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4

5 **Abstract**

6 The paper aims to map the homicides that victimize individuals residing in Porto Alegre
7 between the years 2015 and 2018, identifying their main characteristics, as well as the
8 neighborhoods where they lived and died. Based on data from the Mortality Information
9 System (SIM) provided by the Municipal Health Department, the paper analyzes the profile of
10 the victims in relation to age, gender and race. The QGis software was used to map the life
11 and death sites of the murdered youth, aged between 15 and 29 years. Thus, it was possible to
12 reaffirm the idea that homicides mainly victimize young black males. However, the age curve
13 showed a peak of victims between 15 and 19 years old, which was not a reality a decade ago.
14 In addition, it was noted the proportional decrease of white victims, as well as a greater
15 women representation. Finally, in relation to life and death places, while there is a strong
16 concentration in the neighborhoods Rubem Berta, Restinga, Santa Tereza, Sarandi and
17 Lomba do Pinheiro, it was also possible to verify a growing territorial homicides spread.

18

19 **Index terms**— youth; homicide; violence; maps; territory.

20 **1 Introduction**

21 "Porto Alegre is listed among the most violent cities in the world" is the headline of the paper with largest
22 circulation in Rio Grande do Sul, in April 2nd, 2017. The report presents research data conducted by Igarapé
23 Institute and published in the newspaper The Economist. Since the end of 2016, several news reports gave a
24 scenario of vertiginous increase in the episodes of lethal violence in the state capital of Rio Grande do Sul, with
25 emblematic cases that even caused changes in city administration, for example, with the beginning of the work
26 of Nacional Force in aid to the Military Police since August of 2016 to March of 2018.

27 There still are many gaps in the comprehension of the phenomenon of increase in violent mortality in the city.
28 Despite the existence of important initiatives, such as the RBS Group electronic platform "X-Ray of Violence",
29 there is a lack of research to understand who are the individuals most affected by the increasing number of
30 homicides, and especially their distribution in the city's territory. Thus, the present article traces some first
31 considerations about these issues, as it intends to build the profile of the residents of Porto Alegre who were
32 victims of homicides, identifying the neighborhoods in which they lived and the places where the homicidal
33 events occurred in the years of 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018. It is important to notice that this research differs
34 from most homicide researches, as it seeks to ascertain who were the young homicide victims living in Porto
35 Alegre, where they lived and where they died. Thus, the largest sample concerns young residents of the city who
36 are victims of this type of violent mortality, no matter where the homicidal event occurred. As will be seen, the
37 vast majority of events also took place in Porto Alegre, but there are cases where young residents of the city were
38 killed in other municipalities.

39 The choice for this sample is justified since no previous research concerned with assessing the profile of
40 homicide victims in Porto Alegre was identified, but only investigations with reference to violent events in
41 the city. Therefore, it was not possible to know if the residents of the city were victims of this type of violent
42 lethality also in the geographic circumscription of the municipality, or if the events violated these territorial limits.
43 Thus, a major innovation of the present study concerns the attempt to evaluate a correspondence between place
44 of residence and place of death of young people, identifying the extent to which residents of Porto Alegre are
45 murdered in the city itself, or in various other locations, as well as the spatial distribution of these occurrences.

2 METHODOLOGY

46 Regarding the risk profile, one hypothesis that guides the present study shows that young men represent the
47 majority of victims of this type of violent death, in addition to the presence of a racial factor that increases the
48 proportion of blacks in total homicides compared to the racial distribution of the city's population. Regarding
49 localities, it is also believed that a restricted number of neighborhoods in Porto Alegre will be identified as a
50 place of death by the majority of youth homicides.

51 To fulfill the proposal, the research used data collected and organized by the Mortality Information System
52 (SIM), linked to the Health Department of Porto Alegre (SMSPA). To gain access to information, the research
53 was conducted for eight months at the UFRGS Research Ethics Committee (CEP-UFRGS) and the SMSPA
54 Ethics Committee. The first submission of the project to CEP-UFRGS was on 14/07/2017 and the approval
55 opinion was released on 09/14/2017. After approval by the university committee on the same day, the SMSPA
56 Committee was included as a co-participant institution, with an opinion released on 02/22/2018. Later on, two
57 amendments were submitted in 06/07/2018 and 04/11/2019, in order to complement the research with data from
58 2017 and 2018, with the opinion of approval published in 07/10/2018 and 05/13/2019. Thus, researchers were
59 granted access to the database of SIM, that served as the main source of this paper, and was used as it follows.

60 II.

61 2 Methodology

62 In order to better establish the recent panorama of youth homicides in the city of Porto Alegre, especially its
63 location in the city territory and the more detailed profile of its victims, primary data were sought through the
64 Mortality Information System (SIM). The source used, therefore, is from several studies in the area of violence,
65 as primary data are available nationwide and with standardized cataloging procedures (PROVENZA, et al, 2017,
66 p. 300). Database analysis was performed using the IBM SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) program.

67 The database of 2015, which includes all deaths occurred with residents of Porto Alegre, represent a total
68 of 11,454 deaths, from natural or unnatural causes. By using the SIM Data Dictionary, it was possible to
69 identify the variables and their values. The CIRCOBITO variable from the SIM database indicates the probable
70 circumstance of unnatural death, separating these types of violence into five values: accident; suicide; murder;
71 others and ignored. Homicide deaths were selected, generating a new database of 678 homicides. In 2016, the
72 total number of deaths was evaluated in 12,556, including natural causes and unnatural causes. After the selection
73 of homicides, a total of 803 victims were found. In 2017, the total number of deaths reached 11,971, of which
74 661 were classified as homicides. Regarding the year of 2018, the total number of deaths was 12,209, of which 517
75 were classified as homicides.

76 Subsequently, the database was divided into three criteria: age, gender and identification as white or non-
77 white. The last stage of the research, then, consisted in the analysis of the place of life and death of young
78 people residing in Porto Alegre from the construction of cartographic representations indicating such territorial
79 distribution. Before entering the results of the analyzes performed, it is important to return to the data presented
80 in other researches regarding homicides in Porto Alegre.

81 In this sense, the idea of making a homicide map of the city is not unprecedented, and was also the object
82 of a relevant research published in Regarding the most recent scenario, it is noted that data published in 2018
83 by the Public Safety Yearbook ??FBS, 2018) show that in the city of Porto Alegre, in 2015, 744 homicides
84 were committed. In the same year, the rate of 52.9 Intentional Lethal Violent Crimes per 100,000 inhabitants is
85 reached. In relation to the year of 2016, there is an important divergence. In a first publication, the homicides
86 of the capital of Rio Grande do Sul in 2016 added up to 908 victims (FBS, 2017). In the following year's
87 publication, there is a revision of the data that reduces the amount to 785 homicides ??FBS, 2018).

88 In Thus, in a primary analysis, it is possible to verify an increase in homicides in the city of Porto Alegre in
89 the last decade, quite significantly, especially compared to other important capitals of the country, such as Rio de
90 Janeiro. In this city, known by common sense as a place with high rates of violent lethality, it was found a rate
91 of 42.3 homicides/100 thousand inhabitants in 2006, that is, well above the 30.9 of the state capital at the time.
92 However, according to the FBS, in 2015, the rate for Intentional Violent Deaths of the capital of Rio de Janeiro
93 was 19.4 in 2015, 30.0 in 2016, 32.7 in 2017, and 29.7 in 2018 ??FBS, 2017;2019). Porto Alegre presented rates
94 of 52.9, 55.8, 46.3 and 37.2 in the respective years ??FBS, 2017;2019).

95 Given that the data that will be presented and discussed in this paper come from SIM, this research identified
96 some distortions in relation to the data published by the Public Safety Yearbook. Thus, according to SIM, in
97 2015 the absolute number of homicides in the city of Porto Alegre was 625, while in 2016 it was 746 victims. In
98 2017 there was 601 homicide victims of homicide. Finally, in 2018, there was 517 homicides in the municipality.
99 Regarding homicide rates per 100,000 inhabitants, the Population Estimates provided by the Economics and
100 Statistics Foundation ??FEE, 2015; ??2016; led to the following rates: As already stated, the objective of this
101 research is to outline the profile of young homicide victims living in Porto Alegre, which is slightly different from
102 the analysis taken up to date. In the next topics, the analysis will be based on the total amount of homicides
103 victimizing youths living in Porto Alegre.

104 **3 III.**

105 **4 Data Analysis a) Analysis Parameters (2015-2016)**

106 i. Age

107 The first parameter of analysis concerns the age of homicide victims residents of the city of Porto Alegre
108 between 2015 and 2018. Limiting to the age group that corresponds to the legal concept of youth, as provided by
109 the Youth Statute (Law 12.852 of 2013) in its art. 1, § 1, a first selection was made in order to better investigate
110 how homicide deaths were distributed among people between 15 and 29 years old. The choice for this age group,
111 in addition to respecting the legal definition, was based on an understanding that intends to amplify the idea
112 of youth as much as possible, including the beginning of adolescence and extending the analysis to the onset of
113 adulthood.

114 Thus, out of a total of 678 homicides in 2015, 351 occurred in this age group, representing around 51.80% of
115 the total number of deaths by homicide. In 2016, the representation of youth in all homicides increases to 58.0%,
116 with 466 young people out of a total of 803 homicide victims. In 2017, out of 666 homicides, 361 were young
117 people, representing 54.6% of the total amount. Finally, in 2018, out of 517 homicides, 283 were young people,
118 representing 54.7% of all homicide victims. As can be seen from the graph above, in addition to the increase in
119 the proportion of young people in relation to total homicides, there are two ages in which the increase from one
120 year to the next is substantial. Thus, at the ages of 16 and 18, there was an increase of more than 20 homicides
121 from one year to the next, a growth that occurred in almost all age groups, except the ages of 14, 17 and 28
122 years. In 2015, the critical age group remained between 17 and 21 years old; In 2016, there is a "backward" shift,
123 that is, the critical period starts at 16 and extends to 21 years. In that year, there was also a second problematic
124 range of homicide increases between 25 and 27 years. In 2017, the homicide peaks are at 21, 23 and 28 years,
125 with a significant fall in the age group between 24 and 26 years. Finally, in 2018, the critical period is from 17
126 to 19 years, with a significant fall in the age group between 24 and 25 years. At the other ages, an alternation
127 in increases and decreases occurs each year, without being possible to identify a pattern in these occurrences.

128 To perform a temporal comparison, we used the data presented in the study by ??antos and Russo (2010). It
129 is noted that the representation of youth in the total amount of violent deaths in the city of Porto Alegre seems,
130 in recent times, to be more important than it was in 2006, when the highest percentage of homicide victims
131 was concentrated in between 25 to 34 years old (28.7%), followed by the 35 to 49 (24.6%) age group (RUSSO;
132 SANTOS, 2010, p. 219). Thus, homicides between 15 and 24 years old at the time represented 34% of the total
133 number of victims. Ten years later, the same age group corresponds to 43.1% of the total amount: The line graph
134 above shows a significant change in the distribution of homicides of residents in Porto Alegre ten years after the
135 research published by Santos and Russo. In the period analyzed, the normal curve of the graph deforms, and
136 starts to show an important peak in the age group of 15-19 years. Thus, although data show that homicides
137 continue to be more representative in the age group between 25 and 34 years, recent years present a new picture
138 that anticipates to a much earlier period of occurrence of these deaths.

139 **5 ii. Sex**

140 Regarding the data from 2015, it is clear that there was a substantial difference in the frequency of homicides
141 between young men and women. Of the 351 juveniles living in Porto Alegre who were victims of homicide, only
142 18 were female juveniles, representing 5.1% of the total amount of homicides. Homicides of young men living in
143 the city of Porto Alegre amounted to 333 cases, corresponding to 94.9% of all deaths by homicide.

144 In 2016, there was an increase in the total amount of homicide cases in the age group studied from 351 to 466
145 cases -, but also maintaining the highest incidence of homicides among young men. Only 33 corresponded to
146 the death of female youth, representing 7.1% of all homicides, still much lower than the representation of male
147 youth, equivalent to 92.9% of all homicide cases.

148 In the following years, there is a certain decrease in the number of violent deaths in the city. In 2017, out
149 of the 361 youth homicides that occurred, 37 correspond to female juvenile deaths, representing 10.3% of the
150 homicides in the period, which is equivalent to double of the percentage observed in 2015. Among male youth,
151 there were 324 cases of homicide in 2017, representing 89.7% of all deaths. In 2018, it is possible to further
152 observe the decrease in the amount of violent deaths in general. Of the 283 homicides, 27 victimized female
153 youth, representing 9.5% of all homicides. The number of homicides among young males, in turn, corresponded
154 to 256 cases, representing 90.5% of all deaths.

155 The victimization of young men in Porto Alegre is partly aligned with the general pattern observed in Brazil,
156 as the absolute majority of homicide deaths in this age group occur among males. The Atlas of Violence of 2018
157 points out that, of the 33.590 juveniles who were murdered in Brazil in 2016, 94.6% were male, representing
158 a 7.4% increase rate from 2015 (FBSP 2018). The homicide rate among young men per 100,000 juveniles also
159 reflects an increase from 2014: between 2006 and 2013, the rate remained around 70, rising to 93.5 (2014), 97.8
160 (2015) and 113.4 (2016).

6 iii. Race

161 The difference in lethality between black youth and the rest of the population is not only an old problem, but
162 one that has increased in the last decade (CERQUEIRA; COELHO, 2017). Whereas between 2006 and 2016
163 there was a 23.1% growth in the black homicide rate, the mortality of non-black individuals decreased 6.8%
164 (CERQUEIRA, 2018, p. 33). In 2016, for example, the homicide rate of black people was two and a half times
165 higher than that of non-black people (16.0% against 40.2%) (CERQUEIRA, 2018, p. 40).

166 Young black males continue to be murdered every year as if they were in war. At 21 years old, when there is
167 a peak in the chances of a person being murdered in Brazil, black people are 147% more likely to be victims of
168 homicides (CERQUEIRA; COELHO, 2017, p. 9). According to the Juvenile Violence Vulnerability Index (2017),
169 in 2015, black youth is, on average, 2.71 more likely to die from homicide than white youth in the country, and in
170 Rio Grande do Sul the relative risk of young black people being victims of homicide, in relation to young white
171 people, is 1.3 (FBSP, 2017, p. 27).

172 Although Porto Alegre's population is predominantly white -79.23% of the population is white, 20.24% black,
173 0.29% yellow and 0.23% indigenous people -from the analysis of the graphs it is possible to observe that the
174 incidence of homicides among the young black population is representative, and tends to grow. In 2015, the
175 percentage of young black residents of the city who were victims of homicide was 36.1%. In 2016, the rate
176 reached 40.3%, while in 2017 it reached 46.5%. Finally, in 2018, the rate was 47,1%.

177 7 b) Who dies the most

178 The higher incidence of homicides in the young population is not really new in the field of Brazilian Sociology
179 of Violence. If, as has been shown extensively, the age group that commits the most lethal violence is young
180 people, it seems possible to generalize to state that these are substantially young men killing young men (DIRK;
181 MOURA, 2017, p. 4). This process of lethal victimization of youth in the Brazilian scenario began in 1980, and
182 has gradually established itself as one of the main obstacles to the advancement of minimum public safety levels
183 in the country (CERQUEIRA, 2017, p. 25).

184 Thus, the study Map of Violence (2013) already stated that youth homicide rates did not keep pace with
185 advances in violence prevention policies, increasing from 42.4 per 100,000 youth in 1998 to 52.4 / 100,000 in
186 2013. ??WAISELFISZ, 2013, p.11). Of all causes of mortality, those called external causes accounted for 73.2%
187 of juvenile deaths in 2011 (ibid., P. 20), with homicide being the main cause responsible for this scenario. Thus,
188 only in the Federative Unit of Rio Grande do Sul, the data shows a 34.5% increase in homicides of people between
189 15 and 29 years old, from 2005 to 2015 (CERQUEIRA, 2017, p. 27).

190 The explanations to the phenomenon are many and, as the present study does not intend to state the reasons
191 of the phenomenon, but only to present an outlook of the profile of homicide deaths in the city of Porto Alegre,
192 it would not fit here to expose all possible interpretations for such scenario. However, it is noteworthy that the
193 characteristics that compose the profile of young homicide victims living in the capital, together with the locality
194 of life and death of such victims, enable to trace some indications of possible reasons that explain the increase in
195 youth homicides in Porto Alegre in recent years.

196 Regarding the higher incidence of death among young men, gender is pointed out in several studies as a socio-
197 demographic characteristic that has a higher relationship with the incidence of homicides ??SOARES, 2000).
198 Several reasons can be attributed to the higher number of violent deaths among men compared to women, some
199 of them being the premise that men generally commit more violence than women (SOARES, 2008); or that boys
200 would be subjected to less social control than girls, which would contribute to greater involvement in crime-
201 related activities (HIRSCHI, 1969); also, due to the "socialization by violence", men feel the need to "neutralize"
202 other men affirm their own masculinity (WALTER-LANG, 2001).

203 The data shows that the ones who still die the most are young men. However, this tendency was already
204 expected, given several other studies that have already pointed to the same phenomenon at regional and national
205 levels. A less expected trend that deserves attention is the percentage increase in young women being murdered.
206 Such phenomenon is still little explored and needs further debate. According to the Atlas of Violence (2018), the
207 increase in the number of women being murdered can already be understood as a trend in Rio Grande do Sul,
208 with a 90.1% increase in murder cases in just 10 years (2006-2016), with the highest number of cases reported
209 in 2014 (250 cases), 2015 (284 cases) and 2016 (308 cases). The same study attributes the cause to femicide,
210 highlighting sexual assault followed by death and homicide in domestic environments. The study, however, does
211 not rule out the existence of other causes to the phenomenon, such as a greater participation of women in drug
212 traffic.

213 Regarding the race of those who die the most, the concentration of deaths affecting the black population
214 undermines the often defended myth of "racial democracy". According to this idea, discrimination by skin color
215 would be something irrelevant, that would not block opportunities, prohibit careers or increase the chances of
216 black individuals being murdered in Brazil (COELHO; CERQUEIRA, 2017, p. 7). According to the Atlas of
217 Violence (2018). Thus, although the population from Rio Grande do Sul is predominantly white, the increase
218 in homicide deaths in the last decade has concentrated on the black population of the region.

219 In the case of homicides of blacks and juveniles, it is clear that the differences in lethality against African
220 descendants are widened in the youth period. According to the Youth Vulnerability to Violence Index, in 24
221 brazilian Federation Units, the chance of a young black man dying is greater than that of a white juvenile (LIMA;

223 et. Al, 2017, p. 28). It is evident how racial inequality is a key factor in understanding how violence in the youth
224 period manifests itself in Brazil.

225 Sinhoretto and Morais, in a paper on violence and racism in Brazil, state that the analysis of available data
226 on the phenomenon of violent death shows that the racialization of black youth operates the dehumanization
227 of subjects, making their death plausible and inconsequential (2018, p. 24). Going further, Cerqueira and
228 Moura conclude that the search for explanations of violent deaths in youth cannot neglect racism, claiming that
229 beyond physical extinction there are thousands of symbolic deaths behind the loss of opportunity and personal
230 growth, that many individuals suffer only because the color of their skin (2014, p. 82). They are materially and
231 symbolically lost lives in the face of racism in Brazil.

232 **8 c) Place of life and death of youth**

233 In order to locate youth homicides in the territorial space of the city of Porto Alegre, maps were developed as
234 illustrative instruments of the neighborhoods a) where young homicide victims live; b) in which homicides occur.
235 The maps were produced using the Open Source Geographic Information System (GIS), identified as "QGIS", a
236 free platform of the Open Source Geospatial Foundation (OSGEO) used to the development of thematic maps
237 through the intersection between shapelite documents and quantitative data.

238 The maps produced through the program are able to geographically demonstrate the incidence of quantitative
239 variables. This study used the shapelite provided by the Porto Alegre City Hall, through its official website,
240 which expresses the spatial limits of the municipality, and its official division into 94 neighborhoods, according
241 to Law 12.112/2016. Subsequently, it was possible to cross the shapelite and the quantitative data regarding
242 places of residence and places death by homicide of young people living in the city of Porto Alegre (2015-2018),
243 obtained from the Department of Health.

244 The software allowed the production of a series of maps demonstrating which neighborhoods had the highest
245 and lowest concentrations of residences (living places) of young people murdered, as well as the neighborhoods
246 where there was possible to observe the highest and the lowest incidence of homicides (places of death) in the
247 period studied. It is noteworthy that the indexes used refer only to the distribution of absolute numbers of young
248 homicide victims (both in relation to their place of residence and place of death), so that the rates produced that
249 take into account proportion of young people in each territory.

250 Crossing shapelite with quantitative data required the production of a new table ("match table"), through
251 which a common column could be established between the shapelite "attribute table" and the quantitative data
252 table. This common element was the OBJECTID, which in the shapelite "attribute table" correspondence
253 to the code of each delimited area in the shapelite map. The union between shapelite and quantitative data by
254 matching the OBJECTID code of each map area allowed cross-checking of data that geographically demonstrated
255 the incidence of places of residence and places of death of murdered youth.

256 The shapelite used had 128 divisions, while quantitative data obtained from the Porto Alegre Health
257 Department were expressed in a division of 94 neighborhoods. Most of the code areas provided in the shapelite
258 corresponded to the neighborhoods indicated in the data, but some adaptations were still needed, especially in
259 relation to the "Arquipélago", "Jardim Itu-Sabará" and "Protásio" territories. Also, neighborhoods that did not
260 match to any shapelite code areas, and where there were no youth homicide residences or deaths, were disregarded
261 and represented by "0" in the match table, as well as the ignored data.

262 The result was the production of color gradient maps that reveal the concentration of victims' homes and
263 homicide sites in each neighborhood of Porto Alegre. Such a gradient varies between black and white, so that
264 each tone represents a concentration, classified as low (white), intermediate (light gray), high (dark gray), and
265 very high (black). QGIS software itself defines natural breaks from the use of the jenks system. Natural breaks
266 are defined from the numbers of concentrations found. As observed, the maps of the places of residence and places
267 of death of young homicide victims change over the time series analyzed. Regarding the distribution of victims'
268 homes across the city, 6 neighborhoods emerge as the places where most of the young people lived: "Restinga",
269 "Santa Tereza", "Rubem Berta", "Sarandi", "Lomba do Pinheiro" and "Mario Quintana". In 2018, "Restinga",
270 "Rubem Berta", "Sarandi" and "Lomba do Pinheiro" remain in the position of neighborhoods where there is the
271 largest concentration of murdered youth residences. It is possible to verify, however, a higher incidence in relation
272 to "Bom Jesus" and "Partenon" neighborhoods instead of "Santa Tereza" and "Mario Quintana" neighborhoods.

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274 The table above shows the absolute numbers of young victims of homicide and, in parentheses, the representation
275 of this number in total homicides. The "Rubem Berta" neighborhood appears as the main place of residence
276 in 2015 and 2018, and "Restinga" neighborhood has the highest rates in 2016 and 2017 (both in relation to
277 the absolute number and proportionally). There was also a considerable decrease in the concentration of youth
278 residence over the years: if in 2015 the 6 territories together represented 51% of all young people murdered,
279 demonstrating a spatially concentrated social phenomenon, in 2017, this number falls to 41.2%, later increasing
280 in 2018 to 43.8%. Thus, although there is over the years a concentration of murdered youth residences in the
281 "Restinga", "Rubem Berta", "Sarandi" and "Lomba do Pinheiro" neighborhoods, in 2018, the spatial dynamics

282 changed to include among the neighborhoods with the highest concentration of residences also "Bom Jesus" and
283 "Partenon" neighborhoods.

284 As has been shown, even though there is a very significant concentration in certain territories, the places of
285 residence of the victimized youth are spreading to other territories, which seems to be an indicative of some new
286 explanatory factor of lethal youth violence, still lacking in understanding. Thus, the indication of the decrease in
287 the total amount of young homicide victims in 2018 is accompanied by a map of the city, in which the residences
288 of such subjects, although in large part are still located in neighborhoods known for their high rates. of lethal
289 violence, are also distributed in spaces that until then had not been losing so many young people to violent
290 mortality. To better understand this "new" scenario, it is necessary to observe the city maps referring to the
291 "places of death" of these young people, that is, places identified by SIM as the areas of occurrence of most part
292 of the violent events. The table above shows in absolute numbers the number of homicides in each neighborhood
293 and, in parentheses, the representation of this number regarding the total amount of homicides in the city. Given
294 these data, it is possible to observed that the neighborhood "Bom Fim" appears as the main homicide site in
295 2015, while the neighborhood "Rubem Berta" has the highest rates in 2016, 2017 and 2018, both in absolute
296 numbers and proportionally.

297 It turns out that the 39 cases of homicides in "Bom Fim" in 2015 were registered in the hospital. The
298 same occurred in relation to the "Cristo Redentor" neighborhood, regarding its 28 recorded cases. The pattern
299 was repeated over the next three years (all deaths in both neighborhoods occurred in the hospital). Thus, a
300 first relevant issue concerns the registration standards used in the death certificates. A significant number of
301 homicide cases were reported to have occurred in the hospital neighborhoods where the victims were treated,
302 which produces a distortion in SIM data. These are events that end up having their location unknown, making
303 the territorial analysis of homicides in the city difficult.

304 Compared to the places of residence, 5 of them also appear among the places with the highest incidence of
305 homicides: "Restinga", "Santa Tereza", "Rubem Berta", "Sarandi", "Lomba do Pinheiro". Among these, we
306 highlight the "Rubem Berta neighborhood", which, over all the years studied, had the highest concentration of
307 murdered residents (152) and the highest amount of homicides among young people (142) in absolute numbers.
308 Immediately thereafter, the highest concentration of murdered residents (151) and the highest incidence of
309 homicides (94) occurs in Restinga. Thus, it is clear that these two spaces emerge in the spatial context of
310 the city of Porto Alegre as Territories of Death, as they have the largest concentration of places of life and death
311 of young people who were murdered in the years studied.

312 10 IV.

313 11 Conclusion

314 Initially, the research sought to demonstrate the profile of homicide victims living in the city of Porto Alegre,
315 identifying the criteria that make an individual more vulnerable to suffer this type of lethal violence. From the
316 analysis of the obtained data, three criteria were identified as most relevant: (i) age; (ii) sex; and (iii) race. A first
317 possible conclusion, therefore, confirms other studies already conducted, in which it was found that the profile of
318 homicide victims consists of three basic characteristics: male, young, black.

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320 13 (H)

321 Regarding the city of Porto Alegre, it was found that more than half of the homicide victims are young, aged
322 between 15 and 29 years. The year of 2016 had the largest representation of youth in all homicides, corresponding
323 to 58%. Moreover, in the four years analyzed, a higher concentration of victims aged between 15 and 19 years was
324 observed, which was not the reality shown in the researches conducted in the city in 2006 (RUSSO; SANTOS,
325 2010). Thus, it seems apparent that the victims are increasingly young, which reveals a panorama of the first
326 phase of adolescence very exposed to homicidal violence.

327 Regarding gender distribution, it is clear that the absolute majority of youth homicides involved male
328 individuals. The proportional concentration of homicides among men is evident, and remained around 90%
329 over all the years studied. However, there was a decrease in the concentration of events among young men
330 over the years and the consequent increase in the number of cases among young girls. This scenario seems to
331 indicate a greater importance of femicide cases in the total amount of violent deaths in the city, as well as the
332 reconfiguration of homicidal events reaching more girls or women.

333 Regarding the racial profile of murdered youth, it is clear that, although the population in the city of Porto
334 Alegre is predominantly white -79.23% of white people, compared to only 20.24% of black people -, the percentage
335 of young black people murdered was 36.1% in 2015, increasing to 40.3% in 2016, reaching the level of 46.5% in
336 2017, and increasing to 47.1% in 2018. This represents a percentage increase of 11% over the years studied.
337 The upward trend in mortality rates among black youth, and the decrease in white youth, shows the substantial
338 difference in the life trajectories faced by each of these groups: it is as if they lived "in different cities" or, in
339 in other words, in a territory that makes them vulnerable to racial criteria. Such criterion is the only one that

340 shows a significant upward curve and, therefore, seems to be one of the most relevant to be observed in the fight
341 against mortality and violence among young people.

342 Regarding the places of life and death of young people in Porto Alegre, it is found that the absolute and
343 proportional majority of homicides -around 90% over the years studied -are concentrated in the city of Porto
344 Alegre, followed by the metropolitan region (Alvorada, Gravataí and Viamão). Regarding the city of Porto
345 Alegre, 6 neighborhoods emerge as the places where the most murdered youths reside, 5 of these also appearing
346 as places where most part of young residents of Porto Alegre died. These 5 territories in common -"Rubem
347 Berta", "Restinga", "Santa Tereza", "Sarandi" and "Lomba do Pinheiro" -are therefore the most risky places for
348 young people in the city of Porto Alegre.

349 Thus, although there is an increasing dispersion of the places of life and places of death in the city's
350 neighborhoods, the concentration of events in these 5 territories was not less than 30% in the four years studied,
351 which shows a very strong focus neighborhoods victimized by violent deaths in the city. It seems evident that
352 there is a need to concentrate public policy efforts for better assistance in these places, already marked by very
353 precarious levels of social development.

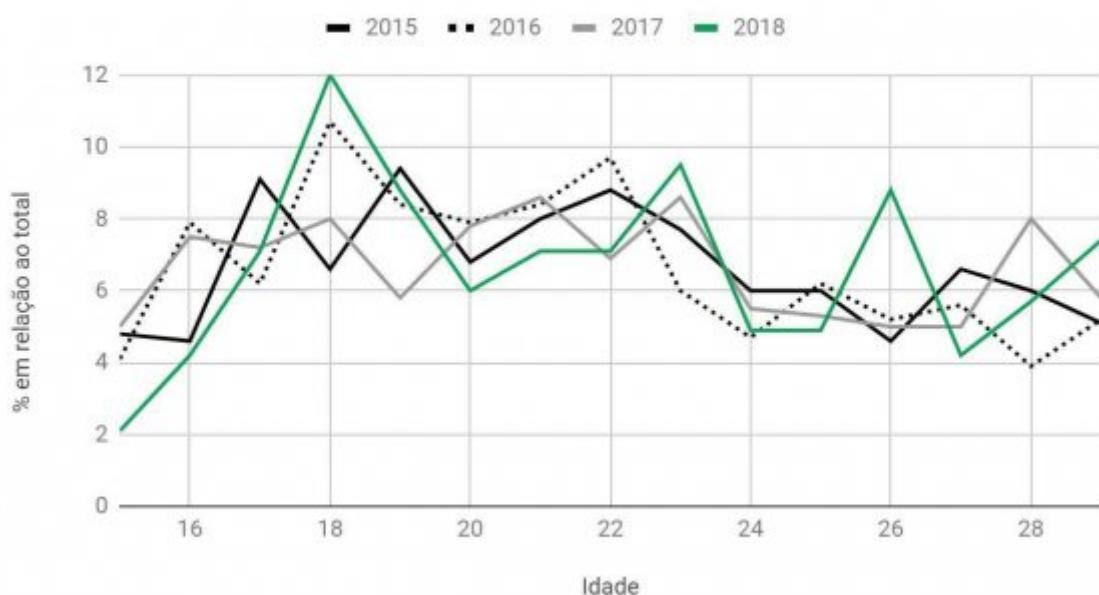
354 Also noteworthy is the fact that the "Mario Quintana" neighborhood in the first three years studied had
355 significant rates of young homicide victims who lived there, with an average of 6.5% in relation to the other
356 neighborhoods in the city. However, the homicide rate in the neighborhood remained close to 3%, indicating
357 that young people living in Mario Quintana ended up being murdered elsewhere. One possible explanation for
358 this distortion may be in the identification of many death events in the neighborhoods "Bom Fim" and "Cristo
359 Redentor", since these are the hospital locations where victims were taken to.

360 Another noteworthy circumstance is the "shift" in the spatial dynamics of residential and homicide distribution.
361 This has been the case in 2018, observed, for example, in the residence concentration decrease verified in "Mario
362 Quintana" and "Santa Tereza" neighborhoods, to the detriment of the growth observed in "Bom Jesus" and
363 "Partenon" neighborhoods. The "Vila Nova" neighborhood also appears in 2018 as a place with higher incidence
364 of homicides, amounting to the same frequency and same percentage verified in "Santa Tereza" neighborhood.
365 Further studies should be conducted in the coming years to see if these trends can be verified.

366 Finally, it is worth reinforcing the argument previously presented that the present research does not seek to
367 point out causal factors of homicides in the city of Porto Alegre, but rather to indicate important characteristics
368 of the victims' profiles, as well as to present a spatial representation of the places of life and death of these
369 events. In spite of the possible relevant factors in explaining the increase in homicides, and their greater dispersion
370 throughout the city -such as the reconfiguration of drug trafficking that took place in the city in 2016 (CIPRIANI,
371 2017) -more in-depth qualitative research would be needed to clarify the complexity of these events. Thus, it
372 is expected that the present research will contribute as a first analysis of the scenario, but that new social
investigations on the subject will also be carried out, attentive to the reality of the state capital.

1 2 3 4 5

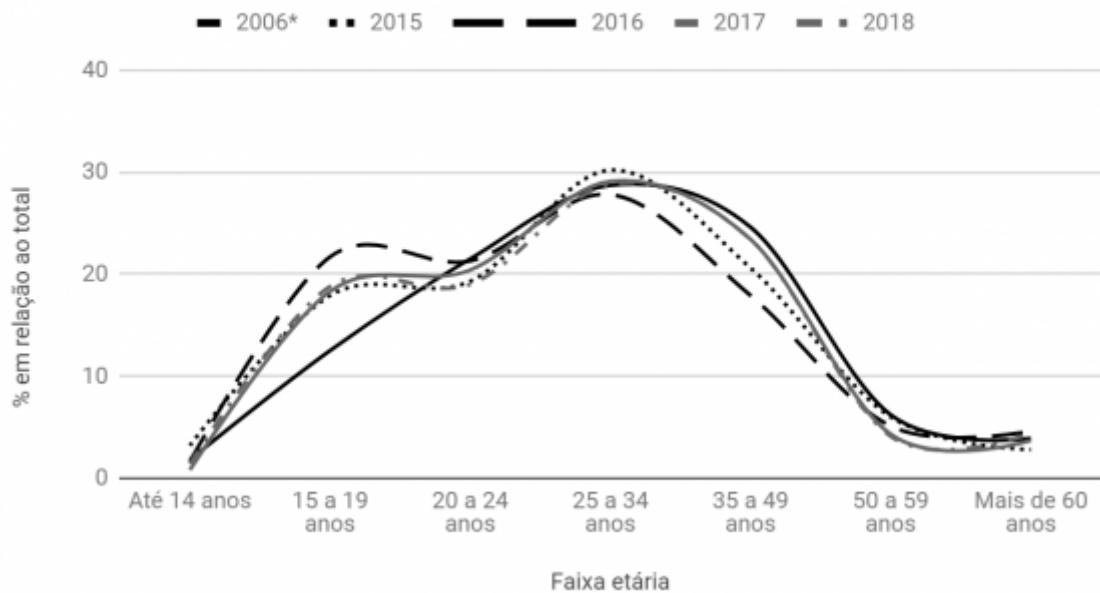
% de Homicídios por idade: 15-29 anos



1

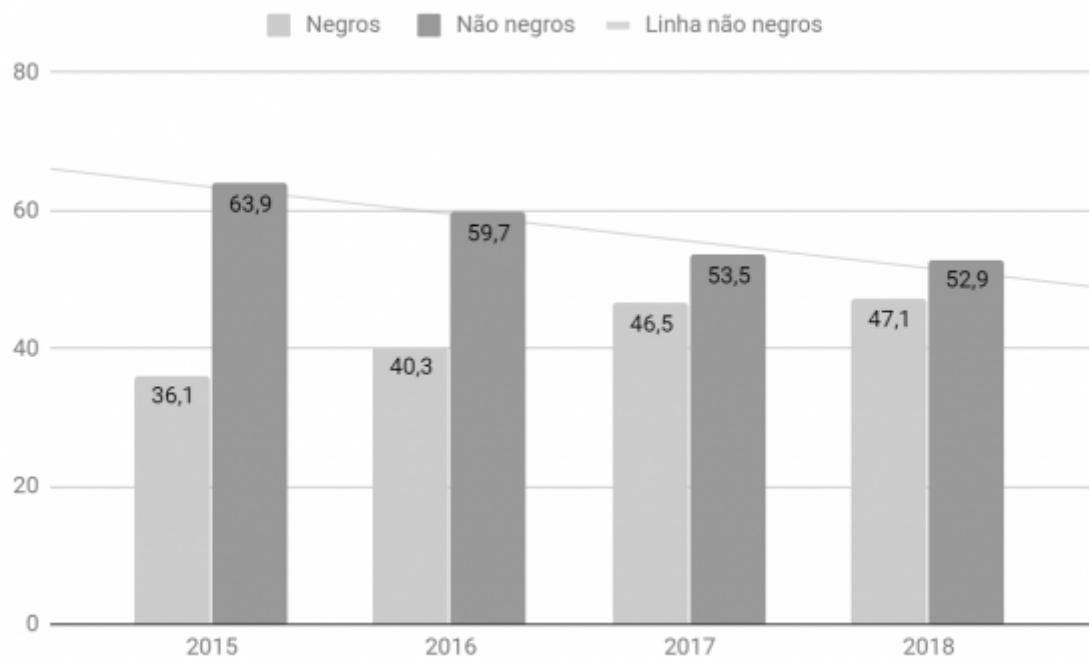
Figure 1: Graph 1 :

2006*, 2015, 2016, 2017 e 2018



1

Figure 2: Image 1 :



2

Figure 3: Image 2 :

Perfil dos homicídios dos jovens: 2015-2018

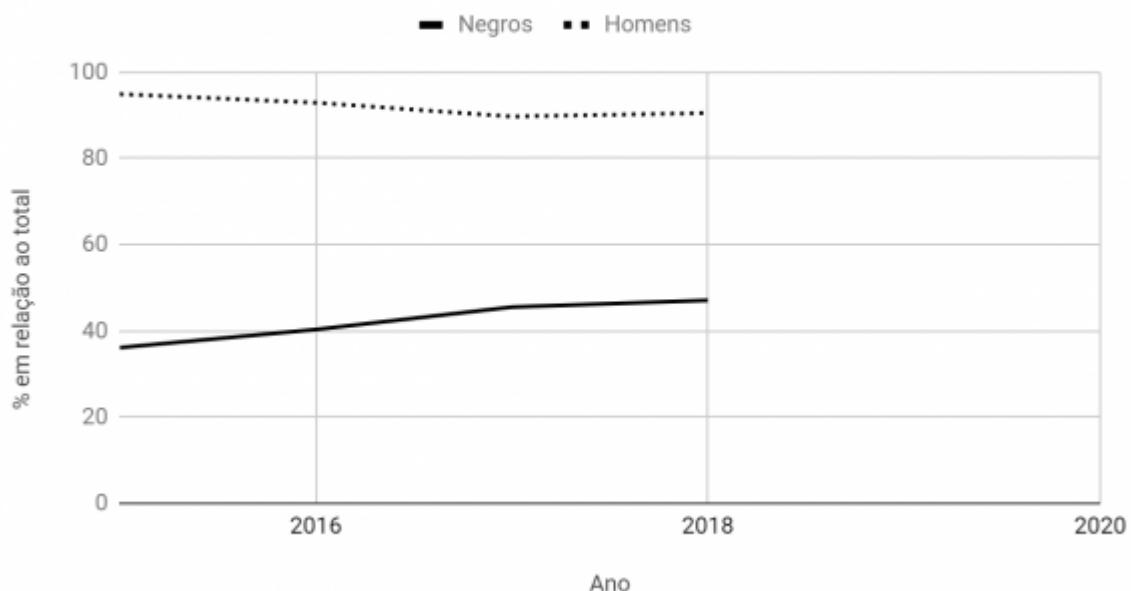


Figure 4:

¹Death Territories: Visibility of Juvenile Residents of Porto Alegre who were Victims of Homicide in 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018

²to 34 years 28,7 29,6 26,8 29,5 28,8 35 to 49 years 24,6 20,3 18,2 23,8 23,4 50 to 59 years 6,2 5,6 5,2 3,9 4,1
More than 60 years 3,9 3,3 4,8 4,6 4,4 Source: SIM/Porto Alegre Health Department; * SANTOS; RUSSO 2010, p. 219

³© 2020 Global Journals

⁴© 2020 Global Journals Volume XX Issue II Version I 52 (H)

⁵_____. Atlas da Violência 2017. Rio de Janeiro: Fórum Brasileiro de segurança pública, 2017.

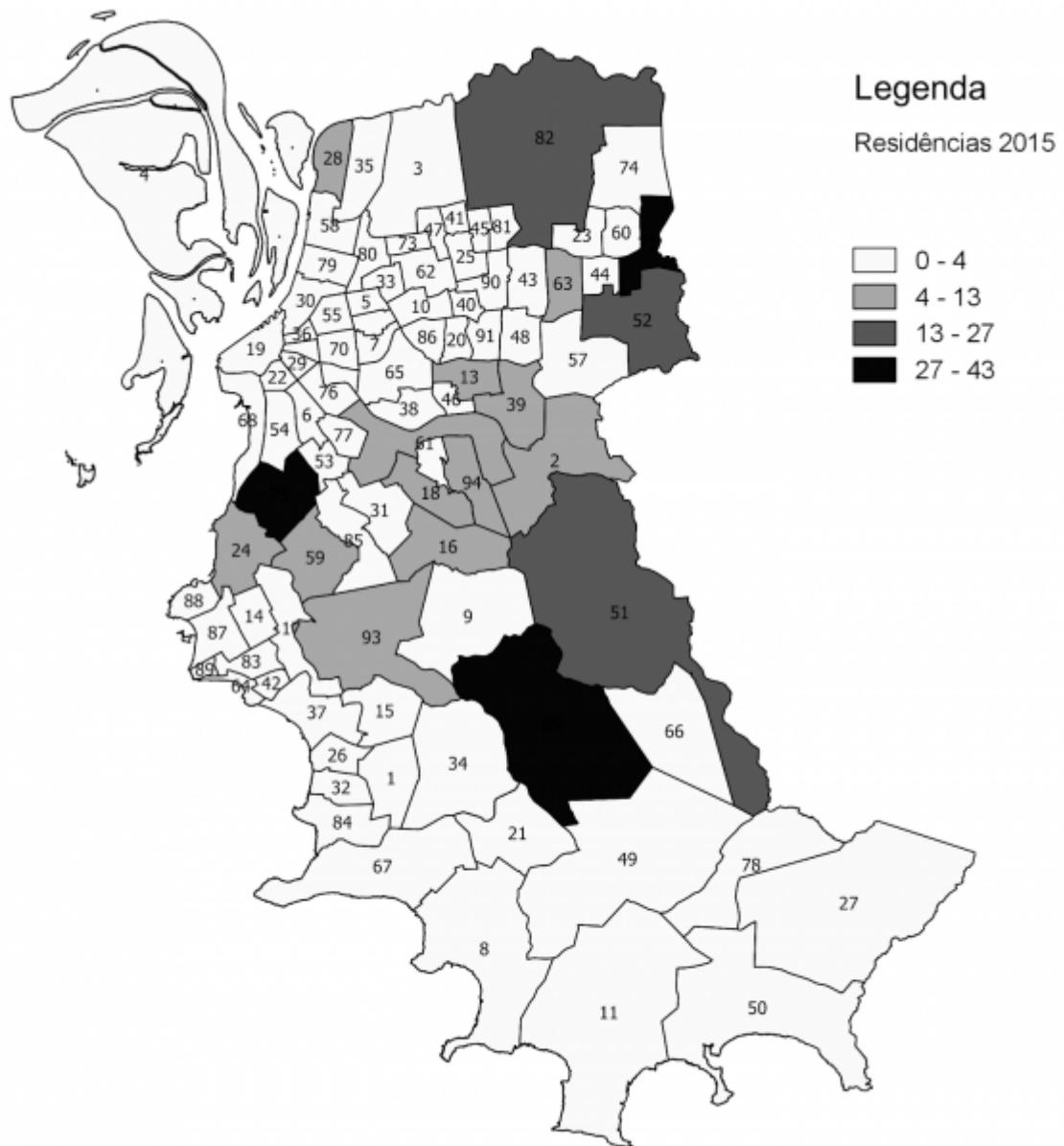


Figure 5:

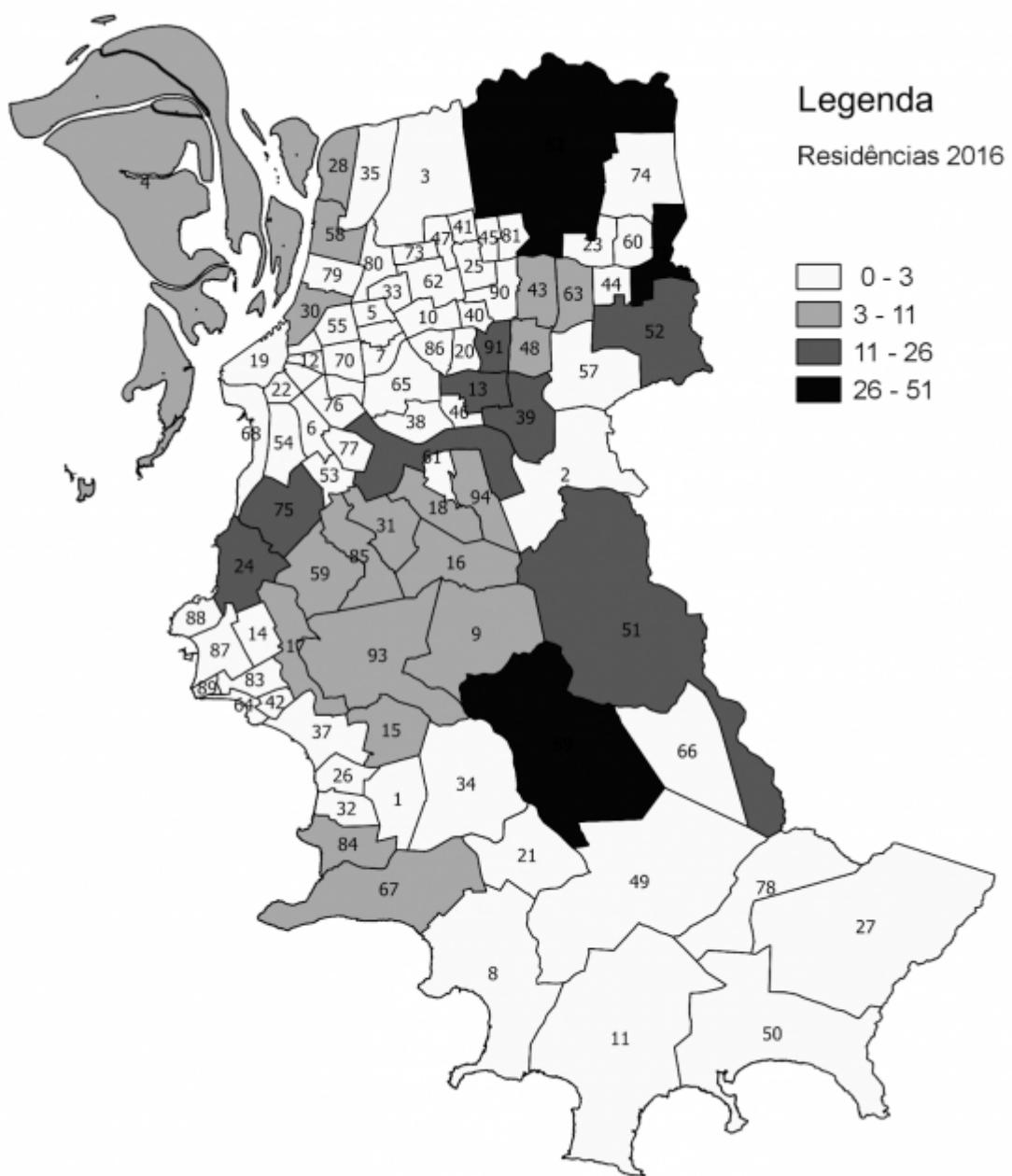


Figure 6:

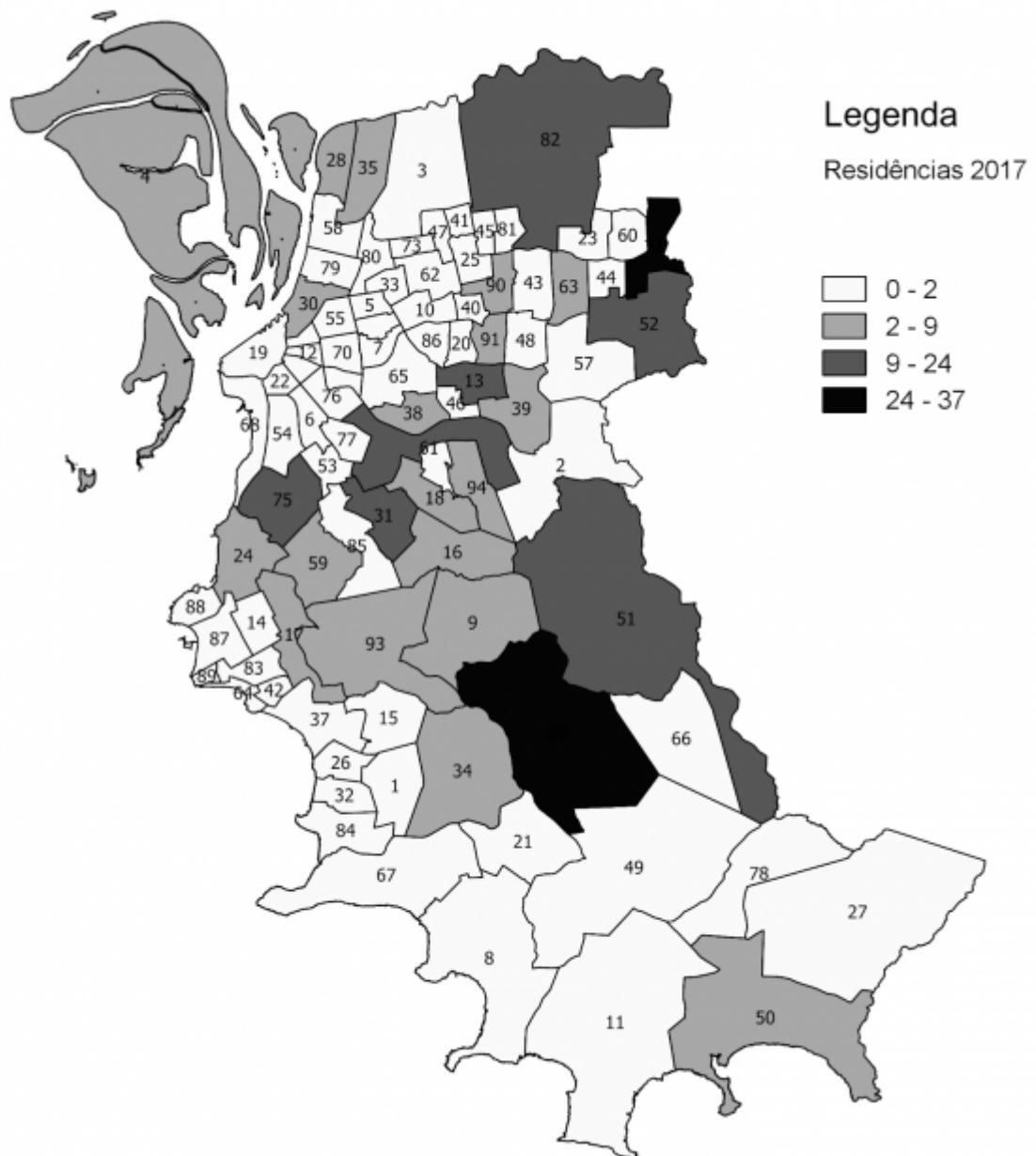


Figure 7:

In a specific study on homicides and youth in Brazil published in 2013, it was shown that the city of Porto Alegre, between 2001 and 2011, maintained its homicide rate of the total population in a certain pattern, reaching the minimum rate in 2006 (35.5 homicides per 100 thousand inhabitants) and the maximum rate of 47.3 in 2007 (WAISELFISZ, 2013, p. 48). The rate of change for the period was only 1.3%. However, with regard to the specific homicide rate of the young population, the variation reached 18.3% in the same period, with a rate of 114.4 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 2007 (ibidem, p. 57).

Figure 8:

1

	Homicides in Porto Alegre (FEE) (SIM)	Population (FEE)	Rate per 100 thousand inhabitants
2015	625	1.465.428	42,6 homicides/100 thousand inhabitants
2016	746	1.464.231	50,9 homicides/100 thousand inhabitants
2017	601	1.468.301	40,9 homicides/100 thousand inhabitants

Figure 9: Table 1 :

2

Age range	% of total homicides in Porto Alegre	2006*			
		2015	2016	2017	2018
Up to 14 anos	1,8	2,7	1,7	0,8	1,4
15 to 19 years	12,5	18,7	21,9	18,1	18,8
20 to 24 years	21,5	19,2	21,2	19,5	19

Figure 10: Table 2 :

Figure 11:

Year 2020
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Figure 12: Table 3 :

Restinga	Santa Tereza	Rubem Berta	Sarandi	Lomba Pinheiro	do	Mario Quin- tana	% do Total
2015 37 (10,5%)	33 (9,4%)	43 (12,3%)	16 (4,6%)	23 (6,6%)	27 (7,6%)	51	
2016 51 (10,9%)	23 (4,6%)	43 (9,2%)	35 (7,5%)	23 (4,9%)	26 (5,6%)	42,7	
2017 37(10, 2%)	18 (5%)	32 (8,8%)	19 (5,3%)	24 (6,6%)	22 (6,1%)	41,2	

Figure 13: Table 4 :

373 Most of these occurred in the metropolitan region of Porto Alegre, in the cities of "Alvorada", "Gravataí"
374 and "Viamão". In 2015, 9 homicides were rehistered in "Alvorada" (1.3%), 3 in "Gravataí" (0.4%) and 15 in
375 "Viamão" (2.2%). In 2016, there was an increase in cases in "Alvorada", with 21 reported deaths (2.6%), while
376 "Gravataí" and "Viamão" recorded a slight decrease in proportional distribution (0.2%; 1.6%) of cases. In 2017,
377 there was a decrease in the frequency of homicides in "Alvorada", which had 10 homicides (1.5%), and an increase
378 in "Gravataí", with 10 reported deaths (1.5%), while "Viamão" maintained the average of other years (2.1%). In
379 2018, there is a decrease in the frequency of homicides in "Gravataí" and "Alvorada", amounting, respectively,
380 to only 2 (0.7%) and 6 (6.1%) homicides. while "Viamão" registered 14 homicides (4.9%).

381 Regarding the occurrences recorded in the city of Porto Alegre, 7 neighborhoods emerge as the places with
382 the highest concentration of homicides: "Rubem Berta", "Bom Fim", "Cristo Redentor", "Restinga", "Santa
383 Tereza", "Lomba do Pinheiro" and "Sarandi".

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