

***THE ELDERLY IN TEFÉ AND THE DIFFERENT CONTEXTS OF VIOLENCE:
WHICH PATHS TO FOLLOW?***

O IDOSO DE TEFÉ ANTE OS DIFERENTES CONTEXTOS DE VIOLÊNCIA: QUE CAMINHOS SEGUIR?

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RESUMO

A violência contra o idoso é uma realidade presente no meio familiar, privado, público e social. Isso exige que os gestores públicos criem políticas públicas eficazes que visem proteger a população idosa do País. Nesse sentido, o objetivo deste artigo é discutir o papel do Estado na formulação de políticas públicas para o enfrentamento da violência sofrida por idosos, a fim de gerar reflexão sobre a temática. Trata-se de pesquisa bibliográfica realizada em artigos e livros, associada à pesquisa de campo, com abordagem quali-quantitativa, realizada nos órgãos públicos do Município de Tefé (AM): Delegacia de Polícia de Atenção ao Idoso, Secretaria Municipal de Assistência Social e Centro Municipal de Convivência da Família. A conclusão aponta que as políticas públicas de enfrentamento à violência contra idosos devem se pautar em três níveis de prevenção: primário, no sentido de prevenir a ocorrência de violência;

secundário, baseado em ações com as famílias, detectando a presença de fatores de risco para os idosos; e, por fim, o terciário, com políticas que visam reduzir as consequências dos episódios de violência.

Palavras-Chave: Políticas Públicas. Violência. Idoso. Tefé (AM).

ABSTRACT

Violence against the elderly is a reality present in the family, private, public and social environment. This requiring public managers to create effective public policies that aim to protect the country's elderly population. In this sense, the objective of this article is to discuss the role of the State in the formulation of public policies to face the violence suffered by the elderly, in order to generate a reflection on this theme. This research is bibliographic research carried out in articles and books, associated with field research in a quantitative and qualitative approach, carried out with public agencies in the Municipality of Tefé (AM): Police Station Specialized in Elderly Care, Municipal Assistance Secretariat Social and the Municipal Council for the Elderly. The conclusion points out that public policies to combat violence against the elderly must be based on three levels of prevention: primary, in the sense of preventing violence from happening; secondary, based on actions with families, detecting the presence of risk factors for the elderly, and, finally, the tertiary level, with policies that aim to reduce the consequences caused by episodes of violence.

KEYWORDS: Public Policies. Violence. Elderly. Tefé (AM).

1 INTRODUCTION

One can not deny the fact that the elderly population, aged 60 years or more, has been gradually increasing worldwide, and in Brazil it is not different. The Brazilian scenario points to a relevant growth in the elderly population, both in proportional and absolute numbers. According to the projections of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the elderly population in Brazil, in 2018, corresponded to 13.5% of the entire Brazilian population. In ten years, it is estimated that it will reach 17.4% of the total population. For 2042, the projection of the elderly population is even higher, reaching 24.5%, that is, we will have a population of 57 million elderly people (MELLIS, 2018).

As statistical projections point to the growth of the elderly population in Brazil, we observe that the phenomenon of violence against the elderly is also

growing, or rather, appearing. For many years, violence against them was almost exclusively restricted to the family environment, therefore, of a private nature, which made any intervention by the State difficult. With this, we highlight the reflection of the elaboration of the Manual to Confront Violence against the Elderly:

O abuso contra a pessoa idosa é um problema que remonta a tempos passados e sempre esteve presente em todos os tipos de sociedade. E é uma ilusão pensar que as sociedades de qualquer tempo tratavam bem essa população, pois a história não mostra isso na maioria dos casos. Preconceito e discriminação são as formas mais antigas, comuns e frequentes de violência contra os velhos/as (Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidência da República, 2014. p. 5).

The aging process of the population has awakened society to the issues related to violence against the elderly, creating opportunities and potential permanent spaces for debate, highlighting the various faces of violence. We must emphasize that violence against the elderly is not a contemporary phenomenon. It is a problem of cultural and historical roots (BEAUVOIR, 2018).

It is well known that the theme of violence is broad and complex, and does not only involve issues related to public health and safety. Its context is marked by social, economic, political, cultural, emotional, class, gender, etc. Aspects that can not be ignored or neglected. We also point out that violence against the elderly was one of the last to be addressed by the public agenda (NERI, 2011). However, the increase in the number of elderly people in the world has provided this portion of the population with more visibility regarding the need to formulate specific public policies aimed at their protection and safety.

Based on the above, it is essential to effectively guarantee laws that provide, broadly, the protection of this segment of the population, which currently corresponds to 30 million of the national population (IBGE, 2017). It is necessary to emphasize the difficulty of measuring in numbers the violence suffered by the elderly, because, in large part, this violence occurs in the family environment, being hidden by the family. Another factor that corroborates this reality is that health professionals, public safety, caregivers, Judges, lawyers, among others, still do not have a trained eye to detect these situations, which can generate inaccurate records about the source of the data.

It is important to remember that violence is a complex phenomenon, as it involves different aspects and manifests itself in different ways, being necessary

to study it under a plural and interdisciplinary perspective. In this type of violence, the identification and correct forwarding are vital for the victimized elderly people to have their fundamental rights guaranteed and their physical and emotional integrity preserved.

The choice of the theme comes from the need to awaken in the reader a deeper and more critical look about the importance of public policies aimed at the elderly, as well as to analyze their effectiveness in confronting violence. "As a public issue, the phenomenon of aging must be focused positively on human development. Therefore, thinking of old age as a public issue is quite different from treating it as a social problem" (MINAYO, COIMBRA JR., 2002, p. 24).

Thus, it is necessary and urgent to propose frank debates that stimulate the mobilization of society, as a whole, on issues related to the protection and support of the elderly, highlighting the need to understand the aspects inherent to the aging process in order to propose healthy aging and quality of life as recommended by the WHO¹.

Having as prerogative chapter II of art. 10 of the Statute of the Elderly, which establishes as an obligation of the State and civil society to guarantee freedom, respect, and dignity to the elderly, we consider the violation of the fundamental human rights of this large portion of the population of our country an act of violence.

The concept of violence, due to its various types of expressions and manifestations, has not yet found consensus in the specialized literature, partly because it is a complex phenomenon. Thus, we will work as a definition of violence the concept developed by the World Health Organization (WHO) and adopted by the Elderly Statute (2003), which defines violence as

O uso intencional da força física ou do poder, real ou em ameaça, contra si próprio, contra outra pessoa, ou contra um grupo ou uma comunidade, que resulte ou tenha grande possibilidade de resultarem lesão, morte, dano psicológico, deficiência de desenvolvimento ou privação. (Organização Mundial de Saúde, 2005, p. 15)

Violence against the elderly can be conceived in two ways: invisible or visible. Invisible violence is that which does not leave marks on the body, but produces pain and suffering. Visible violence, on the other hand, is physical violence that

¹ De acordo com a Organização Mundial da Saúde, o envelhecimento saudável consiste no reconhecimento dos direitos humanos das pessoas mais velhas e na valorização dos princípios referentes à: independência, participação, dignidade, assistência e autorrealização.

causes injuries and even death. "The nature of violence against the elderly can manifest itself in several ways, summarized here: physical, psychological, sexual abuse, abandonment, neglect, financial abuse, and self-neglect" (SECRETARIA DE DIREITOS HUMANOS DA PRE- SIDÊNCIA DA REPÚBLICA, 2014, p. 39).

Therefore, we begin the discussion with some definitions that can help us understand this social phenomenon that is violence against the elderly. This will also help us in the critical analysis of the public policies developed in the municipality of Tefé² (AM) regarding the prevention and combat of violence against this group, hoping that the public actions, already provided for in the national legislation, are in fact put into practice.

2 THE AGING OF THE BRAZILIAN POPULATION: A NEW REALITY OF THE 21ST CENTURY

In anthropology, old age is conceived as part of the cycle of life, one of the stages we go through: childhood, adolescence, youth, adulthood, and old age. This understanding of life as a cycle goes beyond a biological conception. It also represents a cultural aspect, by which the role and place of each person in the social, political, and economic context of a specific society is organized, thus determining the obligations, rights, and duties of each subject according to his or her chronological age.

In this logic, the old man is conceived as "the wise man aureolate with white hair, rich in experience and venerable [...]; if they move away from him, they fall into another extreme: the image that opposes the first is that of the mad old man who lapses and is delirious and whom the children mock" (BEAUVOIR, 2018, p. 9).

According to Minayo and Coimbra Jr. (2002), society is marked by behaviors and attitudes that denote prejudice towards the elderly population, i.e., those who are 60 years old or older. The author points to the need to break with the stereotypes of old age, "removing from their foreheads the repressive stripe on which it is written that being old is to put on grandpa pajamas or grandma slippers, tell stories of the past, stop daring and prepare for death" (MINAYO; COIMBRA JR., 2002, p. 23).

² A cidade fica às margens do lago Tefé, formado pelo alargamento do rio que possui o mes- mo nome da cidade, tendo como um dos seus afluentes o Rio Solimões situado a sua margem direita. A extensão territorial do município corresponde a 23.704,475km² com uma densidade demográfica de 2,59hab/km². Os municípios fronteiriços com Tefé são Coari, Tapauá, Carauari, Alvarães e Maraã. O acesso à cidade se faz exclusivamente por via fluvial ou aérea. (IBGE, 2010)

From this point of view, the perspective of a dignified and respectful aging still runs into prejudiced and stereotyped conceptions that associate old age with weakness, loss of autonomy, and decrepitude. In general, in industrialized societies, the State protects the old from actions in which physical violence is obvious, but fails to recognize that aging is not the same for everyone. We understand that aging with quality of life, even in a scenario of prejudice, consists in guaranteeing the elderly access to goods and services, by means of public policies that translate into real gains in daily life.

In this context, we realize that society tends to ostracize the elderly, but forgets that nothing is more certain than the individuals' way towards aging. We can not ignore that, in the cycle of life, aging is a natural process, which involves being born, growing up, getting old, and dying, inherent to all living beings. Thus, aging is a certain way, and the growth of the elderly population has led to a significant increase in gray-haired walkers on this way.

When we analyze society's actions directed to the elderly, we observe a paradox, because at the same time that solutions are sought from the theoretical and clinical point of view to provide them with a longer life expectancy, at other times old age inspires a certain repugnance. This repugnance manifests itself as self-defense against the functional limitations, the wear and tear on the body, the creases on the cheeks, the slurred voice, the slower walk, and the fragility of the movements. "It is the verdict that marks old age as a problem and as a disease" (MINAYO; COIMBRA JR., 2002, p. 12).

The prejudice against old age associated with the denial of population aging has been configured as an obstacle to the formulation of specific public policies for the elderly. It is still common to come across thoughts that associate childhood with investment, and old age with expenses. This fact leads to a process of marginalization of the elderly population by propagating age related stereotypes.

So, the depreciative view of old age affects public policies by relating it to the social cost. The elderly are now perceived as a subject that burdens public accounts, especially the health system.

O discurso sobre o peso social que hoje aos velhos constituem, tem nesta instância pública um lugar entronizado. [...] Portanto, o aparato do Estado tende a ver de forma catastrófica as próprias instituições político-sociais que criou para atender os idosos (MINAYO; COIMBRA JR., 2002, p. 18).

The Brazilian State has a role – not unique, but fundamental – in protecting and assisting the elderly. However, what we currently notice is that public policies aimed at the elderly are still far from providing healthy aging. What we see in practice is the absence or insufficiency of specific policies aimed at this group. Despite the advances in Brazilian legislation to guarantee the fundamental rights of the elderly, the State is still inefficient in the exercise of its functions of resoluteness and integrity. This fact constitutes violence against the elderly, since the laws exist, but there is a lack of interest and willingness to comply with them.

According to Article 3 of the Elderly Statute, it is the responsibility of the family, the community, society, and the government to share responsibilities that make public policies more appropriate to the needs of this significant portion of the population. However, the Brazilian State still has a deficit when it comes to promote qualified and competent public assistance.

The report by the United Nations Population Fund³, despite recognizing that in recent years there have been significant advances in the adoption of public policies and laws guaranteeing social rights for the elderly, warns that the great challenge of the 21st century is to ensure healthy aging. Thus, it points to the need to direct more efforts to ensure that older people can achieve their potential.

The World Health Organization (WHO) also indicates that population aging is one of humanity's greatest triumphs, but represents one of the greatest challenges facing society. Studies show that the proportion of people aged 60 and over is growing faster than that of any other age group, which will increase political, social and economic demands all over the world.

In Brazil, the aging of the population is a fast phenomenon. The impact of this new demographic organization is immense, especially on the demands of this part of the population for public policies. Thereby, the problems resulting from population aging must be considered as a priority for policy makers. In other words, public policies must be designed so that they can contribute to a healthy

³ UNITED NATIONS POPULATION FOUND (BRASIL). Envelhecimento no Século XXI: Celebração e Desafio. Madrid: UNFPA, 2012. O relatório Envelhecimento no Século XXI: Celebração e Desafio foram aprovados pela II Assembleia Mundial do Envelhecimento, realizada em Madri, em 2002. Seu objetivo consistiu em tratar os desafios trazidos pelo rápido envelhecimento da população.

aging process, based on humanistic actions and, at the same time, compatible with the socioeconomic reality of the country.

3 THE CHALLENGES OF THE PROTECTION NETWORK TO FACE THE VIOLATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE ELDERLY

In Brazil, the first initiatives of public policies aimed at the elderly were given by the social struggles of segments of non-governmental organizations, both national and international. In the international scenario, the highlight was the First World Assembly on Aging, held in Vienna in 1982, which raised the banner of healthy aging.

The incorporation of this concept by the Brazilian Constitution, in 1988, meant the recognition of the rights of the elderly, the result of massive claims by various segments of civil society. Thus, article 230 of the Federal Constitution represented a landmark when it pointed out that "The family, the society and the State have the duty to support the elderly, ensuring their participation in the community, defending their dignity and well-being and guaranteeing them the right to life" (BRASIL, 1988).

The National Policy for the Elderly, enacted in 1994 and regulated in 1996, ensured the fundamental rights of the elderly, representing an important advance in the defense of the fundamental rights of the elderly.

A Política Nacional do Idoso; Lei 8842/94 determina em dois artigos um reforço a Constituição de 1988: Art. 1º A política nacional do idoso tem por objetivo assegurar os direitos sociais do idoso, criando condições para promover sua autonomia, integração e participação efetiva na sociedade. Art. 2º Considera-se idoso, para os efeitos desta lei, a pessoa maior de sessenta anos de idade (Política Nacional do Idoso, 1994).

In this sense, the National Policy for the Elderly represented a breakthrough by guaranteeing autonomy, integration, and effective participation of the elderly in society, reaffirming their constitutional rights and providing favorable conditions to achieve longevity with quality of life.

In turn, the approval of the Elderly Statute, in 2003, guaranteed new devices designed to regulate the rights of the elderly, incorporating, in a single device, laws and policies postulated for the elderly population in the country. In this way, the Statute redirected the priorities of public policy actions, consolidating the

rights already celebrated in the 1988 Federal Constitution, especially in the protection of the elderly in situations of social risk.

The Organic Law of Social Assistance 3*] C00/4 (Law no. 8,742, of 1993) ratified and regulated articles 203 and 204 of the 1988 Federal Constitution, guaranteeing the elderly access to social policies, assigning to the social service professional the role of intervening in welfare services, aiming to support the population whose rights have been violated.

In 2011, Law number 12.435, of July 6th, 2011⁵ (SUAS Law) definitively ensured the institutionality of the United Social Assistance System (SUAS) in Brazil, which allowed the creation of the Specialized Social Assistance Reference Center (CREAS). The purpose of this Center is to offer services, programs, and projects, such as the Service of Protection and Specialized Care for Families and Individuals (PAEFI), aimed at the elderly in situations of abandonment, physical or psychological violence, sexual abuse or neglect, to support the population with violated rights. While the Social Assistance Reference Center (CRAS) has its activities focused on actions to prevent social risk situations. The Social Assistance Reference Centers are spaces where actions related to the Social Assistance and Strengthening of Links Services (SCFV) are promoted. To do so, it is necessary that family ties have not yet been completely broken.

In addition to the agencies linked to Public Policies, the Civil Police also plays an important role. It is their responsibility to register occurrences in person, by means of the Occurrence Report (OR), as well as to verify the veracity of the information collected in the complaints made by Dial 100/180.

We must emphasize that Dial 100 was initially created to report abuses against children and adolescents. However, the Secretariat for Human Rights of the Presidency of the Republic (SDH/PR), in 2003, expanded its services to also receive reports involving violations of the rights of vulnerable social groups such as the elderly, women, the disabled, gays and lesbians.

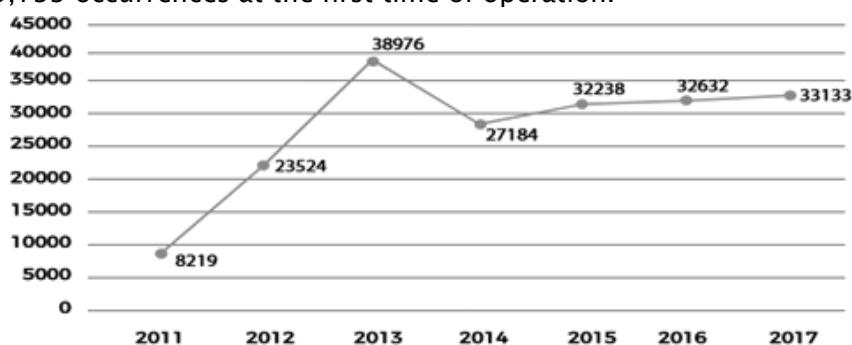
It is an important channel of communication between civil society and the government, which makes it possible to know and evaluate the dimension of

⁴ BRASIL. Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social. Conselho Nacional de Assistência Social. Lei nº 8.742/93, de 07 de dezembro de 1993. Lei Orgânica da Assistência Social. Brasília, DF: CNAE 1998. Dispõe sobre a organização da Assistência Social e dá outras providências. Lei Orgânica da Assistência Social - LOAS. http://www.mds.gov.br/cnas/legislacao/leis/arquivos/lei-08-742-07-12-1993-loas-consolidada-lei-12-470_2011.pdf/download

⁵ BRASIL. Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social. Conselho Nacional de Assistência Social. Lei nº 12.435, de 06 de julho de 2011. Brasília, DF: MDS, 2011. Lei que altera a Lei nº 8.742/93, de 7 de dezembro de 1993. Disponível em: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2011-2014/2011/Lei/L12435.htm. Acesso em: 20 de fev. 2020.

violence against human rights and the protection system, thus guiding the formulation of public policies. In other words, the attributions that Dial 100 performs go far beyond a channel for denunciation, as it guides in the identification of vulnerabilities, helping in the elaboration and implementation of adequate policies.

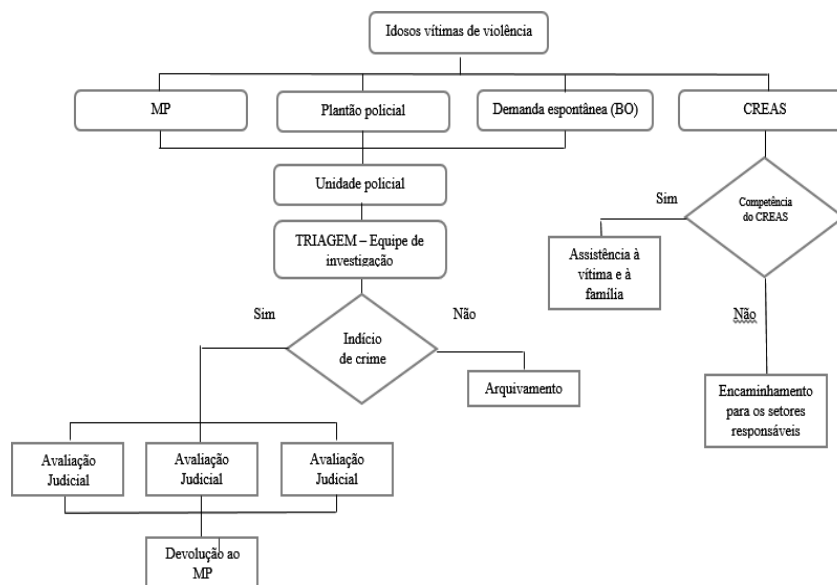
To demonstrate the relevance of considering the data provided by Dial 100, we illustrate the quantity of reports of violence against elderly people, that is, 33,133 occurrences at the first time of operation.



Fonte: Ministério de Estado dos Direitos Humanos (2018) Figura 1 – Denúncias referentes a Pessoas Idosas

Through the aforementioned data, we observe that the Brazilian State, over the past decades, has presented a great advance in the promotion of the Rights of the Elderly guaranteed by the Constitution, which served as a basis for the guidelines of the National Policy, as well as the Statute of the Elderly. However, the numbers show that these legal devices have not been efficient in combating violence against the elderly. This fact may be associated to issues that range from the contradictions of the legal texts themselves, to the ignorance of their content by much of the population.

To illustrate the ways taken by the elderly victim of violence, a flowchart was built based on observations made during visits to the Specialized Assistance Police Station and the Specialized Assistance Reference Center (CREAS).



Fonte: Fluxograma construído a partir das informações coletadas nas entrevistas Figura 2 – Fluxograma da rede de proteção pessoa idosa vítima de violência

We emphasize that there are other ways for the elderly person whose rights have been violated to request the intervention of the Public Power. These are through protective measures that can be consolidated by the Council for the Elderly, the Public Defender's Office, the State Prosecution, and the Unified Health System (SUS). However, our study prioritized the ways taken by the elderly through the Police Station, CREAS and CRAS. The latter, with the Municipal Center for Family Coexistence (CMCF) as a reference.

In short, we can say that the protective measures were designed to allow more agility in the identification and intervention in situations involving the violation of the rights of the elderly. In cases of violence and/or against the elderly, time is a fundamental element due to the gravity of some situations, which can result in fatal outcomes. However, some obstacles such as bureaucracy, lack of infrastructured and human resources of public agencies, in addition to excessive demand, can compromise the resolution of cases, which makes it slow and inefficient, giving the victim the feeling of impunity.

4 METHODOLOGICAL WAYS

The methodological way adopted was based on three unfoldings that articulated with each other: bibliographical survey, we consulted the catalogs of the libraries we visited, congress annals, and articles from magazines specialized in the theme. The present study was also based on electronic research,

understood as an important field of knowledge that allowed us access to an extensive database such as: SciELO, Academic Google, Electronic Library Online and Portal of Capes. After analyzing this information, we highlight the points that guided our reflections, as well as the construction of the research's thematic axes.

The exploratory research of qualitative and quantitative approach was used in order to seek regularities, patterns, and relationships that would allow a holistic view of the reality studied. In this context, we resorted to statistical analysis for the interpretation of data collection, using as primary source records of occurrences, identification of aggressors, gender issues, and the type of violence suffered.

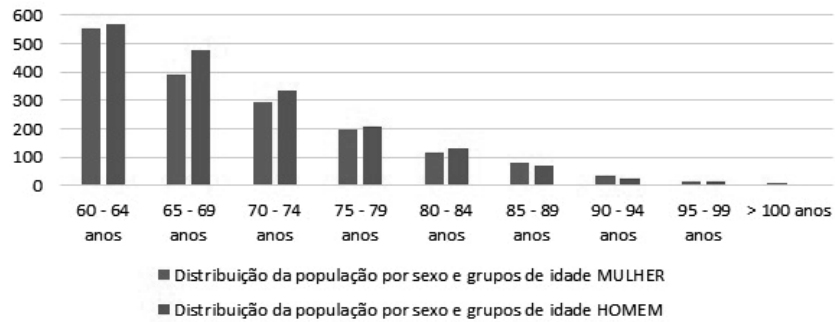
The study was based on three institutions that work to protect the rights of the elderly in the city of Tefé: the Police Station, linked to the Secretariat of Public Safety, the Specialized Reference Center for Social Assistance (CREAS) and the Municipal Center for Family Coexistence (CMCF), linked to the Reference Center for Social Assistance (CRAS). It should be noted that both CREAS and CRAS are agencies linked to the Municipal Secretariat of Social Assistance and Citizenship.

The studied population consisted of people aged 60 years or older, of both genders, without distinction of social class, who entered the protection network for the violation of their rights, in the period from January to July 2019. The participant group in the CMCF totaled 12 elderly people, 6 women and 6 men, with an age range between 60 and 89 years. The instrument for data collection was the structured interview script with open-ended questions, whose focus was based on the different faces (DOUBT IF IT WOULD NOT BE "STAGES") and the contexts of violence to the elderly person.

At the end of data collection, we began the process of analyzing, classifying, and interpreting the information collected. This stage demanded a great effort so that it would not become a simple compilation of data or opinions about the theme. Thus, we sought to organize and classify our analyses based on three categories: public policies, types of violence, and aggressors. In this sense, considering the points of divergence and convergence, trends, regularities.

5 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

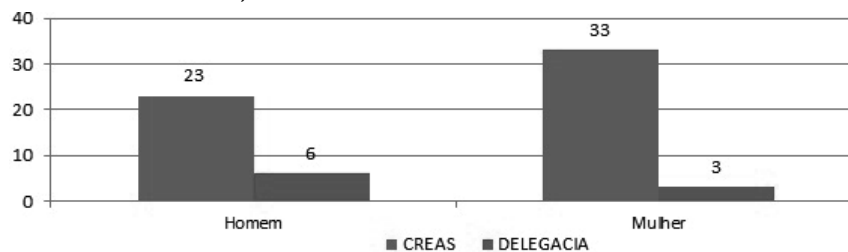
The research was conducted in the municipality of Tefé (AM), which has an estimated elderly population of 3,511⁶, 1,826 men and 1,685 women. The material selected for data collection was restricted to the period of the first semester of 2019, and the cutout was the Specialized Police Station, CREAS, and the Living Together Center linked to CRAS.



Fonte: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE)

Figura 3 – População Idosa de Tefé, 2010

It was possible to verify during data collection that the way taken by the elderly when their rights were violated was different. Men had a more effective presence at the police station, while women chose to file complaints at the CREAS. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the reports filed at the police station are related to physical threats and bodily harm. In the CREAS, the issues are linked to intra-family conflicts, in which women continue to be the main victims of domestic violence, as shown below.

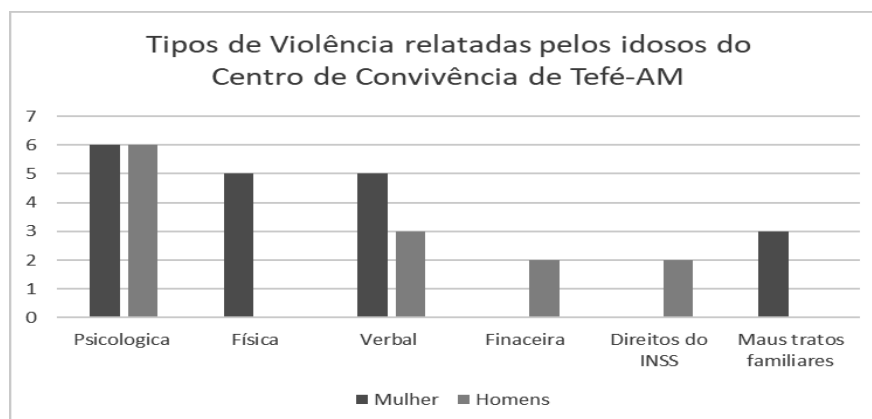


Fonte: Dados obtidos na Delegacia e no CREAS
Figura 4 – Relação de Gênero

Based on the data obtained in the Living Together Center, we observed that the gender issue is a dimension that should not be ignored in the context of violence against the elderly. We must consider the need for a deeper analysis regarding the crossings present in the lives of elderly women in situations of violence, especially domestic violence. For example, it has been observed that men are more prone to financial violence arising from love affairs with younger

⁶ Números divulgados pelo Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE) no censo de 2010.

women. Women, on the other hand, are more vulnerable to physical and verbal abuse in the domestic and family environment. Often implied as mistreatment. Regarding psychological violence, both genders showed similar complaints. As evidenced below.

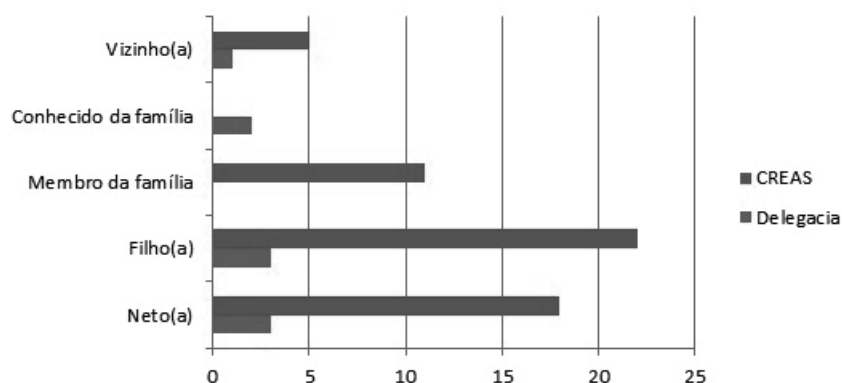


Fonte: CMCF

Figura 5 – Tipos de violência relatados pelos idosos do CMCF em Tefé, 2020

As for the profile of the aggressor, it was observed that many elderly people are victims of their own family members, precisely those who should protect and safeguard them. This points to the complexity of the problem, a situation that challenges public agencies in combating aggressors. Another relevant factor is that the aging phenomenon is a relatively new process for society, the State, and families; thus, no effective roles and strategies have yet been defined to respond satisfactorily to the demands of the elderly. In this sense, it is of great relevance to run advertising campaigns that address the theme, even guiding the elderly about their rights. In this sense, giving more visibility to the aging process, allowing it to be better understood, in view of the growing contingent of elderly people in our country.

Further deepening the data analysis, it is observed that the social protection agencies – CREAS – are more sought after than the Public Security agencies – Police Station, which can be justified by the fact that the aggressors are family members, or people very close to the elderly, as presented below.

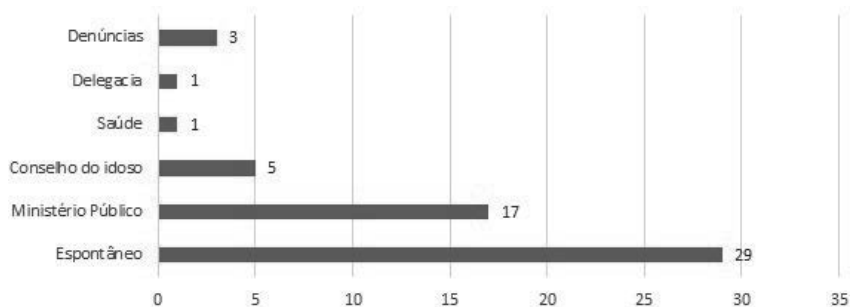


Fonte: Dados obtidos na Delegacia e no CREAS

Figura 6 – Identificação dos Agressores

Finally, the data shows that many elderly do not report their aggressors because they are family members and, therefore, fear reprisals that would make family life even more difficult. In this sense, it was found that the torturers of the elderly maintain the following characteristics: (I) blood ties with the elderly: they live in the same house as the victim and depend on the elderly or the elderly depend on them; (II) they abuse alcohol and drugs.

We found that there are no public policies in the municipality of Tefé to welcome these aggressors, seeking to provide opportunities or even reassess their conduct towards the elderly in order to resignify their act of violence. Such a measure could help strengthen affective bonds, besides contributing to improve the indices of violence against the elderly in the municipality. In this scenario, we observed that what causes, in general, the practice of violence against the elderly is due to the abusive use of alcohol, mentioned by four of the twelve elderly interviewed.



Fonte: CREAS de Tefé (AM)

Figura 7 – Ingresso na Rede de Proteção via CREAS

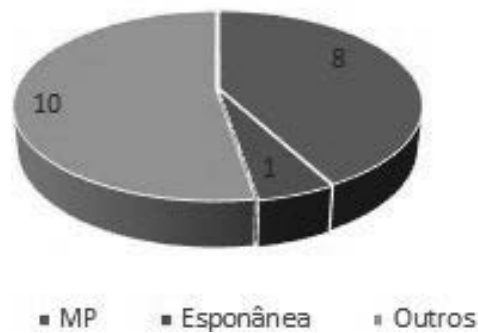
It was also noticed that the elderly who seek the protective measures do not want the punishment of their aggressors, who are mostly family members, but only the negotiated resolution of conflicts that generate acts of violence. This was evident when we detected that in CREAS 56 cases of rights violation were attended in the first semester of 2019, while in the Police Station, only 19 attendances were registered, as evidenced by the following data.

For all these reasons, we conclude that the elderly who enter the protection network, via the Police Station and/or CREAS, have different interests in relation to their cases. The cases of violation of the rights of the elderly that arrive at the police station are, for the most part, forwarded to the Public Prosecutor's Office. This allowed us to identify the existence of a flow of services between the institutions in regards to the complaints of violation of the rights of the elderly, even though they formally exercise separate functions.

These data were ratified by the testimony of the elderly at the CMCF, which showed that the aggressors, in their great majority, are close relatives, such as husbands, wives, partners, children, grandchildren, nephews and nieces and cousins. This reinforces our thesis that it is in the family environment that the elderly are more vulnerable to contexts of violence. It must be emphasized that the affective and consanguineous bonds sometimes prevent them from denouncing their aggressors.

As a general rule, the cases of violation of the rights of the elderly that reach the State Prosecutor's Office are the result of denunciations coming from Dial 100. These are then forwarded to the Tefé Police Station, which will make the notifications and take the statements of the parties involved in the complaint. However, the data have not shown reliability, to the point of providing an exact number of complaints made through this channel by citizens. The records do not follow a specific pattern of filling out and, in some cases, are not even part of the statistics.

In Tefé, the most sought after institution for reporting violations of the rights of the elderly is the State Prosecution. Many elderly people believe that, by going directly to the State Prosecutor's Office, their complaints will be solved with more agility and less bureaucracy. This fact does not correspond to reality, as the complaints are obligatorily forwarded to the police station for the opening of a police investigation, and then returned to the State Prosecutor's Office.



Fonte: Delegacia Especializada de Tefé (AM)

Figura 8 – Ingresso na Rede de Proteção, via Delegacia

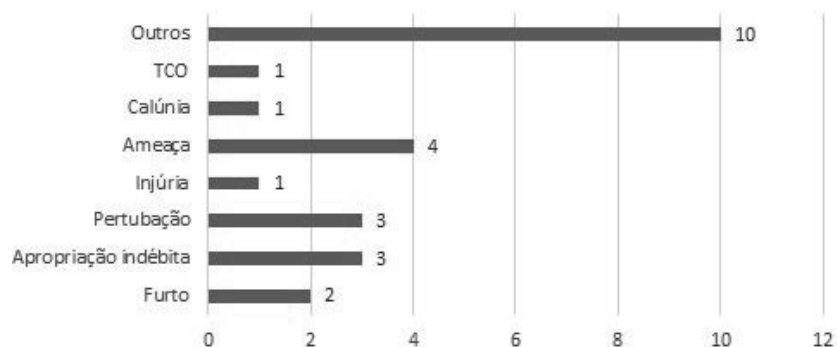
As far as CREAS is concerned, the demand occurs spontaneously, in general by the elderly people themselves. However, we notice that its professionals are being underused by other public agencies, mainly the social worker and the psychologist. As an example, we can highlight the high number of home visits and the elaboration of psychosocial reports requested by the State Prosecutor's Office to the CREAS technical team. This fact is impairing activities that are of exclusive competence of CREAS. Among these attributions is the assistance to families and people who are victims of violence, or in situations of social risk, as recommended by the Public Social Assistance Policies (SUAS).

Given this context, we observed that the Specialized Protection and Care for Families and Individuals (PAEFI) program is not being developed with victims of violence. With a reduced number of professionals, a high demand load, and inadequate physical facilities for the assistance of victims of violence, the service is no longer available. Thus, we can conclude that the individual victim of violence is doubly victimized, that is, by the violence suffered and by the lack of specialized assistance. As we have identified, the cases of spontaneous demand registered in CREAS are related to intra-family conflicts, which result, most of the time, in conciliation and mediation agreements in the unit itself. Thus, these cases are no longer notified to the competent bodies for capturing cases of violation; consequently, they are no longer part of the official statistics.

It was noted, as already mentioned, from the documentary investigations and data collection, that the highest rate of violation of the rights of the elderly occurs in the domestic environment, generated by intra-family conflicts, which justifies that the aggressors are people who are part of the family group of the elderly, i.e., with blood ties.

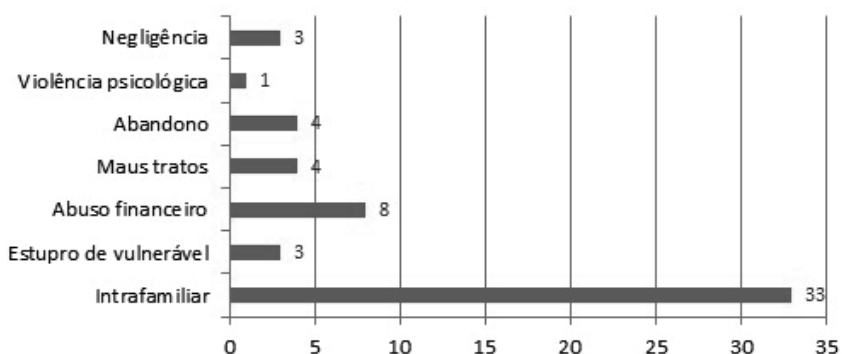
The research also showed that the biggest victims of rights violation were men, who suffered threats and financial abuse and chose the police station to file the complaint; while the data registered by CREAS pointed out that women are

still the biggest victims in cases associated with domestic violence. As can be seen in Figures 9 and 10.



Fonte: Delegacia Especializada de Tefé (AM)

Figura 9 –Tipologia da violência, na Delegacia



Fonte: Delegacia Especializada de Tefé (AM) Figura 10 – Tipologia da violência, no CREAS

In summary, based on the research, the most varied contexts of violence against the elderly occur in their homes, and the aggressors are family members or very close people. This shows how vulnerable and fragile the figure of the elderly person is, which makes an immediate response from the public power necessary via public policies, constituting a challenge to legislators and public managers.

Violence perpetrated against the elderly, since it occurs in the domestic environment, is not always perceived and legally punished, awakening in the victim a feeling of impunity. The situation is aggravated by the omission of the elderly, who, due to fear, dependence, and feelings of affection towards their aggressors, do not report it.

The research, at its conclusion, reached some reflections that can help in understanding the current scenario of violence against the elderly in the municipality of Tefé (AM), and seek solutions to confront this reality. The relevance of the studies emphasizes the need for further research on the subject, with a special focus on issues related to intra-family conflicts and the adaptation of public policies to this reality, given its complexity and nuances.

6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This work started from the assumption that an effective way to promote the rights won by the elderly consists of actions that develop work aimed at preventing violence against the elderly. In this way, developing prevention campaigns against mistreatment directed to the young population would be a good example of preventive actions and learning about the aging process, which is a phase of our life cycle.

We emphasize that the issues related to violence against the elderly cannot be restricted to the exclusive field of law. Punishing the aggressor does not solve the violence; in some situations it can even aggravate it, due to the complexity of the relationships between those involved, who, most of the time, are family members. That way, the development of public policies that promote the inclusion, sheltering, and protection of victims of violence is of a great importance in facing this sad national reality. An example of this is to carry out socio-educational actions with the family, training them in the practice of caring for the elderly, strengthening the existing family ties.

From this point of view, we can conclude that the Municipal Family Living Center in Tefé provides opportunities for actions whose main objective is to promote the strengthening of family ties and prevent the occurrence of situations of social vulnerability. Its performance proposes social welfare actions focused on strengthening the bonds between family and elderly people, which makes it possible to ensure their permanence in the family environment. In line with the guidelines of the National Policy for the Elderly (PNI).

This understanding is justified when we verify in the research that the aggressors of the elderly belong to their family group. This implies a posture of omission on the part of the elderly in relation to their aggressor for fear of helplessness or worsening of the situation. The lack of notification has hindered the identification of cases and the formulation of public policies to combat

violence, since the data from omitted cases do not appear in the official statistics.

In recent decades, much progress has been made in terms of legal provisions to protect the elderly. However, it must be emphasized that these legal provisions have not been efficient in combating violence against the elderly. Alternatives are routinely sought in public policies to minimize the difficulties of the elderly. We emphasize that obstacles such as lack of knowledge of the Law, bureaucracy, insufficient number of professionals associated to the increase in the number of orders, and few actions aimed at prevention have been configured as obstacles that need to be overcome in the fight against the violation of the rights of the elderly.

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