Chapter 2
Characteristics of Homicides in SP

The territory of São Paulo has important idiosyncrasies which distinguish the city from other urban centers also suffering from violence. The map of São Paulo resembles a distorted crucifix, with the right arm longer than the left. The east side of the city is more extensive than the west, as is the southern part in relation to the north. As a result of physical and territorial factors, the eastern and southern peripheries of the city contain the districts that suffered the most from violence, especially starting in the 1980s. At the far south and north of São Paulo, environmental barriers made settlement difficult and slowed the growth and urbanization of new neighborhoods. In these places are located the headwaters of rivers that supply water for part of the city, and the dense jungles that little by little have been cut down. Violence reached these peripheral areas with greater intensity primarily after the 1990s.

In the middle of the territory, in the region where the horizontal and vertical axes intersect, is the wealthier and more pacified area of the city. Here is located the older urban center, settled before 1930, with a greater proportion of high-rises, few favelas, and heads of families with greater income and educational levels. Two major rivers—now without life and blackened by so much sewage and pollution—the Tietê and its tributary the Pinheiros, act as the dividing line between this center, with lower rates of homicides, and those neighborhoods on the other side of the rivers. In general, the peripheral areas that suffer from violence are located on the other end of the bridges that cross these rivers, a kind of symbolic border between the wealthy and poor parts of the city. In the central areas, historically there has been a greater concentration of armed robberies.

From a historical perspective, from the 1940s until the end of the 1970s there was an increased de-concentration of low-income housing, in contrast to the dense population growth of the 1930s which was concentrated around the central areas of the capital. Rather than living in places with cheap rent or in tenements located in the neighborhoods that surrounded the older industrial centers—such as

© Springer International Publishing Switzerland 2016

B.P. Manso, *Homicide in São Paulo*, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-13165-8_2

Brás, Belém, Barra Funda, and Mooca—the new migrants spread out to countless areas in the periphery of the capital, and later to various points in the Greater São Paulo metropolitan area. It was better and cheaper to build new neighborhoods on their own where none previously existed, located on land that was close to the location of the new factories—many of them built in the cities of the São Paulo Metropolitan Region (SPMR) such as Santo André and São Bernardo and their surroundings (Fig. 2.1).

Up to the 1970s, population growth in these neighborhoods occurred mainly as a result of irregular land developments, whereas in the 1980s there was an increase in the occurrence of squatters invading land. The neighborhoods emerged as shacks or occupant-built houses on roads that were laid out by the residents themselves or by the developers, who in a few days or weeks created genuine bedroom communities. Urban infrastructure was precarious and arrived little by little and only after the population was already settled. These neighborhoods expanded in an

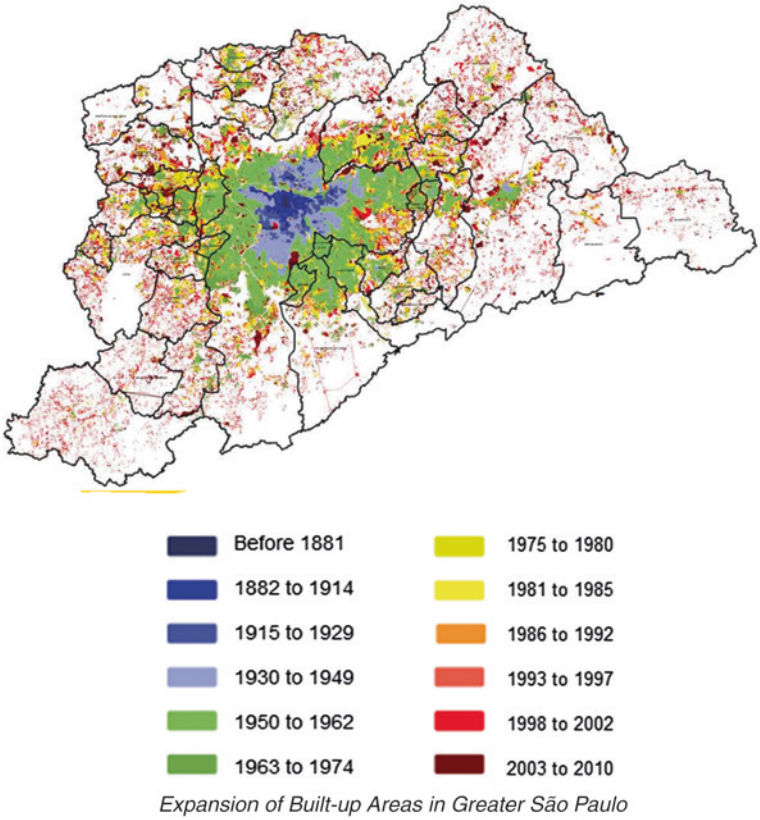


Fig. 2.1 The period of urbanization in the neighborhoods of Greater Sao Paulo is the variable that provided the greatest contribution to determining the socioeconomic profile of the region's population. The violent neighborhoods are those where urbanization took place after the 1960s. [*Source* Empresa Paulista de Planejamento Metropolitano (Emplasa)/NEV (USP)]

improvised manner, without any planning and essentially through self-construction (Denizo 2007: 33–34). The speed at which the lots were occupied was the result of the landowners' self-interest, who ended up taking large profits from the sale of land sliced into small lots of 50 m^2.[1] The result was a city with half of its residents living in irregular settlements or in favelas (Castro and Silva 1997), which means that São Paulo depended on a certain degree of tolerance for illegality to become what it is today.

Many of the new neighborhoods took the name or surname of previous owners of the homesteads—such as Vila Remo (Remo Village) and Jardim Clarice (Clarice Gardens) in the south zone—who did good business by allowing the development of their lands. The lack of urban infrastructure created a profound social gap in relation to the central districts, a situation which helped stigmatize the periphery of São Paulo and led to government initiatives to prevent this occupation. Since 1975, for example, a law protecting headwaters tried to control and diminish the occupation of areas close to the Billings Reservoir. These public policies ended up provoking the opposite effect by pulling down land prices and stimulating more irregular, illegal, and clandestine developments. Between 1985 and 1990, there emerged 182 developments with approximately 32,000 lots covering 36 million m^2 in neighborhoods such as Grajaú and Cantinho do Céu, both in the south zone of São Paulo (Kowarick 2000: 50).

In this process of dispersion, population density in the built-up area of São Paulo went from 110 inhabitants per hectare in 1914–1953 inhabitants per hectare in 1963. The population that was arriving in the city grew quickly, but it spread out across the unoccupied areas of the metropolis. In 1970, the built-up area of the metropolitan region covered more than 1700 km^2, an area ten times greater than in 1930. In the 1980s alone, the built-up area expanded by another 500 km^2 as a result of a highly rapacious and predatory form of occupation (Kowarick 2000: 26). Pollution and the death of the main rivers of São Paulo, the Tietê and Pinheiros, which ended up receiving untreated sewage from these new residences, are a symptom of the lack of control by state institutions over this urbanization process. It was during this period that the term "periphery" began to take hold in the city's consciousness, loaded with negative connotations and tied to disorder, illegality, and violence—a stigma that is essential to understand the beginning of the rise of homicides in São Paulo.

The urbanization of the more violent districts of São Paulo picked up between the 1950s and 1960s (Nery et al. 2014). Previously rural districts of the city became part of the urban configuration after the second half of the last century, initially to serve the role of bedroom communities receiving migrants coming from the countryside of Brazil who worked in the industrial park that was growing in the city and metropolitan area of São Paulo. Improvised wooden houses were built on dirt roads and without electricity, water, or sewage, marking the foundation of neighborhoods that were urbanized over the years.

[1]Interviews with community leaders from Jardim Ângela and Diadema regarding the size of the lots and population density of these regions.

The recent history of these neighborhoods includes, on the one hand, the organization of the local population by union leaders, the Catholic church, political parties, and NGOs, transforming these places into cradles of social movements that organized to pressure the state at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s (Sader 1988). On the other hand, in an apparent paradox, the population of these regions also witnessed the growth of homicides at rates surpassing those in the rest of the city. It was in the peripheries where members of the Military Police killed the most. The organization of local leaders to provide backing or motivation for the activity of death squads also was important for the violent setting of these territories (Silva 2004).

Diadema, in the Greater São Paulo area, and Jardim Ângela, in the south zone, are emblematic of these apparently contradictory developments. Between 1982—when mayors were once again directly elected through democratic elections—and 2000, the population of Diadema elected to executive municipal offices only the candidates from leftist parties connected to social movements in the city. At the same time, in the 1990s, the city stood out as the most violent in the state of São Paulo having one of the highest homicide rates in the world. The southern periphery of São Paulo went through a similar process. It was the birthplace of workers movements and mass movements, with strong backing from religious progressives from Basic Ecclesiastical Communities (BEC). Which likewise did not prevent these neighborhoods from being among the most violent in the world. Any study of homicides in these locations should, therefore, take into consideration this diversity of social phenomena which increases the complexity of analysis.

The peripheries are places displaying significant social cohesion and collective efficacy which served to pressure social investments made by the state. At the same time, these neighborhood characteristics were not sufficient to exert control over homicidal behavior in these locations, which soared at the same time that urban improvements were reaching the neighborhoods.

The abyss separating the city's neighborhoods is wide. The concentration of socioeconomic disadvantages in certain districts and the difference in the total number of homicides are phenomena that are repeated in different cities across the world, but few display contrasts similar to those seen in São Paulo. This association of homicides with peripheral neighborhoods is the first factor to be taken into consideration when studying São Paulo.

Concentration by Territory and Population Group

In 1996, the subdivisions of the municipality went from 59 districts to 96, which created additional difficulty for already-scarce longitudinal studies concerning crime in the city. Despite these challenges, there are districts and neighborhoods where there is a clear concentration of the city's highest homicide rates, and with a rapid and intense increase since the 1980s. Cachoeirinha and Brasilândia, in the north zone periphery, were already ranked first and fifth among the districts with

the highest homicide rates in a 1991 study (Gawryszewski 2002: 82), and they continued to lead rankings in the year 2000. Parelheiros, which was highest ranked in 2000, was second highest in 1991. Santo Amaro, Guaianases, Itaim Paulista, and Itaquera also already reported elevated rates at the start of 1990.

This historical concentration of homicides by city district also is evident in studies carried out by the Center for the Study of Violence at USP (1997). The data show that the regions that topped the ranking of homicides in 1995 had maintained that position since 1982. They are, in descending order, Capão Redondo (area covered by the 47th Police Precinct), Parque Santo Antônio (92nd Precinct), Jardim das Imbuias (101st Precinct), Jardim Herculano (100th Precinct), and Jardim Miriam (98th Precinct). Morro do Índio, the region of the south zone that led rankings in 1995 and which is situated halfway between Jardim Ângela and Capão Redondo, registered 141 cases of homicide during a one-year period in an area slightly larger than the USP University City campus (NEV/USP 1997).[2] Starting from when homicide rates in the city began to be registered up to the year 2000, Grajaú, Jardim Ângela, Parelheiros, Cidade Tiradentes, Capão Redondo, and Lajeado never had rates inferior to 80 occurrences per 100,000 inhabitants (Adorno and Cardia 1997). Starting in 2000, when the curve of homicides in the city reverses, homicides also fall quickly in these neighborhoods.

Using data from the government health agency's Datasus network, we can see a similar tendency in historical rankings in other cities of the SPMR that share a border with the most violent neighborhoods in the periphery of the capital. In 1982, the city of Diadema, for example, stood out as one of the most violent among the 39 in the region, when it reported 50 murders per 100,000 inhabitants. It retained first place in the rankings, with ever-increasing homicide rates, for an almost unbroken streak through 1999, when it reached 143 murders per 100,000 inhabitants. The city borders the São Paulo city districts of Cidade Ademar and Pedreira—the latter being the neighborhood where the most famous vigilante of São Paulo history, Cabo Bruno, began killing in the 1980s with support from business owners in the neighborhood. Another notable example is the city of Embu, highest ranked in 2001 and 2002 and among the top five since 1984. It moved up to second place in 1988, a slot from which it slipped only on rare occasions, until the start of the 2000s, when it rose to first place. The city shares a border with the districts of Capão Redondo and Campo Limpo, two of the most violent districts in the south zone of São Paulo.

Two sets of data stand out when depicting this reality. First, the difference in homicide rates stands out in showing the huge difference between the most violent and least violent neighborhoods. In Jardim Paulista, for example, a neighborhood located in the central region of São Paulo, the homicide rate was 3.6 per 100,000 inhabitants, while in Parelheiros, in the far south of the city, it was 28 times higher, with 106.3 cases per 100,000 inhabitants (Gawryszewski and Costa 2005: 194).

[2]Translator's note: The USP campus covers about 7.5 km^2.

The authors grouped the city into 73 districts, with 25 of those districts reporting numbers above the average. Almost all of them are in the peripheral areas of São Paulo. The districts on the east zone—such as Cidade Tiradentes, Guaianases, Cidade Dutra, Iguatemi, São Rafael, São Mateus, and Vila Curuçá—led the rankings. In the south zone, five districts were among the most violent: Parelheiros, Grajaú, Jardim Ângela, and Jardim São Luís, while two, Brasilândia and Cachoeirinha, are in the periphery of the north zone and only one, the Sé district, lies in the central region. In São Paulo, in the year 2000, there were 36 districts with an index of less than 24.9 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants (37.5 % of the total). At the other extreme, 14 districts (14.5 %) presented high risk, with an index of more than 75 cases per 100,000 inhabitants. Between 1996 and 2000, the risk estimate for the capital climbed in 68 out of the 96 districts: during this period, violence increased primarily in the neighborhoods where it was already higher. Meanwhile, the reduction in homicides was seen in neighborhoods where there were already higher levels of safety (Gawryszewski 2002: 80) (Fig. 2.2).

A study by Dellasoppa, Bercovich, and Arriaga (1999) also pointed out the difference in homicide rates between São Paulo city districts. The average homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants for the five most violent districts in São Paulo was 84.4; the average for the five least violent was 5.3, that is, 16 times smaller. According to the authors, this implies a qualitatively different level of violence, as well as qualitatively different living conditions and possibilities for socialization.

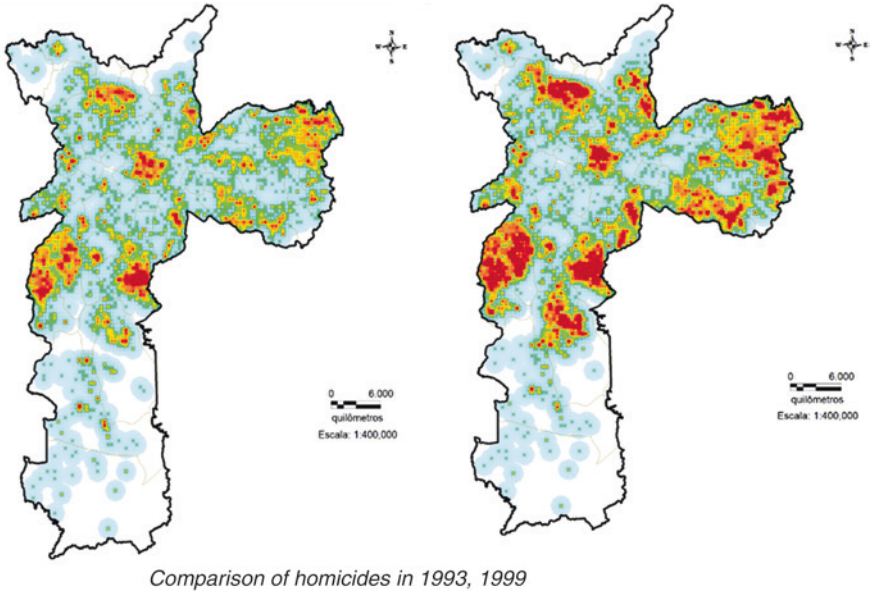


Fig. 2.2 Concentration of homicides in the city. The increase in homicides takes place in the same places in the city, showing the regionalization of the growth process (*Source* Sao Paulo Department of Public Safety/NEV-USP)

Second, but equally important, in addition to the territorial concentration of homicides, another fundamental set of information is that these crimes do not affect all residents of the neighborhoods in a random manner, but are concentrated among the young men who live in the poor neighborhoods of the periphery (NEV 1997; Mello Jorge 1998; Cardia 1998; Peralva 2000; Lima et al. 1999; Waiselfisz 2002; Gawryszewski 2002).

In the year 2000, for example, among the 5978 homicides that occurred in the capital, 92.5 % happened to men. Victims aged 15–29 years accounted for 61 % of the cases, and the murder rate among men aged 20–24 in the city reached 286.4 per 100,000 inhabitants (Gawryszewski 2002). Among men aged 25–29, the rate was of 242 per 100,000; men aged 15–19, 214 per 100,000. Among those aged 30–34, the rate drops off to 148.6 per 100,000, and keeps decreasing afterwards along with the increase in age. In another wide-ranging study of 6018 homicides that happened in the city of São Paulo in 2001, Gawryszewski et al. (2005) confirmed the concentration of young men as the victims of this type of crime. The age that showed the largest number of deaths (mode) was 19 years. More than half of the total number of victims were adolescents and youths of the male sex. Men aged 15–29 concentrated 56.0 % of all homicides. The homicide coefficient for this population reached very high values, with peaks in the 20–24 group, where rates reached 262.8/100,000; followed by the 25–29 group, at 226.8/100,000, and the 15–19 group, at 205.4/100,000.

Soares (2000) points to this same tendency of concentration among young men in the city. The author affirms that, given gender, age, and marital status, it is possible to divide the population into risk groups that can vary from less than 2 per 100,000—in this case, for married women aged 60 or older—to more than 300 and 400 per 100,000—single men between 20 and 50 years old.[3] Despite this concentration among young men seen in other cities across the world and in other contexts, the elevated proportion of youths is characteristic of the types of homicides that were carried out in São Paulo during the most violent period. The results of studies by Mello Jorge show that in São Paulo in 1940, for every 100,000 youth between 15 and 24, only 1.2 had intentional homicide listed as the cause of death. In 1995, this rate had climbed to 246.6 for every 100,000 inhabitants in the same age range (Mello Jorge 1998).

Although historically men are the main victims and perpetrators of homicides in the city, this concentration of cases among youths became more evident with the exponential growth of the number of homicides in São Paulo. Until the end of the 1970s, the greatest incidence of homicides affected the male sex, but was more evenly distributed among age ranges. The largest number of homicide victims were concentrated in the ages of 20–29, 30–39, and 40–49 years. This was an era when there was greater social control of homicides, which were seen as frightening and traumatic occurrences for the society in which they were perpetrated. A large portion of the crimes involved kin relations, which transformed the homicide into an

[3]See also an article by Soares about the subject in the *Jornal do Brasil* (http://www.jb.com.br/sociedade-aberta/noticias/2011/04/05/genero-casamento-e-homicidio/).

even greater tragedy for those directly involved in the episode. This pattern began to change dramatically only at the beginning of the 1980s. Starting in 1984, youths took the lead in this phenomenon and the largest murder coefficients shifted to adolescents and youths in the range of 15–29 years (Adorno and Cardia 1997).

Mello Jorge (1998) noted that in the city of São Paulo, the proportion of men aged 15–19 years dying from homicide went from 21 to 71 % in 30 years (1965–1995). For this same group, over a period of 35 years (1960–1995), the coefficient of deaths from homicide leapt from 9.6 to 186.7 per 100,000 inhabitants—that is, growth of 1800 % (Lima et al. 1999). This is a concentration in homicides similar to that experienced in other large metropolitan areas with serious problems with violence. In the city of Los Angeles, which for the United States is considered a location with a high murder rate, in 1996 the coefficient of death from this cause for the general population was 14 per 100,000. However, when we consider the population of male African-Americans aged 15–34, the rate climbs to 164.2 per 100,000 (Gawryszewski et al. 2005).

If men and youth are the main victims, the same holds in relation to the authors of the cause of death. Gawryszewski (2002) analyzed information relative to 94 perpetrators (14.5 % of investigations) related to homicides that took place in 2000. According to the data, 98.9 % were men, and just one was a woman. The perpetrators, according to the study, tended to be even younger than their victims, with half belonging in the 15–24 age range (52.1 %). The ages showing up most frequently were 15–19 years (28.7 %), with the mode being 19 years, and second most frequent being 17 years. The same data are found in the Yearly Reports produced by the Department of Homicides and Protection of Persons (DHPP). In 1998, there were 5157 homicides in the capital city. Of the identified perpetrators, 51 % were between the ages of 18 and 26 years. In the cases of massacres—multiple homicides with more than two victims—this situation is even more obvious. In the same year, there were 53 cases in the capital that led to the death of 174 victims. Among those, 51 % were between 16 and 24 years old. In the case of the perpetrators, out of the 84 that were identified, 69 % were between 18 and 26 years old and 38 % were between the ages of 18 and 20 (DHPP 2000). We see, therefore, a situation in São Paulo where young people assassinate other young people.

The Context of Concentrated Disadvantages

The positive correlation between the concentration of disadvantages and the homicide rate in São Paulo has been debated in Brazilian social sciences (Cardia and Schiffer 2002; Cardia et al. 2003). These are studies that try to show how the increase in homicides is related to impunity, as well as the increasing overlap of needs that reinforce this growth. The studies try to relate variables such as population growth, concentration of young people, residential crowding, income, educational level of heads of households, access to health services, infant mortality rates, and access to infrastructure and employment to the homicide rates in São Paulo.

When these variables were analyzed in isolation, the correlation between homicide rates per district were high for population growth, concentration of youths, absence of heads of households with elevated income, concentration of heads of households with low educational levels, high rates of infant mortality, access to sewage systems, and the number of beds per hospital. The authors concluded that it is not poverty that explains the high rates of homicide but the combination of factors, which suggests that these shortcomings are not situational but extended over time (Cardia et al. 2003). The overlap of violence and of serious violations of human rights (civic, social, and economic), according to the authors, tends to weaken the relationship between social groups and institutions meant to protect society.

> In these scenarios, the institutional links between the population and social authorities tasked with implementing social policies and distributing social justice, which includes security, are characterized by tensions and mutual distrust. This frailty translates into low social legitimacy and citizen disbelief in institutions. (Cardia et al. 2003: 61)

The concentration of disadvantages (economic, educational, in family structure) is still considered a risk factor for children and adolescents because it weakens the capacity of the community to control behavior (Cardia and Schiffer 2002). The authors were able to point out the relationship between concentrated disadvantages and homicides through the use of studies in four districts of the south zone of São Paulo in 1999 where 8.37 % of the population of the city was living at the time and where 12.87 % of homicides took place (Cardia and Schiffer 2002). A comparison of mapped data in São Paulo reveals that between 1996 and 1999 there was a consolidation in the incidence of homicides and a sort of "contamination" of areas neighboring the most affected regions. In these four districts, there was a strong concentration of heads of households with low income, an overrepresentation of heads of households with low income, and an underrepresentation of heads of households with high educational levels. It was also possible to note three times more job openings on average in central areas than in the observed areas in the periphery.

> The discussion about violence in relation to the maintenance (growth) of inequality would have to incorporate the role that the lack of a response by public authorities plays in maintaining the high levels of violence. We aren't dealing here with thinking only about the role of agents tasked with applying laws, but of all those sectors that should guarantee that the population has a dignified existence. The data presented reinforce that violence and lack of safety go hand in hand with low quality of life, with the lack of housing policies, with the subpar implementation of services which can provoke increased competition within the population that it seeks, in theory, to serve and protect. (Cardia and Schiffer 2002)

These cumulative disadvantages weaken what Sampson defined as the collective efficacy of neighborhoods. It is what this study calls informal control. In order to ensure social control, collective efficacy combines social cohesion with shared moral expectations and with the capacity to create mechanisms of control capable of transforming these values into behavior. Concentrated disadvantages stimulate housing instability, which reduces not only social cohesion but also the moral alignment of the neighborhood. In this sense, for the author, the variations in the

crime rates cannott be attributed only to aggregate demographic characteristics of individuals, nor to the institutions of the state alone, but to the manner in which neighborhoods organize themselves and relate to institutions in order to control behaviors with which they do not agree.

This means that, for Sampson, the informal control of behaviors demands an alignment between the laws and values that should be respected and the tools available for that control to be effective. Social and economic segregation, which increases the concentration of disadvantages, intensifying the isolation of persons with low income and of minorities, creates environments which induce crime by undermining the institutional and social resources that sustain this collective social control (Sampson 2012) (Fig. 2.3).

It is not a matter, however, of simply associating poverty and the concentrated disadvantages of certain districts with violence. The aim of this theoretical structure is to show how concentrated disadvantages contribute to weakening the capacity of formal and informal controls over undesirable behaviors. In a wider sense, the method proposes to show that neighborhoods are not merely stages where individual actors carry out preestablished dramas produced by anonymous forces or are empty vessels moved around by larger external forces.

The districts and neighborhoods are important because they determine the quantity and quality of human behavior. If these neighborhoods are cohesive and their residents share the same values, there is less effort required to informally control disorder. In the public sphere, the alignment of the populace's values with that of the authorities establishes a relationship of cooperation and willingness to obey the law. This alignment between neighbors in a relationship with equals, of a horizontal nature, and with authorities, of a vertical nature, will determine the legitimacy of authority and the willingness of a neighborhood to obey. In the poorer neighborhoods of São Paulo, located in the periphery, with concentrated disadvantages and where homicide rates ended up continuously climbing, something went wrong, weakening controls and leading to a process of escalating violence.

The narratives of the perpetrators of homicides, their paths and forms of action and organization, are essential information for detecting the transformations in the morality of city residents during this era. It is the key for understanding the social process of weakening controls and the concentrated proliferation of homicides that occur in the decades that followed.

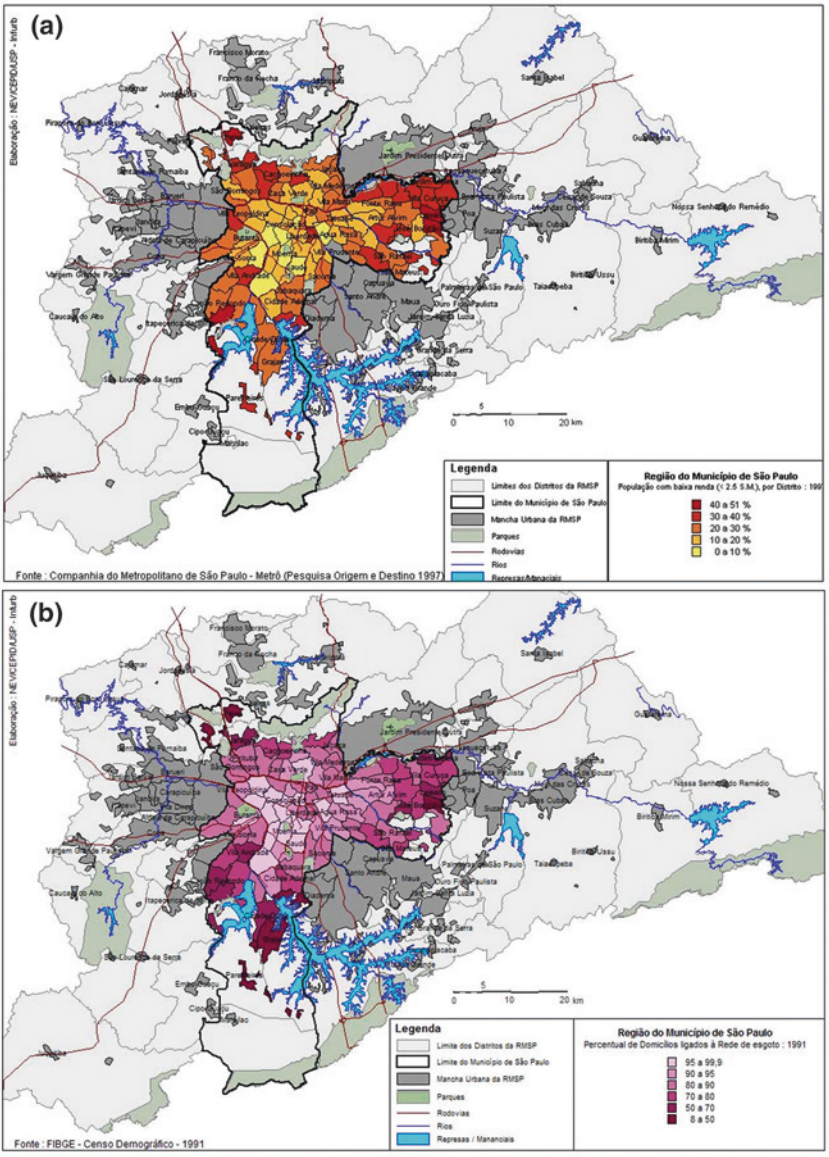


Fig. 2.3 The process of urbanization in the city expanded from the central district to the periphery, where there were nature reserves close to the city's reservoirs. Over the decades, the region was home to a large number of neighborhood associations and to social investments. The low social control over the killing of young, black, poor men led to an increase in homicide rates despite the increased social investment. **a** Percentage of low-income households, by district—*Dark red* represents 40–51 % of low-income population, and *yellow* represents less than 10 %. **b** Percentage of households connected to sewage system, by district—*Pink* represents more than 95 %, and *dark purple* less than 50 %. **c** Residents per room in sub-par housing, by district—*Dark brown* represents 1.5–2.74 persons, *pink* represent no record of sub-par housing

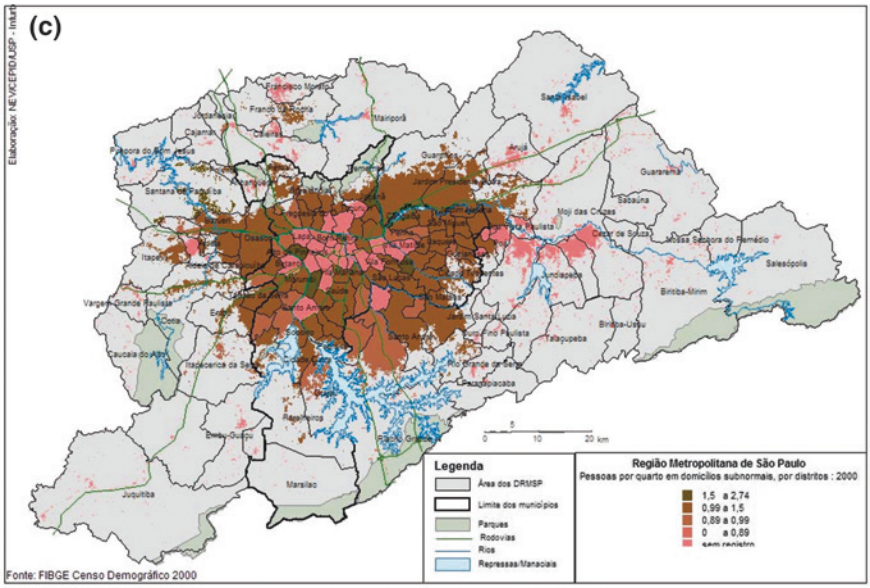


Fig. 2.3 (continued)

References

Adorno, S., & Cardia, N. (1997). *Dilemas do controle democrático da violência*: execuções sumárias e grupos de extermínio, São Paulo, 1980–89. In TAVARES DOS SANTOS, José Vicente. (org.), *Violências em tempo de globalização*. 1ª ed (pp. 66–90). São Paulo: Hucitec.

Cardia, N. (1998). A violência urbana e os jovens. In P.S. Pinheiro et al. (ed.), *São Paulo sem Medo: um diagnóstico da violência urbana* (pp. 97–121). Rio de Janeiro: Editora Garamond.

Cardia, N., Adorno, S., & Poleto, F. (2003). Homicídio e violação de direitos humanos em São Paulo. Estudos Avançados. Vol. 47.

Cardia, N., & Schiffer, S. (2002). Violência e Desigualdade Social. Ciência e Cultura. Vol. 54. São Paulo.

Castro, M. C. P. D., & Silva, H. M. B. D. (1997). Legislação e Mercado Residencial em São Paulo. São Paulo: LabHab/ FAUUSP.

Dellasoppa, E. E., Bercovich, A. M., & Arriaga, E. (1999). Violência, direitos civis e demografia no Brasil na década de 1980: o caso da área metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais, São Paulo, 14*(39), 155–176.

Denizo, V. (2007). Os produtos da política estadual de habitação na Região Metropolitana de São Paulo. Elementos para análise de uma política metropolitana de habitação. Tese (Doutorado) apresentada à Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo.

Departamento de Homicídio e Proteção à Pessoa (DHPP). (2000). *Anuário estatístico dos anos de 1997 e 1998*. Secretaria de Segurança Pública do Estado de São Paulo.

Gawryszewski, V. P. (2002). *Homicídios no município de São Paulo*: perfil e subsídios para um sistema de vigilância epidemiológica. Tese (Doutorado) em Saúde Pública pela Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, pp. 7–8.

Gawryszewski, V. P., & Costa, L. S. (2005). Homicídios e desigualdades sociais no município de São Paulo. *Revista Saúde Pública, 39*(2), 191–197.

Gawryszewski, V. P., Kahn, T., & Mello Jorge, M. H. P. (2005). Informações sobre homicídios e sua integração com o setor saúde e segurança pública. *Revista de Saúde Pública, São Paulo, 39*(4), 627–633.

Kowarick, L. (2000). *Escritos urbanos*. São Paulo: Editora 34.

Lima, R. S. D., Adorno, S., & Bordini, E. (1999). O adolescente e as mudanças na criminalidade urbana em São Paulo. *Revista São Paulo em Perspectiva, 13*(4), 62.

Mello Jorge, M. H. P. D. (1998): Adolescentes e jovens como vítimas da violência fatal em São Paulo. In P.S. Pinheiro et al. (Ed.), *São Paulo sem Medo*: *um diagnóstico da violência urbana* (pp. 97–121). Rio de Janeiro: Editora Garamond.

Nery, M., de Souza, A. L., Peres, M. F. T., Cardia, N., & Adorno, S. (2014). Homicídios dolosos na cidade de São Paulo: fatores associados à queda entre 2000 e 2010. *Revista Brasileira de Segurança Pública. São Paulo, 8*(2), 32–47.

Núcleo de Estudo da Violência da Universidade de São Paulo – NEV/USP. (1997). *A violência na Zona Sul de São Paulo* – Um estudo sobre o homicídio e a geografia numa região urbana. Universidade de São Paulo, coordenadores Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro e Guaracy Mingardi.

Peralva, A. (2000). *Violência e democracia* – O Paradoxo Brasileiro. São Paulo. Paz e Terra, 2000, p. 95.

Sader, E. (1988). *Quando novos personagens entraram em cena* – Experiências, falas e lutas dos trabalhadores da Grande São Paulo (1970–1980). São Paulo: Paz e Terra

Sampson, R.J. Great American City (2012): Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect. University of Chicago Press.

Silva, J. F. S. D. (2004). *Justiceiros e violência urbana*. São Paulo: Cortez Editora

Soares, G. A. (2000). D. *Homicídios no Brasil*: vários factóides em busca de uma teoria. Trabalho apresentado à reunião da Latin American Studies Association.

Waiselfisz, J. (2002). *Mapa da Violência: os jovens do Brasil, juventude, cidadania e violência*. Rio de Janeiro: Edições Garamond.

http://www.springer.com/978-3-319-13164-1

Homicide in São Paulo
An Examination of Trends from 1960-2010
Manso, B.P.
2016, XVI, 189 p. 21 illus. in color., Hardcover
ISBN: 978-3-319-13164-1