


## NOTES ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF CRIME IN THE REGION OF SÃO LUÍS/MA: ANALYSIS OF DATA ON THE CONCENTRATION OF INTENTIONAL LETHAL VIOLENT CRIMES IN THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF SÃO LUÍS/MA

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**Eduardo Philipe Magalhães da Silva<sup>1</sup>**

### ABSTRACT

This article addresses the occurrence of violent crimes in the Municipality of São Luís/MA, taking as reference the analysis of statistical data provided by the State Secretariat of Public Security and the Criminal Operational Support Center (CAOp-Crim) of the State Public Prosecutor's Office. The study has as its methodological cut the record of the occurrences of the so-called Intentional Lethal Violent Crimes (CLVI) between the years 2017 and 2021. This designation of crimes is used by the National Secretariat of Public Security (SENASP) to refer to the set of crimes of intentional homicide, bodily injury followed by death and robbery resulting in death. From the verification of the data provided by the anti-crime agencies, it can be seen that the Intentional Lethal Violent Crimes (CLVI) between 2017 and 2021 are concentrated in neighborhoods in the so-called "peripheral area", with higher demographic density and low intra-urban housing conditions. The importance of this set of variables on crime rates leads to the conclusion that the combination of factors such as population quantity and internal inequalities has a direct influence on the occurrence of violent crimes. The study, which does not pretend to be exhaustive, seeks to bring notes on criminal geography and its relationship with factors of social inequality.

**Keywords:** Intentional Lethal Violent Crimes (CLVI), Criminality, Inequality.

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<sup>1</sup> Master's student in Public Law at the Federal University of Alagoas – UFAL  
Postgraduate in Public Law from the Superior School of the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office – ESMPU  
Graduated in Law from the Federal University of Alagoas – UFAL

## INTRODUCTION

The objective of this work is to contribute to studies related to crime and sociodemographic conditions in the Municipality of São Luís. Geographic categories contribute to the understanding of crime in certain regions and why it is concentrated.

The spatial environment has not been disregarded by criminal science as to its effects. The place of occurrence of criminal offenses is a determining factor in the competence of the judging body, according to arts. 70 and 71 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. Equally relevant is the treatment given by the Penal Code when, in its article 6, it considers the crime to have been committed in the place where the action or omission occurred, as well as where the result was or should have been produced.

However, positive law considers the place of the crime from a strictly legal point of view, whether in the attribution of jurisdiction or to define the place of occurrence. Extra-legal factors are the object of study in Sociology and, in the specific case of criminal territorialization, in Geography. For Ricardo Capra Schuch<sup>2</sup>,

The verification of socioeconomic variables that affect criminal indicators can be an ally for public policy makers in combating these crimes, which generate so much losses for society; as well as identifying the variables that encourage criminal activity can help in understanding the channels that generate such crimes. Therefore, studies that identify the determinants and deterrents of crime are extremely useful to support consistent and evidence-based public policies, because they analyze the costs and benefits of criminal activity.

Thus, the study of the territorial space in which crimes occur, as well as the factors linked to the territorial concentration of crime, help to understand the complex phenomenon of urban violence and its prevention. To do so, it is necessary to understand what the category of territorial space consists of.

The term space can be fluid, depending on the theoretical framework from which the researcher starts. For Milton Santos<sup>3</sup>, the notion of space covers a wide variable of objects and meanings, and the space that interests us should be considered as a set of relations carried out through functions and forms that are presented as a testimony of a history written by processes of the past and present. That is, space is defined as a set of forms

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<sup>2</sup> SCHUC, Ricardo Capra. Determinants of Criminality in the Metropolitan Region of Porto Alegre/RS: theories and evidence. Available at: <https://lume.ufrgs.br/handle/10183/2/browse?type=author&value=Schuch%2C+Ricardo+Capra>. Accessed in: 09/04/2023

<sup>3</sup> SANTOS, Milton. For a New Geography: from the critique of geography to a critical geography. São Paulo: HUCITEC, Ed. da Universidade de São Paulo, 2004, p. 150

representative of past and present social relations and by a structure represented by social relations that are happening before our eyes and that manifest themselves through processes and functions. Space is, then, a veritable field of forces whose acceleration is uneven<sup>4</sup>.

Thus, crime is directly linked to the spatial issue, because it is in this geographical space in which it occurs, thus, this space, which deals with Santos, needs to be considered as a totality: a set of relations carried out through functions and forms historically presented by processes of both the past and the present<sup>5</sup>.

Still following the lessons of Milton Santos<sup>6</sup>, the use of territory creates space. In this way, space and territory are close concepts, but they are not confused, in the geography of Santos. Space is a product of social relations conceived in a given territory.

It is in the territory that power relations between society and the State develop, but, beyond that, it involves a much wider range of actors who territorialize their actions. This is the conclusion reached by Sarquet e Silva<sup>7</sup>

It is important to note that, if we understand the territory only as an area delimited and constituted by the power relations of the State, as understood in geography, we would be disregarding different ways of focusing on its use, which do not stifle its understanding, but make it more complex because it involves an analysis that takes into account many actors and many social relations. Thus, the territory can be considered as delimited, constructed and deconstructed by power relations that involve a very wide range of actors who territorialize their actions over time.

The relationship between Geography and Crime directly influences the social dynamics of cities, especially large urban centers, shaping urban architecture and regional development within the territorial space. In Félix's lessons<sup>8</sup>, if criminal dynamics can be one of the factors of transformation and spatial reorganization (crime transforms space and its meanings) and geographic science has the potential to collaborate in metropolitan urban planning, the dimension of crime should be included in his analyses.

<sup>4</sup> SANTOS, Milton. For a New Geography: from the critique of geography to a critical geography. São Paulo. Ed. da Universidade de São Paulo, 2004, p. 151-152.

<sup>5</sup> ROSA, Aline Hubaide. The Geography of Crime: Territorialization of the main crimes and the influence of illegal trade, trafficking and consumption of drugs in the city of Catalão (GO). Available at: <https://repositorio.ufu.br/bitstream/123456789/16234/1/GeografiaCrimeTerritorializacao.pdf>. Accessed in: 09/04/2023

<sup>6</sup> SANTOS, Milton. For a New Geography: from the critique of geography to a critical geography. São Paulo. Ed. da Universidade de São Paulo, 2004, p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> SAQUET, Marcos Aurélio, SILVA, Sueli. Milton Santos: Conceptions of geography, space and territory. Rio de Janeiro. Ed. Geo UERJ - Year 10, v.2, n.18, 2nd semester of 2008. p. 08

<sup>8</sup> FELIX, Sueli Andruccioli. Geography of Crime: Interdisciplinarity and Relevance. Marília: Unesp MaríliaPublications, 2002, p. 149.

The various theories that tend to explain the phenomenon of criminality flow into several variables in an attempt to explain the phenomenon of criminality. For Cerqueira and Lobão<sup>9</sup>, studies are usually structured in two dimensions of understanding the factors of criminality violence: some studies that focus on individual motivations and the processes that would lead individuals to enter the world of crime and others start from investigating the relationships between crime rates and variations in cultures, socioeconomic organizations and institutions.

Nevertheless, knowing the area where the incidence of crime is most recurrent can be the starting point for understanding the behavior of crime, that is, the factors that lead to its occurrence.<sup>10</sup> Based on the Theory of Human Ecology, Freitas bases the relationship between space and criminality on two concepts of natural science, namely, symbiosis and invasion, domination and succession, and from these crime is considered an environmental phenomenon that involves physical, social and cultural aspects.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, and taking into account that crime is a complex social phenomenon, its development takes place within a certain space, and the study of these characteristics leads to the understanding of its genesis and contributes to the formation of public policies that control and prevention.

## METHODOLOGY

This article used the explanatory research method of the phenomenon of criminality and its concentration in neighborhoods with the largest population and lowest conditions of intra-urban habitation in the Municipality of São Luís/MA.

To this end, data provided by the State Secretariat of Public Security and the Criminal Operational Support Center (CAOp-Crim) of the State Public Prosecutor's Office were analyzed, regarding the so-called Intentional Lethal Violent Crimes (CVLI), according to the denomination adopted by the National Secretariat of Public Security, of the Ministry of Justice. The CVLI refers to the set of crimes of intentional homicide, bodily injury followed by death and robbery resulting in death.

<sup>9</sup> CERQUEIRA, Daniel; LOBÃO, Waldir. Determinants of criminality: a review of theoretical models and empirical results. Rio de Janeiro: IPEA – Texto para Discussão nº 956, jun. 2003. Available at: [https://repositorio.ipea.gov.br/bitstream/11058/2888/1/TD\\_956.pdf](https://repositorio.ipea.gov.br/bitstream/11058/2888/1/TD_956.pdf). Accessed in: 09/04/2023

<sup>10</sup> SANTOS, Márcia Andréia Ferreira. Scientific approaches to the causes of violent crime: an analysis of the Theory of Human Ecology. Journal of the Laboratory for the Study of Violence at UNESP/Marília. 17th ed. Marília, 2016, p. 47.

<sup>11</sup> FREITAS, Wagner Cinelli de Paula. Urban space and criminality: lessons from the Chicago School. São Paulo: Método, 2004, p. 48

## **HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL CONSTITUTION OF SÃO LUÍS. SOME CONSIDERATIONS**

As stated in the introduction of this article, the study of the geography of crime refers to the territorialization of the occurrence of crimes and the social factors related to the criminal space.

Space, understood as the set of social relations developed in a given territory, encompasses historical factors. It would be impossible to think of the growth of crime without the evolution of space if time did not exist in historical time. The space, considered as a mosaic of elements from different eras, synthesizes on the one hand the evolution of society and explains, on the other hand, situations that present themselves today, one in particular, violence<sup>12</sup>.

Thus, some considerations are made about the historical-geographical constitution of São Luís/MA, from its discovery to its adhesion to independence.

The historical formation of São Luís refers to the French, Portuguese and Dutch colonization. According to Pereira<sup>13</sup>

The city of São Luís, capital of the State of Maranhão, was founded in 1612 by the French and was documented by the Capuchin priest Claude d'Abbeville. The French missionary left the feat recorded in the book "History of the mission of the Capuchin priests on the Island of Maranhão and surrounding lands", which was published in 1614. Before being a city, São Luís was a fort and its construction was the beginning of settlement. The construction of the primitive defense structure, which would guarantee the establishment of Equinoctial France and ended up giving its name to the capital of Maranhão, was initiated in 1612 by the French colonizing expedition of Daniel de La Touche, lord of La Ravardière, under the protection of the queen regent of France, Marie de Medici.

The city was under Dutch rule until 1644, when it was retaken by Portugal. In 1954, the Portuguese colony, to avoid new invasions, founded the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão, independent from the rest of the country<sup>14</sup>.

The economic growth of São Luís was slow until the mid-eighteenth century, which resulted in an equally slow demographic growth. For Celso Furtado<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> ROSA, Aline Hubaide. The Geography of Crime: Territorialization of the main crimes and the influence of illegal trade, trafficking and consumption of drugs in the city of Catalão (GO). Available at: <https://repositorio.ufu.br/bitstream/123456789/16234/1/GeografiaCrimeTerritorializacao.pdf>. Accessed in: 09/04/2023

<sup>13</sup> PEAR TREE. Marcio Rodrigo da Silva. The Social Organization of the Urban Space of São Luís. Available at: <https://teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/16/16139/tde-26062017-122610/publico/MarcioRodrigodaSilvaPereira.pdf>. Accessed in: 09/04/2023

<sup>14</sup> MEIRELES, Mário M. História do Maranhão. São Paulo: Siciliano, 2001, p. 15

<sup>15</sup> FURTADO, Celso. Economic Formation of Brazil. 34 ed. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2007, p. 130

The soils of Maranhão did not have the same fecundity as the northeastern massapés. But this was not the greatest difficulty, but the disorganization of the market for sugar, tobacco and other tropical products, in the second half of the seventeenth century, which prevented the settlers of Maranhão from dedicating themselves to an activity that would allow them to start a process of capitalization and development. Their difficulties were the same as those faced by the set of Portuguese colonies in America, only aggravated by the fact that they tried to start at a stage in which the others consumed part of what they had previously accumulated.

The Companhia do Comércio do Maranhão was created in 1862 to integrate the State with the rest of the commercial system maintained by the Portuguese crown. However, the high prices set for the import of products caused dissatisfaction among merchants and rural producers, which led to the Beckman Revolt. Again, using Pereira's lessons<sup>16</sup>:

The Portuguese court sent a new governor to Maranhão to put an end to the revolt and bring order to the region, resulting in the arrest of the rebels who were tried, and the brothers Beckman and Jorge Sampaio were sentenced to hang. This revolt was another nativist movement that shows the conflicts of interest between the settlers and the metropolis, which demonstrated the problems of labor and supply in the region of Maranhão. The actions of the Portuguese crown, which clearly favored Portugal and harmed the interests of the colonists, were often reasons for violent reactions on the part of the population. Generally, they were violently repressed, as the Crown did not give up order and obedience in its main colony. The policies of economic restrictions on the part of the Portuguese Crown became more accentuated as the colonial population increased, preventing the production of any kind that was not of direct interest to the metropolis and its trade, or that competed with its national production.

The city saw its new cycle of development from 1776 onwards. With the American War of Independence, the cotton produced in the colony had international projection. For Celso Furtado<sup>17</sup>

As important as financial aid, however, was the change in the world market for tropical products caused by the American War of Independence and soon after by the English industrial revolution. The directors of the companies realized from the beginning that cotton was the tropical product whose demand was growing most intensely and that the rice produced in the English colonies and mainly consumed in southern Europe was not restricted by any colonial pact.

This new economic cycle brought new elements of European civilization to the city, which underwent a process of modernization and urbanization, with the construction of new fountains and infrastructure so that the streets could receive water and

<sup>16</sup> PEAR TREE. Marcio Rodrigo da Silva. The Social Organization of the Urban Space of São Luís. Available at: <https://teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/16/16139/tde-26062017-122610/publico/MarcioRodrigodaSilvaPereira.pdf>. Accessed in: 09/04/2023

<sup>17</sup> FURTADO, Celso. Economic Formation of Brazil. 34 ed. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2007, p. 139



sewage network <sup>18</sup>channeling. The colony's production system was always exploratory, thus reflecting the relations of domination of the Crown.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the transition from the colonial period to the Empire, the Brazilian capitalist industry began to overshadow commercial capitalism, resulting in the decline of the old colonial system<sup>19</sup>.

Being independent from the rest of the country, Maranhão only adhered to independence on 07/28/1823, due to the agricultural and livestock elites who sought to separate from the Portuguese crown. For Meireles<sup>20</sup>

Consequently, it could not be otherwise, the cry of Independence or Death, shouted on the banks of the Ipiranga, would echo from north to south, from east to west, over the entire extension covered by all the Brazilian provinces and those that had been Maranhenses, and would have to overcome the obstacles and resistances that were placed before it here and there, until the achievement of the national unity aimed at

In turn, according to Santos and Mendes<sup>21</sup>, the geographical constitution of Ludovicense society begins in a spatial arrangement, that is, through a system of locations and distributions engendered by the logic of capital, where the glaring contrasts between the ruling class, living in opulence, and the majority of the population, in misery and marginalized, These are clear signs of profound distortions in our society.

This logic of distribution is a reflection of the historical formation of the city, based on the exploitation of the Portuguese crown and the revolts led by the economic sectors of the State aiming at autonomy. It can be said that the economic agents of agriculture, livestock and commerce were decisive in the independence of the State from the domination of Portugal.

Currently, this distributive logic to which the authors refer persists, resulting in a strong concentration of income and poor distribution of services, thus reflecting the concentration of crime in certain regions of the city, as will be seen below.

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<sup>18</sup> PEAR TREE. Marcio Rodrigo da Silva. The Social Organization of the Urban Space of São Luís. Available at: <https://teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/16/16139/tde-26062017-122610/publico/MarcioRodrigodaSilvaPereira.pdf>. Accessed in: 09/04/2023

<sup>19</sup> Ditto. Ibidem.

<sup>20</sup> MEIRELES, Mário M. História do Maranhão. São Paulo: Siciliano, 2001, p. 206

<sup>21</sup> SANTOS, Flavio Roberto Gomes dos. MENDES, Raquel de Oliveira. The Organization of Urban Space in São Luís and its Consequences before the implementation of large economic projects in its territory. Available at: [http://www.joinpp.ufma.br/jornadas/joinppII/pagina\\_PGPP/Trabalhos/EixoTematicoA/90Flavio\\_Roberto\\_RaqueI\\_Oliveira.pdf](http://www.joinpp.ufma.br/jornadas/joinppII/pagina_PGPP/Trabalhos/EixoTematicoA/90Flavio_Roberto_RaqueI_Oliveira.pdf). Accessed in: 09/04/2023

## GEOGRAPHY OF CRIMINALITY IN SÃO LUÍS/MA. STATISTICAL DATA

At this point in the work, we will focus on the analysis of data provided by the State Secretariat of Public Security and the Criminal Operational Support Center (CAOp-Crim) of the State Public Prosecutor's Office on Intentional Lethal Violent Crimes between the years 2014 and 2020 and their relationship with the neighborhoods with the highest occurrence.

Intentional Lethal Violent Crimes is the classification made by the National Secretariat of Public Security, of the Ministry of Justice, which covers the crimes of intentional homicide, robbery followed by death and bodily injury followed by death. The table below, provided by CAOp-Crim<sup>22</sup>, shows the evolution of the number of CVLI between 2013 and 2017.

**Tabela 1** – Valores de CVLI para o 1º semestre dos anos de 2013 a 2017

ANO	JAN	FEV	MAR	ABR	MAI	JUN	TOTAL
2013	77	52	71	91	59	67	417
2014	115	88	96	93	87	77	556
2015	109	78	94	72	90	80	523
2016	79	88	83	55	65	61	431
2017	78	70	61	46	47	55	357
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>458</b>	<b>376</b>	<b>405</b>	<b>357</b>	<b>348</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>2.284</b>
<b>MÉDIA</b>	<b>91,6</b>	<b>75,2</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>71,4</b>	<b>69,6</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>456,8</b>
Δ%	JAN	FEV	MAR	ABR	MAI	JUN	TOTAL
2013/2014	+49,35%	+69,23%	+35,21%	+02,20%	+32,18%	+14,92%	+33,33%
2014/2015	-05,22%	-11,36%	-02,08%	-22,58%	+03,45%	+03,90%	-5,93%
2015/2016	-27,52%	+12,82%	-11,70%	-23,61%	-27,78%	-23,75%	-17,59%
2016/2017	-01,27%	-20,45%	-26,51%	-16,36%	-27,69%	-09,84%	-17,17%
<b>Δ%</b>	<b>JAN</b>	<b>FEV</b>	<b>MAR</b>	<b>ABR</b>	<b>MAI</b>	<b>JUN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
2013/2017	+1,30%	+34,61%	-14,08%	-49,45%	-20,34%	-17,91%	-14,39%

Fonte: IML

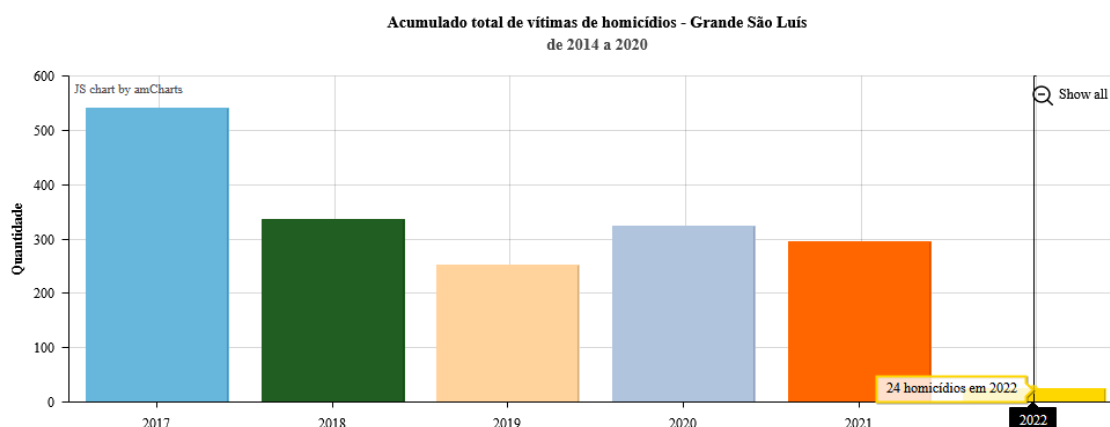
As can be seen, between 2013 and 2017, there was a percentage reduction of 14.93% in CVLIs.

<sup>22</sup> Available at:

[https://www.mpma.mp.br/arquivos/COCOM/arquivos/centros\\_de\\_apoio/caop\\_crim/RELATORIOS/DIAGNOSTICO\\_QUANTITATIVO\\_CRIMINALIDADE\\_1%C2%BA\\_SEMESTRE.pdf](https://www.mpma.mp.br/arquivos/COCOM/arquivos/centros_de_apoio/caop_crim/RELATORIOS/DIAGNOSTICO_QUANTITATIVO_CRIMINALIDADE_1%C2%BA_SEMESTRE.pdf). Accessed in: 09/04/2023



The same proportion can be seen in the graph prepared by the SSP, considering the years 217 and 2022<sup>23</sup>



In this context, we can see a drop in the number of CVLIs. It is now up to us to verify where the largest number of occurrences of CVLI are concentrated in the delimited object of study.

**Tabela 4 – Bairros com os maiores registros de CVLI para o 1º semestre de 2017**

BAIRRO	JAN	FEV	MAR	ABR	MAI	JUN	1º SEM	%T
Cidade Olímpica	4	3	4	4	2	4	21	5,88%
Coroadinho	4	1	4	2	0	5	16	4,48%
Fátima	3	2	3	1	3	1	13	3,64%
Liberdade	3	2	2	1	3	2	13	3,64%
Anjo da Guarda	1	1	1	3	2	0	8	2,24%
Centro-SLZ	2	2	2	1	0	1	8	2,24%
São Raimundo	1	3	1	1	1	0	7	1,96%
Vila Vitória	2	3	1	0	0	0	6	1,68%
Cidade Operária	0	1	1	1	1	1	5	1,40%
Estiva	0	1	1	1	1	1	5	1,40%

Fonte: IML

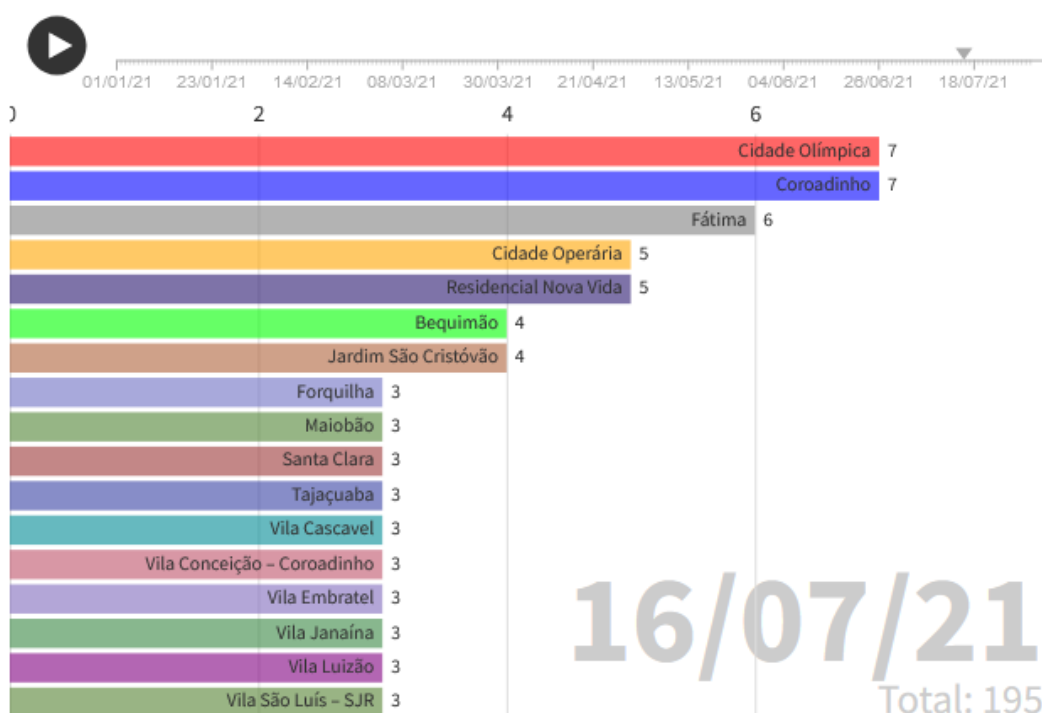
<sup>23</sup> Available at: <https://www.ssp.ma.gov.br/estatisticas/estatisticas-da-grande-sao-luis/>. Accessed in: 09/04/2023

As we can see, the CVLI are concentrated in 10 neighborhoods in the first half of 2017<sup>24</sup>. The neighborhoods of Cidade Olímpica, Coroadinho, Fátima and Liberdade occupy the top 04 positions in CVLI records, with the last two tied in values, presenting, respectively, 5.88%, 4.48%, 3.64% and 3.64% of the total value of CVLI for the period. Adding the occurrences of the neighborhoods of Anjo da Guarda, Centro de São Luís and São Raimundo, the percentage exceeds 20% of CVLI records for the metropolitan region of the Big Island, totaling 22.19%, that is, more than 1/5 (one fifth of the crimes) of intentional lethal violent crimes.

This proportion does not change when we check more up-to-date data for 2021. See:

### MVI - BAIRROS DA GRANDE ILHA DE SLZ

2021



The data above<sup>25</sup>, compared to the data from the first half of 2017, reveal that the neighborhoods in which the highest number of CVLI cases are concentrated have undergone little change. In particular, the Cidade Olímpica neighborhood is noteworthy, which in both graphs occupied the first position when the occurrence of CVLI occurred.

<sup>24</sup> Available at:

[https://www.mpma.mp.br/arquivos/COCOM/arquivos/centros\\_de\\_apoio/caop\\_crim/RELATORIOS/DIAGNOSTICO\\_QUANTITATIVO\\_CRIMINALIDADE\\_1%C2%BA\\_SEMESTRE.pdf](https://www.mpma.mp.br/arquivos/COCOM/arquivos/centros_de_apoio/caop_crim/RELATORIOS/DIAGNOSTICO_QUANTITATIVO_CRIMINALIDADE_1%C2%BA_SEMESTRE.pdf). Accessed in: 09/04/2023

<sup>25</sup> Available at: <https://www.mpma.mp.br/index.php/dados-estat-control-control-atividade-policia>

The Cidade Olímpica neighborhood arose from an irregular occupation that began on 07/23/1996, at the time of the Atlanta Olympics<sup>26</sup>. The occupation was subject to repossession, with the aim of removing the residents. According to Soares<sup>27</sup>, about 15 thousand mud houses were knocked down during the eviction. Still in the author's lessons:

From then on, the homeless organized themselves forming the Homeless Commission, starting the registration of those who had no home. About ten thousand families were registered. The organization of General Assemblies began to start the second occupation movement, where decisions were made collectively. Because they were more organized, on December 29, 1996, the Commission held a General Assembly, where they decided to reoccupy the area already protected by the landowners who hired security guards.

(...)

On November 4, 1996, the March for Urban Reform and Housing was held in the center of São Luís, and on February 25, 1997, the National Day of Struggle for Housing was declared, a public act held in Deodoro Square followed by a march to Solecit (Secretariat of Solidarity, Labor and Citizenship). Other demonstrations and public acts were held throughout the negotiation process in mid-1996 and early 1997. In this context, it was no longer possible for the authorities to remain oblivious. The disappearance of a 14-year-old boy in December 1996 further aggravated the situation, there was strong suspicion of the security guards (gunmen) of the owners of the company since the body was found by the police on the property in conflict. On December 29, 1996, the area was occupied again, with 2,5000 people and the gunmen were expelled.

When there were already 10 thousand lots of 10x20m delivered to the homeless, the District of Ribamar grants another injunction of repossession in favor of Gás Butano. New acts of violence and arrests were recorded as a form of expropriation of the area. However, there was resistance and, this time, the homeless did not withdraw from the area. According to the newspaper O Imparcial (23/01/1997) there was resistance from the occupants who clashed with the police.

As can be seen, the history of the neighborhood with the highest number of CVLI is of origin of irregular occupation, repossession and acts of violence practiced by landowners and the Military Police.

Another neighborhood that draws attention, due to its characteristics, is the neighborhood of the so-called Cidade Operária. As Rocha and Sousa teach<sup>28</sup>:

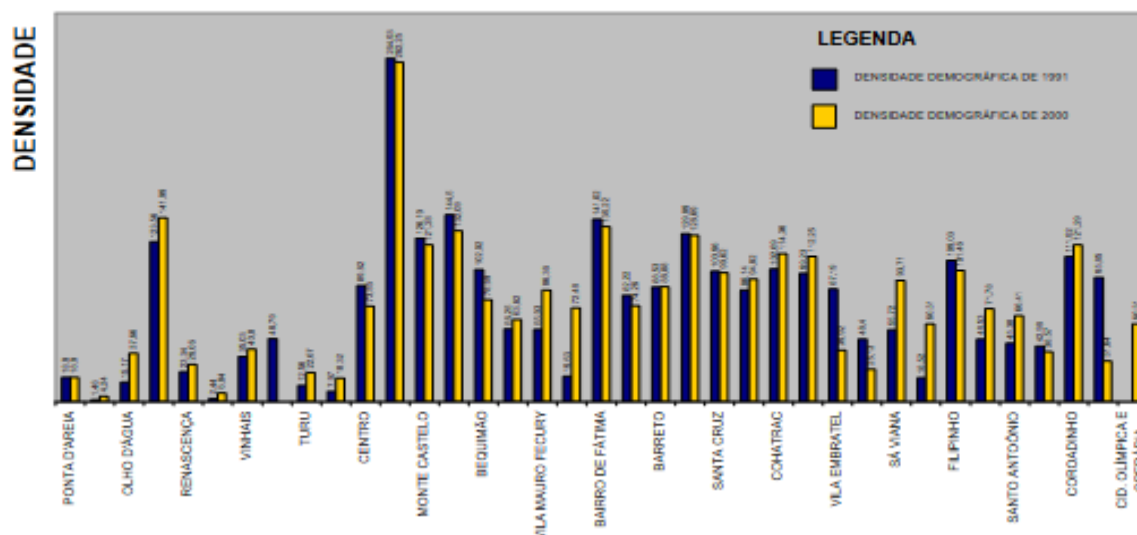
Cidade Operária is a neighborhood of irregular occupations that began in the 1980s, on the outskirts of São Luís, in which a large part of the economically active population is unemployed. Children and adolescents are in vulnerable situations exposed to violence, with few opportunities for education, health and income.

<sup>26</sup> SOARES, Franciângela Silva de Araujo. Olympic City. Memory of the struggle for urban land. Available at: <https://www.historia.uema.br/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/7.-franciangel-silva.pdf>. Accessed in: 09/04/2023

<sup>27</sup> Ditto. Ibidem

<sup>28</sup> ROCHA, Danieli Lima. SOUSA, Cláudio José da Silva de. Geography of Criminality: spatio-temporal analysis of robbery cases in the urban area of the municipality of São Luís – MA. Available at: <http://marte.sid.inpe.br/col/dpi.inpe.br/sbsr@80/2008/11.17.21.03.41/doc/835-842.pdf>. Accessed in: 09/04/2023

The other neighborhoods presented in the graphs above add up to the largest population contingent in the municipality, according to data provided by the City of São Luís<sup>29</sup>



Thus, it is noted that there is a relationship between the historical formation of the neighborhood and also its population contingent. The concentration of CVLI in the listed neighborhoods demonstrates that factors such as demographic density and form of occupation are directly related to the levels of crime concentration.

The CVLI presented in the data studied here refer to homicides, bodily injury followed by death and robbery followed by death caused by firearms, bladed weapons and beatings.

According to data provided by CAOp-Crim<sup>30</sup>, the most violent neighborhood committed by firearm was the Olympic City, with 19 (nineteen) occurrences and a percentage of 6.76%. In second place is the neighborhood of Coroadinho, with 13 (thirteen) occurrences, corresponding to 4.63%. In third place appears the neighborhood of Liberdade, with 12 (twelve) CVLI records, equivalent to 4.27%. The neighborhood of Fátima has 11 (eleven) records and a percentage of 3.91%. The São Raimundo neighborhood has 05 (five) occurrences and 1.78%. With 04 (four) occurrences each, there were 09 (nine)

<sup>29</sup> Available at:

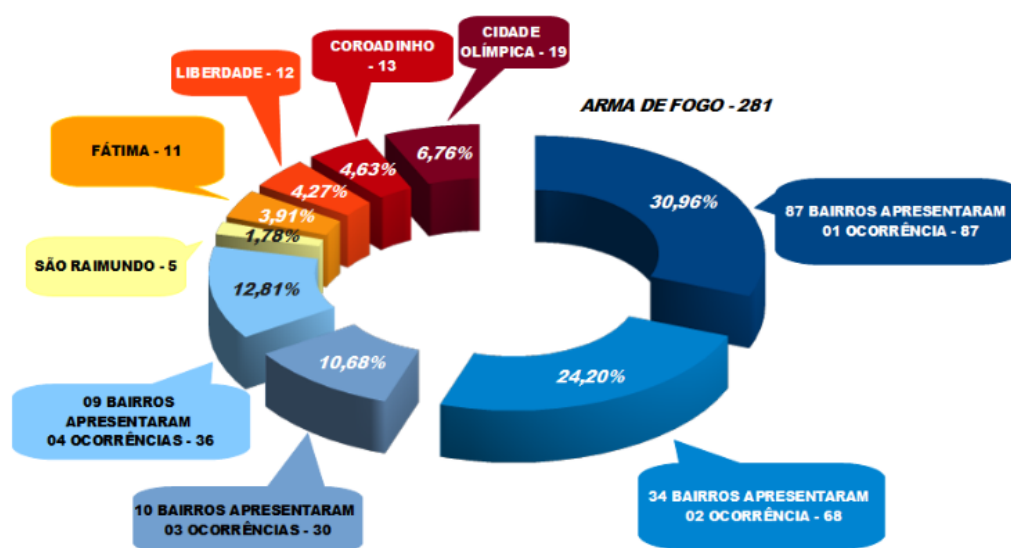
[https://www.saoluis.ma.gov.br/midias/anexos/1442\\_sao\\_luis\\_uma\\_leitura\\_da\\_cidade\\_parte2\\_pag28a47-.pdf](https://www.saoluis.ma.gov.br/midias/anexos/1442_sao_luis_uma_leitura_da_cidade_parte2_pag28a47-.pdf)

<sup>30</sup> Available at:

[https://www.mpma.mp.br/arquivos/COCOM/arquivos/centros\\_de\\_apoio/caop\\_crim/RELATORIOS/DIAGNOSTICO\\_QUANTITATIVO\\_CRIMINALIDADE\\_1%C2%BA\\_SEMESTRE.pdf](https://www.mpma.mp.br/arquivos/COCOM/arquivos/centros_de_apoio/caop_crim/RELATORIOS/DIAGNOSTICO_QUANTITATIVO_CRIMINALIDADE_1%C2%BA_SEMESTRE.pdf). Accessed in: 09/04/2023

neighborhoods, representing 12.81% of the occurrences of CVLI by firearm. With 03 (three) occurrence of CVLI, 10 neighborhoods were added, with an accumulated percentage of 10.68%. With 02 (two) occurrences of CVLI, there were 34 (thirty-four) neighborhoods, with a percentage of 24.20% and 87 (eighty-seven) neighborhoods had 01 (one) CVLI, with a percentage of 30.96%

Figura 16 – CVLI por instrumento "arma de fogo" e bairros



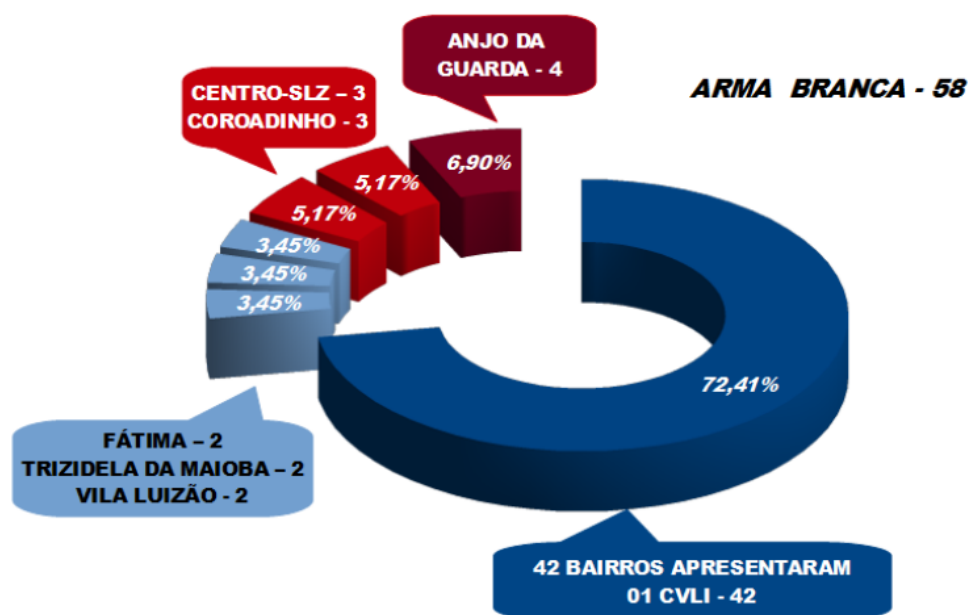
Fonte: IML

In turn, as for the CVLI per occurrence due to the use of bladed weapons<sup>31</sup>, the total was 58 (fifty-eight) CVLI records for the first half of 2017. The neighborhood of Anjo da Guarda was the most violent, with 04 (four) CVLI, making 6.90%. The Center of São Luís and the neighborhood of Coroadinho had 03 (three) occurrences, each, with an individual percentage of 5.17%. The neighborhoods of Fátima, Trizidela da Maioba and Vila Luizão are tied for third place, with 02 (two) occurrences of CVLI, each, and an individual percentage of 3.45%. Forty-two neighborhoods had 01 (one) CVLI originated by bladed weapon, representing an accumulated percentage of 72.41%.

<sup>31</sup> Available at:

[https://www.mpma.mp.br/arquivos/COCOM/arquivos/centros\\_de\\_apoio/caop\\_crim/RELATORIOS/DIAGNOSTICO\\_QUANTITATIVO\\_CRIMINALIDADE\\_1%C2%BA\\_SEMESTRE.pdf](https://www.mpma.mp.br/arquivos/COCOM/arquivos/centros_de_apoio/caop_crim/RELATORIOS/DIAGNOSTICO_QUANTITATIVO_CRIMINALIDADE_1%C2%BA_SEMESTRE.pdf). Accessed in: 09/04/2023

Figura 17 – CVLI por instrumento "arma branca" e bairros

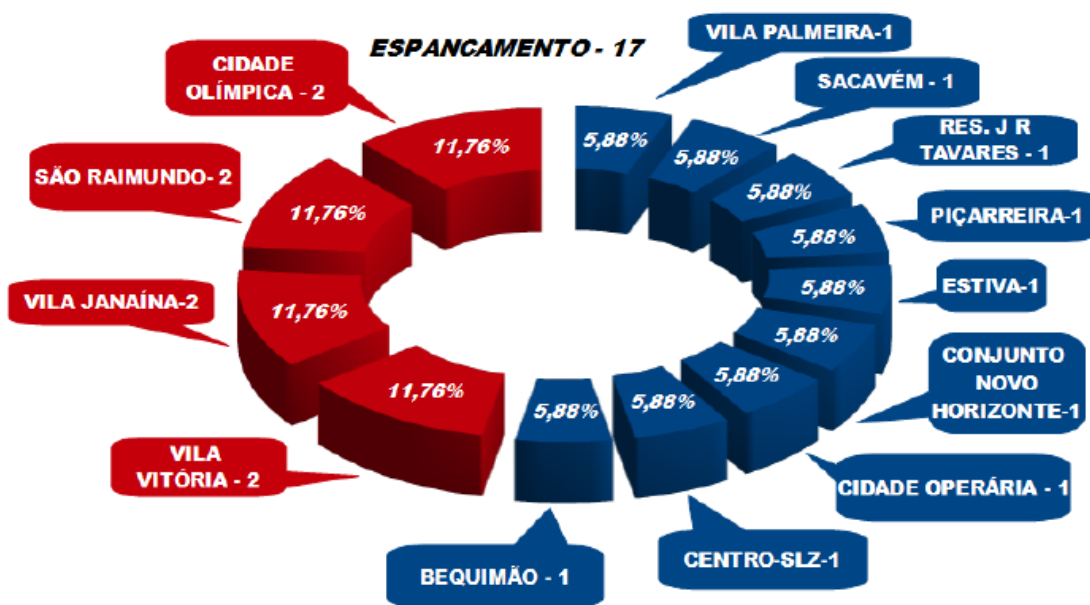


Finally, with regard to CVLI due to beatings<sup>32</sup>, the data change little. The CVLI resulting from beatings totaled 17 (seventeen), with the neighborhoods of Cidade Olímpica, São Raimundo, Vila Janaína and Vila Vitória as the most violent, with 02 (two) occurrences, totaling 11.76% each. The neighborhoods of Bequimão, Centro de São Luís, Cidade Operária, Conjunto Novo Horizonte, Estiva, Piçarreira, Res. José Reinaldo Tavares, Sacavém and Vila Palmeira presented 01 CVLI, each, with a percentage of 5.88%,

<sup>32</sup> Available at:  
[https://www.mpma.mp.br/arquivos/COCOM/arquivos/centros\\_de\\_apoio/caop\\_crim/RELATORIOS/DIAGNOSTICO\\_QUANTITATIVO\\_CRIMINALIDADE\\_1%C2%BA\\_SEMESTRE.pdf](https://www.mpma.mp.br/arquivos/COCOM/arquivos/centros_de_apoio/caop_crim/RELATORIOS/DIAGNOSTICO_QUANTITATIVO_CRIMINALIDADE_1%C2%BA_SEMESTRE.pdf). Accessed in: 09/04/2023



Figura 18 – CVLI por instrumento "espancamento" e bairros



Fonte: IML

Thus, it can be seen that the greater demographic concentration, by favoring the proliferation of pockets of inequality, contributes to significantly increase the probability of growth in crime rates due to CVLI in the municipality of São Luís.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

A preliminary analysis of the data presented reveals that the neighborhoods with the highest population density have high rates of crime by CVLI in the municipality of São Luís.

This relationship between population contingent, historical formation and criminality reflects the absence of public policies for land occupation and urban population public policies, as well as the economic interests of landowners, contributing to the increase in the conditioning factors of crime.

In addition, the data reveal that the improvement in efficiency in public security policies over the years, in addition to containing crime levels, was also statistically significant in containing the probability of an increase in crime indicators

Far from exhausting the subject, the present study aimed to bring contributions to the debate on territorialization and criminality. The understanding of the social space, as a set of social relations in a given territory, as well as sociodemographic factors, and the

understanding of the matter, can serve as a basis for the formulation of policies that lead to a reduction in crime.

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