Gangs: the nationalization of organized crime in Fortaleza and some reflections on the war for territories

Quadrilhas: a nacionalização do crime organizado em Fortaleza e algumas reflexões sobre a guerra por territórios

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ABSTRACT
This article aims to analyze how the violence practiced by organized crime is daily deepening urban spaces and territories. The consolidation of the nationalization of criminal factions has further sharpened the structural problems of the urban environment, coupled with the lack of social policies, and the violence practiced by poor young people in the peripheries has become the main problem in recent years, further weakening the few existing public safety policies. In its contextualization, this research analyzed the relationship between the consolidation of gangs in the peripheral neighborhoods of Fortaleza and the lack of public policies, as well as how this new mode of organized violence causes many people to change their habits, making the urban crisis even more complex to understand and making it difficult for government agents to reorganize it. The analysis to carry out this article is based on the historical knowledge of its origins and its formation, as well as analyzing its current conjuncture, its recruitment tactics, and its geographical positioning, where the dispute for new territories has raised violence to the extreme in poor neighborhoods. The research approach will be qualitative because there was an arduous attempt to understand and interpret the theme, assigning emphatic meaning to the data collected.

Keywords: spaces and territories, nationalization of gangs, public policies.

RESUMO
Este artigo tem como objetivo analisar como a violência praticada pelo crime organizado vem aprofundando cotidianamente os espaços e territórios urbanos. A consolidação da nacionalização
das facções criminosas aguçou ainda mais os problemas estruturais do meio urbano, aliada à falta de políticas sociais, e a violência praticada por jovens pobres nas periferias tornou-se o principal problema nos últimos anos, fragilizando ainda mais as poucas políticas de segurança pública existentes. Em sua contextualização, esta pesquisa analisou a relação entre a consolidação das gangues nos bairros periféricos de Fortaleza e a falta de políticas públicas, bem como a forma como essa nova modalidade de violência organizada faz com que muitas pessoas mudem seus hábitos, tornando a crise urbana ainda mais complexa de ser compreendida e dificultando a reorganização por parte dos agentes governamentais. A análise para a realização deste artigo se baseia no conhecimento histórico de suas origens e sua formação, além de analisar sua conjuntura atual, suas tácticas de recrutamento e seu posicionamento geográfico, onde a disputa por novos territórios tem elevado a violência ao extremo nos bairros pobres. A abordagem da pesquisa será qualitativa, pois houve uma árdua tentativa de compreender e interpretar o tema, atribuindo significado enfático aos dados coletados.

Palavras-chave: espaços e territórios, nacionalização das gangues, políticas públicas.

1 INTRODUCTION

The Brazilian urban issue and its deep crisis have historical traces of the violence for the domination of urban space for the interests of real estate capital and the authoritarian and class character of the State in determining the way to think and debate urban reform, such as the implementation of social policies in the peripheral areas of capitals. This research reveals that the nationalization of gangs has further deepened the urban crisis and changed people's routines. Such a situation has completely disrupted people's lives and social spaces, widening the structuring problems of urban territories.

The analysis of sources registering the numbers of the war and its size required this research. Statistics prove that such a war for territory\(^1\) exposes the urban crisis, revealing that the State has erred grotesquely in its strategies against gangs, showing that only has not been efficient. Governments and specialists underestimated the nationalization of organized crime, which has advanced, occupied, and is consolidating itself in many cities, whatever their sizes are. Thus, this detailed analysis better explains the growing problem in large urban centers.

The research arises from such questioning along with thorough reviews of literature and other documents. Thus, some theoretical references were significant, such as newspapers, books,

\(^1\) Territory is: "(…) the concrete space itself (with its natural and socially constructed attributes) appropriated and occupied by a social group. The occupation of territory is something that generates roots and identity. A group can no longer exist without its territory, in the sense that the socio-cultural identity of people would inextricably relates to the attributes of the concrete space (nature, architectural heritage, landscape)" (SOUZA, 1995, p 84).
magazines, scientific papers, thesis, archives of State institutions, reliable statistical data, and
personal experiences as a militant of social movements: the Hip Hop Movement of Brazil
(MH2O), Youth Popular Uprising, Workers for Rights Movement (MTD), and Popular Brazil
Movement (MBP). These movements have made organized crime fill the gap left by the State in
urban territories, which has used power and violence as a controlling method, the principal cause
of deaths of young people.

Furthermore, the desertion of urban reform and grassroots works in the periphery has
complexed the understanding of an abyss in the debate of urban reform in the popular concept
with the public security agenda in the subjective aspect, which affects the whole society,
materializing in the withdrawal of resources that could serve to public policies.

Subsequently, the research shows that the entrance of national gangs has sharpened the
urban crisis and public security in large and medium-sized cities, making access difficult in
impoverished neighborhoods. According to Professor Eduardo Paulon Girardi (2013), the
territory is not only the physical space, it is the environment where social interactions take place,
but a diversity of positions appears in political discussions, both within civil society and
government, where the ideas of combating violence only with repression have lost space.

At last, it presents proposals to fight the problem, considering that its principal objective
is to understand the emergence and nationalization of gangs, leading to an understanding that
there is an abyss in the debate over urban reform and that the public security agenda affects
everyone, materializing in the withdrawal of resources that could serve to public policies.

Therefore, gang violence for territorial domination is a complex issue that involves
multiple definitions. However, the literature review on this topic has allowed the organization
and description of existing content to focus on the growing territorial dispute and how the
nationalization of gangs further exacerbates this problem. Thus, this study presents aspects that
can aid in the understanding of the geographical, historical, and sociological context of the issue
to provide support to public agencies, human rights activists, and institutional managers, enabling
more effective action against and prevention of criminality, the reconstitution of the social fabric,
and the pacification of the peripheries.
THE STREETS DESERVE MORE THAN RESPECT: GRASSROOTS WORK IN THE PERIPHERIES IS A CHALLENGE FOR REVOLUTIONARIES

According to Maricato (2015), analyzing the current urban conjuncture is hard. Even being inserted in this habitat, the interpretations taken through the retina of the streets bring us, at some points, challenges and reflections on a chaotic scenario left by politicians, academics, and adventurous experts, who often only distort and sharpen the real problem of the urban crisis. The current situation in the peripheries of large cities, especially the wave of violence that has been growing in Fortaleza, practiced by the First Command of the Capital (PCC) and Red Command\(^2\) (CV) gangs, deepens the need to discuss and formulate emergency solutions to overcome this urban crisis, as described by the newspaper Diário do Nordeste (FEITOSA, CAMPELO, 2018).

Even after national and international news companies, such as *El País*, have already reported on such gangs – their emergence, alliances, achievements, and a possible end at the national level – this underworld remains invisible. According to Maricato (2015, p. 20), the ignorance of sectors of the Left and the lack of studies on urban issues in the courses of economics, sociology, engineering, and law, makes the Brazilian Left increasingly sideline this conjuncture, not giving the due importance, as if the underworld of the streets was apart from their lives. Thus, geographic science has a significant role in deepening this topic.

Doing the conjunctural analysis of the streets will constantly be vital for the next period because, according to research conducted by Félix (1996), the occurrence of certain types of crimes in some areas of the geographical space leads one to watch an evolution of the streets, being necessary to consider some points, among them that in the city delinquency is more planned and organized. Thus the author tells us:

> The violence practiced currently in large cities, especially in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, is planned and intellectual but bloody, such as massacres and deaths caused by organized groups – extermination groups and drug dealing, among others (FELIZ, p. 152, 1996).

The information acquisition required a deep scientific study of the crime evolution and urban crisis. Furthermore, it is essential to have contacts since human rights activists will only

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\(^2\)Explanations of the emergence of these two gangs in the second item of this article.
have access to this information about the movements of drug workers\textsuperscript{3} through crime or the law. This affirmation is justified when Zaluar (1999) states that the association between poverty and crime has existed for a long time, and institutions linked to the police and justice have always directed their accusations toward the stereotypes created against people from the lower class.

The inequality deepening and the urban violence growth in Ceará have anticipated the facts that would change the characteristics of peripheries. For example, a drug lord said in 2013 that the streets would change profoundly, and if they did not organize themselves in five years, the jails would do so. It is a complement for what Álvaro Cálix (2007) ironically dubbed as more penalties, more prisons, and more police. All of this makes the development of the penal apparatus deepen the public security crisis since it considers a firm hand as the solution to eliminate delinquency. However, crime was factionalized and expanded in an organized way through the criminal system, according to Márcia Feitosa (FEITOSA, 2018) in the article\textsuperscript{4} named Organized Crime: A National Problem that Plagues Ceará published in the Diário do Nordeste newspaper. Today, neighborhoods from capitals and other cities, jails, and police stations in Brazil are under the control of gangs, initiating a nationalization of organized crime, especially in the peripheries, sharpening the urban crisis.

This study challenges to point out the difficulties and limitations that social movements and activists will face in this new phase of urban struggle. Davis (2006) states that the vital strip of free or cheap land on the outskirts of third-world cities has ended, opening a gap for criminals to profit. Inspired by this idea, expansion, struggles, and permanence in the peripheral communities will go hand in hand with the nationalization of the gangs that are vying for hegemony in urban spaces through pacification, division, land invasion, declared wars on the State to acquire more land, perks, and rights, as well as to the total consolidation of spaces and territories through open warfare, deepening the urban crisis by complexing the idea of public security and segregating neighborhoods and families, problematizing and seconding policies.

Peripheral no-cost land has undergone discussions as the magic secret of third-world urbanism, an unplanned subsidy to the miserable. However, the invasion rarely does not have some prior charge. Most commonly, the invaders are coerced into paying sizeable bribes to politicians, thugs, or police officers to gain access to the land and may continue to pay these informal rents in cash or votes for years (DAVIS, 2006, p. 47).

\textsuperscript{3} Concept used by Marisa Fefferman (2006).
\textsuperscript{4} http://diariodonordeste.verdesmares.com.br/cadernos/policia/crime-organizado-um-problema-nacional-que-aflige-o-ceara-1.1878935
The cooptation of potential militants from the working class (parties, NGOs, social movements), as well as the impoverishment of the peripheries at an accelerated pace, contribute, according to Feffermanm (2006), to the strengthening of the parallel State (factions, organized crime). As a result, State terrorism (militias, death squads, and rising extreme right-wing parliamentary groups) has emerged, punctuating the rise of conservative ideologies (racism, homophobia, and chauvinism) and the growth of fascism, further generating, as pointed out by Maricato (2015), a deepening of the urban crisis.

To complex the urban crisis, the ebb of resistance cultures (Hip Hop, Capoeira, the religions of African matrix, among others) is an effect of the current racist policy of mass incarcerations and, according to the genocide of youth as the principal instrument of the factory of exterminations (FERNANDES, 2017). Other factors that add to this context relate to the new strategy of the neo-Pentecostal churches with their rooting in the peripheries and the rise of conservative Protestantism in Brazil as an eminently urban phenomenon (ALENCAR, 2006), impose many challenges to social movements to occupy a landmine-infested gap within the urban land.

All this has proliferated in fertile and abandoned soil. The abyss in the periphery results from institutional politics that implemented weak public policies in all areas since the neoliberal governments. It has made the new generation of people's fighters run, in minefields and hostile fields, after the loss of urban land leased to the capitalists. According to Maricato (2015), all this makes the urban struggle assume a centrality for social movements because insertion in the periphery is a necessity of the Brazilian revolution.

The strengthening and growth of national organizations of a criminal nature have roots in collaboration in part with the local bourgeoisie, which is strategic cooperation for the mafia (ROBERTI, 2008). To resist through a popular project rooted in society, one cannot ignore this territory and these working-class subjects. On the contrary, caution, dialogue, and good neighborliness will be necessary because they are now the epicenter of the urban crisis. That is why the dispute with and between capitalists is so fierce. Violence, insecurity, and indifference in debating the issue have become merchandise. In other words, there are no victims in the association between criminals and politicians but interests (VON LAMPE, 2008, p. 15).
3 THE STREETS FOR THE STREETS: THE NATIONALIZATION OF GANGS

Today, people have seen the street change and the domination by the parallel State in all capitals, especially the ones in the North and Northeast, in a state of total ascendency, where until then, it was only noticeable in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. For more than thirty years, the shanty towns in Rio have lived under the reins of an illegal State growing in the gap among the elites who hold power, as Lyman and Potter put it:

[...] evidence points out that one should not see organized crime as a dysfunction in society or a foreign force in contrast. However, it is part of the political and economic systems (LYMAN and POTTER 2000, p. 507).

The emergence of gangs in Brazil has further sharpened the public security and urban crisis since 2016. In 2017, the war for territories recorded 65,602 murders in the country. This is 4.2% higher than the previous year, the highest increase in violent deaths.

The nationalization of gangs took place in isolation in different spaces and times. First, each organization established itself in its states of origin, dominating all or part of the local territories. For example, the PCC first consolidated itself in the prisons of São Paulo, then advanced to total control of the country. In 2006, Brazil watched in amazement on TV that São Paulo was on its knees hostage to a hitherto underestimated class (Lumpem). The streets celebrated the actions of the party that, at that moment, avenged the 111 dead from the Carandiru massacre. It was the revenge of the Ghetto, a celebration of years of injustice and killings by the national police. The hail given by the party brought the feeling of complete justification. The PCC, which emerged in 1993 in the Taubaté Penitentiary Rehabilitation Center in Paraíba Valley, showed its face to the country for the first time (FEFFERMANM, 2006). Its nationalization strategy was starting and only depended on the elitist government of Cláudio Lembo of the former PFL, who took office a month before the mega rebellion as governor of São Paulo in place of Geraldo Alckmin of the PSDB, who resigned to run for the presidency. This government contributed from the moment it sent the criminal organization's principal staff to other cities.

In 1979, the Red Command created the first organization of Lumpens – in the Cândido Mendes Prison on the former Ilha Grande in Angra dos Reis (RJ) – to confront the bourgeois and

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6Party or Command are the other forms by which the CCP is called.
bring it to its knees. To this day, it carries the slogan Peace, Justice, and Freedom at its core, but it has lost its characteristics over time. The greed for more territory – which generates more money and subsequent power – transformed the organization into a fighting ring that created other factions (Third Command (TC), Friends of Friends (ADA), Third Pure Command (TCP), and militias) and, with the rise of disaster capitalism\(^8\) disguised as UPP’s\(^9\), gangs from Rio migrated to the North and Northeast, specifically after 2010.

Today, rooted in the jails and in the streets of the big cities, the parallel power dictates rules and routines in the large peripheries. The CVRL\(^10\) ran after its losses and headed to the North and Northeast with rifles and a German methodology, uniting and conflicting with local individuals. But for this, it needed the support and economic power of the Manaura gang (Family from the North (FDN)) – founded in 2006 from the union of the West and South zones of the city, according to journalist Jhonny Lima (2014). Struggling to be known as a national gang with a regional character, a strategic territorial alliance was necessary to break the hegemony of São Paulo in the region.

From then on, the bilateral relations of the CV and FDN were in total harmony. Supported by the Cariocas, the FDN shows its face after ten years, becoming the third criminal organization to humiliate the bourgeois, showing its total incapacity. At dawn on January 1\(^{st}\), 2017, the faction appears with its flag with its acronyms written in blood fluttering on the national network, the news of the biggest prison massacre since Carandiru. The nationalization of this gang was also widely reported by social networks as a massacre inside COMPAJ\(^{11}\), the largest prison in Manaus (AM). In this event, the FDN killed, butchered, and charred dozens of the PCC affiliates.

On January 1\(^{st}\), 2017, around 16 h, shortly before the end of visiting hours, a group of prisoners quickly took control of the COMPAJ (Anísio Jobim Prison Complex) in Manaus. Seventeen hours later, at the end of the rebellion, authorities registered the

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\(^8\) It is a concept of the writer Naomi Klein (2008) about the origin and evolution of imperialism, deepened in the book and documentary named The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism.

\(^9\) The UPP project was created in late 2008. The first unit was installed in Santa Marta, Botafogo, Rio South Zone, on December 19, 2008. The experience in Santa Marta became a reference for the performance of the units and indicated the paths for a successful public security policy.

\(^10\) Rogério Lemgruber (RL) was one of the founders of the Red Phalanx in 1969 – and the Sapo Shanty Town was the birthplace of the Red Command, the community where he was born. Rogério died in Miguel Couto Hospital in 1992 due to complications from diabetes that he acquired during in prison. In his honor the faction added his initials to its acronym, CVRL.

\(^11\) The Anísio Jobim Prison Complex was run by the private company Umanizzare. https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2022/01/31/opiniao-silencio-e-esquecimento-5-anos-dos-massacres-de-janeiro-de-2017-nos-presídios
death of 56 inmates and countless others barbarously tortured (BRASIL DE FATO, 2002).

Considering the current terrain to be more complicated, it is necessary to understand this change in the streets. Otherwise, it will be hard for social movements to have an organic structure in the communities since the nationalization of gangs is still in progress. Observe the situation in Maranhão, where nine\(^{12}\) factions dominate stand out, among which the squad of 40 thieves (B40) (CV/FDN) and First Command of Maranhão (PCM) (PCC) are the largest ones. They are in every community fighting for dominance, both organized inside Pedrinha Penitentiary, which brought down Governor Rosana Sarney for re-election in 2013/14 with their heads decapitated on the national network, where the security debate\(^{13}\) was the central axis.

The capital of Bahia, Salvador, is heading towards the same situation as Rio de Janeiro with several territorial factions, including the Command of Peace (affiliated to the CV), Squad of Insanes or Skulls (BDM) (affiliated to the PCC), and Katiara (affiliated to the ADA) organized in all of the shanty towns and the Recôncavo Baiano. Currently, Bahia has at least five gangs organized mainly in its capital and the Recôncavo (WENNDEL, 2017)\(^{14}\).

It is no different in the capital of Paraiba, two gangs have made the streets of Jampa City a sea of blood since 2017, emerging from soccer team supporter clubs: Al Queda (CV) and the United States (PCC), which dominate cities and prisons through drug dealing (GIOVANNI, 2017). In the Alcaçuz Prison\(^{15}\), Rio Grande do Norte, the PCC and the Crime Syndicate (CV/FDN) have fought in the cells and streets for hegemony. Currently, the FDN is extinct in the North and Northeast because the monopoly and weight of CV and PCC have not survived.

The emergence of gangs, especially in the Northeast, has sharpened the problems of urban cities and also made society and the peripheral territories even more vulnerable. In early 2018, Ceará had already registered four slaughters, the largest one happening in a disco club in Cajazeiras, Fortaleza, where fourteen people passed away. These deaths are among the more than a thousand (1,068) registered from January 1\(^{st}\) to March 15\(^{th}\), according to G1-CE (2018)\(^{16}\).

\(^{12}\)https://www.mpma.mp.br/sao-luis-atuacao-das-faccoes-criminosas-no-maranhao-e-tema-de-seminario/
\(^{13}\)https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2014/01/08/politica/1389139411_178156.html
Thus, Fortaleza, the sun city, entered the sinister trail of street domination. The PCC, CV/FDN, and Guardians of the State (GDE) (local gang) divided all the suburbs, unifying, pacifying, and making the government and police stunned.

According to Marisa Feffermann (2006), the streets have new owners, who are young people under the age of 29. It will not be easy to organize people and drug-dealer workers simply with dreams and rhetoric since it is the legacy of the left party that disappeared from the peripheries years ago. Changing such a scenario is only possible with a process of social-class consciousness for building a popular project that aims a structuring urban reform (MARICATO, 2015).

4 THE TOUGH ROOTING OF THE POPULAR PROJECT IN THE VIOLENT TERRITORY WITHOUT PUBLIC POLICIES

Are there conditions to wage intense struggles within the bleeding urban land to implement a macro and structural urban reform through a popular project? Is it possible to put the debate on public security on the central axis of urban issues? Is it a reality to project a timeframe to neutralize the advance of the nationalization of factions? Is there strength to change the order of priority of public investments from repression to violence prevention policies? Well, it is noticeable the complexity of the challenges and how difficult they become when considering that time in the ghettos is the hand of God. The growing violence wave in peripheral neighborhoods relates to the territorial dispute among drug dealers and the lack of social policies (MOREIRA, 2017).

Most of the teenagers that projects are trying to take away from criminality and organize into movements have been in concentration camps for years. From the Cara-Pintada (Painted Face) generation to the current neo-developmental17 generation, poor teenagers have not had how to monitor and influence governmental decisions.

With this, the high corruption and the ever-increasing social inequality in the life of the proletariat class have been further limiting our rights, completely marginalizing the public policies aimed at youth that prioritize issues such as quality education, cultural activities, sports, and leisure, which relates to the promotion of human rights, where they are a response to the commitment to avoid violence among youth (UNESCO, 2010).

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17 Concept by Armando Boito Jr, full professor of the Political Science Department at Unicamp.
State and society should play crucial roles in defining political and power strategies that legitimize the process that develops public policy. On the other hand, Maike Davis (2006) says that the city has always been a commodity for playboys; they use legislation to guarantee the monopoly of urban investments, generating wealth through violence and the politics of impoverishment of neighborhoods. In this clash, the interests and contradictions inherent to the dynamics of the relations between rulers and people, it would be necessary to have a dialogue to constitute the foundations for a significant political construction.

Cities are big businesses, and the dirt path will be the race for the valuable pot of gold. Primary needs are far from covering the locals in such an exclusion gap, making violence stands out. Rolnik observes that the constitution of excluded territories happens in the absence of the State and, therefore, rises with no control or assistance (1999, p.p.1).

It creates a dilemma when one realizes that even with democratic institutions supposedly functioning in the 21st century, and even before with neoliberalism, neo-developmentalist, and with a state of exception via a coup in 201618, urban conditions never seem to improve. Structural and conscious changes have never arrived in the streets, and having the right to vote means nothing. We have had thirty years of imperfect democracy, which is a pseudo-democracy, especially for a generation of poor and black young residents of shanty towns who only see the State entering their homes to arrest and kill (FERNANDES, 2017), further widening the crater between territorialized violence and the lack of public policies. Hence, the importance of understanding the role of the State and civil society.

Public policy is thus an action, thought-out, planned, evaluated, and collective-rationality strategy in which the State and society play active roles. That is why the study of public policy is also the study of the State in action (Meny and Thoenig, 1989, p.130-131).

The challenge for the political field, and especially for the Popular Brazil19 Movement, in the coming periods, besides the task of massification, is to understand and align with the conjuncture of the streets, which is changing at a violent speed. The mass fronts that will root the popular project cannot make the primary mistakes of the last generation of urban militants that

19 It is a popular movement of national character, founded in 2022, and which today is active in more than 15 states in Brazil.
underestimated the streets and their capacity to evolve. It is necessary humbleness enough to understand the size and complexity of the urban conjuncture and to analyze it in its specificity.

Militants building the territorial front say that the territorial work is another matter, that it is harsher than one can imagine, and that it is a big responsibility to fight for collective dreams. Thus, for the work in the streets to have advanced, it will be necessary to have vigilance and constant formulation because practice will be useless without good theory. Even knowing that part of the subjects selected to build the territorial front\textsuperscript{20} of the Popular Youth Revolt\textsuperscript{21} is subjects that come loaded with subjectivities, which is not bad, it is necessary to keep in mind that the academic vices filled with post-modernist conceptions concerning the periphery are a challenge to overcome. Otherwise, it will strengthen the new militancy. Moreira (2017) says that it is in the incompetence of managers underestimating crime and with the omission of the left party, through its orthodox blindness that centuries have been belittling the class of poor young people who kill themselves, that this cycle increasingly becomes vicious, perpetuating itself for generations, as observed in the following analysis:

The murders in Fortaleza are linked to territories with little human development and unequal and little State infrastructure, whether in education, health, or from the point of view of distribution and income in the capital of Ceará (MOREIRA, 2017, p. 38).

It is worth stressing that analyzing the streets in their specificity is another more complex thing. It means that without an analysis of the conjuncture of the parallel State, it is impossible to understand the periphery and its territories (FEFFERMANM, 2006). Each group of militants\textsuperscript{22} must have the tools and the capacity to make or anticipate the reading. Otherwise, everything will be in vain – organizing the people, building struggles, and occupying lands – and then organized crime will win, as it happened before. How many houses were invaded and besieged by criminal organizations? It cannot become something frequently and, according to Maricato (2015), the territory must be a synonym full of various domains – geographical, economic, political, and cultural – where gestures, slangs, aesthetics, dialects, symbols, and behaviors are invisible to the vast majority of society, but not to those who live in the territory.

\textsuperscript{20} It is a specific area of grassroots work in the movement; Revolt has three areas of action: Student Front, Peasant Front, and Territorial Front. The term is used to refer to the grassroots work in the peripheries.

\textsuperscript{21} It is a national popular movement that aims to organize young people in the most distinct spaces and territories of the country. https://www.facebook.com/pg/levantepopulardajuventude/about/?ref=page_internal

\textsuperscript{22} http://camp.org.br/2015/04/23/carta-de-guararema-do-mtd-e-do-motu/
This subjectivity of the streets is the way out of invisibility in which crime fascinates and attracts hundreds of young people. Investing in social policies could be an escape valve for containing violence in the territories with the preventive character, but without this, crime on the streets sadly led Ceará to exceed one thousand murders in the first months of 2018. It is almost 40% higher than in 2017, which recorded 450 violent deaths on December 2017 and 5,134 over the year, according to official data released by the Secretary of Public Safety and Social Defense. Besides the damage for the people, who lost jobs and schools, some of them needed to leave their houses, lost material goods and the right to go around and had their families segregated and separated as well as public assets – hospitals, health clinics, schools, daycare centers, social assistance centers (CRAS), churches, and other public institutions. They received penalties from gangs, completely changing their habitat and daily life, leaving hundreds of widowed women and thousands of orphaned youth and children (FEITOSA, 2018). The nationalization of gangs has deepened the urban crisis, revealing the vulnerability of the State and the precariousness of its public policies.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Since the slave quarters until now in shanty towns, the public security agenda that translates into daily violence has been overflowing the coffers of office rapists, turning violence into a profitable business. Understanding this exhibit will provide a basis for thinking about how gangs currently dispute these figures and why there is no investment in crime prevention public policies. Concerning organized crime, the hypertrophy of the criminal justice system has proven to be a suitable environment for the reproduction and sophistication of criminal organizations, as in the case of the PCC and the CV.

According to the researched literature, the consolidation of the nationalization of gangs, besides being extremely costly to the public coffers (CÁLIX, 2007), has sharpened the urban crisis, and, with the lack of social policies and the violence practiced by poor young people in peripheries, it has become the principal theme lately. The unrealism in the articulation between unreachable ends (extinction of crime) and insufficient means (self-sufficiency of the criminal system) undermine even more the public security policy demonstrating the side effects, such as overcrowding and deterioration of prisons (CARRANZA, 2004; SOARES, 2006).
The activists will only understand territoriality as a pulsating place by using theory and practice. The first step, before anything else, is to comprehend the concept of territory, which requires more than reading but also experience and insertion to know the different meanings developed over time, according to Cerqueira & Lobão (2004). Otherwise, the territory will be just another lifeless urban area.

To understand peripheries, one cannot refuse to enter the ghettos pretending to be deaf and blind or keep making excuses for not organizing such places. Legs are currently short, but this can’t let the periphery drift, the call and cry for help have been ringing and echoing for years. Facing and overcoming the contradictions of seeing such a gap and suffering from the lack of structure that benefits the consolidation of the nationalization of gangs will be a real challenge.

This article reveals that academia is at a very early stage of research on the nationalization of gangs. It sought to study the chosen sources since they are part of a reality in Brazilian historiography. Considering the little study of them, they offer a challenge and the opportunity to begin research on their impact on society, as they have been further deepening the urban crisis, leading to the understanding that public security is a social demand that requires State structures and other civil society organizations to be effective, as Adorno (1995) already stated.

The slaughter rate in Ceará is high, having 2018 recorded a peak of six events. Among them, the largest happened in a disco club, registering 14 deaths. They are among the thousands (1,068) of people murdered in the first 74 days of the year ----- (From January 1st to March 15th). It is becoming increasingly clear the connection between the disaster of such policies and the growth of institutional violence, the ineffectiveness of criminal procedures, and the autonomy of the police forces (CARRANZA, 2004). Currently, Ceará counts 29 slauders, having only one gone to trial.

Slaughters (crimes with four or more deaths) are recurrent in Ceará, destroying families and scaring the population. Between 2015 and 2022, the State recorded 29 episodes with 156 deaths. And only one case went to trial in the state courts: the Benfica Slaughter, which occurred in 2018 (DIARIO DO NORDESTE, 2022).

But, in general, the urban crisis is directly sharpened by the territorial war and the lack of preventive policies, pointing out the need for good strategies (short and medium-term planning,

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goal setting, and methodological actions) that respect the local limits, potentialities, and specificities. Thus, it is possible to understand and absorb the legacies that streets have formulated over a few decades. According to Marco Aurélio Saquet, power relations, circulation and communication networks, identities, and nature comprise four principal components of territory. Observing a neighborhood, entering it with leadership, and developing several actions to gain the local trust – especially of teenagers in crime – will guarantee the establishment of a flag through long grassroots work. Territories only exist with social and natural processes in parallel (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009).

It is significant to bring the public security debate into the portfolio of urban issues because, in 2017, the national clash between PCC and CV was crucial to the more than five thousand murders accounted for only in Ceará, according to the Secretary of Public Security and Social Defense (SSPDS). The emergence of crime is not a natural consequence of the lack of balance between the mechanisms of government because these mistakes have made possible the existence of actors and major disputes in urban territory.

In the contextualization of this research, it was clear that territorialized violence has helped to deplete the credibility of the public power in this debate. The current urban crisis is deepening with the brutal entry of gangs, deteriorating the networks of social control, and throwing the security agenda to the order of the day because the war is influencing lifestyles and the organization of urban space. According to Piquet (2009), the conventional approach to dealing with criminality considers high penalties, incarceration, and the police force. Such situations make people think of an absence of debates on urban crises or public security policy in Brazil, making society and peripheries more vulnerable. Multiple solutions – like improving urban areas – are necessary to fight the problem and achieve measures to reduce crime in suburbs and downtowns.

The conclusion is that these two movements – the imminent arrival of gangs in the lives of teenagers in unstructured neighborhoods and the short-sighted and fragile security policy from the ostensive perspective, sidelining preventive measures – deepen the urban crisis.
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