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PERCEPTION OF (IN) SECURITY FROM PERIPHERY DWELLERS

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ABSTRACT

The objective of the present study was to analyze the perception about (in) security among the residents in Jurunas, one of the most violent neighborhoods in Belém do Pará. The research had a qualitative approach, using the semi-structured interview technique. For the treatment of the data, we opted for the Content Analysis, to analyze the speeches of the participants involved in the research. The investigation results indicated that in the subnormal cluster área, the perception of insecurity is more intensely than in the regular urban area, as well as evidenced a direct relationship between the perceived insecurity and the socio-spatial reality of the residents.

INTRODUCTION

The fear and insecurity generated by criminality have aprofound impact on the residents' lives, transforming their habits, causing patterns of behavior and sociability that have as consequence, a frightened and isolated society. The emergence of these aspects is linked to a set of factors, where the process of uneven and segregating urbanization is one of its main elements (CHAGAS *et al*., 2016, SILVA, 2016). The literature shows how urban spaces are organized. On the one hand, elite areas occupied by the great purchasing power population, on the other, spaces of exclusion, the place of poorer dwelling

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classes of society, where the presence of the State is less constant, favoring the establishment of trafficking and other groups, such as militia and extermination groups (SANTANA, 2016). Thus, the unequal occupation of urban spaces produces discrepant spaces. According as criminal groups create a relationship of power, these segregated spacesare transformed a stronghold of violence (CHAGAS, 2014). The consequence of this is the intensification of fear feelings and insecurity in the people routine, fueling the vicious circle of violence, where the poor are, at the same time, the greatest victims and the most feared by society (ZALUAR, 1985). In Belém city, based on a census carried out by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2010), about 54.5% of the population occupy areas with lack urban infrastructure and excessive population density. Such reality may be closely related to the fact that Belém is the state capital that has the highest levels of

insecurity in the country. The National Household Sample Survey (BRASIL, 2009) indicates Pará state as the leader in the country's insecurity ranking in the three categories surveyed: households (64.8%), neighborhoods (49%) and cities (36.9% %). Jurunas neighborhood is recognized as one of the most violent area in Belém-PA (PARÁ, 2013) and it has a privileged geographic position that gives it, as specificity, a double socio-spatial reality, manifested by the polarization of wealth and poverty. In the North / West portion is located the noble area of this neighborhood, a residence place of the upper and middle class, with low demographic density. At the end of the neighborhood, South / East zones are the largest area, where there are shantytown characteristics, with high population density, substandard housing and lack of urban equipment (IBGE, 2010). The dynamics of unequal occupation in the city spaces mean that the poorer social strata are displaced into devalued spaces, where they are segregated from the rest of society (CHAGAS *et al*., 2016). In these environments with lack of an organizational structure, social control becomes more difficult, due to the deficient presence of the State, leading to the territorialization of criminal groups, a phenomenon that has aggravated the feeling of insecurity in the population that already lives stressed by other factors that also generate insecurity as the case of poverty, hunger, unemployment (SILVA, 2016). In the study developed by Chagas *et al*., (2016), whose objective was to analyze the violence relationship and the main homicides motivations in some neighborhoods of Belém city, the author points out the áreas of subnormal clusters, where the predominance of homicides occurs. In this case, Jurunas is being one of the neighborhoods where the highest rates of homicide in Belém are concentrated. The author suggests that the precariousness of living conditions in cities is one of the main factors for increasing violence. Based on this premise that the precariousness of urban infrastructure in space is closely related to violence. So, insecurity can occur in a differentiated way, depending on the social context and space that the inhabitant occupies in the neighborhood. According to this, the present study seeks to analyze the perception about (in) security of the residents in two areas that make up the studied neighborhood.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Types of research: This investigation is characterized as an exploratory and descriptive study, in a qualitative approach, in order to consider how the interviewees interpreted and gave meaning to the phenomenon investigated (MINAYO & SANCHES, 1993).

Population: The sample was characterized as random, for convenience. Seven residents from two different socioeconomic realities, aged between 40 and 58 years old, were interviewed, four of whom were female and three were male. Among the participants, four of themlive in the subnormal clump area of the neighborhood and the family income is below three minimum wages. The others live in the regular urban area and the family income is above 15 minimum wages.

Search Location Characterization: In order to relate the characteristics of the two areas that compose Jurunas neighborhood, the IBGE (2010) criterion was used to analyse the spaces of the city, which were: subnormal cluster areas, formed by the extension of the Guama river's edge from

Condor neighborhood to the edge of Cidade Velha area, and the regular Jurunas urban area, which is located on the border between Batista Campos and Cidade Velha neighborhoods.

Collection Instruments and Techniques: As a data collection instrument, the semistructured interview technique was applied, consisting of two blocks of questions: one was consisted of nine items referring to the sociodemographic data for the characterization of the study participants, and the other with seven open questions, related to the theme.

Collection and Ethics Procedures: The interviews were conducted in the residents' homes and lasted on average, 40 minutes. The data were recorded with the use of a cellular apparatus and were subsequently transcribed and the application of this technique was conducted by only one researcher. The researcher observed the ethical aspects, through the verbal agreement and the signing of the *Term of Free and Informed Consent* by the participants.

Analysis Procedures: Exploring the issues related to the perception of the participants' fear and insecurity, we opted for the *Content Analysis* technique using *NVivo 10 software*. *Content Analysis* consists of an interpretative technique that considers the totality of a text, identifying the frequency or absence of terms (PÊCHEUX, 1997). In order to indicate the degree about the relevance of the words in the participants' speeches, the technique of *Word Frequency Analysis and Context Analysis* of the most relevant Terms was applied to the information sources inserted in the *NVivo 10 software*, generating as a result the figure called *Cloud of Words*. From this, the following criteria were chosen: (a) only the 51 most relevant words in the database; (b) only words with number of characters> 6, so that the terms of connection were deleted. Thus, the larger the size of the term in the cloud, the greater its frequency in the database. Through the most frequent words were selected the categories and subcategories that gathered statements expressing meanings and perceptions of the participants.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Frequency of Words and Contextualization of the most relevant Terms: The ilustration 1 sought to identify the frequency of the words in the participants' speech about the perception of fear and insecurity caused by violence in the areas where they live in Jurunas neighborhood.

Ilustration 1 - Cloud of the most frequent words resulting from the participants' speech on the perception of (in) security in the neighborhood of Jurunas.

Source: Elaborated by the authors, 2018.

From the results obtained by the *Clouds of Words* seen in ilustration 1, the four words with the highest frequency in the database and, consequently, the most relevant ones of the sources of information inserted in the *Nvivo 10*, were: (a) police - 33 occurrences ; (b) security - 21 occurrences; (c) robber - 16 occurrences (d) policing - 15 times. It was noted that the terms *police* and *policing*, first and fourth most frequent words, out of a total in 51 selected words, were given by the participants in a similar way, sometimes, in the conception of activity carried out by the police, sometimes as an institution that promotes public safety. For this reason, it was decided to make a single analysis for both terms.

Context Analysis of the Police Term: The context analysis indicated that from seven interviewed participants, Maria Flor referred to the term *police,* seven times and Francisco, three times. By the words, it was observed that all the participants used the term *police* to designate the corporation and the people who exercise the function of watching, guarding, associating the term with the following common aspects: (a) feeling of discredit and distrust; (b) perception of the effectiveness of police action.

a) Feeling of discredit and distrust: This subcategory of analysis gathered reports showing feelings of disrepute and distrust regarding the police institution, as entity responsible for the fight against violence and crime, as shown in the following statements:

[...] I have often had to go to the police station in Jurunas neighborhood, because there was no one to take care of me, it is always closed. (Maria Flor, resident of the subnormal cluster area).

It is unsatisfactory, non-existent not, but they lose to the amount, the number of cases, it fails to overcome ... it does not reflect badly, and increases the issue of insecurity (Francisco, regular urban resident).[1] From the speeches, it may be noted that the residentes from the both areas of Jurunas neighborhood do not trust the police as an institution capable of ensuring the dwellers' safety. Nobrega (2009) designates as white figures this inefficacy of the public institutions in ascertaining the crimes brought to their knowledge. The consequence is the significant number of offenses that are not reported to the public authorities. This phenomenon, known as the black cipher, consists of the number of crimes that are not registered in public agencies, and therefore do not appear in government statistics (LUCAS, 2009).

b) Perception regarding the police action effectiveness: In this subcategory of analysis, we find examples of statements that, although the two groups agree with the precariousness of public security services in Jurunas neighborhood, the statements show different perceptions of the police action effectiveness in the two areas that composes the neighborhood studied, as the following example shows:

[...] policing never arrives, we have to turn around (Pedro, a resident of subnormal cluster area).

[...] the other day one of those same homeless people [...] climbed the roof of the house next door to steal the wires, and the police came quickly (Maria Vitória, a resident of the regular urban area).[2]

From the reports above, it can be noted that the unequal way in which dwellers perceive the provision of public safety services in Jurunas neighborhood may indicate that in the regular urban area where middle and upper-class residents live, be more effective, while in the subnormal cluster area of the neighborhood, it is evident the police inoperability. This reality reflects the inequality between the two areas, constituting an important factor for the increase of violence in the part of subnormal cluster. So, it reproduces the criminalization and the victimization of the most needy classes and the disrespect to the rights of these people as citizens (CALDEIRA, 2000), which shows a differential treatment in the provision of basic services, including public security.

Security Term Context Analysis: The context analysis indicated that the word security was the second most cited by the participants (21 times). From the seven intervewed people, Maria Flor referred to the term security once and João emphasized it three times. The statements indicate the residents' perception of the safety in Jurunas neighborhood, generating a single subcategory called Feeling of Fear, where examples of statements were gathered showing feelings of vulnerability to insecurity in the neighborhood, as shown in the following reports:

[...] from the balcony of the building, I saw many assaults there in broad daylight, at a time that you sometimes do not even think you can have a robbery.(João, resident of the regular urban area).

We are constantly afraid ... suddenly something happens, we are in panic in the house (Maria Flor, resident of subnormal clump areas).[3]

The results above denote the sense of vulnerability to which the residents are exposed, due to the lack of security caused by the inefficiency of the public security service. In this regard, studies indicate that when there is a failure to protect the individual due to inefficiency of state apparatus, negative feelings of insecurity and distrust emerge in the population, which leaves them in a permanent state of alert, due to the constant threat to their physical integrity and (MACHADO DA SILVA, 2004). This feeling causes serious impacts on the

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[1][...] Eu já precisei muitas vezes ir na delegacia do bairro do Jurunas, porque não tinha quem me atendesse, sempre está fechada. (Maria Flor, residente da área de aglomerado subnormal).
É insatisfatório, inexistente não, mas eles perdem para a quantidade, o número de casos, ele não consegue vencer [...] repercute mal, e aumenta a questão da insegurança (Francisco, residente de área urbana regular). (Depoimento original – Tradução: Vera Pimentel)

[2] [...} o policiamento nunca chega, a gente tem que se virar (Pedro, residente de área de aglomerado subnormal).
[...] outro dia um desses moradores de rua mesmo [...], subiu no telhado da casa ao lado pra roubar os fios, e a polícia veio até rápido (Maria Vitória, residente da área urbana regular). (Depoimento original – Tradução: Vera Pimentel)
[3] [...] da sacada mesmo do prédio cansei de ver assaltos ali pelas proximidades, em plena luz do dia, em um horário que às vezes você nem imagina que pode ter um assalto (João, residente da área urbana regular).
A gente fica com medo constante. de repente acontecer alguma coisa, a gente fica em pânico dentro de casa (Maria Flor, residente de áreas de aglomerado subnormal). (Depoimento original – Tradução: Vera Pimentel)

dwellers' lives, as fear that becomes generalized and interferes with people's behavior (CARDIA *et al*, 2003). The presence of fear is a relevant feeling in the interviewees' behavior, regardless of social class, due to the absence of public power in the security item.

Final Considerations

This study contributed to show that the perception of fear and insecurity among the residents of Jurunas neighborhood is generated in function of the socioeconomic context in which the individual is inserted in the área. Although violence is present in all parts of the city, in certain areas, due to the absence or presence of urban infrastructure, that presents itself a greater or lesser extent. It is understood that the analysis of the perception of the residents about the insecurity caused by the violence in the segregated spaces can help the public power in the identification of the causes that make these spaces more critical points of the urban violence, in order to contribute to the fomentation of public policies capable to minimize the impacts of violence in these spaces. As a suggestion of future studies, it is necessary to carry out other studies with the purpose of comparing dwellers' perceptions in other peripheral districts of the city, which have different sociodemographic characteristics and similar in relation to the neighborhood investigated.

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