PUBLIC SAFETY AND CITIES: PERSPECTIVES FROM THE CHICAGO SCHOOL.

SEGURANÇA PÚBLICA E CIDADES: PERSPECTIVAS A PARTIR DA ESCOLA DE CHICAGO.

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If a man defines a situation as real, it becomes real in its consequences. Thomas (1923).

ABSTRACT

The aim of this work is, from the theoretical perspective developed by the Sociological School of Chicago, to investigate and rescue the studies conducted since the early twentieth century, which indicate the spatial configuration of cities as a factor inhibiting or enhancing criminal activity, depending on of their level of social and urban organization. Sequentially, based on studies by Brazilian researchers, it is intended to investigate the relevance of the interrelationship between social disorganization, urban disorganization and crime in the country, which leads to the following problematization: There is a relationship between socially and urbanistically disorganized city spaces and committing crimes? Finally, we will study the legal predictions, based on the Brazilian Constitution, about the development of public policies in such urban context, as a way to combat the violence pointed out by the research as socially and spatially sectorized. The research method used

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was strictly the bibliographic research and, consequently, the data used in the referred works and that pointed as hypothesis the plausibility in the connection between social disorganization, urban disorganization and crime suggesting, conclusively but not exhaustively, the need to implement inclusive public policies, especially within municipalities, focused on combating structural and, consequently, criminal violence.

KEYWORDS: Chicago School; social disorganization, urban disorganization; public policy; crime.

1. INTRODUCTION

The history of humanity is marked by great exodus. The phenomenon of displacement of a large contingent of people within and outside certain national borders - which is closely related to the territorial dimensions of the country - is not, therefore, something recent. The most varied reasons, ranging from natural disasters, often accompanied by famine and disease to, more commonly, war, may cause this phenomenon.

It is well known that Brazil is a continental country and that in recent decades it has also been marked by an intense migratory flow. However, the displacement of these human contingents is occurring more sharply within its own borders and for reasons that have nothing to do with war or natural disasters, although the hypothesis of disease and hunger cannot be ruled out, since they are still found in areas of the country marked by extreme poverty, whose consequences, in addition to those already described, extend to the spheres of basic public benefits that must be guaranteed by the State.

Thus, we can hypothesize that the main causes of intense internal migration in Brazil are linked to social and urban issues, which can be proven by the gap between what is provided for as fundamental rights in this area of the Federal Constitution and what permeates the reality of a large part of the country's population.

Such migratory movement - regardless of the heated theoretical discussions about its reasons - brings with it, as usual, several consequences. One of the most unfavorable consequences to the country is the swelling of cities with greater urban structure and, therefore, with a greater number of inhabitants , usually located close to industrialized areas and with intense flow in the service sector.

The reason for such population concentration may have its explanation in the very canons of modern urbanism, since its foundational framework is also well known, as set out in the Athens Charter of 1943, which points out the path of organization and interaction of common spaces to the

city – zoning with programmatic distribution – which should be constituted in distinct sectors of housing, work, leisure and circulation, as the best way for its inhabitants to have guaranteed the enjoyment of the advantages that the planned collective coexistence can ensure.

It is evident that for various reasons not every city and not even most of the cities in Brazil managed to structure themselves in this way, given that there is a profound lack of urban infrastructure in the country.

Accordingly, a considerable portion of the Brazilian population has left the areas most deprived of resources, especially the rural ones, places where there is a profound deficit of urban organization and, consequently, less access to the benefits of large urban centers - such as housing, employment, leisure, health care, public transport, basic sanitation, running water, electricity, among other basic constitutional rights - towards the big cities in the search for a better quality of life.

This situation has led the country to a phenomenon known as *favelização* ('slumization'), which is the creation of unplanned urbanized inhabited areas - natural areas -, marked by an intense social and urban disorganization, where the levels of violence are accentuated and with its residents, as a rule, belonging to the less favored social strata of the population.

The reflection that is now being introduced aims, above all, to investigate the reasons why people in such an environment are more likely to commit certain types of crime, contributing to the bleak picture of growing criminality in Brazil, as well as, in a pragmatic line, to indicate ways that could help in solving such a difficult problem.

With the thematic approach that leads to the investigation of the relevance of the interrelationship between social disorganization, urban disorganization and criminality in the country, we propose the following problematization: is there a relationship between socially and urbanistically disorganized city spaces and crime committing?

To face such problematization, regarding the methodology adopted in this article, the inductive research approach will be used, since this is a research developed in the theoretical-interpretative field of reality, starting from what is well known, without being limited to consensus, to reach conclusions that have not been drawn until then; through argument, therefore, we will seek to expand what is established, moving from the known to the unknown, from the particular to the general, with the ultimate goal of elaborating a form of knowledge that necessarily goes beyond what is already established by common sense[4].

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[4] The choice of the inductive method is due to the main theoretical understanding according to which, a deductive system, once the axioms that set it in motion are complete, does not admit additions, innovations, what is already known, nothing new can be added. This approach method is used when looking for further explanations about a phenomenon, something already contained in the premises, but not yet perceived. Unlike induction, it is forbidden to add new inferences, new information, since the conclusions are, from the first moment, contained in the premises, which means that nothing can come

Using the ABNT standards for the references, always grounded in the technique of bibliographic research, seeking a broad review of classic works, as well as what has been most recently written on the subject, we adopted the monographic method of procedure with the approach of a single theme, which does not prevent a necessary and fruitful interdisciplinary dialogue, with contributions from Political Science, Philosophy, Criminology, Geography, Epistemology and Sociology.

The basic theory is deeply rooted in a knowledge bias specifically built from in-depth studies in the heart of cities, that is, the work that is now beginning will be developed from the perspective adopted by the sociology developed at the University of Chicago to explain the reasons why certain crimes are committed and, consequently, from the same perspective, the best way to face such situations.

Consequently, to support this theme, it is essential to break with traditional categories of Criminal Law, based on naturalistic or ontological perspectives to explain criminal practice and, thus, for us, concepts such as social disorganization, demoralization, assimilation, acculturation, spatial ecology, human ecology, dominance, succession, competition, among many others, ended up unveiling a new paradigm on the problem of urban crime, giving the body of knowledge produced by Chicago sociologists the status of a Scientific School[5].

Regarding the main axis of this theme, the Chicago Sociological School emphasizing the studies of and in cities[6], systematizes that, in general, crime is a product of social and urban disorganization, the result of institutional problems in both the public and private spheres, sustaining in such a line of reasoning that crime originates from deficits in the sphere of informal social control – family, school, community ties, religion, etc. – and in the sphere of urbanization – dirty, fetid, degraded urban areas, abandoned by the public authorities, etc. – and not an individual pathology[7].

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from the outside once the mechanism is started. Further elaboration on methodological issues, see Bachelard (1999), Marconi and Lakatos (2000), Oliveira (2001), Leite (2001) and Pasold (2002).

[5]We will not enter into the merits of deep and intense academic discussions about the pertinence of the attribution of such status. Becker (1996) addresses the topic, distinguishing between Schools of Thought and Schools of Activity. Coulon (1995, p. 7) has the following understanding: "'Chicago School' is usually used to define a set of sociological research works carried out in the period between 1925 and 1940, by professors and students of the University in Chicago. [...] It is not always, of course, a homogeneous current of thought, with a common theoretical approach, but despite this the Chicago School has several characteristics that undoubtedly give it great unity and give it a particular and distinct place in American sociology" (Free translation).

[6] One of Chicago's most renowned sociologists, Park (1967, p. 12) realized the city as a laboratory for the investigation of social life. In the author's own words "today, the whole world either lives in the city or is on its way to the city; then, if we study cities, we will be able to understand what is happening in the world" (Free translation).

[7] One of the most complete and up-to-date studies on the University of Chicago, containing 1,221 pages, can be found in Boyer (2015).

Focusing on field research, privileging empiricism through qualitative research, the aforementioned sociologists, when studying crime, realized that socially disorganized environments were strongly embedded in places with deficiencies in urban planning and development, configuring themselves as the areas where statistics pointed to the highest rates of certain types of crimes, especially violent ones.

In order to investigate the minimal relevance of the theoretical foundations of sociology produced at the University of Chicago summarized above, that is, to seek some indication of the plausibility that social disorganization is closely related to urban disorganization and that both contribute to a considerable crime rate in Brazil, we carried out an extensive literature review on the subject in studies carried out by Brazilian researchers that had as their object the urban spaces located in the country.

Finally, and following the pragmatic line also developed by the sociologists of the Chicago School, we intend to find solutions to the problem presented[8], having the 1988 Brazilian Federal Constitution as a basis, since in this *Magna Carta* there was an expansion of the recognition of fundamental rights, which in a way contributes to society demanding the elaboration and implementation of public policies, that is, that the set of laws aimed at guaranteeing social rights is effective and not just a mere legislative formality.

Starting from the understanding that the possibilities and actors related to the development of public policies end up configuring a very complex and extensive field, due to the characteristics of the problems pointed out here as the genesis of criminal behavior, as well as, from the sphere of competence closest to the citizens and with greater probability of efficiency and effectiveness in dealing with violence through non-repressive public policies, we have adopted the municipalities as the most suitable institutional space for such confrontation.

Therefore, this study proposes, above all, a reflection and analysis on the possible consequence of the adoption of municipal public policies of social scope as a mechanism in the prevention and fighting of crime, considering that, through the implementation of instruments capable of reducing the deep social inequalities that are reflected through social and urban disorganization, in addition to following the principles contained in the Constitution of the Brazilian Republic, it is possible - also and who knows, mainly - to seek solutions to the growing wave of structural and criminal violence that is plaguing the country, outside the reactive/repressive context.

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[8] From the philosophy of the Pragmatic School, according to which the meaning of an idea must correspond to the set of its practical consequences, it is understood that the study of the causes of crime will directly reflect in the field of criminal policies to be developed, contributing for them to be thought of in a more realistic way and, therefore, with greater possibilities of reaching the proposed ends.

In order to achieve this goal, the first topic deals with the theoretical framework, the theory that supports all the thinking presented in this work, which addresses the theoretical contributions developed since the beginning of the last century by the Sociological School of Chicago.

After this phase, in the second item, it was essential that we investigated the relevance of what Chicago sociologists defend in the spatial context of Brazilian cities, as a way to draw a more specific contextualization of the problem of crime studied here and of the specialization when elaborating public policies to face this problem.

Thus, through a detailed bibliographical research, we proceeded to update such information through studies carried out by Brazilian researchers exclusively focused on the study of criminality in the Municipalities that make up the country's Federative System.

Finally and consequently, in line with everything that has been exposed in the preceding items and following the line of pragmatic philosophy, so dear to the sociologists studied here, in the third and last topic, we present the possibilities of implementing the knowledge produced so far: of what concretely it may be planned and carried out by the Political Power, in close harmony with civil society, in the context of the development of public policies that maintain absolute proximity to the foundations of a Democratic Rule of Law.

In search of such a desideratum, we carried out an analysis of the federative composition of Brazil, in order to gather subsidies on the best way to manage preventive Public Security policies, ending up indicating the scope of municipalities as the most fruitful for the development of such public policies, since the Municipalities are the federated bodies that have the best characteristics, those that can be considered the most complete for combating structural violence [9] and, consequently, criminal violence.

This is the challenge of the work that follows.

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[9] Initially developed by Baratta (1999), a very up-to-date definition of structural violence, which is adopted in the work that is now beginning, can be found in Michalowski (2010). In this definition, "injuries, illness or death would be present due to forms of poverty and inequality, damage to the work environment, consumer risks, environmental pollution, sexism, racism and ethnic exclusion, preventable or facilitated by the State, and the loss of life, health, economic resources and autonomy due to neocolonialism, neoimperialism and neoliberal globalization". (Free translation)

2. CRIME AND THE CITY: THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE CHICAGO SCHOOL

2.1 An Introduction to Chicago School Sociology

Within the scope of what has been produced in Brazil about the Chicago School, most of the works produced were in the area of sociology, anthropology, architecture, psychology and more recently, geography, with very varied approaches. The works more frequently address the methods of research developed, analyzing specific works, often even connecting social disorganization, urban disorganization and criminality[10] without, however, developing a more legal view on the subject, without delving into – or even connecting with – criminal policy and with public safety policies[11].

Notwithstanding, the relationship between violence and urbanization - or the lack of it - has always been treated as an intriguing and even relevant issue, since it would be unreasonable to ignore that a large part of the transformations that cities have undergone and still undergo has multifaceted impacts, of many natures, which directly interfere in the production of violence and fear.

From this premise, we can defend the idea that the urban structure should be taken into account as one of the determinants of the phenomenon of violence and crime, bearing in mind the intense process of production and transformation of space and of the social reproduction that characterizes the permanent mutation of certain sectors of the cities.

As a direct consequence of adopting such an understanding, we facilitate the achievement of the projected results for the policies to be developed within the scope of social control, since by delimiting a specific field of action, with a planning oriented to confront a certain problem – i.e. the social and urban disorganization - the greater the chances of progress in the sphere of disciplining society.

It is important, therefore, to carry out a theoretical framework that makes the proper connections of ideas between the role played by cities in criminal violence as a reflection of the structural violence that permeates certain urban spaces, deepening the research specifically on the

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[10] A Brazilian academic work developed by Tangerino, made the proper connection between the teachings of the Chicago School and the development of public policies of crime prevention (2007).

[11] See Massena (1986), Adorno (1990), Misse (1995), Joas (1999), Beato and Reis (2000), Siqueira (2001), Sogame (2001), Felix (2002), Freitas (2002), Teodósio (2003), Cerqueira and Lobão (2004), Ferreira and Penna (2005), Diniz (2005), Braga and Gastaldo (2009), Carvalho et al (2010), Batella and Diniz (2010), Evangelista (2012), Andrade et al (2013), Melhem (2013), Cabral de Lira (2014), Lira (2014), Delgado (2014), Casteletto (2014), Galvão (2014), Melo and Matias (2015), Ramos (2015), Faria et al (2015), Lira (2015), Santos (2016), Valentin and Pinezi (s/d).

levels of influence that social and urban disorganization represent in this context, since we recognize that they are not the only determinants of criminal behavior.

This is why, in this chapter, more than in authors, that is, in the well-known sociologists of the Chicago School, we intend to expose their ideas in a diachronic way[12], so that we can better provide a theoretical linearity that fits the purposes intended here, namely: guidelines for the elaboration of criminal policies[13].

Therefore, instead of connecting themes, works and concepts to certain authors, which has already been done exhaustively by the academy, we chose to describe in detail the development of the produced ideas, especially those that argue that the relationships between social disorganization and urban disorganization and between these and committing crimes are intimate[14], with the clear purpose of deepening such theoretical possibilities with the reality of Brazilian cities and, if possible, connecting them with criminal policies that can inform public security policies[15].

In this journey, we will start the approach from the first phase of the Chicago school, which marks the birth of urban sociology, in which the discussion about urban conformation is prioritized as a central element of the social disorganization of urban communities and spaces, that is, from the analysis of the structuring of cities, we sought to understand the impact that urban development – under the effect of growing industrialization – would produce in the social, economic and political spheres.

Thus, based on the understanding that the gradual transformations that all cities undergo in their development cycles end up having varied impacts, especially in the production of violence and, consequently, fear, it was necessary to deepen the research on the urban structure of cities so that the determinants of such phenomena could be identified.

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[12]On the development of the Chicago School, chronologically, see Becker (1996).

[13] Some introductory texts to the thought produced by the Chicago School can be found in Newburn (2009).

[14] From now on, and in order to avoid unnecessary criticism, it is assumed that no isolated factor may explain why some individuals behave violently in relation to others, committing crimes and no isolated factor can explain the reasons why crime is more accentuated in some communities and not in others. We join the understanding that perceives the criminal phenomenon as a combination of factors that may indicate the emergence of criminal conduct at different levels, locations and types.

[15]In advance, it is essential to draw attention to the fact that the postulates of sociology developed at the University of Chicago still cause great controversy. There are several academic works that totally or partially disagree with the theoretical foundations that associate social disorganization with urban disorganization and these with committing crimes. See Coelho (1980), Coelho (1988), Paixão (1990), Caldeira (2000), Castells (2000), Andrade (2003a), Cerqueira e Lobão (2004), Diniz (2005), Silva e Marinho (2014) . The synthesis of such controversy can be summarized by the following proposition by Beato Filho (2012, p. 86): "Our enormous social debt is believed to be the origin of the serious problems of crime and violence that the country is facing. We live in one of the five most violent countries in the world, and the reasons for this are socioeconomic, being concentrated on the macro-structural level. It is an easy argument to state, but extremely difficult to prove." (Free translation)

In this phase of theoretical development, the studies by Wirth (1979) - whose epistemological concern was a constant - stood out. Wirth made efforts to elaborate the basic concepts that would allow the development of a sociology of cities, basing his research on the thematic perspective according to which the city was a place where social relations were fragmented, anonymous and superficial, giving rise to feelings of insecurity and situations of social conflict. In such a context, the mechanisms of formal social control acquired accentuated relevance.[16]

This methodological concern seems to be constant in the works developed in such an academic context and it is imperative that we address, at the beginning of this chapter, the method used by researchers at the University of Chicago to reach reliable results that prove the theories that were being developed then.

Consequently, it is necessary to draw attention to the intense pragmatism that permeates everything that such sociology produces. Many of Chicago's teachers – like many of the early American sociologists – were Protestant pastors deeply committed with social reforms, whose interest would be to produce knowledge aimed at solving the social problems that afflicted large American cities.

Therefore, at that time, everyone in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago shared the position that something needed to be done to face the serious problems that afflicted American society, especially those linked to poverty[17].

Accordingly, the empiricism that ends up characterizing the pragmatic philosophy adopted by sociologists in Chicago is marked by the urge of such researchers to produce knowledge that could be useful and had practical applicability in order to face the difficulties inherent to the social structure of the time. (BIRTH, 2010)

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[16] In one of his best-known works, entitled "Urbanism as a way of life", Wirth (1979, p. 113) states in his conclusions that "For sociological purposes, a city is a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of heterogeneous individuals. Large numbers are responsible for individual variability, the relative absence of intimate personal knowledge, the segmentation of human relationships which are largely anonymous, superficial and transient, and related characteristics". (Free translation)

[17] It is important to point out the warning brought by Joas (1999), for whom one of the great misconceptions about the Chicago School was to conceive it as solely interested in promoting social reforms and believing that its specific nature consisted of a secularized Protestant social reformism. It draws attention to the fact that this misinterpretation can even be found in recent texts by top-notch authors such as Tenbruck, Vidich and Lyman.

Due to the adoption of such a pragmatic philosophy (DEWEY, 2018), the studies in Chicago end up turning to the urban theme and to fieldwork. Accordingly, the Chicago School distances itself from the hitherto fashionable speculative sociology, inaugurating what would come to be known as sociology of action, with a humanist bias, strongly impregnated with religious values and committed to social transformation[18].

In order to achieve the objectives outlined above, it is necessary to develop research methods capable of assisting in this task.

At this point, several innovations were produced, which were dependent, to a greater or lesser extent, on the theoretical development called symbolic interactionism (MEAD, 1934), that is, from the perspective of what was proposed by symbolic interactionism, as a reference or theoretical basis, new methodologies of research began to be developed. A true revolution in the method structure took place. (FELGUEIRAS, 2016)

For interactionists, in synthesis, any and all methods to be developed should start from the point of view of social agents, elucidating the meanings they put into practice to build their social world[19]. In the words of Coulon (1995, p. 22), "É preciso preservar a integridade do mundo social para poder estudá-lo, e levar em conta o ponto de vista dos agentes sociais, pois é através do sentido que atribuem a objetos, indivíduos e símbolos que os rodeiam, que eles fabricam seu mundo social"[20].

In this line of thought, and this is the point that most interests us to advance in behavioral and, therefore, criminological research, interactionists understand that it is from the interpretations of the world around them, from the meanings that come from the interactive relationships of social agents – neighborhood and work relationships, relations with the physical surroundings, the environment, the urban, etc. – that agents determine their conduct[21].

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[18] On the subject, see Coulon (1995).

[19] In a well-known article, Abbott (1997, p. 1154, free translation) explains that: "Chicago writers believed in social structure as a set of temporary stabilities in a process of flow and reciprocal determination. The social world was composed of actors who mutually determined each other in ways that were sometimes deliberate and sometimes quite unforeseen".

[20] "It is necessary to preserve the integrity of the social world in order to study it and to take into account the point of view of social agents, as it is through the meaning that they attribute to objects, individuals and symbols that surround them that they manufacture their social world" (Free translation)

[21] Further deepening in Blumer (1986).

Accordingly, they faced what is perhaps the most basic issue of individual accountability of men for their actions, which dates back to the historical theoretical clash between the Classic and Positive Schools of Criminal Law (GUIMARÃES, 2013), the old dilemma between volunteerism and determinism of behaviors, that is, they refuted the deterministic and involuntary character of human behavior, as Lombroso wanted, and affirmed that man has freedom of choice to adopt behaviors[22].

Such an understanding can be considered a watershed in the area of Criminology as it contributed substantially to the debate about the factors that trigger deviant conduct, definitively surpassing the era of delinquency determinism immanent to the criminal himself as the exclusive explanation of such social phenomenon.

Therefore, from the junction of ideas from the pragmatic philosophy, as a philosophy of action, with the ideas produced in the context of symbolic interactionism, the Chicago sociologists noticeably privileged the work of field research, as a way of getting to know better the city and its residents and, through this methodological path, present solutions to solve the problems in its territory.

Thus, without disregarding the statistical method, the basis of quantitative research, Chicago sociology, in general, was oriented in the sense that only numbers, statistical studies of the behavior of populations, could not provide a basis for an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon studied, when not accompanied by the individuals' life history. They understood that it was necessary, in research, to assume the role of the agent, to analyze the world from its point of view, giving up the objectivity represented by distant, exterior observation. (THOMAS AND ZNANIECKI, 1927)

Due to this point of view, the research turned to personal letters, life history, interviews, observation, reports from social workers, forensic records, in short, everything that could contribute to the understanding of the phenomenon studied from the perspective of the individuals[23], which ultimately led to what became known as participatory observation, in which the investigator was completely immersed in their field of study, taking on a full-time role in the community studied.[24].

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[22]From the perspective of Felgueiras (2016, p. 143): "As we mentioned, the interactionist approach criticizes the determinist approach, defending a constructivist perspective, which means that the human being builds his behavior from a process of interpretation, he chooses the conduct to adopt. Therefore, the human being does not react mechanically to external stimuli, there is an elaborate interpretation process, which may or may not reflect previous events or the individual's experience. Basically, human conduct is an unpredictable construction that results from the human being's thinking and/or interaction with others. To a certain extent, Man as a creator has the ability to influence the design of his own destiny". (Free translation)

[23] Sutherland (1937) deepens this methodology, going beyond the limits of the empirical subject to reach the perspective of the analytical subject, that is, when studying professional thieves, in addition to the accounts of their life histories, he used their interpretation of these.

[24]On the various positions of Chicago's leading sociologists in relation to the methodological issue, in detail, Coulon (1995, p. 99), for whom "Choosing a method is choosing a theory. As no methodology is justified by

In summary, the theoretical divergence about the method, methodology and validity of the results produced by the sociologists of the Chicago School in its early days is profound. However, the empirical methodological multiplicity originally developed there represented a great advance in the academic investigative field, with a significant contribution to ethnographic research – in the sense of describing and thus revealing the norms of behavior, customs, beliefs and traditions of a society – whose greatest contribution was to go beyond the frontiers of a speculative sociology, in vogue until then.

2.2 On the interconnections between social disorganization, urban disorganization and criminality

Having recovered the general canons that based the sociology developed in the city of Chicago since the beginning of the 20th century, it is now possible to explain the understanding of its sociologists related to human conduct, especially criminal behavior[25].

In order to do that, it is necessary that we ratify the central role of the study of cities, as 'organized' urban agglomerations, since it is through such studies that the study of criminality is made possible from the perspective of a specific spatiality, in other words, Chicago sociologists understood that it is possible to identify areas with greater propensity for the practice of certain types of offenses[26].

Therefore, it is from studies based on the development of urban sociology – characterized by the deepening of the discussion on urban conformation as a central element of the social disorganization of communities and urban spaces – that explanations were sought for understanding the interrelationships between social disorganization, urban disorganization and crime[27].

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itself, to understand this choice and its use, it is necessary to bring it closer to the theory with which it is compatible and even that it sometimes represents". (Free translation)

[25]Criticisms were made regarding the explanation of criminal conduct drawn by the Chicago sociologists, claiming that such studies only covered certain types of crimes, not explaining, for example, white-collar criminality. These criticisms are untenable in our understanding, given that in no work by the Chicago School is there any mention to explain the totality of reasons that lead a person to commit crimes, and its sociologists are very clear in delimiting the object of their studies to crime related to issues of social and urban disorganization, as well as, presenting suggestions for combating it, only in such a field. For access to such reviews, directly or indirectly, see authors linked to Critical Criminology, such as Santos (1984), Batista (1990), Zaffaroni (1991), Melossi (1992), Zaffaroni (1997), Pavarini (1998), Baratta (1999), Andrade (2003b), Bergalli (2003), among others.

[26]Nowadays, this perspective is widely used, and there is even a software called RTM – Risk Terrain Model, which proposes to analyze the risk of committing crimes based on data collected in certain places. More details in Caplan (2016).

[27] Further in Wirth (1979).

In this perspective, it is important to rescue the concept of human ecology, as it is an essential concept for understanding the links between crime and the city.

By human ecology we must understand the study of living beings as members of a complex network of related organisms that interact with each other. As derivatives of this concept, two other concepts were initially developed: dominance, which would be the dispute for the most valuable areas of the city, and succession, which would be a cyclical change in settlement areas due to the value of the properties located there. (PARK AND MCKENZIE, 1984)

Later, still within the scope of human ecology, the concept of competition was introduced, which expanded the concept of dominance, indicating that competition define the occupation of the best places in the city in addition to defining the individual's position in the community. Thus, it is through dominance, competition and succession that the process in which the distributive and ecological organization of the city takes place. (PARK AND BURGESS, 1921).

Finally, to thoroughly explain the phenomenon of territorial expansion and consequent population distribution, called by the aforementioned authors as the ecological cycle, five stages were defined, starting with the invasion, which would be the entry of migrant populations into the old and central parts of the city, followed by the succession characterized by the residential mobility of populations to more peripheral areas, followed by selection, in which the residential location is defined by ecological criteria such as language, ethnicity and income, among others, followed by the segregation stage, which acts as a complement to selection, with greater emphasis on the role of local culture in determining the location of social groups and finally accommodation, in which the balance and consolidation of areas under the dominance of a particular social group occur[28].

There were several works developed from such theoretical framework and one of the best known is the one that divided the city into concentric circles, whose objective was to determine the spatial division of the city so that one could better study the social phenomena in each of these delimited fields. (BURGESS, 1970)

Five would be the concentric zones that would establish the application of human ecology to cities: zone I, the commercial and business center; zone II, called the transition zone; zone III, that of workers' neighborhoods; zone IV, the residential of the middle and upper classes; and zone V, for people who live near rural areas but work in the city.

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[28] A specific work on Human Ecology can be found in Eufrásio (2013).

After establishing the spaces of the city through the phenomena of dominance, competition and succession, later complemented by the phenomena of invasion, selection, segregation and accommodation, the researchers observed that in certain places, with well-defined characteristics, there was a clear propensity for committing crimes. Furthermore, it was detected that the most worn out social fabric was found in these places, with a profound social disorganization and practically non-existent social control. (THOMAS AND ZNANIECKI. 1927).

Analyzing the phenomena described above from their current perspective, we realize that some corrections are necessary, since there is no longer a clear division in cities, especially in megalopolises, as pointed out in concentric circles.

On the other hand, it is necessary to emphasize the propriety of some criticisms, such as the one formulated to explain that spatial segregation does not occur solely by criteria of human ecology.

We can say that it is still common nowadays to assign a certain status to the person due to the address in which they live, and this phenomenon is clearly reflected through real estate speculation, in which certain areas of the city are valued according to their surroundings: the neighborhood that lives there is the preponderant factor in this calculation[29].

However, at this point, we must agree with Castells (2000) that – based on the Marxist Theory – points out the omission of the Chicago sociology concerning the analysis of the relations between social classes, from the perspective of the economic and political domination, given that these relationships would be directly connected to the appropriation of urban space.

Urban conformation, therefore, would not be a natural process, as defended by Park and Burgess (1921), but the direct consequence of segmented interests. For the Marxist paradigm, in short, far from being a process explained only by the concepts of dominance, competition and succession, spatial segregation is produced by social, political and economic conflicts between the groups that make up society.

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[29]In Brazil, the devaluation of areas close to favelas is an undeniable fact, as they present a high rate of social and urban disorganization and, consequently, high rates of criminal violence, which consequently leads to the stigmatization of their residents, especially in terms of formal social control, triggering the known process of selectivity. On this phenomenon, see Baratta (1999).

Criticism vehemently points out that the Chicago School is not concerned with explaining the causes of immigration, for example, that from a Marxist perspective is directly linked to issues of social struggles for political and economic hegemony[30].

Regardless of the determination of the causes of the spatial profile of cities and the origins of its configuration – the current reality points to the existence of segregation of certain social strata in certain areas, reaching the conclusion that economic status is intrinsic or immanent to such determination – what interested Chicago's sociology was the probing of research on the consequences that would come from the profound social differences among the residents of the areas that made up the given urban configuration. (THOMAS, 1923)

Subsequently, social disorganization, in the studies carried out by Chicago sociologists, appears as a predominant factor in areas inhabited by people of lesser economic power and is directly connected with the committing of crimes. Such social disorganization stems from the breakdown of the family, which has a direct impact on community breakdown[31].

Therefore, without the family and the community being able to play a fundamental role in an ethically and morally based social control and also not being able to impose a common set of rules on their members, there is a considerable impact in crime rates.

In short, with the urban development of cities, the poorest layers[32] of the population were pushed to the periphery, where urbanization was - and continues to be - precarious, configuring themselves as deteriorated areas, with precarious infrastructure. Such displacement caused the rupture of their family and community ties[33], making informal social control difficult, thus summing

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[30]Silva and Marinho (2014, p. 27) warn that: "Thus, several Marxist authors have questioned the relevance of urban sociology. For them, the phenomena that affect the distribution of neighborhoods are linked to general characteristics of capitalist societies and, at the same time, give it a special dimension. Accordingly, the analysis of the distribution of urban neighborhoods is in the struggles of groups in residential markets that occur interdependently with central phenomena of capitalist societies, such as the expansion of labor, industrial and financial capital markets". (Free translation)

[31] An in-depth critical study of the concept of social disorganization formulated by the Chicago sociology – an essential reading – can be found in Bursik Jr. (1988).

[32]In such a field, the observation made by Tangerino (2007, p. 70) is important: "Just as direct relations between ethnicity and crime would be inadmissible, so are the relations of poverty and crime. However, being subjected to a situation of poverty is an ecologically relevant component, as the poorest will be forced to reside in the worst regions, where the perpetrators of criminal offenses reside". (Free translation) On the relationship between poverty and crime, in greater detail, Ferreira and Penna (2005).

[33]The intense population movement between the different areas of the city - caused by the phenomena of dominance, succession and competition - breaks the contact and ties between the components of a given community and even family ties, greatly weakening the possibility of community and family control on the individual, resulting in higher crime rates in the invaded area. On the subject, in depth, Shaw and McKay (1942).

up characteristics that form a fruitful cultural broth for committing crimes, especially against the person and property and those related to drug trafficking.

Therefore, in such a theoretical perspective, the adequate urban space, that is, the one that conforms to the requirements of habitability from the perspective of the modern city, turns out to be a key element to sociability and, consequently, to social control, insofar as it works as an important stabilizing and regulating element that reinforces the feelings of belonging to the local environment, favoring the stabilization of peaceful social relations.

Allied to the importance of what has been exposed so far, that is, the methodological shift to research human conduct, as well as the change in perspective to explain the practice of criminal acts, the Chicago School should be credited with presenting other means and other policies to fight crime[34].

Without questioning or attacking the means of formal social control and without the concern of giving the studies developed a status of exhaustion in explaining the criminal phenomenon, Chicago sociology has clearly developed research in the area of urban violence, precisely indicating paths to be followed to face it.

Lies at this point perhaps the greatest significance of their research and scientific production: when they detected/denounced the appalling living conditions of a certain portion of the population as one of the causes of crime, they pointed out as a solution not repressive options, but public policies of social inclusion, through the urban recovery of degraded areas, as well as measures to combat poverty, social exclusion, lack of education, in short, to provide better means of coexistence for the entire population[35].

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[34]On the relevance of such a perspective, see Evangelist (2012).

[35]On the subject, it is essential to know the Chicago Area Project - CAP (2018, free translation), which "was founded in the 1930s by Clifford Shaw, a sociologist at the University of Chicago, who believed that each neighborhood could reduce juvenile delinquency by improving community life. Our original mission has not changed since that foundation. CAP's long history of community building has demonstrated that low-income residents are as capable as others of addressing critical neighborhood issues. CAP believes that bringing in outside agencies to 'fix' local problems such as delinquency, gang violence, drug abuse and unemployment cannot solve community problems. Chicago Area Project is a strong network of more than 40 grassroots organizations and special projects designed to promote positive youth development and prevent juvenile delinquency through building communities. Started in 1934, CAP is based on the concept that each neighborhood has the leaders it needs to solve its own problems". (Free translation)

3. URBAN SPACES, STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND CRIMINAL VIOLENCE IN BRAZIL. THEORETICAL PERTINENCE OF CHICAGO SOCIOLOGY?

In this topic, based on studies developed by Brazilian sociologists, geographers and criminologists[36] – as they have a greater approach to the problem of violence in Brazil – which adopted as a theoretical reference what was produced by the Chicago School, we will undertake a review of works that specifically addressed the interrelated issues in the sphere of social and urban disorganization and criminality, with the purpose of verifying the theoretical plausibility and the indicatives on the alikeness of such social phenomena.

It is important to highlight that the methodological resources chosen - exclusively the bibliographic review - for the investigation that we now present, only allowed the search for indicatives, theoretical plausibility, reasonableness or pertinence of the arguments previously presented by the Chicago School, today also studied by what is called the Geography of Crime[37], that is, from the characteristics of certain areas – mainly social and urban – it is possible to identify a greater propensity to commit certain crimes, without any pretension of definitive proof of such phenomenon.

The position described above is due to the great recurrence of the understanding that indicates the lack of reliable data for studies carried out in the area of Public Security in Brazil[38], as well as an absolute deficit of solid and scientific bases that will provide reliable information to face the problem of violence, even coming to statement that "this is not exactly an area of knowledge, but a wasteland, where assumptions proliferate, prejudices, common sense, magic and more or less well intentioned hunches". (BEATO FILHO, 2012)

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[36]Transversally, for the purposes proposed here, Brazilian Critical Criminology ends up contributing to the understanding of the criminal phenomenon, by deconstructing the traditional ways of analyzing crime and criminality, which can be summarized in the thought of Andrade (2003): "there was a change in thinking, a real breaking of the barrier studied in Social Sciences and Critical Criminology, which made possible the deconstruction and overcoming of the common sense of criminality, citizenship and violence, enabling new visions and new discourses" (Free translation). On a new perspective of analysis of crime and criminality, see Baratta (1999).

[37]One of the first works published in Brazil specifically on the subject was written by Felix (2002), for whom the Geography of crime can be understood as "the study of crime from the perspective of demographic and spatial dynamics", thus, "The Geographic School of Crime, especially from the beginning of the 1970s, has sought to elucidate the processes that lead to the problem, in the light of different theories and through associative analyzes with other scientific fields. If crime is a social phenomenon that reflects certain conditions of life, differentiated by socioeconomic, cultural, political, demographic, spatial situations, etc., it is the study of these conditions that will lead to an understanding of the levels of variation of violence" (Free translation).

[38]Accordingly, the phenomenon has a long history. See Adorno (2002), Cerqueira and Lobão (2004), Kahn (2005), Caldeira (2000), Beato Filho (2012),

Notwithstanding the above considerations, there has been a notable increase in studies that are concerned with this area of investigation in Brazil and today there is a considerable bibliography aimed to research the field of Public Security from the perspective of the Geography of Crime[39].

In short, the problem that is now being investigated can be translated as a mishmash of poverty, unemployment, physical violence, low rates of formal education, drug trafficking, gang violence, disease proliferation, child neglect, among many other tragedies, which have flourished in Brazilian urban agglomerations, amalgamating into growing structural and criminal violence[40]. Hence an emerging need to understand and explain this phenomenon, that is, it is necessary to investigate the reciprocal influences and/or interrelationships between violence and the configuration of urban spaces – mainly under the social and urbanistic approach – in order to restructure these spaces and fight violence[41].

That said, and from this perspective, there are indications that in less developed countries, in a more accentuated manner, rural populations are in constant migratory processes to urban areas[42]. The transferring of the population from the countryside to the cities is due to several factors, prevailing the search for better jobs, access to education, health and transportation: in short, a better quality of life to be provided by more developed cities.[43]

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[39]Many studies have been carried out in Brazil with the aim of investigating the relationships between poverty, economic inequality, social inequality and crime. In the 1990s and 2000s, there was still much refutation of this relationship, however, more recent studies have shown, with increasing frequency, that there is a close relationship between these phenomena. For more details, see Beato Filho and Reis (2000), Cárdia and Schiffer (2000), Adorno (2002), Felix (2002), Cerqueira and Lobão (2004), Diniz (2005),Kleinschmitt et al (2011), Andrade et al (2013), Casteletto (2014), Lira (2014), Melo and Matias (2015), Lira (2015), Santos (2016),Waiselfisz (2016), Ribeiro and Cano (2016).

[40]Guimarães (2007), based on the postulates of Critical Criminology, presents an in-depth study on the interrelationships between criminal violence and structural violence, concluding that the profound socioeconomic differences between the various layers that make up society and that ultimately end up configuring the social exclusion of a significant portion of the population (structural violence), is directly related to committing crimes (criminal violence). Therefore, at this specific point, there is a theoretical contribution between the Chicago School and Critical Criminology.

[41]For Beato Filho (2012): The Chicago Sociological School shifts its focus from an individual analysis of committing crimes to environmental and situational factors. Therefore, physical structure, common activities in the city, access to weapons and health are more immediate factors in a physical and social environment that tend to affect crime rates. On the subject, see, also, Oliveira (1987).

[42] At this point, it is necessary to differentiate the urbanization process, which occurs when there is a conversion of the rural to urban population, via rural exodus, that is, the population migrates from the rural to the urban area, from the urban growth process, which takes place without necessarily having an urbanization process, or that is, urban growth is the growth of the city itself. In urban growth, it is the city, the urban area, the urban space that grows due to an increase in population. On the subject, in greater depth, Vesentini (1994).

[43] It is important to emphasize that, nowadays, parallel to the internal migration phenomenon, specifically in Brazil, the migration of foreigners is already increasing due to humanitarian or political problems, as in the recent cases of Haitians and Venezuelans.

It is easy to notice that Brazilian cities, especially those located in the Northeast region of the country, in general, are not prepared to receive this entire migratory contingent in a constant and increasingly accelerated manner.

Therefore, it becomes impossible to shelter in reasonable conditions all this population that migrates in large numbers, causing the so-called urban swelling, contributing to the proliferation of slums and generating a social problem that is difficult for the Government to solve. (SARAIVA, 1989)

Consequently, to accommodate the new inhabitants, such cities end up expanding along unplanned spaces, from the point of view of urbanization, which are called natural areas[44] and are characterized by large territorial extensions where people live without perceptions or community ties and linked by few common cultural elements.

These major social transformations would, therefore, weaken the informal social control carried out by the family, the neighborhood, by work relations, by the school, the church and other control institutions not linked to the State, which would no longer reasonably be able to avoid crime committing. In short, the reduction of affective bonds that existed in small towns would be configured as a potentiating factor for the increase in crime. (SCHECAIRA, 2012)

Felix (2002) is emphatic in pointing out that the migratory balance is significantly related to crime against property, since the migrant does not have affective ties with the place of their residence or with the neighborhood, in addition to objective social deprivation and low purchasing power and instruction, culminating in the high rate of unemployment.

Diniz (2005) specifically researching the issue[45], developed studies in the Brazilian State of Minas Gerais, aiming to find correlations – based on the postulates of the social disorganization

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[44]From an Urban Ecology perspective, natural areas are homogeneous, unplanned spaces, whose natural and selective occupation derives from the difference between social groups. It is possible that over time and, necessarily through greater integration and social ascension, those who, as a result of migration, initially found themselves in a marginal and segregated space will tend to occupy better spaces in the city, as they integrate into the community. See Burgess (1970).

[45]In this perspective, Diniz (2005): "Despite the importance of the phenomenon, the specific causes and factors related to urban violence are nebulous and conflicting, since they operate in different dimensions, ranging from an individual to entire societies. There are numerous hypotheses and theoretical constructions that deal with the determinants of urban violence, but one, in particular, calls our attention: the one that associates urban criminal incidence with different forms of disorganization and lack of social cohesion. This approach assumes that criminality emerges as a consequence of problems associated with social control mechanisms. In this context, local communities, marked by a complex system of formal and informal associations, friendship and family relationships, contribute to the process of socialization and acculturation of the individual. Therefore, elements that promote the rupture of social cohesion and, consequently, of social control, would indirectly incite criminal practices. Such relationships would be conditioned by social factors such as economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, residential mobility and, above all, urbanization and migration rates". (Free translation)

approach – between immigration rates, urbanization, population size and various rates of violent crime against people, property and customs, in the 853 Minas Gerais municipalities, in the year 2000.

The aforementioned researcher found well-defined spatial patterns, both in the distribution of immigration and violent crime rates, going further by stating the positive correlation between violent crimes against property and immigration rates. However, he warns that the reality in the State supports at best, partially, the thesis of the link between immigration and urban violence, concluding that "The argument that areas of intense immigration are favorable to criminal incidence, because they are marked by clashes of cultural values, social disorganization and weak social cohesion deserves further investigation". (DINIZ, 2005)

It is also important to emphasize that the aforementioned format of distribution of these populations in the urban space ends up generating a mechanism of segregation of those who live there, due to the market of urban spaces available to them, that is, due to the purchasing power of this migratory mass, only the outskirts, the less valued and urbanized areas of the cities are left or, exceptionally, when more valued, the urban areas with property conflicts, marked by legal disputes and equally lacking urbanization.[46]

What is certain is that the format of formal and informal occupation of these places are factors that are determining the configuration of cities and the development of formal and informal social control instruments that exist there, reflecting in this malformed society a real clash between cultural realities and different groups, which stimulates the emergence of criminal behavior[47].

Studying the connections between socioeconomic exclusion and violence, Adorno (2002) reports that the records of violent deaths reveal a higher incidence in the neighborhoods that make up the urban periphery, characterized by precarious social conditions of collective existence and sharply degraded quality of life, concluding that "há fortes evidências de que o risco de ser vítima de

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[46]According to Ferreira and Penna (2005): "Traditionally, violence is usually related to poverty, social exclusion, State omission, absence of urban public services and the urbanization process itself that creates enclaves of poverty and peripheries. The complexity and growth of violence in cities have led to considering it the result of the combination of all these aspects, facets of the social process. It is in the territory that these different aspects of the social process are articulated, interpenetrated, complemented and contradicted. It is then admitted that violence is also territorialized" (Free translation).

[47] Shecaira (2012) argues that: "the absence of social and cultural control mechanisms allowed the emergence of a disorganized social environment with criminal potential that spreads differently throughout the city". (Free translation)

homicídio é significativamente superior entre aqueles que habitam áreas, regiões ou bairros com déficits sociais e de infraestrutura urbana[48]".

When analyzing the homicide rates in São Paulo, Kahn (2005) concluded that it is very clear that some neighborhoods concentrate a greater number of deaths, while in others, homicides were rare events, attributing a high degree of inequality to this spatial phenomenon of violence concentration, where the rich and poor live segregated, summarizing that "o nível de criminalidade de um determinado local tem muito menos relação com os recursos policiais e judiciais existentes do que com as características sociais e demográficas daquele local".[49]

From such understandings, it is assumed that one of the ways of studying the distribution of crimes in urban spaces can be carried out through the analysis of the rationality of criminal activity in specific environmental contexts. Thus, through the ecological explanation of crime, which has two strands, the theory of physical disorder, which analyzes the practice of crimes through the physical characteristics of localities, and social disorder, which analyzes the inability of local society to integrate common values to its residents and thus maintain an effective social control, it is possible to make diagnoses on crime and the best way to deal with it. (BEATO AND PEIXOTO, 2005)

Accordingly, Ferreira and Penna (2005) assume that from a geographical view on violence it is possible to detect its territorialization, which would lead to greater accuracy in the analysis of its dimension. Consequently, when admitting the role of urban space in the process of production and reproduction of violence one can consider the strategic value of such knowledge for the formulation of political strategies that would fight such social illness [50].

Cerqueira and Lobão (2004) recognize the complexity of the criminal phenomenon and warn that it is difficult to credit a few variables with the determinants of crime, since it depends of the culture, the region and the historical moment experienced. Certain variables may influence more decisively to explain a specific criminal dynamic, as well as, in other contexts, the variables may

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[48] "There is strong evidence that the risk of being a victim of homicide is significantly higher among those who live in areas, regions or neighborhoods with social and urban infrastructure deficits". (Free translation)

[49] "The level of crime in a given location has much less to do with the existing police and judicial resources than with the social and demographic characteristics of that location". (Free translation) On the relationship between violence and social inequality, analyzing the incidence of homicides, Cardia and Schiffer (2000) question: "How are these areas most affected? What can help us understand not only the continuity but the growth of this violence? Seeking to answer these questions, we gathered a series of data about the city related to those variables that are identified in the literature as associated with the presence and absence of violence: the factors that represent risk of victimization and the factors that protect against violence. Among the risk factors, the lack of social capital and the overlapping of disadvantages stand out; and, among the protective factors, the presence of social capital, access to rights – in particular the right to health, education, culture and leisure". (Free translation) On the subject, in depth, Ribeiro and Cano (2016).

[50] For further details, see Vesentini (1994).

interact at various levels, as pointed out in the ecological model, making the criminal dynamics themselves work as motivators of others.

In an in-depth study on urban spatial segregation, Caldeira (2000) perceives the phenomenon of criminal violence more clearly based on the absence of satisfactory responses by the formal social control exercised by state bodies, which is stimulating the privatization of revenge processes, ending up concluding that " o crescimento da violência não pode ser explicado nem pelas variáveis socioeconômicas e de urbanização nem pelos gastos estatais em segurança pública apenas, mas está relacionado também a uma combinação de fatores socioculturais que culminaram na deslegitimação do sistema judiciário...[51]"

In a specific study on urban crime, Beato Filho (2012) analyzed indices in 5,505 Brazilian municipalities, considering what he called the "respeitável tradição sociológica da Escola de Chicago[52]". Therefore, from the spatial analysis, he deepened the finding of ecological concentration of socioeconomic resources, mechanisms of spatial segregation and concentration of crimes, concluding, in summary, that "os crimes violentos são fenômenos urbanos associados a processos de desorganização nos grandes centros urbanos, nos quais os mecanismos de controle se deterioraram, tal como ocorreu também em outros países."[53]

When investigating the relationship between the educational dimension and violence, Ribeiro and Cano (2016) reached the conclusion that municipalities with lower levels of school dropouts among adolescents have lower homicide rates, and therefore the educational indicator should be taken into account when analyzing the spatial analysis of violent crime, warning that: "como outros estudos revelaram, a educação é uma dimensão central na explicação da distribuição da violência letal[54]".

In conclusion, for these authors, the determinants of criminality are a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, but, in particular, one that has certain statistical regularities that vary according to region and criminal dynamics.[55].

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[51] "The growth of violence cannot be explained either by socioeconomic and urbanization variables or by state spending on public security alone but is also related to a combination of sociocultural factors that culminated in the delegitimization of the judicial system...". (Free translation)

[52] "Respectable sociological tradition of the Chicago School" (Free translation)

[53] "Violent crimes are urban phenomena associated with processes of disorganization in large urban centers, in which control mechanisms have deteriorated, as has also occurred in other countries". (Free translation) Specifically, on the theme of disorganization in large urban centers, see Kleinschmitt *et al* (2011).

[54] As other studies have shown, education is a central dimension in explaining the distribution of lethal violence. (Free translation)

[55] Comparing the human development indexes between the least violent municipality in Brazil, Jaraguá do Sul, State of Santa Catarina, and the most violent, Altamira, State of Pará, the Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada – IPEA (2017) elaborates a diagnosis that can corroborate the aforementioned, as follows: "along with

In such a context and based on the interactionist conceptions, it is important to emphasize that the orientation of the individual's conduct in the environment in which one lives is guided by one's actions according to the surroundings in which one lives, in the physical environment and in the intersubjective relationships that one develops there, based on what they mean to that individual. Accordingly, such meaning arises as a consequence of the social interaction that this individual maintains with his/her neighbor, with people and their living environment, with such meanings being manipulated and modified through an interpretive process developed by this individual when facing situations of a daily routine[56].

Thus, to a greater or lesser extent, the studies presented above seem to approach the central foundations developed by the Chicago School sociologists, which point to the dispute for urban spaces, the segregation of the poorest population in areas of precarious urban development, the intense social disorganization resulting from the weakening process of community and family ties[57], added to very low educational and cultural levels and intense unemployment, as factors that can influence criminal practice.

4. THE MUNICIPALITY AND PUBLIC POLICIES ON SOCIAL AND URBAN REORGANIZATION AS INSTRUMENTS FOR SOCIALIZATION AND THE FIGHT AGAINST CRIME

4.1 - Public Policies and the 1988 Brazilian Constitution

From what has been exposed in this text so far, we can infer that the development of public policies with investments in the areas of organization through social inclusion and urbanization in communities have a positive impact on all sectors of society, as they are directed at combating structural violence and, in this way, they end up favoring the recognition of citizenship, in addition to being rights constitutionally provided.

employment and illicit markets, economic performance can indirectly lead to a process of social disorganization, from the migration of workers and people in search of opportunities, along with changes in urban space and residential areas, which lead to a fraying of the social control of crime, an increase in opportunities for crime committing, and also an increase in the probability of anonymity and of the criminal's escape. The aforementioned situation occurs when urban and social transformations happen quickly and without the proper public policies of prevention and control, not only in the field of public safety, but also in urban planning and social prevention, which involves education, social assistance, culture and health ...". (Free translation)

[56] On the subject, from the perspective of social psychology, see Carvalho et al (2010).

[57] On the subject, specifically, Delgado (2014).

Due to such positioning, it is considered unnecessary to link the result of such policies to the immediacy of numbers that may demonstrate a drop in crime rates, that is, regardless of the statistical reach - which can be relativized in view of the time necessary to obtain results - of such policies in the sphere of criminal violence[58], it is necessary to invest in the alternative way of fighting crime represented by non-reactive/repressive public policies, even if in the long term[59].

This formula carries with it the benefit of being involved in the categorization of social public policy, conceived in the expression of rights, distancing itself, therefore, from the territorial occupation by the State, only as a resource of crime control, subsidiary to police repression and, on the other side, approaching a clearly constitutionalized perspective of political action.

Consequently, the understanding of the meaning of public order ends up going beyond the borders of exclusively repressive control measures, rather evolving to an environment in which coercive measures are gradually replaced by integrative, socializing and pacifying measures, going back to a time in which the social order was based on the processes of negotiation, persuasion and voluntary acceptance of the values and norms that regulate conduct[60].

So that there are no misunderstandings, it is important to emphasize that when we adopt the understanding that non-repressive Public Policies seem to be closer to the aspirations of a programmatic Constitution, especially in the sphere of social rights, such a position does not invalidate or rule out the important concomitant role that actions of a repressive nature may play in the current moment of Brazilian history in terms of Public Security policies.

What is certain is that when we joined the adoption of alternative Criminal Policies, we did so based on the fundamentals presented and adopted so far, taking into account, as a priority, the explanations relevant to crime committing in the studies provided by the Chicago Sociological School, reinforced by a broad bibliographical review that portrayed the state of researches carried out in Brazil on this theme, finally inferring the defensibility of the theses that interrelate social disorganization with urban disorganization and both with a certain type of criminality.

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[58]Skogan (2012, p. 175, free translation) draws attention to the fact that: "Researchers use research samples, administrative data, and field observation to demonstrate the magnitude and differentiated distribution of disorder in neighborhoods due to their particularities. However, the results of such surveys are, in general, the same, regardless of the method adopted. Disorder, independently, but always in conjunction with the practice of crime, plays a destabilizing role in urban neighborhoods, reducing the possibilities of informal social control, discouraging investments and stimulating the fear of crime. Thus, regardless of the interrelationships between disorder and crime, such justifications are already sufficient for managers to pay attention to the need for policies that reduce physical and social disorder".

[59]In the view of Soares (2003): "At the municipal level, there is a lot to be done, even without the police. At this level, the intervention effectively capable of preventing violence and criminality is the one that aims to change the immediate enabling conditions, that is, the conditions directly linked to the practices that one wishes to eliminate" (Free translation).

[60]For further details on the subject, see Silva (2014).

Furthermore, it is now necessary to detail and deepen the study of the mechanisms, means and Institutions through which the desired Public Policies can be developed and, in a concrete way, that propose ways to face the problem[61].

The Brazilian 1988 Federal Constitution brought foundations and guidelines - since, as already said, it is considered a programmatic Constitution - for greater social intervention by the government, as it expanded the range of social rights and the field of social protection under the responsibility of the State, with emphasis on policies, beneficiaries and benefits. (JACCOUD, 2005)

For the purposes of this work, we will adopt the meaning of public policies under two approaches: first, as the state action with the aim of achieving an end, more specifically through the realization of fundamental rights, on a more abstract plane; in the second approach, we understand public policies as a set of actions, from planning to executive actions, which reflect the concrete performance of the State to achieve the purpose previously outlined.[62].

Accordingly, it is easy to conclude that public policies serve to give concrete effect to the fundamental rights provided for in the Federal Constitution. However, there needs to be interest of the democratically elected politicians for them to be implemented, as planning and execution of public policies are within their competences, that is, it is through discretion that government programs are designed and executed, as those in government enjoy the freedom to define the field, choose the content and time to implement public policies.

Adopting this understanding, it is quite clear in the planning carried out by the competent authorities in Brazil that non-repressive actions and a greater emphasis on Municipalities have prevailed in policies related to Public Security at least since the year 2000 - when the National Public Security Plan was launched - therefore, two years after the 1988 Federal Constitution came into force[63].

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[61] After extensive research on the determinants of violent crime, where they investigated the links between demographic characteristics: structure, dynamics and composition; Socioeconomic structure: income, poverty, income inequality; Labor market: activity, unemployment, informality; Education: educational level, school attendance, student flows; Urban services, living and housing conditions; Family vulnerability and lifestyles; Public policies and municipal budget expenditures and lethal violence, Ribeiro and Cano (2016) reached the following conclusion: "From the point of view of public policies, the results of this study seem to favor investment in income transfer programs and educational programs as the most suitable for the prevention of lethal violence" (Free translation).

[62]This concept was conceived based on the reading of the text by Goodin et al. (2008). An in-depth study on Public Policy carried out at Oxford University, with rich details, can be found in Moran et al (2008).

[63]See the National Public Security Plans for the years 2000 and 2017, as well as the National Public Security Policy of 2018. On the relationship between Urban Planning, Security and Law, see Fernandes (2009).

This targeting is due to the recognition that, gradually, municipal entities have paid more attention to the dealing of Public Security. It is undeniable, therefore, that there is a clear development of the idea according to which many public policy solutions imply local actions, focusing on the territory, as well as several municipalities began to prioritize Public Security in political planning in recent legislatures, allocating more funds and making efforts to the creation of Urban Security Secretariats, to the creation and equipping of Municipal Guards, in addition to the implementation of Community Security Councils[64].

A paradigmatic example of this direction was the launch of the National Public Security Program with Citizenship (Programa Nacional de Segurança Pública com Cidadania - PRONASCI)[65] in 2007, which strengthened and consolidated the perspective of constitutionalization of this matter. Respecting the line of continuity that crossed the successive plans and programs related to Public Security, it recognized that the intergovernmental integration between the Union, States and Municipalities, as well as between the Legislative and Executive powers and the Judiciary, together with the intersectorial management of projects – with the participation of all federated entities through their ministries or secretariats – would enable a better service to the social demands guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.

In short, with the adoption of a line of development of non-repressive Public Security Policies, the Political Power ends up rightly approaching the dictates provided for in the Constitution, in which there is a clear direction for the pursuit of effective inclusive actions that enables the materialization of the rights and guarantees abstractly guaranteed by the Constitution, especially those of a social nature.

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[64] An in-depth study on the gradual insertion of Brazilian municipalities in Public Security can be found in Peres et al (2016, p. 52), for whom: "This text sought to recognize the role of municipalities in the field of public safety, pointing to the need to better understand them and evaluate them in their performance. If, from the point of view of budget execution, it is necessary to recognize the leading role that these local actors have assumed in financing public security, it is necessary to admit, based on the scenario described, that there has been no systemic action in coordination with the federal government that can provide clarity, cohesion and effectiveness to these expenses by local entities. Thus, it is necessary to rethink the Union's performance and its capacity to organize and coordinate actions in a national public security policy so that it can establish criteria and standards of action, without disregarding the local specificities, limitations and needs of Brazilian cities". (Free translation)

[65] See Law 11.530 of 2007 which instituted PRONASCI.

Finally, we understand that the Municipalities[66] are the most able to prepare the planning and implement actions that will meet such constitutional demands in terms of security policies under the responsibility of public authorities.

4.2 The increase in public policies for the municipalization of Citizen Security

Given the aforementioned requirements and the linearity of what we have articulated in this work, that is, environmental interventions of a social and urban nature as public policies to fight - structural and criminal - violence and criminality[67], we understand that the path to be followed is, without the slightest doubt, to increase municipal participation[68] in the implementation and execution of public policies that have the capacity to reduce violence and crime and, therefore, increase positive results at the global level of public safety[69].

It is important to emphasize that under no circumstances the public policies at the municipal level proposed here aim to oppose or replace the necessary measures of a policing repressive nature, the improvement of the formal system of social control, massive investments in education, among other policies related to the disciplining of society, since we are fully aware that the intervention measures of a social and urban nature demand time to present results and must be implemented concurrently with other measures of order and discipline[70].

However, due to the huge budgetary discrepancies between Brazilian Municipalities, whose consequences for smaller cities will directly affect the possibility of creating and maintaining Municipal Guards and, therefore, the possibilities of combating violence through the institutionalized means of policing, it seems more pertinent that Municipalities invest more in the creation of positive

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[66] In an enlightening synthesis, Ortuño Rodrigues (2010, p. 17, free translation) points out: "The Municipality, a landmark of civil coexistence, due to its own interests and the spontaneous evolution of human settlements, stands as the main and primary territorial entity where this interrelation of rights and freedoms of individuals takes place, and it should be noted that - as in other local administrations - it is a public (territorial) corporation, in whose government and administration the personal component is prioritized to directly integrate the governing bodies and managers by the representatives freely chosen by their citizens".

[67] On the importance of exercising citizenship in such a process of social and urban interventions, as a way of consolidating constitutionally guaranteed rights, in depth, Andrade (2003b).

[68] On the subject, see Guimarães and Pereira (2014, p. 825-826), for whom: "In this sense, the municipality could deal with the implementation of preventive public policies, through informal social control, instead of repressive policies, recovering degraded public spaces and services, together with the strengthening of community social ties, integrating and recovering degraded areas, to offer public spaces capable of adding the feeling of community and civility". (Free translation)

[69] See Ruiz Rodrígues (2010).

[70] On the complexity of the process of choosing appropriate public policies to fight crime, see Oliveira (1987). On Public Security in large Brazilian cities, see Vendramini (2010, p. 49), for whom: "Cities are increasingly seeking to decentralize their services in order to reach the population as a whole. Large cities have already decentralized management activity in order to provide public services closer to the population". (Free translation)

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conditions for coexistence, seeking to reduce social tensions, leaving the direct fight against delinquency to the repressive means under the responsibility of the Federal and State Governments[71].

Accordingly, several measures of a non-repressive nature could be taken to actualize the social, economic and urban fundamental rights of its inhabitants, constitutionally provided for, as already said, and which would have the concomitant consequence of reducing structural violence and, certainly, the gradual decrease in criminal violence rates[72].

Concretely, we are talking about urban interventions, as provided for in the City Statute[73], such as the structuring of the efficient and integrated mass public transport network between all regions of the city, the recovery of physically degraded areas, the creation of public leisure spaces to provide local social integration, such as parks, clubs, cultural spaces, sports courts, among other[74].

Furthermore, interventions should be implemented within the scope of informal social control, such as the development of projects carried out by the community itself or through non-governmental organizations, with a special focus on youth who are being co-opted by crime, in order to critically understand the criminal dynamics in (and of) the community, exploring their own means of intervention, according to that specific reality and directing the demands to the public authorities regarding the outlined diagnosis.[75].

In seeking to achieve this broad objective of social and urban organization of specific spaces, actions that are in the sphere of primary prevention should also be prioritized. Its focus is centered on reducing economic inequality, promoting education and health, sport, leisure and culture, prevention and treatment of alcohol and drug abuse, assistance to families and religious assistance. In short, actions that strengthen community ties and, consequently, help in the development of informal social control within the community.

Therefore, we reaffirm, regardless of the possibility of any federative entity acting specifically in a certain area, through projects prepared for the purposes set out above, it is easy to recognize that the Municipality - in which the area that receives the most attention due to the levels of

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[71] See Barbosa et al (2008). On the subject, see also Felgueiras (2009).
[72] On crime prevention strategies see Welsh and Farrington (2016).
[73] See Law 10.257/2001.
[74] On the subject, see Kahn (2005) and Carmona (2014, p. 38), for whom: "...leisure is a powerful ally in reducing social tensions, hindering the emergence of criminality, especially in relation to children and adolescents, the main victims and authors of urban violence. [...] several studies have proven that the realization of the right to leisure for young people is a strong instrument in the fight against urban violence". (Free translation)
[75] In such a field, the thought of Soares (2003) is very pertinent, for whom: "It would be necessary to institute alternative sources of attraction or recruitment of young people, capable of competing with trafficking, offering at least the same advantages provided by it. In other words, to compete with the source of criminal seduction, the municipal government would have to provide material benefits, such as employment and income, and symbolic-affective benefits, such as appreciation, welcoming and belonging, restoring visibility and self-esteem, which, in turn, would require a kind of "customization" of public policies". (Free translation)

violence presented is incorporated - is the most appropriate federative entity to carry out the type of intervention proposed here[76].

It should always be remembered that the demands presented primarily to cities are always related to the development of public policies that aim to improve the living conditions and habitability of their residents, which presupposes the improvement of their socioeconomic conditions and, therefore, public policies aimed at improving public safety conditions, when implemented, must take such social demands into account.

At this point, the importance of analyzing the federative structure of Brazil emerges, which includes the Union, 26 States, the Federal District and 5,070 Municipalities, which clearly denotes the differentiation in the possibility of interference by civil society – more broadly – and community interference – in a more specific perspective – in public security policies to be developed, as well as, that smaller areas allow the elaboration of a more precise diagnosis of the problems to be faced, even due to the deep territorial, social and cultural diversification of Brazil.

Therefore, it is an undeniable fact that among all political management bodies the Municipality is the one closest to the citizen, being the geographical area that suffers the direct effects of violence, coming from the neighborhoods that comprise it because they are socially and urbanistically disorganized, thus constituting the specific space in which problems must be diagnosed and possible solutions implemented.

Furthermore, as a crucial point of discussion, the matter of legality must be taken into account, that is, the limits constitutionally imposed on Municipalities to engage in the area of Public Security.

Thus, to avoid controversies and obstacles to the development of Criminal Policies in the non-repressive/reactive scope, we ended up agreeing with the understanding according to which Municipalities are only able to operate in matters of public safety in the type of intervention proposed here – inclusive and preventive – given that the Municipal Guards, according to article 144, §8, of the Federal Constitution, still do not have legal backing to carry out repressive interventions[77].

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[76] In a research carried out to measure the level of adoption of management mechanisms in Public Security by Brazilian municipalities, Lima et al (2014, p. 406) concluded that: "The study showed the low level of implementation of public security management mechanisms in Brazilian municipalities. The municipalities are silent on the preventive treatment of public security and follow the same trajectory as the state and federal powers, that is, the adoption of a reactive posture, the result of which is known by all of society: the inefficiency in reducing crime rates" (Free translation)

[77]Injunction Writ No. 6793 - STF of 02/05/2018. From a formal perspective, with an analysis of the municipalization of Public Security from the National Public Security Plan, which provides for the creation of the Municipal Security Plan, Municipal Security Council, Municipal Security Fund, Municipal Public Security Secretariat and Municipal Guard, see Lima et al (2014).

Therefore, it seems to us to be more appropriate for the Municipal Guards to play an integrative role between the government and the communities[78]. When in the exercise of its police function, its actions should be based on respect for human rights, diversity and divergence, promoting and encouraging participatory citizenship through the implementation of social and urban reorganization programs implemented in communities as a means of fighting structural and criminal violence[79].

The reduction of the repressive aspect combined with the expansion of the integrating aspect will produce, on the part of the Municipal Police, a necessary strengthening of the relations between the residents and the public authorities, consolidating the commitment in favor of the improvements desired by the community and carried out by the municipal political power.

Therefore, as seen above, the fertile field of security policies based on situational prevention opens up to the Municipal Police, policies that are based on the priority objective of reducing opportunities for committing crimes and which can be expanded towards video surveillance[80], anti-crime architecture, neighborhood watch, among many other prevention techniques used today and that require management by the Municipal Government.[81]

In this path, one of the great advances in the area of Public Security with a preventive and municipal bias in Brazil was the provision brought by the National Public Security Fund (Fundo Nacional de Segurança Pública – FNSP), Law 10.201/2001, for the creation of Municipal Security Councils, which allow the community to have access and participation in the decision-making process on priorities and the way in which public resources should be allocated, with regard to local Public Security needs[82].

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[78]On the role of the Police in urban security, see Clement (2009).

[79] On the subject, see Barbosa et al (2008) and also Ricardo and Caruso (2007).

[80]On the subject, specifically, see Brave (2009).

[81]Specifically, on this theme, in detail, see Wilson and Kelling (2008), for whom a large concentration of police activities in the most serious crime should be avoided, but the public authorities should turn their attention to community protection by combating incivilities, since these can destroy a community much faster than any team of professional thieves.

[82] On January 06th, 2017, a new National Plan for Public Security was launched by the Government of President Michel Temer, recognizing the important role that municipalities can play in the fight against crime.

These Councils represent an essential link between the specific needs of the community and the planning, management and execution of sectorial Public Security policies.

In 2000, when the National Plan for Public Security (Plano Nacional de Segurança Pública – PNSP) was launched, several points of action foresaw the adoption of the measures defended herein, as well as the indispensable role of the Municipalities in the scope of Public Security[83].

More recently, the draft of the document named National Public Security Policy (Política Nacional de Segurança Pública – PNSP)[84] – scheduled to start in February 2018 – was available on the website of the Ministry of Justice and Public Security of the Federal Government for public consultation and suggestions. The draft also privileges the role of Municipalities in the prevention and fight against crime.

Based on the understanding aforementioned according to which the Municipality is the most capable federal entity for the management of non-repressive security policies, as well as the one closest to the citizen, it is necessary to deepen the role to be played by them from the perspectives of the Public Security Policies defended here, that is, from a preventive and inclusive model of Public Security that privileges the participation of communities in the search for solutions to face structural violence and criminal violence.

Garland (2007) was one of the first researchers to detect that, due to the lack of satisfactory responses to increasing violence, even under the welfare state, there was a cultural change in which, gradually, citizens became more concerned with security and, thus, came to exercise a certain leading role in this area, featuring a profound change in social practices hitherto in vogue.

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[83]Support and encourage the creation of demilitarized municipal guards who are not linked to the police force, establishing attributions in public security activities and adequate training, including in the area of trafficking. Raise awareness and financially support municipal projects that invest in the quality of life of populations living in the periphery, slums and needy areas, in the installation of social facilities that reduce circumstances or situations that facilitate criminal action. Map public spaces that are deteriorated, which are important for the community, with an emphasis on areas of greater social and urban need, aiming at their aesthetic and moral recovery. From the restoration of its community representation, avoid that aggressions are tolerated by the entire community, such as graffiti, depredations and inappropriate use of squares, playgrounds, public telephones, trash cans, etc. Encourage positive attitudes of preservation and that materialize the idea that the public space is the representation of the community itself and that this is based on respect and compliance with the law, which, in this case, is mainly the duty of each one to the others . (PNSP, 2010)

[84]The National Public Security Policy (PNASP, 2018) is the set of principles, guidelines, objectives that will condition the public security strategy to be implemented by the three levels of government in an integrated and coordinated manner, aiming at the preservation of life, the maintenance of public order, the preserved environment, the guarantee of the safety of people and property, the confrontation and prevention of crime and violence in all its forms, as well as the engagement of society, transparency and publicity of good practices.

Thus, preventive attitudes carried out by citizens came to be seen as an option concomitant to conventional measures of formal social control under the responsibility of the State.

Since then, with greater intensity among Municipalities and communities, Public Security Policies were developed. They are known today as situational prevention, community prevention, citizen security, preventive alliance, among other terms and with varied objectives, which in common, as already said, present a priority participation of communities – through their citizens – in dealing with issues related to social control[85].

It is in this way, therefore, that we believe that political and community efforts should be made, as well as massive financial resources that have the capacity to face the growing structural violence, which brings criminal violence, whose intensity is more accentuated in certain physical spaces and, as a consequence, more intensely reach a certain portion of the population.

The Criminal Policy profile adopted here, as insistently repeated elsewhere, presupposes, and has as a consequence, an essential citizen participation, which configures active citizenship and, in this way, a rational demographic composition is gradually being built. Thus, the capacities of political choice and management of what is programmed and which gave rise to such choices for the political representation of the community are intensifying, resulting, as a fruitful conclusion of this democratic process, in monitoring and the demanding of the implementation of all proposed policies.

The combination of all these factors ends up setting a panorama of strengthening community ties and the relationship between the community and Municipalities through the necessary integration for the development of Public Security Policies and, inevitably, in the course of this process, democracy and the Rule of law.

Accordingly, we can adopt the understanding that we are moving in the field of a Citizen Public Security[86].

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[85]For Garland (2007, p. 254-255, free translation), "Adaptive reactions to the new experience of crime on the part of private citizens, locals and communities have presented a similar trajectory and have produced similar institutionalizing effects. Over time, a pattern of response and adaptation began to emerge from the way people took more routine precautions against crime. Like most social changes, this transformation was slow and unconscious at first, and was led by small sections of the population, particularly middle-class homeowners and young, established professionals who began to reside in areas that had undergone a process of deterioration but which were being recovered through urban recovery processes".

[86] A specific and very detailed study on citizen security in Brazil can be found in Mesquita Neto (2006).

Therefore, from the perspective of Public Policies on Citizen Security adopted here, the community, experts and managers, in a broadly shared way, draw up guidelines for the implementation of actions that focus on preventing violence and promoting safe and peaceful social coexistence, with respect to human rights, developing projects based on the diagnosis of problems, formulation of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of ongoing actions.

Thus, in order to implement Public Policies for Citizen Security, Municipalities must take action through state and social strategies of a preventive nature to reduce crime and violence and also the damages arising from the criminal conduct, recidivism and victimization, whether through universal policies or through targeted policies[87].

Accordingly, we understand that it is an inescapable presupposition – due to the federal structure of the Brazilian State – that the establishment of agreements with the States and the Federal Government is the first step to be taken so that the development of the proposed policies become possible, since most Brazilian cities do not have enough budget to implement such measures.

In terms of execution, in addition to all the measures of a more general nature already pointed out throughout the work and especially in this chapter – based on the Chicago School postulates – prioritizing the empowerment of Municipalities and democratization in the context of the diagnosis of problems, formulation of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of ongoing actions, aiming to promote the safety of communities based on respect for human rights, we believe that the following measures should be specifically implemented:

Implement continuous georeferencing services, which should provide qualitative and quantitative data on violence and crime in the community and, through it, facilitate the diagnosis and planning of actions to deal with the problem;

Develop programs for patrolling, vigilance and intensive surveillance by the Municipal Guard, with the necessary proximity to the community, aiming to materialize the foundations of a community policing of proximity and using all possible and available technology;

Implement, develop and widely provide education and professionalization programs for children, adolescents and young people in the communities, prioritizing digital inclusion and teaching in areas that enable inclusion in the labor market;

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[87]On the advantages and disadvantages of universal and focused policies, see Neto Mosque (2006).

Programs that aim to tackle the serious problem of dysfunctional families, illiteracy, chemical dependency, idleness that leads to easy co-option by criminal organizations, must have priority if one wants to effectively advance in the structuring of communities devastated by social disorganization;

Develop programs specifically to combat domestic violence;

Sports, arts and culture programs against crime must be immediately implemented and massively stimulated as they present themselves as an alternative for the youth of certain localities that currently only find choice among the various criminal organizations in which they wish to join, or that is, depending on where the community is located, the young person is left to choose between the *PCC* or the *Comando Vermelho* (Brazilian criminal organizations);

To occupy public spaces in a democratic way. That is, streets, parks, squares, cultural and sports complexes must be occupied by the population, so that they do not deteriorate and become suitable spaces for committing crimes;

Regulate and supervise the holding of parties in public places, vehemently combating the use of sound devices (*paredões* or *pancadões de som*) that cause noise pollution and consequently disturb the public peace, as well as supervising the sale and consumption of lawful and unlawful drugs in such events;

Ongoing training and updating programs for civil servants who will develop activities in the communities must be implemented. In addition, such programs should be encouraged in the headquarters of non-governmental organizations;

The necessary proximity between the State Police and the Municipal Guards is an essential step for all the proposed actions to be strengthened, given that the presence of the Military Police, especially, is a constant in the midst of communities and such proximity must be made through the proximity community policing, which constitutes the foundation of the relationship based on trust between residents and the government;

The Police, therefore, need to work with preventive Public Security Policies in unison, always prioritizing dialogue and understanding with the communities, which is immanent to such action. In addition, a Conflict Mediation Center may be managed by them;

Integrate, among themselves and with the community, all actors who are part of the Formal Social Control System, such as Police Officers, Prosecutors, Law Judges, Public Defenders, Social Workers, Communication professionals, among others that are necessarily going to act in one or

more phases of the development of the policies to be implemented. It also seems to us that this is an essential measure directly related to the success of such policies;

Implement and maintain cross-sector, interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary work groups to support the important mission of diagnosing problems, formulating planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating public policies in the process of being implemented;

Finally, it is essential that the implemented actions last regardless of the political group in charge, which does not mean that the programs cannot be evaluated and changed, preserving, however, the matrix idea of development of Security Public Policy at the municipal level based on an inclusive and preventive perspective – therefore, citizen centered – focused on combating structural violence, represented by social and urban disorganization, as a way of confronting criminal violence.

5. CONCLUSION

In this work, we investigated – based on the literature – one of the several theories that would explain the deviant and criminal behavior. A summary of some of the most substantial contributions was made, whose methodological guidelines included those used by the authors who ended up shaping what, nowadays, is called the Chicago Sociological School.

Thus, in order to structure a defensible position in Public Security Policies, several themes were faced, all characterized by dissent, given that none of the topics covered presents any doctrinal pacification or, at least, a clear majority trend.

The core and logic behind the studies developed by that sociology were described, being fully aware that the set of theories presented here, of course, does not exhaust the universe of theories on crime causation, even if they allow a very accurate understanding of the thinking of scholars on this subject since the last century.

Thus, this study contributes to the debate on the relationship between forms of social and spatial inclusion of the less favored social strata of the Brazilian population – usually segregated in the peripheries of cities – and urban violence, by exploring the link between social disorganization and urban disorganization and the tendency for certain crimes to occur in those areas.

Accordingly, we therefore defend the idea that one should seek within the scope of criminal policies the development of public policies that prioritize the fight against structural violence and, as certain consequence, the reduction of criminal violence, through the better equipping of the

Institutions that are part of the Formal System of Social Control and the re-dimensioning of public security spending.

With the sociology developed by the Chicago School, we ended up concluding that the interrelationships between social disorganization, urban disorganization and the practice of certain crimes are profound and it is possible to identify areas more prone to specific offenses, due to spatially determined characteristics and, subsequently, develop planned actions aimed at combating this type of violence.

In short, we agree with the position held by Chicago sociologists, finding pertinent the understanding according to which, with the urban development of cities, the poorest layers of the population were pushed to the periphery, where urbanization was – and continues to be – precarious, configuring themselves as deteriorated areas, with absolutely precarious infrastructure. Such displacement has caused the rupture of family and community ties, making informal social control difficult, thus establishing the sum of these characteristics as a fruitful broth of culture for the commitment crimes, especially against the person, property and those related to drug trafficking.

As to the possibility of using such a theory in Brazilian cities, we conclude that in such a context, interactionist conceptions are fully applicable, that is, the orientation of the individual's conduct in the environment in which one lives ends up guiding one's actions according to the surroundings in which one lives, in the physical environment and in the intersubjective relationships that one develops there, from what they mean to that individual, that is, such meaning arises as a consequence of the social interaction that this individual maintains with the neighbor, with people and their living environment. Such meanings are manipulated and modified through an interpretive process developed by the individual when faced with the given situations in a daily routine.

Therefore, we conclude that regarding Brazilian cities – which indistinctly have pockets of urban poverty located in the heart of urban centers or in its periphery –the precariousness of urban services and low job offers prevail. In addition, there is deficient education and precariousness of social and institutional support within newly constituted families which ends up consolidating, in such areas, populations exposed to risk situations, creating direct or indirect conditions for the burst of violent conflicts, whether in the sphere of crime or in the sphere of combating it, when exercising institutional violence in its multiple forms, especially the one exercised by police institutions in their role of social control.

We fully corroborate the hypothesis that gave scientific support to this text, according to which the relationship between social disorganization and urban disorganization is close and also the relationship between them and the practice of certain spatially linked crimes, either in origin or in its consequences, or both in the same location.

Finally, as promised at the beginning of the work and, perhaps, as the most important part of this work, we present paths that must be followed to face the problems arising from the interrelationships between social disorganization, urban disorganization and criminality.

Accordingly, we conclude that the development of public policies with investments in the areas of organization through social inclusion and urbanization in communities, in addition to being constitutionally established rights, have a positive impact on all sectors of society, as they are directed towards combating structural violence and, subsequently, end up favoring the recognition of citizenship.

Therefore, we understand that a line of development of non-repressive Public Security Policies should be adopted, in which the Political Power ends up approaching in a very incisive way what is provided for in the Constitution, in which there is clearly the targeting to accomplish inclusive actions that may materialize the rights and guarantees abstractly guaranteed by the Federal Constitution, especially those of a social nature.

Given the above requirements and the linearity of what we have articulated in this work, that is, environmental interventions of a social and urban nature as public policies to fight – structural and criminal – violence and criminality, we conclude that the path to be followed involves, without the slightest shadow of doubt, the increase in municipal participation in the implementation and execution of public policies that have the capacity to reduce violence and crime and, therefore, increase positive results at the global level of public security.

In summary, we defend the idea that among the most varied possibilities for confronting violence – that is concentrated in spatially determined places and whose repeated practice ends up creating a criminal culture that expands and spreads throughout the city – is the development of public policies that reflect social inclusion, either by recovering social bonds and values or by recovering degraded areas, in compliance with what the Federal Constitution provides as fundamental rights of every citizen and that such policies are preferably implemented by the Municipalities.

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