

Chapter 39

Paraná Seguro Unit (UPS) in Bolsão Audi-União: reflections on the dynamics of urban space

  10.56238/tfisdwv1-039

Ana Claudia Antunes Brizola

Master's student in Sociology in the Graduate Program in Sociology of the Federal University of Paraná
E-mail: anaabrizola@gmail.com

Maria Tarcisa Silva Bega

PhD in Sociology and professor in the Graduate Program in Sociology of the Federal University of Paraná
E-mail: tarcisa@ufpr.br

ABSTRACT

This article presents some reflections about the production of the urban social space and political decisions based on its representation. It analyzes the political decision of the government of Paraná to install in 2012 the first Paraná Seguro Unit (UPS) in the Audi-União Pocket, located in the Uberaba neighborhood in the city of Curitiba. The UPS are public security policy practices inspired by the Pacifying Police Units of the state of Rio de Janeiro.

1 INTRODUCTION

This brief essay seeks to instigate reflections about the production of social space and political decisions based on its representation. Having as object of study the complex "Pocket Audi-União", located in the neighborhood Uberaba, in the city of Curitiba. The present objective permeates the attempt to briefly analyze the political decision to install the first UPS in the state of Paraná in the Uberaba neighborhood. The hypothesis revolves around the implementation of the policy was based on the perception of this part of the urban space carried out through the lens of the criminalization of poverty, present in the exclusionary urban development. More than the establishment of an answer, the exercise of sociological reflection is sought through the text.

In the first moment it is intended to understand urban development from the characteristics of inequalities present in the community, articulating social theory about urban dynamics. In the second moment, it is intended to analyze the views and interpretations of the space in question, articulating the empirical reality to understandings about the criminalization of poverty and reflexão of the social space.

To this end, the region called Audi-União Pocket is presented, which was born from a movement of irregular occupation in the late 1990s, in an accelerated and self-gestational manner by the occupying population, which took time to be recognized as part of the city and integrated into the urbanization plan.

Starting out, it is hypothesized that the application of the policy was based on the perception of this part of space through the lens of the criminalization of poverty. For the investigation, we analyzed: news about the installation of ups on site, interviews with residents and residents, and these data were articulated with social theories about the production of space. There is in the city of Curitiba, as well as in several others, a peripheral pattern of urban development that leaves several marks in the social production of space and in the conditions of reproduction of life. Therefore, through this study, it was possible to understand that the perception of space from the stigmas and criminalization of poverty led to the development of a public security policy, aiming to produce a space of social control and containment of the poor, drastically modifying the space lived.

Keywords: Space-Urban, UPS, Public Policy, Criminalization of Poverty.

Once this is done, we leave this region so that issues and theories pertinent to the "exclusionary urban development" present not only in this place can be discussed, but also in the pattern of urban development in the country.

It is understood that this peripheral pattern of development leaves several marks in the social production of urban space and in the conditions of reproduction of life. From this understanding, we approach the stigmatization that marks the favelized regions from the perspective of the criminalization of the poor, who target the marginal population, according to Coelho (1978). Finally, to think about the understanding of space production, we seek to understand the implementation of state security policy, articulating social space theory and poverty criminalization

The region of the case study, is an area overloaded with marks of an exclusionary urban development that ends up reinforcing social inequalities and reproducing the vision of the enemy in the "other poor", being the target of a public policy that eventually modified the way of living in that space.

2 AUDI-UNIÃO POCKET: A REFLECTION OF EXCLUSIONARY URBANIZATION IN BRAZIL

To think about the proposed issue, we need to know briefly the region analyzed. The Audi-União pocket, officially named after urbanization of Jardim Parque Iguaçu, is a complex of irregular occupations begun in 1998. It is an area of 1.3 million square meters of occupation in the Environmental Protection Area (APA) of the Iguaçu River basin, located in the Uberaba neighborhood, in the city of Curitiba.

Until 1998, the region was an unoccupied territory that was previously used for sand extraction for civil construction. This process of exploration of the soil left marks of devastation such as the large pits that flooded frequently, in addition to a lot of mud, which hindered the habitability of the site. In order to settle in the region, the occupants and occupants had to build from the ground to their homes with their own hands. The movement of occupation itself had to prepare the place by grounding the ground in order to eliminate the pits and minimally aligning the territory so that they could erect their houses, made mostly with reused material.

Through the popular organization, which took place from the association of residents and self-management, people opened and named the streets; divided, organized and mapped the lots; organized real estate speculation (sale of lots, which often materialized through exchanges of goods such as refrigerators, cars, bicycles and even food), built the houses, including the "supply" of water and electricity, which was carried out through clandestine connections with another part of the neighborhood. Marked by precariousness and socioeconomic vulnerabilities¹, the place was named "Pocket", precisely for referring to the idea of "pocket of poverty".

¹ Understood from the concept of Kowarick (2009) as a kind of "subcitizenship" than consists of the unprotection of the poor layer of society regarding the guarantee of basic social rights such as health, education, work, sanitation, among others,

The complex was born from an irregular occupation movement in 1998, and only received the first state intervention in 2003 with the removal – truculently according to residents of the region – of families who were in high-risk areas near the river. Structural government interventions, in order to start urbanization and land regularization in the region, began to take place only in 2007 guided by a Technical Plan of Social Work presented by COHAB-CT (Companhia de Habitação Popular). According to Teixeira (2019), from this technical plan, several serious social problems were found, such as: occupation outside the legislative parameters of the municipality, because it was carried out in a disordered and accelerated way; most families still survived with clandestine connection of water and electricity, because only 13.5% had access to service distribution networks and residential garbage collection; there were no sewage network; there were inadequate occupations of the Environmental Protection Area; lack of public social equipment such as day care centers, schools and health units; access to urban mobility, among others.

After nine years of existence, the occupation was still an area flooded by socioeconomic vulnerabilities, until then left to its own devices. This does not mean that the "abandonment" of public power is not part of the exclusionary urban development process, which according to Kowarick (2009), is the process of planning and development of cities that no longer incorporates large portions of the population into the benefits of urban development, such as: real estate regularization, access to public goods and services, urban mobility and local economic growth.

According to Kowarick (2009), we are inserted in a system of "excluding capitalism" that, by producing industrialization and urbanization, has always ceased to incorporate large portions of the population into the benefits of modernization and development: "these were incomplete, unfinished, elitist or even predatory for the interpretative versions that associated growth with poverty" (KOWARICK, 2009, p. 68). The marginalities of exclusionary capitalism are not exclusions of social dynamics, but rather an integral part of the productive process, defining as a principle of social exclusion: "it is not just about isolating, confining or banning but, [...] to deny the other the right to have rights: it is the extreme moment in which representations and practices lead to the exclusion of the other" (KOWARICK, 2009, p. 92). As Edmundo Coelho (1978) argues, the marginalized have stigmas that placethem as lvo, including criminalization, and these are, for the most part, inhabitants of urban suburbs.

Faced with peripheral and exclusionary capitalism, it is possible to observe in Brazil, in general, a "peripheral pattern of urbanization", characterized according to Bega and Teixeira (2018) by metropolization regions, cities of accelerated expansion and surrounded by peripheries, this being a reproductive pattern of social segregation of the poor population, crowded with self-built housing and precarious access to collective consumption. Thus:

The peripheries would be the territory of the systematic exclusion of the popular layers of access to collective consumption services, built and rebuilt by the State and by the dynamics of accumulation itself. [...] So even when high pauperization is maintained, urban reproduction patterns can improve or worsen depending on what residents are able to obtain from the government, in terms of collective services and equipment, housing subsidies or facilities for access to land provided with infrastructure. (BEGA; TEIXEIRA, ISALSO. 2018, p. 3).

In this sense, it is possible to observe the reproduction of a precarious life within the favelas of Brazil, understanding "favela" by regions established by irregular occupations of overpopulation, with low human development index and low quality of life, where low-income people live in self-built housing precariously, marked by lack of basic sanitation and violence. From this concept, we can observe the favelization of the Audi-Union Pocket complex. In which spatial segregation and unequal development of the territory are part of the elements that support the production of wealth of the capitalist system, through the combination of inequalities and processes of socioeconomic underdevelopment.

Within the Uberaba neighborhood, as well as in other neighborhoods of Curitiba, it is possible to observe an unequal urban development model that reproduces "two worlds" in the same territory. In the popularly called "Uberaba de Cima" the population resides in high-standard construction houses, gated communities targeted at the lower middle class, access to public goods and services, as well as squares and leisure areas, while in the "Uberaba de Baixo" we find the favelized territories, with little urban structure, popular housing condominiums of COHAB, difficulty in accessing public goods and services and difficulty in urban mobility, which negatively impacts the quality of life of residents (mostly subaltern classes). This process of social and economic damage that affects some social groups reinforced by its spatiality can be understood as "effect-territory" (ANDRADE; SILVEIRA, 2013).

As Teixeira (2019) explains in his thesis, the Region of the Audi-União Pocket, until 2013,² was among one of the regions of the city of Curitiba with the lowest HDI (Human Development Index), because even after land regularization of some areas, its social conditions of origin did not undergo profound changes. The region is still in a high-risk area according to the Vulnerability Index of the Areas covered by municipal health units (IVAB).³ In addition to the issues already exposed, the author also addresses the presence of violence in the region, which, as explained earlier, is one of the hallmarks of favela areas in Brazil.

In 2011, the Neighborhood Uberaba recorded 53 homicides, presenting about 10% of the total crime of Curitiba, most of the murders found in areas of the vila svila do Bolsão (TEIXEIRA, 2019), which together with the slaughter occurred in 2009, placed the neighborhood in the ranks of violence. Most of the crimes in the region were associated with the establishment of drug trafficking and the dispute of the territory, in addition to robberies and robberies. However, the neighborhood, but mainly the Audi-União Pocket region, was marked by the stigma⁴ of violence.

² Year in which the Atlas of Human Development was developed (TEIXEIRA, 2019).

³ IVAB is calculated from the dimensions: adequacy to the household; profile and family composition; access to work and income and educational status.

⁴ Understood second Erving Goffman (1988), as a mark imputed by categories hegemonic on the stigmatized, which for these categories are out of "normality" of the current order, threatening it.

3 THE REPRODUCTION AND INTERPRETATION OF SPACE FROM THE CRIMINALIZATION OF POVERTY

It is recognized the fact that violence is present in the social relations of the city, however, it is necessary to analyze this social reality not only by the rankings of newspapers, but also through the lenses that sociology provides us to help in the understanding of some reproductions of life "on the edge" within the urban space. Given that, for some subaltern groups inserted in the excluding conditions of the urban city, the legal way of survival is not always possible in these spaces, because:

Workers and workers transitam between the borders of the legal and the illegal, developing their survival strategies to seize all the opportunities that appear regardless whether they are misdemeanors or minor offenses. They move in a space that is both inside and outside the state apparatus, an undefined place on the threshold of institutionality that opens up a range of possibilities. They redefine their relations with the State in their daily lives, with creativity and experimentation reinvent their lives. (TEIXEIRA, 2021, p. 4).

Still on the path of thinking about urban issues and the reproduction of inequalities in this space, Lefèbvre's reflections on the production of the social space will be added succinctly to the discussion, with the production and reproduction of social space, from the implementation of a security policy in the⁵ Uberaba neighborhood.

The production and reproduction of space, the city, and the social relations established in it, go beyond economic relations, also reaching the sphere of symbolic, moral, and human dignity. In the critical theory about the production of space, Lefèbvre (2006) argues that social reality articulates in a dialectical way. Despite presenting criticisms of Marx and Engels, Lefèbvre does not abandon Marxian theory, on the contrary, it deepens some concepts for the understanding of space, and adds some aspects of **Nietzschiano thought**. **The author** articulates a three-dimensional dialectical theory that involves three main aspects "should consider spaces of representation and representations of space, but above all its bonds with each other, as well as with social practice" (LEFÈBVRE, 2006, p.98). That is, the symbolic, ideological, material, discursive dimensions and social bonds interact for the creation of the social space, which, at the same time, is a producer and social product.

Lefèbvre, still addresses within his dialectic, three more aspects of the social space: the space produced, the perceived space and the space lived. And it is this sense that seeks here to understand how the criminalization of poverty, while a perception of space, exercised on the region of the "Audi-União Pocket", is related to the governmental decision to implement the public security policy "Safe Paraná Unit".

Bega (2019) explains that public policies in their genesis are part of an articulation of social control, since its first steps, for example, the social policies of the sixteenth century in England, which were articulated so that the State could contain and discipline the poor, according to the demands of capitalist experiences. This movement we observe is repeated over time in different contexts, including Brazil, where

⁵ The goal is not to approach the detailed discussion on public policies, but to bring it to think about the production of urban space. See more in Bega, 2019.

public and social policies have always suffered the influence and pressure of the conflicts of interest of the capital and the ruling classes.

When it comes to "criminalization of poverty", it is not a question of ignoring the existence of violence – and the fear that derives from it – real present in society, but of evaluating when a space or group of people become "synonymous with danger" for the society in which they are inserted. According to Silva (2013), the media has a fundamental ideological role in the process of feeding fear to urban violence,

the result of which is the spectrum of crime, producing an idea of territorial symbiosis, in the sense that it relates all those who live in the same territorial space to the idea of potential suspects. In this process, small crimes and organized crime networks are at the same level (SILVA, 2013, p.102).

However, this sense of crime goes beyond the crime itself (provided for by the violation of laws), also affects those who do not fit into the formal labor market and become a danger. A look that develops articulated to neoliberal economic policy in order to maintain social control over the increase in poverty triggered by it, which is based not only on political and economic issues, but also ideological citizenship, since "the worker, understood as the poor, is not considered as an integral citizen, because, from the perspective that criminalizes him has not yet acquired the civilizing status of full citizenship, that is, to manage their own needs" (SILVA, 2013, p. 97).

There is a remarkable disparity when there is talk of crimes committed by different social classes, Edmundo Coelho (1978), explains in his reflections the differences in legal treatment of "white collar" crimes and conventional crimes (such as thefts). For the former are criminal acts both when the second, however, are considered by laws as illegal acts and not crimes whose penalties are provided for in the penal code, i.e.:

In this sense, the marginalization of crime consists in imputing to certain classes of behavior high theoretical probabilities that occur in conjunction with the marginal type. And the way in which laws are formulated and administered introduces the element of self-fulfilling prophecy. That is, the mechanisms and legal procedures by which the empirical probabilities that the marginals commit crimes are raised(...) In other words, it does not matter much what the marginal actually does or fails to do, because from the moment he is stigmatized as a potential criminal begin to be triggered the legal mechanisms (police, courts, juries and prison authorities) that will make the prophecy self-fulfill. (COELHO, 1978, p. 159).

Also addressing Wacquant's reflection (2001) on the "invisible poor" (the one who "does not bother"), Silva (2013) seeks to elucidate that social control over behavior is an integral part of the process of criminalization of poverty. To produce the discourse of the "good poor", on the other hand, it is necessary to caricature the "poor bad" and exercise a control over behavior, which in reality "become an attempt to produce a silence about the forms of poverty production, since there is a detachment between what is attributed to delinquent and undesirable behavior and the situation of unemployment" (SILVA, 2013, p. 100), so the "poor urban" is seen as an enemy.

The criminalization of poverty, arrived early in the community of the Audi-União Pocket, before it was reproduced from outside by media groups and social control, its and its inhabitants suffered

stigmatization of their own neighbors, (who occupied another region of the neighborhood, before the arrival of the new occupants) who reproduced in their discourse the criminalization of those who as well as themselves one day, were seeking to achieve the basic right to housing. Other factors (already addressed earlier in the text) that contributed to this stigmatization process were the crime rates in the place and the "effect-territory" resulting from socio-spatial inequality.

In 2009, there was a slaughter at the occupation complex, which the media said was motivated by drug trafficking disputes, in which eight people died and two were injured. This event, together with the 2011 crime rate, caused them to turn the media spotlight to this community and attract the views of the government to implement the security policy "Safe Paraná Unit" (UPS), which was mirrored in the Pacifying Police Units of the state of Rio de Janeiro.

UPS's main focus, according to the media, was focused on social actions, criminal arrests and the fight against drugs (which did not occur effectively). However, police have already settled in the region violently, instilling the community overnight on March 1, 2012. Residents and residents criticized the action for putting the population at risk. On the fourth day of operation, the population denounced torture committed by the "peacemaking" police, as well as complaints of hostile approaches and abuse of power. Teixeira (2019) explains that this type of police action is historically recurrent in Brazilian slums and peripheral neighborhoods. Even after eight months, the police presence did not prevent fifteen people from being murdered. The mere police presence did not intimidate criminals, much less drug trafficking. Another factor that draws attention is the fact of the stigma of violence and the memory of the slaughter do not appear frequently from the discourse of the residents of the region⁶.

The neighborhood received the first UPS in the state of Paraná. However, even with the high crime rate, Uberaba was not the most dangerous neighborhood in Curitiba, according to a matter of *gazeta do Povo*, this was at the time in third place, tied with the neighborhood Cajuru compared to the number of homicides (53). The most dangerous neighborhood in the city was the CIC (Cidade Industrial de Curitiba), which had more than twice as many homicides as any other neighborhood (118), followed by Sítio Cercado (57). Therefore, it was not the real crime rate that motivated the installation of the prototype of the policy in the region, but the marks of the process of criminalization of poverty, including the report published by the *People's Gazette* in the month of the installation of UPS (March 2012), points out that in addition to the slaughter and the number of homicides, another motivation was this region being an area marked by land invasions.⁷ Thus, the action of the State, which has decision-making power, from a stigmatized view of unequal and excluding urban territory, eventually modified the reproduction of space via public policy.

For some, especially for the population of the "Uberaba from above" the installation of the police unit may have provided a sense of security, however, this perception does not apply to the entire population

⁶ Fact found in field work.

⁷ See in: *People's Gazette*, March 2, 2012.

of the neighborhood, which is noticeable through dissatisfaction on the part of the population and the complaints against the police mentioned above.

In the development of his theory, Lefèbvre addresses a discussion about the "dominant and the dominated", in his text "The Production of Space", he elaborates these two concepts from an optics of the modification of space through architecture. However, understanding that this conception can be expanded, it is risky to conclude that in addition to a new production of the space lived, the decision-making of the political power regarding the installation of the first UPS in the Uberaba neighborhood was also a form of domination of the space of the Audi-União Pocket complex, since this social relationship ended up modifying the configurations and experiences of this space.

4 CONCLUSION

We sought within the limit of a small essay to understand the forms of production and reproduction of the urban environment, from a case study in the city of Curitiba, articulating theories about the exclusionary urban development, space production and criminalization of poverty to understand the social dynamics around the economic, political and social relations present in the experience of cities.

From the articulation of theory and social reality, it was possible to reflect that the installation of UPS in the Uberaba neighborhood helps to empirically understand the dialectical relationship between the perceived, lived and produced space proposed by Lefèbvre⁸.

Understanding that these three dimensions are related and do not necessarily form a dependence on causality, it is possible to articulate that the perception of space from the stigma and criminalization of poverty - which as previously addressed is part of the territory in question - has raised the development of public security policy, in order (also, but not only) to produce a space of social control and containment of the poor, drastically modifying the space lived.

⁸ It is recognized that given the theoretical complexity of the author, it was not possible to work all the points of this theory.

REFERENCES

- ANDRADE, L. T.; SILVEIRA, L. S. Efeito-território: explorações em torno de um conceito sociológico. **Civitas**, Porto Alegre, v.13, n. 2, 2013, p. 381- 402.
- BEGA, M. T. S.; Algumas reflexões sobre políticas sociais. In: BEGA. M.T. S. e HOFFMANN-HOROCHOVSKI, M. (organizadoras). **Políticas públicas sociais: Notas conceituais e de pesquisas**. Curitiba: CRV, 2019. (p. 15-38).
- BEGA, M. T. S.; TEIXEIRA, L. B. Desigualdade Social e o Processo de Urbanização de Curitiba: O Caso do Jardim Parque Iguaçu. In: **Tempo da Ciência**, Toledo, v. 25. n. 49, 2018, p. 147-161
- COELHO, E. C.A criminalização da marginalidade e a marginalização da criminalidade. **Revista de Administração Pública**, v. 12, n. 2, p. 139-161, 1978.
- GOFFMAN, E. **Estigma: Notas sobre a Manipulação da Identidade Deteriorada**. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1980.
- LEFEBVRE, Henry. **A produção do espaço**. Trad. Doralice Barros Pereira e Sérgio Martins (do original: La production de l'espace. 4 e éd. Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 2000). Primeira versão : início – fev.2006
- KOWARICK, L. **Viver em risco: sobre a vulnerabilidade socioeconômica e civil**. São Paulo: Ed. 34, 2009.
- SILVA, S. de C. Uma análise sobre a atual criminalização da pobreza e das lutas sociais. In: Simpósio Internacional Lutas Sociais na América Latina: “Revoluções nas Américas: passado, presente e futuro” n. V, 2013, Londrina, Anais. 2013. Disponível em: **Uma análise sobre a atual criminalização da pobreza e das lutas sociais.pdf**. Acessado em 20 de set. de 2021.
- TEIXEIRA, L. B. **Da lama ao caos: a urbanização de Curitiba vista do Bolsão Audi-União**. 286 f. Tese (Doutorado em Sociologia) – Departamento de Ciências Sociais, UFPR, Curitiba, 2019.
- _____. Cidades excludentes: a urbanização de Curitiba vista do Bolsão Audi-União. In: Encontro Anual da ANPOCS, n. 44, 2021, on-line. Anais, Portal das Ciências Sociais Brasileiras. Disponível em: **Cidades excludentes: a urbanização de Curitiba vista do Bolsão Audi-União** (Anpocs.com). Acessado em 17 de set. de 2021.