Bairro da Penha: The occupation process, the stigma of violence and social marginality

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Abstract— The determinants of territorial occupation and crime in the Penha neighborhood, located in the metropolitan region of the city of Vitoria, begun in the 50's of the last century with the industrialization process in the State of Espírito Santo. The first name of the neighborhood was Stubborn, in reference to the constant return of the inhabitants removed from the area of risk. Currently the neighborhood is an area of environmental risk associated with high crime rate.

I. FOUNDATION AND OCCUPATION

The foundation of Bairro da Penha occurred around 1950 through an occupation, the area was part of the Maruípe farm. The first inhabited site was the lower part, initially covered by vegetation consisting of medium tree species, low grasses and forages. In the 1970s, with the impulse of industrialization, the occupation extended to the high parts and the site was donated to the Federal University of Espírito Santo (UFES) where the Cassiano Antônio de Moraes University Hospital (HUCAM) was installed, and later, the region came under the control of the Municipality of Vitória.

The origin of the name of Penha is based on the devotion of the residents of Nossa Senhora da Penha; the formation of the neighborhood took place in a peaceful manner commanded by a Military Police Sergeant known as Sargento Carioca[1]. Carioca stood out as a local leader, he was a reference for the residents in indicating the areas to be occupied, guiding the demarcation of the lots. Considered authoritarian, Carioca encouraged other invasions in the neighboring areas of the Penha district, such as Bonfim, Itararé and São Benedito.

The community's profile was one of poverty, initially formed by local population without their own homes, followed in the 60's and 70's by migrants from the interior of the State, North Minas Gerais, North of Rio de Janeiro and South of Bahia. The houses were mostly of wood or stucco, in the lower part were located the few masonry works belonging to the neighborhood's first inhabitants, the natives of the capital.

The maximum limit of occupation established by the city of Vitória was Rua Ariobaldo Bandeira, which gradually fell apart due to the volume of residents attracted to the region. From the 90's onwards, the population agglomeration was called by the public authorities as the Penha complex.

The 1960s-70s are considered the peak of the migration cycle in Brazil, the impacts of the interregional migratory wave were concentrated until the end of the 1980s. When reflecting on the migratory flow in Espírito Santo, we must consider the national scenario and understand the different socioeconomic moments of the southeast region. Human mobility has high rates located in the states of São Paulo

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[1] http://legado.vitoria.es.gov.br/regionalais/geral/publicacoes/Vitoria_bairro_bairrodapenha.

and Rio de Janeiro due to their social, cultural and industrial development.

Map 1 – Current boundaries of Bairro da Penha.
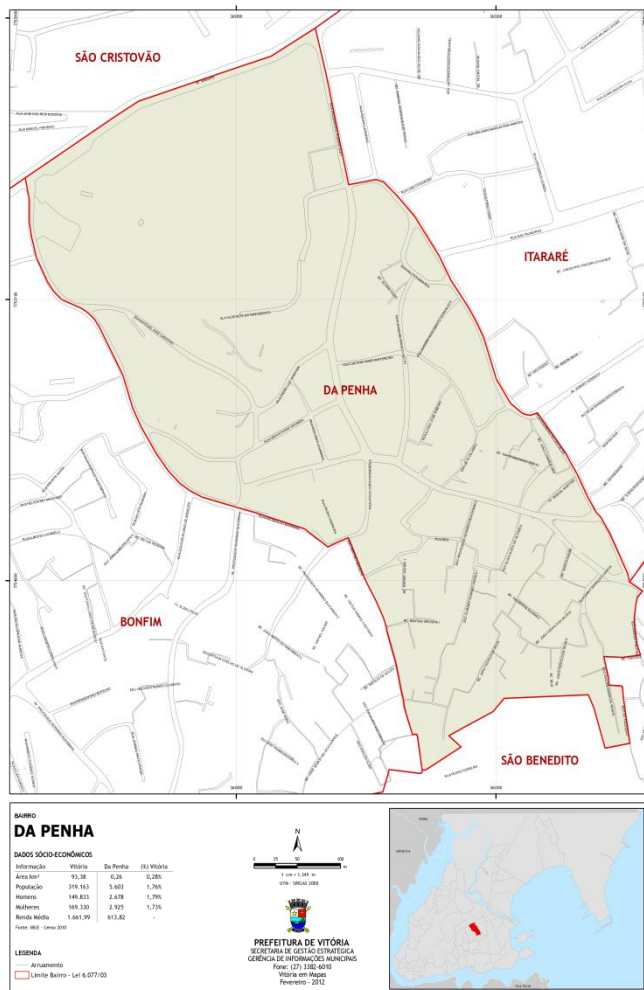
Source: Victory on maps. PMV, 2010.

Espírito Santo, in a more timid way, also receives migratory flows following the national process, on a smaller scale, as it had a high rate of inequality in terms of population, socio-spatial and industrial development compared to other states in the Southeast region. In this historical economic period, our main economic activity was coffee.

In the decades following 1970, there was a higher rate of disorderly occupation, not respecting the areas of environmental risk[2]. The occupation reaches the top of the complex Penha hill. The flow of residents changed its initial demarcation, which ceased to exist and the densification of the area was the causative factor for local

[2]https://ape.es.gov.br/Media/ape/PDF/Livros/Livro_Historia_ES.pdf .

misunderstandings and the emergence of criminal organizations, referred to by residents as factions.

Thus, the stigma begins to form from the non-acceptance of the other in the geographical space of those established in the first decades of occupation. In this regard, for Bauman (p.47, 2010):

> The city is the privileged stage for the experience of transcultural understanding through the sharing of territory — an experience as important (to avoid the humanitarian tragedies that marked the twentieth century) as fragile (in light of the persistent trends towards xenophobia, racism and closure Social). It is therefore important to clarify the necessary conditions for the city to effectively perform this function.

Natives carry their culture and have their living space, while foreigners have a marginal impact, that is, those who do not behave like natives. There are also economic variables, as this one that arrives has nothing as material possessions, and will use the public power to insert itself in the social context as citizens.

The public power, in turn, cannot immediately meet the needs of that population that occupies the territory in an irregular and disorderly manner. They become excluded from the urbanization process and lacking basic public services. Translated to economic aspects, it becomes a social problem, on the fringes of civility.

II.   THE INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS AND THE EXPANSION OF THE PENHA COMPLEX

The second Vargas government 1950-54[3]with its developmental policy, Espírito Santo was launched on the national industrialization scene, during which time it was awarded the ¨Economic Valorization Plan for the State of Espírito Santo. The first state plan adopted in Brazil aimed to implement works that would allow industrial growth and the asphalt connection of Espírito Santo with other neighboring states.

[3]_____. Vitória, February 17 2000. Special Supplement "The SAGA of Espírito Santo: from the caravels to the 21st century".

The industrialization process in the state took a leap from the 60s onwards, in parallel with the generalized crisis of overproduction of coffee. The Federal Government adopted measures to combat the crisis through the eradication of uneconomical coffee plantations. The economy, then dependent on coffee, is hit by mass unemployment. As a result of this policy, we have the rural exodus that led the migratory flow from the countryside to settle in urban centers.

At the same time, the Federal government indemnities to farmers moved the Espírito Santo economy through a shift of resources from coffee indemnities to industrialization. In this period, the expansion of the Penha complex was highlighted, with the arrival of residents from the interior of the state, settling in the region.

According to Bitencourt and Neto (2002), industrialization gained prominence with the creation of the Buaiz Group in the 50s, from the 60s onwards, the foundation of Realcafé Solúvel SA, Frigorífico Rio Doce SA, in the public sphere and the expansion of the Port of Vitória, the implementation of the "State Electrification Plan" and the construction of the Rio Bonito and Switzerland hydroelectric plants, the construction of the port of Tubarão, and the iron ore pelletizing plant of Companhia Vale do Rio Doce CVRD.

Through this, some industrial enterprises were able to be implanted, such as fabric, sand-lime material, for the use of textile fibers, production of cement, sugar, vegetable oils, paper, industrialized wood and an assembly plant of agricultural machinery. 70 advances were already visible and there are a variety of state and private enterprises opening space for international investments.

Henri Lefebvre (1974) emphasizes the dialectical aspect of urban formation and the production of space and highlights the 20th century city,some more common examples of urban segregation are the formation of slums, housing in irregular areas, tenements and squatters. In relation to natural resources, he emphasizes that goods that were once rare have become abundant and goods that were once abundant, such as light, air, water and space itself, have become rare.

Urban growth in different socioeconomic and political moments in the country and state, created designs ordered by the migratory flow. Helena M. M. Balassiano (1993) highlights that the expansion of urban space in large slums takes place in a short space of time, as the only way to house the migrant population. Workers move from rural areas due to economic factors and unfavorable conditions for landless producers to settle down, as for workers from urban contexts, the possibility of insertion in the labor market is restricted due to lack of qualification.

Urban or socio-spatial segregation refers to the marginalization of certain people or groups due to cultural, economic, historical and racial factors in the composition of spaces in cities. It can be said that spatial or geographic reproduction is related to the dynamics of urban formation, as a consequence urban segregation is the representation of social segregation, in which the poorest population tends to reside in areas that are more distant or less accessible to large economic centers .

Segregated spaces usually have a low availability of infrastructure, such as paving, basic sanitation, leisure spaces, hillside areas and environmental risk. For Balassiano (p.45, 1994):

> ...Brazilian favelas do not have government support and practically none of them are served by sewage pipes, a general water network, causing sanitary crises capable of affecting not only the working class that resides in them, but also the income classes. higher, which reside outside them, as both raw sewage and garbage are also drained to the neighboring prime areas, causing the invasion of insects and other animals that are harmful to human health.

The industrialization process boosted the occupation of the Penha district, initially consolidated in the lower part, from the 70s onwards, differentiated occupations are evident,the place is densely populated in all its boundaries and presents a disorganized agglomeration of streets and houses that express its environmental situation.

The neighborhood began to grow disorganized and visibly in the 1980s with the expansion of industrial activity in the state. The peripheral areas of the hillsides receive an influx of unassisted people, unemployed in conditions of poverty, generating serious social problems. The public received in the occupations of the neighborhood during the first three decades of the 20th century, mostly aims to transfer labor from the countryside to the industrial sector, commerce and service provision.

The 2010 census of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) outlines the socioeconomic profile of the community of Bairro da Penha shown in table 1:

Table 1 - Socioeconomic data of Bairro da Penha according to 2010 IBGE census

Information	Victory	Penha district	(%) Victory
Area km²	93.38	0.26	0.28%
Population	319,163	5,603	1.76%
Men	149,833	2,678	1.79%
Women	169,330	2,925	1.73%
Average income	1,661.99	613.82	_

Source: IBGE Socioeconomic Census of Bairro da Penha (2010)[4].

The articulation of the housing problem with the socioeconomic issue of employment and modernization in the city shows that nature, social and economic aspects should not be treated in isolation by the public authorities.

III.   VIOLENCE, CRIMINALITY AND SOCIAL INVISIBILITY

The Brazilian metropolises, as they evolve in their offer of services and qualification for the world of work, present serious social problems, the most evident in post-modernity is the disorderly occupation of the land and urban violence. With the advent of the globalization of the economy at the end of the 20th century, we started to live on the move. According to BAUMAN (p. 99, 2010):

> Globalization has made it possible for people to get to know different regions of the world, physically leaving home or not, but it has also made them lose their roots. The type of culture in which he participates is not the culture of a particular place, but that of a time. It is the culture of the absolute present.

The presence of migrants in the natives' social imaginary is seen in an ambiguous way, because at the same time, the fact that their presence is necessary for local development will burden the public authorities, will de-characterize the region, imposing new formations on the locality. The socio-spatial segregation is due to this accelerated and concentrated growth of the industrialization process and the need for labor.

Through the tragic perspective of the social, we can understand from the work of Koltai (2000) that forces us to understand that others exist not as possible objects of our satisfaction, but as subjects of their desires and actions. This feeling reverberates in an interior disturbance, the result of the impossibility of welcoming, which causes estrangement of contact, which is produced and reproduced permanently.

Guided by Freud's formulations[5]in "Civilization and its Discontents", Koltai points out the paradox of accepting the other, since the very movement of identification implies a segregation, a division between similars, excluding non-similars, that is, the other. "There is no love between brothers without rejection of foreigners" (p. 107).

Therefore, the migrants who formed the outskirts of cities figure at the heart of violence and crime established by a policy of socio-spatial segregation and state abandonment. Youth, according to studies produced by Koltai; represent the party most affected by social exclusion. They are the most indicated through statistical data that appear as victims or perpetrators of violence.

In the 80s there was an increase in crime in the Penha neighborhood. Among the most common crimes, drug trafficking and the formation of factions by young people fighting for control of the area stand out. In the following decades, the neighborhood became a constant headline in newspapers and other means of communication due to violence and criminality.Public security controls violence, but changing this scenario is the responsibility of social inclusion and opportunity policies.

to Freire[6], violence is a destructive action that bears the mark of a desire. And these young people, desirous of social visibility, do not recognize their collective identities, which are denied or considered invisible by society and

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[4]https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/es/vitoria/bairrodapenha

[5]Freud, Sigmund. Civilization's malaise.
[6]Freire, Jurandir da Costa. Violence and Psychoanalysis.

public authorities, find in criminality a way of social ascension. this same society

Within this context, young people who are not wanted even by their family or community, are carriers of various absences, whether economic, social, affective and referential; it ends up identifying itself with the one who accepts it: criminality. The social appearance, visibility is given by the imposition of fear through violent action.

The violated subject is the one who comes a posteriori, namely, who has been subjected to coercion and unnecessary displeasure for his well-being and psychic development. For this reason, the image of the other, the unknown, causes so much repulsion and violence can only exist through human interactions and relationships.

In 2010 the Municipal Public Security Plan was implemented by the Municipality of Vitória (PMV). The Federal Government, in articulation with the municipalities, must assume control and prevention of violence and crime. One of the guidelines of the security plan is the division of the city of Vitória into Regional areas to facilitate the implementation of urban and social public policies. The neighborhood of Penha is part of Regional 4 and public safety is highlighted as the main demand for problems to be solved according to dataof Graph 1.[7]

Graph 1 – Types of occurrences in Regional 4 – Maruípe that encompasses Bairro da Penha between 2010 and 2014.

Gráfico 8 - Números Absolutos por Tipo de Ocorrência - Região IV – Maruípe
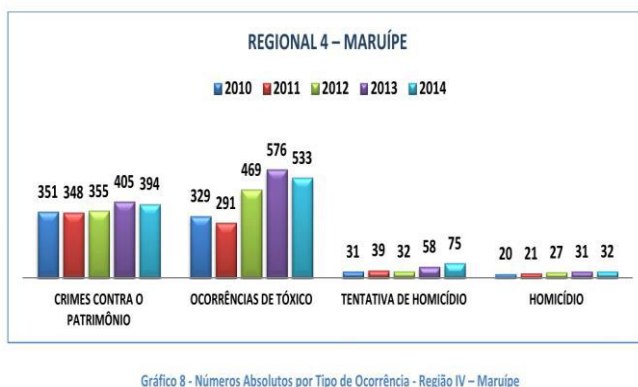
Source: Citizen Security Plan, PMV (2010, p.23).

The areas of social occupation are those that concentrate the highest historical rate of crime and violence, with high rates of homicides, school dropouts and low-income families. They are classified as areas of social vulnerability with juvenile violence as a highlight, and approximately

50% of homicide victims are young people aged between 15 and 24 years.

The main objective of the social projects is to reduce homicide rates in this age group, reduce school evasion, increase the percentage of young people in the labor market. Through the research carried out by the company Enquet and presented in the study of the administration of the city of Vitória between the years 2013 to 2016, it demonstrates the most relevant projects implemented by the Municipal Plan for Public Citizen Security in Regional 4 as shown in table 2[8].

Table 2 – Classification of the most relevant projects in the prevention of violence.

Classificação dos projetos mais relevantes na prevenção à violência, conforme opinião da comunidade regional.	
Proerd	1º
Protejo	2º
Mulheres da paz	3º
Teatro de bonecos	4º
Onde anda você	5º
Outros	6º

Source: Citizen Security Plan, PMV (2010, p.14).

For Bauman (2010), The movement of discussion and elaboration of public policies must move towards deconstructing, from the point of view of public security, the Hobbesian paradigm of security as a matter of military police force, surveillance, punishment, of distancing from the Other, in short, of permanent fear. It must also act in a long-term perspective, in relation to crime and urban violence. It is necessary to remember in Todorov's (2010) works that beyond conflicts, there is dialogue, beyond fear, there is trust. In this sense, table 3 shows, according to the regional community, the bodies with the greatest responsibility for public security in the region.

Table 3 – Classification of authorities/bodies with greater responsibility for public security in the region.

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[7]Source: Citizen Security Plan. Available in http://www.vitoria.es.gov.br/arquivos/20150811_planodeseguranca cidada.pdf

[8]Source: Citizen Security Plan. Available inhttp://www.vitoria.es.gov.br/arquivos/20150811_planodeseguran cacidada.pdf

Região Administrativa 4 – Maruípe

Classificação das autoridades/órgãos com maior responsabilidade sobre a segurança pública na Região, conforme opinião da comunidade regional.	
Governador do Estado	1º
Secretário de Estado de Segurança Pública	2º
Polícia Militar	3º
Prefeito Municipal	4º
Secretário Municipal De Segurança Urbana	5º
Polícia Civil	6º
Guarda Civil Municipal	7º

Source: Citizen Security Plan, PMV (2010, p.14).

In 2017, Bairro da Penha becomes the 26th community in Greater Vitória to be served by the Social Occupation project[9], government program of the State of Espírito Santo coordinated by theSecretariat for Human Rights (SEDH). The target audience is children, teenagers and young people aged 10 to 24 years old who represent a social risk and account for 40% of homicide victims in Espírito Santo.

In short, the actions are aimed at reducing social vulnerability, increasing and improving the conditions of social inclusion for young people living in the project's regions, aiming to offer opportunities for professional training. The program highlights three main objectives to be achieved through activities that prioritize youth involvement, dialogue and the collective construction of youth leadership.

With a special focus on education, the priority is to combat dropping out of school with the return to school, public-private partnerships that generate employment and income, work aimed at developing the socio-emotional skills of young people with workshops in the areas of culture, sport leisure and entrepreneurship.

IV. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Public policies must bring with them the mark of affection towards the other, in addition to having an integrative character. They must also take into account the long-term historical perspective of the plots of violence and urban crime, in which historical subjects are found, without relying solely on an analysis of the continuum of the present.

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[9]Source: State Secretariat for Human Rights. Available inhttps://sedh.es.gov.br/ Ocupacao-social-3.

...it is not possible to promote freedom through obligation, nor equality through submission. (Todorov, 2010, p. 223).

The relations between society and state become more complex as power relations alternate, the clash is evidenced by those excluded from the social fabric. The change promoted through public policies is the transformation for the performance of democracy and citizenship. Given the historical evolution and the speed of social, political and economic changes, there is a need for a specific look at those who are on the sidelines of the process, providing an adequate environment for its development.

Finally, it is also necessary to remember with Koltai (2000), the need to find ways to transform borders - cultural, economic, social, psychological, scientific and environmental limits - into areas of passages, of approximation. The other is also socially important, because with it there is the possibility of creating bonds of solidarity to support the real, material existence and changes in the evolution process of societies.

The neighborhood of Penha is located in Regional 4, the most populous administrative area, being the third in demographic density in the city of Vitória[10]. Since its foundation until the present moment, it needs the performance of the public authorities in partnership with the community to reduce violence, to improve social and environmental conditions and to build a culture of peace.

The public power when it is presenting the ability to reduce urban crime. The problem of violence and urban crime is present in the daily lives of all residents of a city because many have been direct or indirect victims of the same or because everyone, to a greater or lesser degree, suffers from its effects.

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[10]Citizen Security Plan. PMV, (2010, p. 7).

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