p. 144).

Attributing to the State the role of protector of the residents of precarious settlements proved to be a mistake, as demonstrated by the history of the "Social Welfare State", which was expanded in the 30 years after World War II and later ended up abandoned (BORDONI; BAUMAN, 2016, pp. 01-22). In like manner, it would be naive to throw this responsibility only on the economic

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practices promoted by antipaternalists. The consumer society does not show any concern for inactive and inadequate consumers. Therefore, there is no reason to believe that the amoral market is more careful with the "human waste" that only "survives" in precarious settlements.

State intervention through superficial economic measures[29] is not enough to solve the lives of the inhabitants of precarious settlements, especially because state resources are limited and almost completely compromised. In addition, the direct action of the State as a savior of these settlements and their illnesses generates a scenario of domination between the public entity and individuals (MIGUEL, 2015) who come to depend solely on economic public policies to get out of the precarious situation in which they live.

4 A (IN) DECIPHERABLE PROBLEM: IS IT POSSIBLE TO SOLVE IT?

Adam Baird, in his article *Swimming Against The Tide: Youth policy and contexts of chronic violence in Medellín*, reports the reality in the city of Medellín (Colombia) in the 1980s. At the time, the city suffered an incredible wave of violence, especially in the poorest neighborhoods (also called *comunas populares*). This violence was attributed to the dynamics of armed conflicts in Colombia – through the *sicarios* – drug traffickers, etc.

In that city, the environment of "chronic violence" (BAIRD, 2015, online) resulted in a strong state reaction, which started to act repressing violence. This action resulted in an apparent success, since it contributed to a short-term decrease in the levels of violence, hitherto presented in the region. However, this alternative called "securitization" proved to be counterproductive in the long run, as it strengthens organized crime, as Adam Baird (2015) analyzes.

Another way out of the problem was the intervention of the community itself, through civil organizations. The primary objective of these communities was to end the primary causes of problems in the region, which in their opinion were unemployment and deficiency in the education of young people, who in turn proved to be the main targets of violence, given their involvement in local gangs.

Therefore, Adam Baird, instead of focusing his analysis on state action, which proves to be ineffective, prefers to highlight the challenges experienced by the young working masses and the progress made by the community with a view to changing their status quo. Thus, the proposal

consists of a comprehensive model of organization, education and vocational training as an integrative solution.

> Impossível considerar a hipótese da reconstituição da cidade antiga; possível encarar a construção de uma nova cidade, sobre novas bases, numa outra escala, em outras condições, numa outra sociedade. Nem retorno (para a cidade tradicional), nem fuga para a frente, para a aglomeração colossal e informe – esta é a prescrição[30] (LEFEBVRE, 2001, p. 106).

Although the 1980s was permeated by a wave of violence, the 1990s caused an increase in the activities developed by civil society organizations in Medellín, so it was called "the miracle of Medellín"[31]. Following from this, one might wonder about the form of social participation that strengthened the development of the region, since in other similar cities that did not adopt the same practices, the same result was not obtained.

The activities developed by these organizations began with a focus on prevention, that is, with the aim of keeping young people away from crime. The main strategies involved special attention to youth development, education, cultural activities, public policies for preventing violence, among other. In a nutshell, it is possible to affirm that the model of problem solving by the community was quite different from the posture adopted by the Colombian State. While the state machine was concerned with adopting a repressive posture (of violence), the population wanted to be part of the municipal decision-making (BAIRD, 2015, online).

> What this demonstrates is the significant, plural and innovative responses of many parts of society to working with vulnerable youth in the wake of the violence of the 1990s. These processes made Medellín stand out from other cities in the country, namely Bogotá, which did not achieve the same level of articulation amongst a diverse range of social actors (BAIRD, 2005, online).

By the year 2007, many organizations had already been created in Medellín, such as: Metrojuventud, Corporación Región, Con-Vivamos, Picachocon Futuro, Cajas de Compensación Familiar, Corporación Don Bosco among other that even worked with financial aid from the municipal state power.

Nevertheless, the presented alternative carries difficulties for implementation, such as the lack of financial resources to sponsor projects, the difficulty in prioritizing projects related to the Colombian youth, the lack of a straightforward state policy – to reach the structural causes of violence, such as exclusion, inequality and poverty – etc. (BAIRD, 2015, online).

Despite the difficulties, the murder rate in the city of Medellín was 380 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1991, which represented a total number of 6,349 murders. Since then, the rate has dropped by around 80%, according to researches (BRODZINSKY, 2014, online).

According to the 100 Resilient Cities, a project created by The Rockfeller Foundation in 2013 to help cities around the world become more resilient/resistant to current physical, social and economic challenges, it was said that:

> Medellín residents have developed systems to learn about, resist, and overcome the national violence and drug trafficking that have been present in the Colombian city for more than 60 years. Although progress is undeniable— its homicide rate has sharply decreased—Medellín is still rated as the most inequitable city in Colombia—and Colombia, in turn, is one of the most inequitable countries in Latin America. (100 RESILIENT CITIES, 2019, online).

Far from being an exhaustive assessment of the theme, the present comparison is intended to be a possible contribution towards the solution of the situation currently experienced in Fortaleza, Ceará, by means of analogy, without evidently being conscious of the appropriate cultural reservations and other reservations that must be subject to adjustments.

In order to begin an evaluation of a possible solution for the capital of Ceará, it is necessary to ascertain the conceptual pertinence of what was conventionally called public policies. First, there is no single concept to better describe what the expression is. Choosing a single concept is a difficult task due to the different notions that this term carries and to its development over the years. However, it is possible to define this idea as "the field of knowledge that seeks, at the same time, to 'put the government into action' and/or analyze this action – independent variable – and, when necessary, propose changes in the direction or course of these actions – dependent variable" (SOUZA, 2006, pp. 24-25). Briefly, public policies are programs or set of articulated measures of government action, which aim to achieve some public order purpose or with the objective of realizing rights.

The wave of violence in the city of Fortaleza highlighted by the media in January 2019 (TRIBUNA DO CEARÁ, 2019, online), (DIÁRIO DO NORDESTE, 2019, online), (G1, 2019, online) resembles in some measure the reality of Medellín in the 1980s. That is, the presence of factions fomenting a context of urban violence, including through the co-optation of young people from the poorest neighborhoods in the city – in precarious settlements, in the case of Fortaleza.

Another similarity concerns the state's position of restraining violence. At the time of the attacks, Camilo Santana the former Governor of the State of Ceará, requested support from the

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National Security Force, the Army and the Integrated Intervention Force (FIPI - *Força de Intervenção Integrada*) to collaborate with the police activities that were under development in the capital and in the Metropolitan Region (O POVO, 2019, online). Although the increase in policing in the region has enhanced, the security climate in the region has proved to be unsustainable during the period, as happened in Medellín.

Regarding the precarious settlements analyzed here, it can be said that public policies are the political actions that the government takes to solve or at least to decline certain social problems. For example, the public policies adopted by the capital of the State of Ceará in the "Fortaleza 2040 Plan" intend to eradicate precarious settlements based on the establishment of objectives aimed at the microeconomics[32] of the city, fostering formal work, handicrafts and structuring street commerce.

The public policies chosen by the Fortaleza administration seek in the long term, to solve the complex problems of poverty and inequality, investing public capital in initial and intermediate stages of social development. However, the measure to extinguish and/or improve the quality of life through the reduction of socioeconomic inequality in precarious settlements is debatable. The promotion of the economy aiming at improving the quality of life of the poor population, in order to expand formal work and structure commerce, appears to be a short-term public measure to narrowly increase the income of these families.

It is understood that the use of public policies with the aim of intervening to solve poverty of precarious settlements must be carried out with the purpose of definitively changing the situation of these places. In other words, to offer opportunities for the inhabitants of settlements to escape from the situation of poverty by their own means, since regularizing a situation of informality or investing in a limited means of production[33] tangles the development of society through mechanisms different from those where there is direct investment by the State.

Furthermore, public policies must be applied in phenomena that can transform society on its own, making it free to develop itself without the direct dependence on constant State intervention[34]. The proposition is to apply public policies and state and municipal budgets to Education and to family context as a solution to the situation of extreme poverty in precarious settlements, since these are the main elements that enable the social and economic development of a certain group. In addition, we must highlight that it is not only about formal education, but public policies that are effectively inclusive, along with the aid of civil society organizations, as experienced by Medellín.

Objectively, "regularizing" is not the only way to extinguish the condition of extreme poverty in which the thousands of citizens of Fortaleza live. Providing individuals with the necessary

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instruments to improve their quality of life on their own appears to be the most appropriate means for the economic and social development of a country that seeks to end inequality.

Success in the education of a society offers excellent consequences in the most diverse areas of development, both in health and in the socioeconomic context of individuals who have a good base in their education (SEN, 2010, pp. 229-232). Furthermore, education in the social context must be seen as a means and an end, since it will enable the development of health and the quality of work of the residents of precarious settlements as it will enable a better quality of life, as well as a better quality of life and also a network of more qualified social relations.

Likewise, inclusive public policies must be provided in order to be considered qualitatively and quantitatively for the regular social progress. It is not just a matter of thinking about instruments used for the direct and immediate improvement of the beneficiary's quality of life; it is necessary to go further, to think about the chain of good consequences.[35] The impact of education on the global progress is particularly relevant, since

> Além de seu impacto no trabalho, a educação aparece, também, como fonte de outros capitais. Estudos demonstram que há uma estreita relação entre educação e indicadores de saúde. Um capital educacional superior possibilita o exercício cotidiano de cuidados mais avançados com a saúde. Da mesma forma, a educação ajuda na constituição de um capital social. Níveis de escolaridade superiores possibilitam o acesso a redes de relacionamento mais amplas e qualificadas[36] (SEN, 2010, p. 229).

Indeed, the author's idea can be applied to the development of precarious settlements and opposed to public policies that aim only at solving poverty with investment directed at short and medium-term economic measures, since these policies will not perpetuate the development at the roots of the individuals who compose the settlements. It is necessary that public policies are sufficiently inclusive. Thus, through personal and professional qualification, individuals who live in precarious settlements will be able to reach instruments that increase the quality of life of these excluded.

However, using public budget that primarily aim economic and business measures will not offer the individual the means to escape the precarious way of life, because, in a certain way, the cause of poverty can always be directed to the State, instead of each one appropriate the "guilt" in which lives. That is, providing aid or financial benefits to the inhabitants of precarious settlements, in addition to reinforcing the paternalistic status of the State, does not effectively convey the responsibility of each person about their own life.

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On the other hand, as society also participates in promoting development, public policies tend to be more effective, providing instruments to achieve a better quality of life, causing more significant impacts on the lives of individuals. In other words, as long as the State sticks to providing financial benefits or focusing on strictly economic measures, it can always be accused of being inefficient. As it promotes educational and professional qualification instruments it will enable each one to improve their lifestyle on their own.

In addition to the investment of society itself through civil organizations, it is obviously important to apply public policies in order to raise awareness and guide the residents of precarious settlements to use the means available to improve living conditions, whether by work, culture, sport or even the importance of family for the economic prosperity of social groups.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Precarious settlements are one of the major problems of postmodern society that remains underdeveloped, since they serve as the deposit of human waste unable to promote the progress of social groups that are constantly evolving. This character of marginalization at first remains aggravated by the fact that postmodern society needs individuals that are actively consumerists to sustain social development and achieve the status of a developed country, as a rule.

Evidence points out that the more unequal a society is, the greater the number of precarious settlements and the more serious the lack of basic means to sustain life, such as access to education, health, sanitation and even food. In addition, the socioeconomic situation in which residents of precarious settlements find themselves is serious and in general makes it impossible for these individuals and their descendants to leave the situation of poverty, thus creating an almost unbreakable and populous cycle of poverty. An example of this cycle is the one ongoing in the capital of the State of Ceará, in which the precarious settlements increase each year and, currently, 40% of the population of Fortaleza lives in the precarious settlements, which correspond to 12% of the capital's demographic space.

The solution to the situation of extreme poverty of the residents of these precarious settlements is between those who defend the paternalism and the antipaternalism of the State. That is, the direct and solely intervention of the Public Power will hardly be the solution for the development of these settlements since they have not solved it so far. In addition, the complete absence of that intervention will not solve the problem, because individuals unable to participate in

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the "consumerist game" are expelled from development and become "human waste" in the consumer society. It is believed that public policies that aim to develop precarious settlements through the economy have short or even medium consequences that do not permit to break the cycle of poverty in these settlements.

Finally, following the example of the experience in the city of Medellín, Colombia, the State's repressive participation was not sufficient to solve the problem of violence in the region. There, homicide rates, especially among the young population (which are more easily co-opted by factions/gangs) only began to decline when appropriate public policies were directed at educating individuals in precarious settlements. This result was only possible due to the participation of the population, through civil society organizations in the process of social inclusion. Among other objectives, professional training, fostering culture and education were crucial for the success of the so-called "Miracle of Medellín".

Accordingly, it is believed that the solutions hitherto applied in Fortaleza, namely the repressive intervention in the State to reduce the violence in the events of January 2019, as well as the proposal presented in the Fortaleza 2040 Plan, are not viable solutions in the long term. In this case, we trust on a joint solution – State and society – for the construction of more inclusive public policies, in order to alleviate, as much as possible, the situation of the "human waste", as Bauman called it.

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[1] It can be said that the technological aspect is an essential characteristic to define the contemporary world, such as the aspects of scientificity and knowledge of this era.

[2] The time frame of "where we are now" might vary. For Carlo Bordoni (2016), we live in the "State of Crisis", since saying it is modern or postmodern would imply a situation of dependence or opposition to modernity.

[3] In his work "Citizenship and social class", T. H. Masrhall deals with the formation of the concept of citizenship in England. R.D. Putnam, in his work "Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy" discusses the construction of citizenship, making a parallel between the north and the south of Italy. It is also possible to quote Clauss Offe who presents an interesting study about the functions of the state and its relationship with the implementation of social rights in his work "Structural problems of the capitalist state".

[4] Free translation: The strong resistance to direct distributive measures and the bet on education as a non-zero sum formula are an indication that they do not seem to recognize an effective social interdependence. In other words, they do not see the problem of poverty as something that affects society as a whole.

[5] Free translation: In its subjective manifestations, the phenomenon causes people to feel helpless in the face of their destinies, hopelessness, vulnerability, insecurity and lack of political power. In addition, as poverty does not end with material and individual aspects, but includes social relationships, such as access to work and assistance, multidimensional approaches still encompass social and even political dimensions related to this issue

[6] The author suggests that eliminating classes of exploitation of labor by the capital should resolve the inequality in capitalism. In order to achieve that, it is necessary to overcome the capitalist system itself (2012,

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p. 285). This research is based on the premise of a capitalist society to investigate precarious settlements, despite not proposing to analyze economic models.

[7] It is possible to verify that despite the important social assistance instruments existing in Brazil, there are still thousands of people close to extreme poverty, especially due to the low amounts passed on by assistance programs in comparison to the high need of poor families (PAIVA, 2019).

[8] The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2010) uses the expression "cluster of subnormal households" to characterize one of the types of precarious settlements, the *favela*. For census purposes, subnormal agglomerates characterize a group of at least 51 households, occupying or having occupied, until recently, land owned by other – public or private – often arranged in a disorderly, dense manner and lacking essential public services. (QUEIROZ FILHO, 2015, p. 345).

[9] In the text, the authors use the term slum, whose direct translation to Portuguese is *favela*, when on a smaller scale it is the conglomerate of individuals and of territorial extension. Likewise, slum can be understood as precarious settlement, in the event that the *favela* takes on large proportions.

[10] Human waste or reject is a term widely used by the author in his work to better define the individual who is a burden in the consumer society. It is important to mention that Bauman describes the social behavior of these individuals only for the purpose of demonstrating and understanding the problem of the globalized world, but he does not do it in a derogatory way.

[11] Be it the social, economic or cultural aspect, many factors promote the existence of human waste in consumer society.

[12] An example of a planned drain is the refugee and immigrant settlements, which are usually created far from large urban centers and are of a temporary character.

[13] The term culture is used here to define the identity that an individual has with the other in the same social group, being part of something and not being considered a "foreigner" in a given society.

[14] Free translation: He will have the house corresponding to his credit, that is, his social value as measured by the bank's standards. "How much are you worth?" - this is the question that the seller asks, armed to assess the social value of the customer as economically as possible, in the shortest possible time. [...] Personalized credit is given not because of the possession of visible goods, but because of what economists call permanent income: what is evaluated is what you are worth on the scale of your life.

[15] Alencarina Capital (*Capital Alencarina*) is a nickname given to the city of Fortaleza, state of Ceará, in honor of renowned writer and politician José de Alencar, who was born there in 1829.

[16] For the author, crime is an anomaly of a society with problems in the conduct of individuals. There is, in this hypothesis, a clear definition of right and wrong, good and bad or violent and peaceful behavior in society.

[17] The methodology adopted by the NGO was based on cities with more than 300,000 inhabitants in which there is no constant war conflict.

[18] The same research carried out in 2015 brought Fortaleza as the most violent capital in Brazil and the 12th in the world (MEXICO, 2016).

[19] This number of precarious settlements gains even more prominence when compared to the year 2010, when there were 318 settlements according to the *Plano Local de Habitação de Interesse Social de Fortaleza* (BRASIL, 2010).

[20] Data obtained based on the territorial extension of the capital equivalent to 313.8 km², with the precarious settlements occupying 39,941 km² (BRASIL, 2012).

[21] According to the author, *maras* are "gangs of juvenile delinquents who spread to several Central American countries" (SEN, 2010, p. 241)

[22] Free Translation: Social exclusion, along with family disarticulation, places a sector of youth in the area in a situation of "cornered youngsters" who – In the absence of responses from public policies – may be attracted to the *maras*, making themselves available for recruitment by the drug trafficking and organized crime mafias.

[23] It is not the objective of this essay to analyze the theory of crime or its practice in different social classes, however, it is believed that this analysis is corollary to the Labeling Approach Theory, where the notions of crime or criminal are constructed from society and applied in different ways in certain social groups. For example, a poor, black citizen with a certain amount of illicit substance is labeled a drug dealer, while a white, middle-class youth with the same amount of illicit substance is not labeled in the same way.

[24] Free translation: In other words, poverty and inequality are and are not a condition for criminality, depending on the type of crime, the intersubjective context and the cultural horizon to which we refer. This complex picture requires policies that are sensitive to the various dimensions that compose it.

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[25] Free translation: Paternalism, as such, consists precisely in the action of parents to make decisions on behalf of their children and thus protect them from their own deficient rationality. The antipaternalist position thus encompasses the notion that it is necessary to assume that all adults are more or less equivalent in the use of reason.

[26] It is important to note that the "poverty" analyzed in this academic research does not refer to the total absence of elements necessary for the life of the collectivity of precarious settlements, that is, it is not intended to analyze the poverty related to collective hunger, for example, which "has never plagued a democratic country – no matter how poor it was" (SEN, 2010, p. 76). The poverty delimited in the present article is attributed to the scarce amount of means to have a dignified life, but not the total absence of these means, as is the case in some countries in the sub-Saharan Africa.

[27] Taking as a parameter the plan of the city of Fortaleza and the Synthesis of the Strategic Propositions of the Fortaleza 2040 Plan.

[28] Free translation: As cities have been spaces of vigorous conflicts and class struggles, public administration has often been forced to supply public goods (such as affordable social housing, health care, education, street paving, sanitation and water) to an urbanized working class. Although these spaces and public goods contribute intensely to the common qualities, it is necessary political action by the citizens and the people who intend to take ownership of them or concretize those qualities. Public education becomes common when social forces take ownership of it, protecting and improving it for mutual benefit.

[29] It is said to be "superficial" due to the impossibility for the state entity to effectively reduce economic and/or social inequality.

[30] Free translation: It is impossible to consider the hypothesis of the reconstitution of the old city; it is possible to face the construction of a new city, on new bases, on another scale, in other conditions, in another society. Neither return (to the traditional city) nor a forward escape, to the colossal and formless agglomeration - this is the prescription.

[31] Possibly, this denomination was also due to the advent of the Colombian Constitution of 1991, which managed to codify rights and pave the way for the birth of the so-called *Ley de la Juventud* in 1996.

[32] The term "microeconomics" refers to the branch of economic science that has a micro focus, that is, regional/local of certain consumers and suppliers (BOARATI, 2006).

[33] It is believed that handicrafts are essential for commerce and tourism in cities; however, the search for these products is limited and cannot be seen as the solution for the dense population that lives in precarious settlements.

[34] Worse than depending on the State for its own survival is the possibility for managers to use public policies in order to substantiate their own discourse at each election.

[35] It is believed that a literate society is not enough. Above all, training individuals with critical thinking and with the possibility of being absorbed by the qualified labor market is of major importance.

[36] Free translation: In addition to its impact on work, education also appears as a source of other capital. Studies show that there is a close relationship between education and health indicators. Higher educational capital makes it possible to exercise more advanced health care on a daily basis. Likewise, education helps to build social capital. Higher levels of education enable access to broader and more qualified relationship networks.

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