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THE FEAR WHICH IMPRISONS

A FOCUS ON THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO



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SAMPA

*Alguma coisa acontece no meu coração
que só quando cruzo a Ipiranga e a Avenida São João
é que quando eu cheguei por aqui eu nada entendi
da dura poesia concreta de tuas esquinas
da deselegância discreta de tuas meninas.*

*Ainda não havia para mim Rita Lee,
a tua mais completa tradução
Alguma coisa acontece no meu coração
que só quando cruzo a Ipiranga e a Avenida São João.*

*Quando eu te encarei frente a frente não vi o meu rosto
chamei de mau gosto o que vi
de mau gosto, mau gosto
é que Narciso acha feio o que não é espelho
e a mente apavora o que ainda não é mesmo velho
nada do que não era antes quando não somos mutantes.*

*E foste um difícil começo
afasto o que não conheço
e quem vende outro sonho feliz de cidade
aprende de pressa a chamar-te de realidade
porque és o avesso do avesso do avesso do avesso.*

*Do povo oprimido nas filas, nas vilas, favelas
da força da grana que ergue e destrói coisas belas
da feia fumaça que sobe apagando as estrelas
eu vejo surgir teus poetas de campos e espaços
tuas oficinas de florestas, teus deuses da chuva.*

*Panaméricas de Áfricas utópicas, tórumulo do samba
mais possível novo quilombo de Zumbi
e os novos baianos passeiam na tua garoa
e novos baianos te podem curtir numa boa.*

Caetano Veloso

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Introduction

«We, men and women living in the “developed” part of the world (that is the world’s richest, most modernized and still most keenly modernizing part), are “objectively” the most secure people in the history of humanity»

Bauman Z. (2008)

Statistics and quantitative data provided by the various international organizations interested in the issue of security in cities help us to supply a quantifiable perspective on the complex phenomenon, but it is only a facet of the problem, namely the tendencies of international crime. At the same time, mass media give us misleading information, encouraging public opinion in the expression of the specific type of reaction.

Therefore, our perception is strongly influenced by our response and, in many cases, is carried by fear; this concept does not allow us to analyse acts and problems from an objective point of view, which could involve all the facets of the event and also permit us to find a reasoned solution of complications that cannot encourage the restatement of the situation.

Nowadays, there is an evident and rapidly growing of population and density indicators show that this increment occurs especially in some major cities, metropolis or megalopolis. Despite this our societies become ever more fragmented and unequal, urban population manifest less faith in spending time in uncontrolled open spaces and also our homes defense respond promptly to this desperate needs of safety.

Public space, the space of relations and collective activities, is the most penalized by these attitudes and is more frequent to be exposed to the new symbols of control, aimed at our actions outside our private life in spaces perceived as hostile. The risk is that crime and feeling of insecurity will thus modify our cities, creating a composition of controlled and aseptic places, which lose their social bound function.

However, how does fear and security demand change cities and modify our behaviors and relationship with places? Moreover, how can we project safe but liveable seats?

To answer these questions, in this work, I take a closer look at various themes, divided into three main parts:

- The first, which want to determine a definition of public space as complete as possible, able to understand which spaces are the object of research and if we are witnessing a

restriction of these dimensions, in favor of a private and individualistic perspective. Nowadays is very difficult to find a univocal view of this aspect, because the issue inevitably intertwines with an increased demand for urban security by communities, which changes its timeworn characteristics.

- The second part deepens this aspect and put a focus on a particular feeling we frequently perceive, and which most influences the willingness to make our city safer and secure. The fear. There is an important link between fear, perception, and insecurity, given that these components are persistent in our urban experiences, getting to the point where they become principles of spatial and cultural organization.

- The last part, is a specific analysis on the city of São Paulo, in Brazil, trying to get a window to respond to the research' demand, through a field trial, also thanks to the support of CEM (Centro de Estudos da Metrópole). In short, I have tried to focus the attention on the boundary that relates public and private spaces, after a huge circulation of securitarian housing techniques, due to the manifestation of the different urban disease, described in previous parts, under the different variables of perception. A simple questionnaire, administered to the residents, has allowed addressing the in-depth study of the issues in the work, and to verify certain assumptions through a comparison of the results obtained.

The study presents different brief insights, presented in BOX, that help to give a direct feedback of the theory to the situation of São Paulo.

KEYWORDS ▪ PUBLIC SPACE ▪ PERCEPTION OF FEAR ▪ URBAN SECURITY ▪ SÃO PAULO

Methodology and research questions

This work is the result of three months of Study in São Paulo, helped with the CEM Centro de Estudo da Metropole, to understand their culture and to move me in a city of over 12 million of inhabitants.

Brazil is the perfect country to study the effect of crime and violence in the city, and the first step of documentation before my leaving is to create a sort of overview about the state, in particular referring the megalopolis of São Paulo. In the rank stilled by The Economist (2017), based on the count of homicides in the year 2016, 43 of the 50 cities are located in South America, especially in Brazil's North-East cities, because in a lot of cities, including São Paulo, the homicide decreased over the 50% in the last years. But the fear and the diffusion of insecure do not vanish, and people conditioning their habits under that feelings.

When I was in São Paulo a lot of traits that conditioned people life and also their restriction are not based on real victimization, but also on stratified and complex problems which are not resolved and emerge through urban disease. The use of public space and its relation with the private sphere of habitations is fundamental and can help in the definition of the undefined limits through this two nucleus apparently divided.

My study is based on three different parts when the first and the second are based on a bibliographical source about the two big themes intersected: public space and fear.

An interesting contribution is thus given by seminars and groups organized by the University of São Paulo (USP), in addition to the works of the professor Gabriel Feltran, principally focused on the periphery and their strict relationship with crime.

I also did a different inspection of bairros in the city, not without limits because I did it alone a lot of time and local people discourage me to walk around the city without a specific final destination, or without people that could accompany me. Despite that, I had the opportunity to visit a Condomínio Fechado and firsthand lived two important events that follow chaos in public opinion and in the city, that are the Police eviction of Cracolândia site and the accusation of corruption of the President Temer. The principal location when people got out their frustration is the street, that is also the place where they celebrating events during the year, the same which provoke afraid in everyday routine life.

The creation of a questionnaire was indispensable to analyze aspects that not emerged in the routes, and are not verified in documents or books.

I try to give a valid answer taking into account the two components, social and physical, linked with the development of the city, to put a focus on the built-in problems that conditioned the feeling of fear.

The final personal reflection summarizes the previous parts of the theory, to describe the actual situation in a synthesis of a process of literature search and an essential field trial.

1. THE PUBLIC SPACE AND ITS SAFETY

1.1 An attempt to achieve a definition concerning the public space

1.1.1 A general outline

In the past century, only the 10% of the world's population has lived in cities and in 2007 this rate reached the 50% in 2007 (3 trillion and three-hundred million people); the estimated percentage in 2050 will be around the 75% of a future global population of 9 billion. The unregulated growth of some cities' population has caused the establishment of the mega-cities, this term refers to «are notable for their size and concentration of economic activity, but are home to only about one in eight of the world's urban dwellers» (United Nations - Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2014). Actually, there are more than 400 cities with more than one million of inhabitants, and the population of twenty of these is more than 10 million, located in Asia or South America (United Nations - Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2014).

In the light of this dates, we can consider a city not only for its appearance or its dimension but also for the various meanings that we entrust to it. Henri Lefebvre in 70s supported that «the city is a whole; [...] the city projects on the ground a society in its entirety, a social totality or a society considered as a whole» (United Nations - Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2014). From this perspective, we do not identify the city only with the external sign of urban phenomena or the urbanization, but also with a series of underlying dynamics because space is not only a static background, is also the expression of a society, which produce its own space (Lefebvre, 1991).

We can identify the cause of the change of contemporary cities and the transition to the modern cities' standards, in relation to particular developments of these years: the globalisation, the computerisation and the urban expansion (Torricelli, 2009), which have produced visible change in the city and in its parts, which the most visible is represented by the public space.

In this chapter, I try to clarify the evolution of this concept and to define nowadays its meaning, in the light of the connection with society, its ownership, and the need to live in a secure environment.

Typically, the definition of public space, considered by common people, coincides with the idea of "open space" (Fracasso, 2008). In this view we could consider "open" everything that is not built, and what it is not a part of the working or living environment, but it is a

generical definition which would not consider the limits, the domain of spaces, that in general coincides with streets, leisure areas, plazas, parks, and publicly owned and managed outdoor spaces (Tonnelat, 2010). In the history of the world's cities, we can see similar characteristics of the public spaces, which had followed each other in history and help us today to understand the creation process of our vision regard these spaces, also because we can confirm that public space as a distinct concept is a historical product (Habermas, 1962).

Already, going back to the early forms of Modern Civilization, we can find the origin of a particular and defined type of space, referring to a specific type of people, and that needs protection or definition of its limits. During the years, the characters and the techniques changed, but public spaces was always clearly demarcated, as the agorà in Ancient Greek otherwise the centre of sociability, considered «the potential of encounter and communication between strangers» (Voronkova and Pachenkov, 2011, pag.) that unchanged in the needs of the citizen, strictly separated from the sphere of the household, named oikos.

In the history of urban planning, the public space had an important role in the city: public life have revolved around it and it is clear that the evolution of Western's societies should begin with the ancient civilities, Greeks, and Romans, and was based on their concept of public space (Sitte, 1889). It is specifically evident, in Greek city-state, when «the pólis as a social institution defined the very nature of being human for its citizens, whilst the physical form of the polis stressed public space» (Carmona et Al., 2008, pag.). The acropolis represented the focal point of the Greek pólis, which evolved into a public space and after, as the civilization developed, public space shifted towards the agorà. During the Roman Empire, the nucleus of the city was the forum, described as a combination of the Greek's acropolis and agorà (Carr, 1992) and contained a mix of open, enclosed and semi-closed spaces, for different meeting functions. The pólis was the people's agreement under the same génos, the society was just an "organic" whole referring to the origins of a bloodline, whilst the Ancient Rome's civitas was an aggregation of a multitude of different ethnic groups, religion, traditions, and represented the idea of that specific cives, projected towards the future (Cacciari, 2004).

Ancient cities have had a rich and variegated urban fabric and the building of public space was integrated with the growth of the city plant, in harmony with social change. In the Middle Age, in Europe, the institution of the Christian Church become powerful and controlled public life; in these years, many walls were built to protect the city and the society from external attacks, forced the future development inside. Almost all the medieval cities

were the place of the commerce, and therefore the place of constant struggles between public and private interests (Madanipour, 2003).

The ages of the Renaissance reflected a shift, in the assertion of a new own status and the prosperity of the dominant classes, which aimed to increase secular and private values; urban spaces become the representation of a nobler status and, for this reason, aesthetic principles obtain a particular relevance in the design of urban space. The administration of the public space, between public and private interests, represents today an important question, which has very deep roots. In the quality of its inner complexity, according to Lefebvre (1976), we cannot reduce urban space to a univocal interpretation, because it allowed the coexistence in the same place and at the same time of even opposing characteristics.

In brief, we can say that there is a close link between people and space, in relation to a social typology and the expression of it. The history of South America was strongly influenced by the European colonization, which exported space and uses in relation to political and military objectives (Cennamo A. and Veratti D., 2012). The local past has still studied from Europe's "conquest", erasing effectively the traditions of the indigenous peoples previously settled, which was strongly linked to an idea of community life settled in a strong symbolic space.

Carmona (2008) argues that the global economic changes have influenced the general organization of urban public space, «as a valuable commercial commodity, and global business in partnership with city governments have re-ordered the historic functions of public space through the production of new forms of public space» (Carmona et. Al., 2008, pag.). He supports the idea that these new forms of public space arise from the passage between the historical periods that he identifies with the late capitalism and mass consumption.

Try to find an objective definition, which includes all the several features of this specific and indefinite type of space, we must take into account the historical characteristics, that is the cornerstone of its recognisability, but that has changed during the time.

1.1.2 The basis of a general definition

A universal definition about public space in urban planning subject, embraces the general condition of "open space", that include streets, parks, recreation areas, plazas and a sort of various outdoor publicly spaces, in comparison with the opposite "private domain" that exists in cities (Tonnelat, 2010), but if we limit our vision to this definition we will lose important traits covered.

Kohn (2004) and Boniburini (2009) argue that the term "public space" is a complex concept: it has multiple, contradictory definitions and its categorization through public/private distinction has become difficult due to the interconnection between the two spheres. They also identify three essential groups with precise traits for the classification of spaces:

- accessibility and inclusiveness;
- property (individual, collective and public);
- intersubjectivity (the nature of social relationships, established identities and produced subjective entities).

In the published literature, we can find a multitude of definitions about public space, but one of the most common features is the accessibility for all social groups, as well as freedom of action, temporary claim, and property (Francis J. et Al., 2012).

In accord with De Certeau (1984), the definition of the two terms "place" and "space" is conceptually different:

- A place (lieu) represents the correct order in which the elements are distributed, including their relations of cohabitation, under the law of its own, everything is strictly related to the position that defines them, thus excluding the possibility that two things are in the same place. A place is, therefore, an instantaneous configuration of positions, implying the concept of stability.
- A space (espace), on the other hand, comprises the vectors of direction, velocity and temporal variables, which mean the different intersections of mobile elements that allow own functions and define it. Space can be defined as a «practiced place» (De Certeau, 1984, pag.), for its properties of being not unique or static.

In general, we must consider different common qualities, linked with our experience with public space:

- «Historical trends and norms that go back to the ancient world;
- The different modes of governance, regulation, legal dominion and investment under which space was created;
- Cultural traditions, which vary, even across the Western world;
- Political priorities and the particular lifestyles they support;
- The balance between political and market forces;
- The increasing complexity of public space, the limitations on professional skills and responsibilities to tackle this» (Carmona, 2010, pag.).

Actually, the debate around the meaning and the limitation of public life, and its physical settlement, concern specific traits that help us to give a univocal vision about the meaning we want to assign to this specific place.

The city is the most concrete and direct expression of the psychological environment where its inhabitants live and, if they can recognize themselves in it, the city represents their identities. Following the reason set forth by Jacobs (1961), public spaces are a vehicle for the representation of identities and they are symbol-laden for specific groups of people, representing their cultural, historical, religious, social, political and social values. Moreover, Caimmi (2006) confirms that these principles during the time become indispensable parameters to plan and to implement any action in the city. In short, we can consider urban public space «shapes and is shaped by society» (Carmona, 2010, pag.),.

According to Lefebvre (1976), the urban public space coexist three dissimilar dimensions:

- spatial practice (referred to the perceived space), places that are directly refer to each social formation;
- representations of space (referred to the thought space), the dominant space in a society and its idea of representation;
- spaces of representation (referred to the lived space), which are the spaces experienced by the users who act using time in a given space, which may not coincide with the dominant space, but may try to emancipate themselves.

The structure of a public space is the product of a collective exploit, but it is also the action of memory, referring to the uses, which allows the consolidation of the symbolic nature of a specific space (Fracasso, 2008).

In general, «the space is a multi-systemic concept for the many disciplines in which man

has wanted to articulate his knowledge and operations to describe and understand the world and control it» (Gasparini, 2000, pag.) throughout the measurements of the space where the transformations have been in specific moments, produced a dynamic process.

The transformations in/of the space are encouraged by the link between space and time. This relation produces two different dimensions and elements that come into play in space and time, which are:

- synchronic, when the relation takes place among the systems, in a particular moment settled at specific times;
- diachronic, when the elements interact but they belong to distinct existential times.

We can confirm that the link between time and space can modify this last one, in relation to the individuals that live in spaces, and adequate itself to their needs (Gasparini, 2000).

BOX 1 - THE CHARTER OF PUBLIC SPACE AND HABITAT III

In the year 2013, the edition of the Biennial of Public Space was focused on the writing and the approval of the Charter of Public Space which «aims to be the document for all those who believe in the city and in its unique capability of fostering sociability, meeting, coexistence, freedom, and democracy; and in its vocation to express and realize all these values through public spaces» (Chart of Public Space, 2013).

The following document constitutes the contribution of the Biennial to a process of further definition on the same subject that will be conducted at the global level in collaboration with the United Nations Programme on Human Settlements (UN-Habitat), in order to make a significant contribution to the preparatory process of the third Conference of the United Nations on Human Settlements to be held in 2016. In HABITAT III report, the principal focus was on the implementation of a “New Urban Agenda”, which gave the occasion to open discussions on important urban challenges and questions about cities planning for sustainable development, and after it was possible to define new global goals about it, among which the importance of public space in city.

One of the most important outputs of the meeting was the Barcelona Declaration about Public Spaces, which presents a definition of «Public spaces [that] are all places, including streets, publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without a profit motive» (Barcelona Declaration for Habitat III “Public Spaces”, 2016), when the quality of the public space its regeneration and its accessibility, are crucial themes in urban global agendas.

These definitions include a particular view on the fundamental traits, among the concepts of community, availability, ownership; and analyzing different authors, whose trait this theme, we can underline that characteristics are in common.

1.1.2 The shrinkage of the “publicity”: a loss or only a different view?

We can see, during the history, that the general definition of public space imply some important features that represent the cornerstones of its being, and the most important of them is the concept of public. It is evident that its characters have changed during the time in relation to the different types of society, and we can no longer say that there is a certain dichotomy between the public and private sectors.

Madanipur (1996) defines private space as a place protected by rules, governed by the use of its property, while public space is generally conceived as open, and subjected to public participation and to public regulation.

The word “public” has Latin origins (*pùblicus*, which stands for *pòblicus*, *pòp’licus* a contraction of *popùlicus* from *pòpulus* population), and means something which belongs to all the people, which concerns common propriety, felt by all, made for all, known to all, opposite by the concept of private. Pianigiani (1988) describe “public” meaning in comparison with the term “common” (which no one has the property, but all can use it). In this vision, the term is general used like an adjective (to qualify what concerns to the state, or various aspects of associated life, of the community, or use and access “open” to those who want to use it or what is official) or a noun (to indicate the people or public opinion). Zukin (1995) emphasizes the concept of its ownership and its administration «public (not private) stewardship, open access, used by many people for a common purpose» (Zukin, 1995, pag.).

However, the word “private”, derived from the Latin “*privatus*”, means all that is separated from the State and owned by an individual person. From “*privus*”, single, only special, reserved for one, who does not belong to the government of the public thing (Pianigiani, 1988). From the liberal point of view, private and intimacy are a privilege and they are in a close relationship with the respect to the public space, whose importance lies in putting in touch various actors, everything and everyone based on private needs (Bonibuini, 2009).

Zukin claims that public space include the fundamental and fragile expression of urban society, it is the place where “civility” is practised, with his words we can define it a «reasonable utopia» because there is nothing impossible in its principle, only the risk that some groups of the population might refuse the co-presence with others. The society directly influences the space, but the recent manifestation of individualization has caused the sign of the atrophy that «leads to an ever-increasing number of men and women being free to

experiment without precedent, but also to the unprecedented burden of bearing the consequences» (Bauman, 1999, pag.)

We are able to realize that there was a shrinking of the public sphere (both in physical space and everyday life's areas, conditioned by three world's processes (Fracasso, 2008) of globalization, computerization and urban expansion, which allowed to take on new meanings.

In literature, there are different clusters of scholars that reflect on this topic with differing opinions:

- who strive to reclaim lost public spaces, the old concept of the public as opposed to the private, that belief is in drastic decline;
- who have argued that the words "public" and "private" are useless, and that create anachronistic categories.

As already mentioned, the main criticisms stem from the notion that public space, and therefore the public realm, is experiencing a physical decline.

It is evident that these studies are based on a narrow academic perspective, which analyses and criticise particular types of studied public spaces, not all the variety which today make up cities, but always which are taken into account only as manifestations of this decline (Carmona, 2003).

Based on this assumption that today public and private spaces are difficult to identify clearly, it is worth considering the definitions of public space considered, which in many cases may be «too narrow to be useful in an era of public and private partnerships» (Francis et Al. 2012, pag.). The transformation of public space can, therefore, be associated with the actual mutation of the city, which is not a stable unit but we can identify it like a multitude of a fragmentary nucleus and with the alteration of the characteristics of the collective space (Daconto, 2012). The individualisation of society (Bauman, 1999) leads to a possible reversal of the public-private relationship, and the cause can be found in the "disaffection" for public life, and the consequent escape of politics from the urban spaces of the square and the market to take refuge in the extraterritoriality of electronic networks (Fracasso, 2012).

The recognition of public spaces as the means to contain the social polarisation and fragmentation of society, should have led to concern with public spaces (Ercan, 2007), but there is a recent growth of an increasing number of semi-public spaces managed by private-

public or entirely private partnerships questions the notion of public spaces in the past.

We can affirm that, during the time, the idea and the study of the public space have taken into consideration the urban heritage of the city, in its variation and therefore redefinition. By defining a place as “public” we implicitly connect formal characteristics that can define its using, nomenclature and perception; these features derive from both socio-economic and sociological influences, in accordance with Carmona (2010) not only the characteristics of ownership and appearance give value to this space, but also the opportunities for all usage. There are different categorization with regard to this topic: we can identify a “systemic space” (Vallin, 1998) for spaces of impersonal and immaterial relationships, that it is a community of strangers who live in public space, and a “proxemics space” (Hall, 1966) controlled by culture. The public and private spheres interact in this type of space like expressions of power relationships (Kilian, 1998). I agree with a sociological perspective, we shall then have to consider how the term “public” also refers to the capacity of a place to be lived, an important aspect to focus us on the perception of the space.

Khon (2004) has hypothesized a classification of public space, identifying twenty types of urban space, divided into four general categories and contemplating contradictory definitions, highlighting the meanings attributed and criteria adopted for reading. In this classification, he categorizes the space according to the property variable, and the variation goes from pure types of the public to private. In distinguishing the various types of space, she has included a new typology of uses of the aspects of function, perception, and property (from design to socio-cultural and political-economic perspectives).

Before Khon, Newman (1972) has distinguished four different categorizations, related to the use of spaces, in public, semi-public, semi-private, private and nowadays these typologies are used in the well-known definition.

In today's society, we can see that there is not a clear dichotomy between public and private spheres, but there are more hybrid spaces, used in different ways. Compared to the past, the actual management of public space led to several criticisms about the existence of this type of space but these critiques are mainly related to the whole range of types of urban spaces, not always considered (Carmona, 2010). Francis et al. (2012) share Ray Oldenburg's definition of “third places” to describe «a generic designation for a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work» and derives from «considering our homes to be the “first” places in our lives, and our workplaces the “second”» (Oldenburg, 1997, pag.). The interesting aspect of this definition is that its emphasis on

public access, availability, rather than its ownership or management.

The main difficulty lies in the actual definition of public space, which derives from the contradiction of the term “public” and from the variables that are considered for its definition. We can generally associate the meaning of public space with those spaces in which everyone is granted some right of access, and therefore to its usability, whether it be public or private. These rights are never absolute, but always accompanied by temporal and behavioral restrictions, that is, they are always spaces regulated by a set of norms and conventions. It is not the nature of property that makes a space in the public domain (Bunibuini, 2007), although this has considerable importance both in terms of accessibility and in the type of behavior and uses allowed or not.

1.2 The relation between man and physical spaces in city

1.2.1 The representation of the urban quality

The city as the «symbolic and material representation of the man» (Caimmi, 2006) reveals that the human evolution had influenced the cities' fabric, through all different aspects of the social, cultural, religious aspects. Lefebvre (1991) suggests that in the representations of space the society is dominant, under conceptualisation, use of symbols, codifications and abstract representations.

Lynch and Rodwin (1958) provide a significant analytical methodology for the analysis of urban form. For a systematic analysis of urban fabric, they suggest six criteria: element types, quantity, density, grain, local organization and general spatial distribution. The exceptional value of this method is that for the first time an analytical method, and not a descriptive one, is used to analyse and understand the varied effects of different physical forms.

The most significant contribution of Lynch is his last book "A theory of good city form" (1981), which includes all his previous researches. The most distinctive part of this study, is the normative criteria for the evaluation and analysis of urban form, which we will discuss this in more detail in future chapters.

At the urban level, our cities have made up of both technical and symbolic dimensions, which define the societies and their environments, appropriate to their organization. During the history, the European's society has defined various different types of cities, but all of them are characterised by a sharing of collective themes that return to each of them, and that allow their placement in European's geography (Fronzi, 2013).

The impact of globalization has also acted in this context (Carmona, 2010), causing the acceleration of ideas and influences at a global level, making these operations no longer linked to local peculiarities, but with the use of standards and forms of design not linked to the context and simply exportable. The public sector has adapted standards, guidelines and practices that, in many cases, reproduce good international examples. The quality of contemporary public space is not decaying, in spite of many scholars support, but can simply have had an evolution with the consequent development of associated management practices and global canons have affected the change.

Public space is our common ground, where we can express and develop our civility, is like a mirror of behaviours, social processes and public values, moreover in conflict, and, for these motives, the physical aspect is important also because it can be the reflect a society

(Francis, 2012). Lynch (1984) has defined five performance's dimensions of a city useful to judge urban form's quality and to put the focus on the particular critical issues. These five dimensions are:

- Vitality - the support given by settlement's form to guarantee the vital functions and necessities of human being, how it protect the existence of the species.

He mentioned three types:

- Support - willingness to sustain life in terms of energy and sustainability.
- Safety - Psychological, social and physical security with regard to both personal threats and natural events that cause discomfort.
- Consonance - that the environment must conform to human biological structure, supporting natural rhythms.
- Sense - the ability to promote identification and orientation by connecting the environment, the shape of space, quality and human activity.

These include the following features:

- Identity - the extent to which a person recognizes a place as distinct from others because of its unique character.
- Structure - is the sense of how all the small parts fit inside a large settlement.
- Congruity - identification and subsequent recognition of a given place according to the shape of the city or an individual building.
- Transparency - direct perception of the various technical, activity and social functions of the processes occurring within the settlement.
- Legality - the possible communication between the inhabitants of the settlements, through the share of symbolic physical characteristics.
- Fit - the combination of place and consolidated behavioural models. It allows the facilitation of actions and events, linking the characteristics of the physical system in general. The key features include flexibility, manipulability, reversibility surplus capacity, accessibility, separation of parts, standardization, and reduction of recycling costs.
- Access - the shorter access path to the neighborhood and the nodes, in order to access the greater scope of goods, facilities, places and information.
- Control - taking care of and directly managing for a space, by people who live it, thus

focusing on territorial occupation and daily activities. Ownership can influence the spatial rights that exist (presence, existence, use, action, modification, and disposition).

The aspects to be checked:

- Congruity - the measure of control by inhabitants or users, with reference to the degree of permanent participation in an area.
- Responsibility - which presupposes duties and skills such as motivation, information and competence on the part of the subject or groups they control.
- Certainty - the level of understanding of the entire control system, including its scope and people's safety.

He proposes also two additional meta-criteria that are:

- Efficiency - relates the achievement of some results, as opposed to the loss of others, taking into account inter-dimensional contradictions.
- Justice - is the way in which services and general costs, of the several performance dimensions, are divided among people.

In addition, Jacobs (1961) has identified four essential elements, which are essential in good places, to define a good and qualitative space, that it must be active thanks to a combination of primary uses, intensity, permeability and a mixture of buildings typologies.

We can affirm that a successful public space have, in its being, different qualities we can summarize in levels of activity, space-users connection, good form and image; these aspect involve the different spheres that define this type of places, and are the principal topics faced up in the actual debate about it (Nogueira Lopes, 2015).

1.2.2 The influence of the space contest

Jane Jacobs in her work in 1961 was insisted on the important consequences that the design of public space had on the social order of communities, and Kevin Lynch in 1984 established a link between the built form of the city and the representations that people have of their environment. These studies thus showed that public space was the principal element that shapes people's representation of a city. The "sense of belonging" to a city allows us to identify well those paths and spaces as their own, recognizing their interiorization, a characteristic denied by the contemporary megalopolis. The city map, from the point of view of environmental psychology, is thus identified with its own psychic map; the share and the identification of spaces as "own", allows bringing out the *sensus communis* (Fronzi, 2013) of citizens, thanks to the recognition of symbolic elements of a community. The relationship with the environment also allows building cognitive maps (Caimmi, 2006), which permit to recognize and map the different perceptions of the stratified physical-spatial environment of everyday life stratified and that we can recognize as familiar. In this vision, the attention to territoriality is considered as an appropriation of space, as a process where the activity of people in public space defines and characterizes the affective bond established with it (Lynch, 1984).

As regards Lynch summarized the physical form of city image into five single elements:

- Paths, the dominant elements in urban space, used to strengthen the image of the identifiable route, with clear points of origin and destination. It is indispensable to enhance their identity and concur to bind them to the city, considering the scale of the characters of the routes. A series of nodes and landmarks are the most common way to follow it since to create a clear image of the city it is necessary that its paths are not confused and disordered.
- Edges, that are boundaries that separate two continuous and visible neighborhoods, but not in a clear and impenetrable way. In fact, the edges are not defined as joined seams but rather as isolating barriers and, in many cases, of a physical type.
- Districts, large urban areas of thematic continuity that can be made up of various compounds. These components are recognized by users and they together represent the different characteristics between the various districts.
- Nodes, not only small points, but they can be crossed. There are two types of it, namely the path junctions and the characteristic concentrations. A successful node should have unique characteristics inside but also know how to enhance and condition the surrounding

characters.

- Landmarks, external references to the observers, defined by physical elements that may vary in the scale. Their recognisability is fundamental because they have a spatial dominance by contrasting with the surrounding elements, making them unique or memorable in the urban context.

These elements cannot exist individually, they are the single type of an integrated city aspect and combined they produce a vivid and dense image. Such combinations may reinforce one another, resonate so that they enhance each other's power, or they may conflict and destroy themselves.

BOX 2 - AVENIDA PAULISTA AND STREETS AS PUBLIC SPACES

The Avenida Paulista is an important street of São Paulo, it was projected and built in 1891, by Joaquim Eugênio de Lima, and become the first paved street in São Paulo, in the year 1909, with a German imported material. The Plano de Avenidas, based on the model of Chicago, was devised by Mayor Francisco Prestes Maia, given a first important role of this street, in the control of the growth of the city, through the decentralization of urban areas, development of cars routes and the construction of high-density houses. The first building was projected in 1939, Casa das Rosas, and since late 1980 become an important cultural center. The "verticalization" started in 1950, during a rapid economic expansion of Brazil, especially in São Paulo, when the Avenida become the core of the commerce and economy, and the oldest building along the street was demolished to create the new skyscrapers. The city's population was two-and-a-half million, but after 10 years the number would nearly double, and the city became a modern capitalist metropolis, also because the concentration of these possibilities of work attracted migrant people of the periphery which built up the favelas at the perimeter of the city. In 1972 the Mayor José Vicente Faria Lima presented the "Novo Paulista" masterplan, with the enlargement of the carriageway to triple the vehicle capacity, which even now is more than 100'000 per day, with the removed of all trees along. In 1974 the Metro Line of São Paulo was built and passed under the Avenida; today the line Yellow, Green, and Blue have a Metro Stop on the street.

One of the typical building is the MASP Museum, projected by the Italian-Brazilian architect Lina Bo Bardi, on three complementary elements: a semi-buried podium, a plaza, and a transparent, elevated exhibition hall (Lima, 2007). These components are very important because in a postwar view her urban and architectural desire was focused on the promotion of public, civic spaces in place of an earlier emphasis on functionalism when the large

open terrace below the museum galleries as a place of collective and civil dignity. In this place also connect the “retro” of the street and provides a view on another principal street of São Paulo, Avenida 9 de Julho, which are buried right below the Avenida Paulista, and resurfaces behind the MASP.

These “Mirante 9 de Julho” is also a space of aggregation, and also a lot of events permits to live that place, and organize a lot of events in this location.

We have seen how, in the definition of public space, different characteristics that roads and pavements possess must be considered. Around them, present and defining the "full" or "empty", the blacks considered by Venturi's representations. In his work, he aims to represent the relationship between the urban space normally considered as empty space and the full space of buildings. This relationship between the public-private dimensions is described by Sitte (1945) as a fundamental element of the urban form, for which the buildings play as "separators" through their facades, which enclose the private space but are the background of the public space. Through the inverted technique of the *pochè*, extending it to all the space of the city and placing on the same level the "open" spaces considered as public spaces, therefore regardless of their own or their constraints, we can make an analysis on the actual nature of these spaces. If buildings are not permeable, harmonious and rhythmic, the street as a public space suffers (Jacobs, 1961). It is interesting to analyze this aspect on the Avenida Paulista, also because space is not also white or black, because there is the third dimension of the width, that also creates the “grey” areas, like the MASP spaces, or the hybrid space we can encounter along the street. The street is therefore considered as a connecting space between different parts of the city, and that contribute to the composition of the urban fabric, as well as the main space in which social interaction takes place. The urban landscape has undergone major changes over the years, causing the upheaval of the urban fabric, as well as the appropriation of road space by private companies and the closure of parks and courtyards of houses (spaces that appear from the plant as open but are not actually accessible). Jacobs claims that the way to produce and maintain a valid space must have some main characteristics, such as:

- A clear demarcation between what is public space and what is private space;
- There must be “eyes on the street”, for which the buildings on a street can ensure the safety of residents and foreigners, must be prepared for review by the inhabitants;
- The sidewalk must be frequented continuously, both to increase the number of effective eyes on the street, by residents. Such informal surveillance and lively activity would make

public contacts rewarding and encourage people to engage in public life.

One of the recent political to reduce traffic and bring people to live the spaces is the Sunday where the traffic has deviated, and the Avenida Paulista, but also other streets of the center, are full of people by foot or by bike, and different types of activities that provide to feeling secure.

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1.2.3 The mirror of the society

We can generically described the significantly period, which we are currently living, with the word “globalization” where «being an important global commodity, the owners and/or managers of urban public space ensure that visitors to public space perceive and interpret it as being safe» (Carmona et. Al., 2003, pag.), which enormously differs from the economic systems existent at the start of modernism. In general, according to Fancis’ view (2012), the public spaces have the quality to reflect a society, its specific culture and its public values, and it developed and expressed our collective sense of what may be called, with his word, "publicness". Thus, for these motives, the public environment reflect our spheres of behaviors, processes, and values, and consequently, the quality of the space is an important indicator of the society’s quality.

Thus, following the reasoning set forth by the term “public” and its opposite “private”, it is evident that, for a long time, there was a spread of the privatization phenomenon, considered in a negative light. As a matter of fact, privatization was considered the main threat to public space, but we cannot consider it only a problem, and especially not the only problem. Another current treat is individualism (Bauman 2001) and the danger is not just that somebody is interested in appropriating public space for the private stake but also the lack of attention in public concerns among people, may cause the space’s decay.

The Environmental Psychology examines the two relations between the individual and the specific community or the city, which are linked in a circumferential way. He suggests that space is fundamental to our experience and that all of these are comprised of three inter-related aspects of space (Lefebvre, 1991): representations of space or the conceived space; spatial practices or the perceived space; spaces of representation or living space.

Lynch concerned that «the form of a settlement is the space structure that houses the activities of people, but also the flow that results from it, as well as the physical configurations that significantly modify the space in relation to the activities» (Lynch, 1984, pag.). The connection between housing types and social behavior is evident (Caimmi, 2006), and allows the opportunity of different and opposite social developments to depend on the type of this link, positive or negative. This relation has been fundamental over the years and its complexity has led to a varied expression of time and society in buildings and common areas, which are now alienated from their being culture’s expression, for the incapacity to understand the complexity by people (Caimmi, 2006). The actual projects are not referring to the human figure; they are the expression of the modernity through a

product. Through a lecture of the society and the cities at the level of environmental psychology, there are various reactions linked to stress, mainly associated with interpersonal relationships, which concern the alteration of the parameters of space, territoriality, and density.

When we faced with large agglomerations of excessive size and proportions of the out-sized clusters, compared to the human parameter, we perceive confusion and a sense of "disintegration of identity". The study of the relationship between man and the environment was carried out during the second UN Summit on "Environment and Development" held in Rio de Janeiro (1992).

During the 1970s, we can see that the idea began to prevail that the "public man" is in decline compared to the "private man" and the social ties lose their strength, that provokes the invasion of the society by lonely individuals (Bauman, 1999).

We can, therefore, affirm that the representation of the "public", and its space, is the symbol of the diversifications that can exist in a fragmented and complex society, and the fragmentation of public realm fuels tension and conflict between different social groups (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996). The concept of this type of space has also been evolved and it produced new forms and types of space. The new forms of public space are closely linked with the transition to the late capitalism and mass consumption from a perspective of the globalization and the standardization of space design (Carmona, 2003). We have seen that there is a strict relation between the existence of public space and the society and its relationship with the public sphere, which many consider being in crisis. Sennett (1992) believes that this was because the population lost to being an active force, by encouraging four circumstances:

- 1) The change of "life in public" has lost its significance, in the meaning of a homologation of codes of conduct and labels, which have led to an immediate lack of capacity for social distinction. This influenced a decrease in sociability, previously limited to its own social context, and to a lower confidence in the public sphere, which has unknown.
- 2) The road loses its condition of exposing its essence and thus becomes the place of illusion.
- 3) The public man has been supplanted by the spectator, the passing tourist, who is not active. As a result, social relations have been replaced by private life and the only research for personal awareness and feeling.
- 4) Finally, the uncertainty of this urban public life has been a spreading concern, encouraged

by the disintegration of the community previously considered.

In a context where public spaces reflect our wider culture, our private beliefs, and our public values, this is withdrawn in favor of greater "privatization" and "restriction" of public life (Goheen, 1998) but the answer should, therefore, come from a greater activity of public space. In spite of this thesis Carr (1992) does not believe that a good public space can create communities, but its success can take place in a context where there is a homogeneous community, where users will have the same needs, rights that are not in conflict and when it is possible to attribute similar meanings (Iverson, 1998).

Regardless of the vision supported, it is clear that changes in public life are transforming the design and management of public spaces, which are now more controlled.

In today's society, the concern is to understand WHO uses spaces, rather than HOW they are used and, in some cases, urban design was used as a tool for excluding unwanted users (Francis, 2012).

1.3 Control and protection

1.3.1 Permeability and the importance of the limits

The relationship between urban and social spaces in the community is changing in relation to events taking place in the city, thus acting in direct contact between closed and open spaces. The ambiguous dialectic between openness and closure has always seen the delimited space as a supporter of community creation, but also the need of isolation or individual privacy, however, openness recalls the idea of indifference and precariousness.

In megalopolises or large cities, the loss of the measurability facilitates the privatization of public space, the division of the void into spaces, where there is no longer a hierarchical architectural structure associated with corresponding urban relations within the system (Fronzi, 2013). The limit is therefore important to define a boundary of inclusion/exclusion, open/closed, which however does not serve to strengthen the concept of community, but to exclude the "foreigner". It is evident that the risk is to emphasise the opposite effect: more the integration is practiced for a subjective purpose and more it is not real, more an attempt is made to move away with annoyance and more the reaction will be contrary and aggressive, more the cities are inclined to exclusion the more it instigates itself to an angry feedback, ... (Caimmi, 2006). Social security must, therefore, result from a change in the real sense of security perceived within the community, where citizens participate actively and where there are knowledge and recognition within it.

To understand clearly the topic of insecurity and its influence on society, we can recognize that criminality act in particular types of places and specific conditions. Some researchers who argue that studying the environmental context of crime helps to provide a viable solution that can detach itself from today's mainly punitive, delinquent-centered solutions. From the point of view of urban planning, the place can assume help in focusing on the problem, based on its characteristics (Ceccato, 2011), such as:

Concentration - normally only a few places are actually at risk of crime, where you can intervene in a targeted manner; and then reduce total crime.

Stability - criminal influence can affect the community if it is not stable. Deviance can spread much faster than future securing of a neighborhood

Rhythmic - the activities and use of the territory by criminal activities follows rhythmic patterns (space-time). Once these are identified it is possible to organize the control, saving resources.

Nature of place - types of spaces can encourage types of deviance, compared to others, there is no doubt that there is something that leads to committing crimes in that place and not elsewhere.

Familiarity - the place-based approach must also be centered on habits and the feeling of territoriality. Understanding this in order to act as an urban level must be fundamental.

Agreeing with Caimmi's point of view, the city is divided and differentiated in its components but the melting pot is present and if this aspect grows up without measures, it is common a behavior that moves away from the "different" that threatens its identity. It is normal that spaces, both public and private, contain restrictions on access or activities, to ensure or deny their use. This concept is reported by several authors as the cornerstone to define a public space and to differentiate it from the private one. We have seen how there is no well-defined bipolarity regarding these two categories, for which «both public-ity and privacy exist in all spaces. Ignoring this duality condemns any definition of public space for being insufficient» (Kilian, 1998, pag.).

Kilian also defines the difference in the concept of privacy, which implies a power of exclusion both from a space and from a situation, and the public, for which access is the fundamental characteristic. The passage from these two fields, which coexist in every space, considered fruitfulness; the right to it, which differs from the right to property, is intrinsic to the right to the city. From Hobbes' point of view, we know that the aggregation of men leads necessary to a defense, it is clear that during the history we were witnessing the foundation of cities that was delimited by walls for the control of space. We have previously analyzed how in medieval cities the wall and the perimeter were used to contain both the Urbs (physical city, built) and the Civitas (city of men, relationships). The boundary is, therefore, a natural element of the urban system, which serves as a reference but must not be exclusive.

The necessary character for the usability is the porosity of the spaces, to guarantee the degree of permeability and access (Kohn, 2004) in their own spaces. The constrained form of the city, in the previous period, also reflected a stable concept of commuting and its internal and external relations, where the relationship between people are therefore fundamental. The spread of urbanization processes has not accommodated the “new civilization” named by Lefebvre who believes that «the more the city extends, the more social relations degrade», because where there is no measure the individual does not set limitations, but on the contrary, privacy prevails and affects the public sphere. The segregation of the public space threatens the opportunity of the freedom to express oneself (Bonibuni,

2009); this is a fundamental concept for the purpose of the circulation of ideas, above all for the opinions in disagreement with common sense, to avoid a standardization and a stillness of the social sphere.

1.3.2 Classification: urban security as an important variable

As public space is considered an important global asset, the owners and/or managers of it expect visitors and/or users to perceive and interpret it as a safe place (Carmona, 2008). This concept includes the need for a control of this place, thus taking into consideration the design of the space, as well as the management of the public space. These two aspects have been indispensable in recent years in order to respond constructively to two main trends.

On the one hand, these have led to a growing anxiety for crime, which has led people to avoid the public domain of the city to prefer a withdrawal of life in the private sphere; on the other hand, however, there has been a growth in urban entertainment, which has led to an opening to spaces outside the home. Carmona maintains that these aspects represent two sides of a trend, towards greater control, but consequently produce two different types of public space, directed towards inclusion and exclusion:

- Secure, strongly controlled by measures and devices to control the state of safety, and that they transmit this situation to users,
- Thematic, with the aim of creating an environment that can stimulate activity in order to attract more people to these spaces, governed by self-discipline.

Control is a psychological construct (Francis, 2012), which can change the participation and activity of a place, and which needs to be reviewed to highlight the individual and social benefits of a space.

The thematic dimension is linked with territoriality; as previously seen, this is an indispensable dimension to make the inhabitant feel the "sense of belonging", and it implies «the mutually exclusive use of areas and objects by people and objects» (Brown B. B. and Altman, 1983, pag.).

In their work, Brown and Altman (1983) separate three types of territories, classified on the different terms of duration of the occupation by the subjects and their psychological value.

They are defined as follows:

1. Primary territories, i.e. the private environments of houses, occupied for long periods of time and central to their occupants.
2. Secondary territories, which are accessible to a greater number of users, including regular occupants who exercise control over the space. These spaces, therefore, take on

more collective ownership and share public control.

3. The third type is a public territory, where occupation is often determined based on the principle of direct and immediate use of space and for short periods.

The latter two types, being purely public, form the basis of a discussion on public space. These studies support Lynch's thesis (1981) that if there are or not forms of spatial control there will be psychological consequences influenced by this "taking care" of the territory, this is an important consequence to understand in what field to act to ensure this aspect. The whole or the co-presence of these spatial rights, provide us with a conceptual definition of control inherent to the public space.

Lynch's five dimensions of control are discussed in terms of their relevance to public-space quality. He also suggests that spatial control, or its absence, has strong psychological consequences such and contributing to anxiety, satisfaction, and pride.

Control is an individual's or group's ability to access, use, influence, acquire property and attribute personal meaning to a public place (Francis, 1989). The question of who controls the public space can also be crucial to define the strategies of protection extended also in the private space (Goheen, 1998), security, therefore, assumes a value on the totality of the space, in its concrete dimension, but also perceptive, and it is still a fundamental concern for the public sphere (Schmidt, 2010).

1.3.3 Privatization for security

Starting from a need to define the concept of public space, multi-faceted in a wide diversity of components, including fundamental urban security and closely related to the concept of ownership, that has been changing throughout the past, which can no longer be synthesized in the dualism between public and private, protection and security is therefore a fundamental dimension to take into account a space as an active and quality place.

As argued by Carmona (2003), the use of good design can be a valid means of intervening on this type of issue in spaces. The physical character is clearly not the only one to be taken into account when talking about actions, from Lynch's point of view (1960) the term "form" is considered in a wider sense, as the general configuration of a settlement or «the spatial structure that hosts the activities of people, but also the flow of people, goods and the information that derives from them and the physical configurations that intervene to modify space in a meaningful way in relation to those activities, that is: boundaries, surfaces, channels, environments and objects» (Lynch, 1984, pag.).

In addition to this aspect, Lynch sets out three main theories:

- the "cosmogonic" one (when the cosmos is assumed to be a metaphor for the urban form, used to express pride and attachment to a community and relations between people and the community itself), for which it is interesting to note that the magical foundation of this theory can be clearly questioned, but which still have a strong psychological influence on the subjects;
- the "machinist" (when the metaphor of the urban form is the car), where the settlements have a provisional character, with clear and limited practical purposes, characteristic of the colonial foundations;
- the "organicist" (where the metaphor of the shape of the city is the organism), which sees the city as a subject that possesses the aspects that distinguish living creatures from machines.

The objective must, therefore, be to focus on planning and interventions on the scale of people, both physical and relational, so to avoid having to act on the problem of insecurity, prevent this discomfort. We will see later how the importance of perception is linked not so much to real insecurity but especially with environmental and social factors that provoke feelings of discomfort in safe places (Cennamo and Veratti, 2012).

The importance of our safety had influenced the management of public space, in different ways, and urban planning plays a key role in preventing the spread of the feeling of fear, influenced by the territorial conformation (Bianchini and Sicurella, 2012). From this point of view, prevention helps the spread of repressive behavior and strategies, which may lead to apparent benefits in the short term, but which over time, may have a negative impact in both the physical and social spheres.

We can see that not all of the scholars believe in a decline of the public sphere, but they cannot negate the diffusion of the privatization processes, leading to a redefinition of the concept of the public (Nogueira Lopes, 2015) but also ensure public safety. With privatization and the retreat to domestic life, we can monitor different elements we used to define public space, that ensures safety and control of the space (Sennett, 1992), but encourages all the short-term solution based on the exclusion's strategies.

Not only for the social sphere but also in the physical one: the need for the safety of conditioned urban form, threaten the important aspect of the access, and promote discrimination (Atkinson, 2003).

«The democratization of public space was entangled with the question of fear for physical security» (Zukin, 1995, pag.), this aspect is also influenced by the fear and the perception of insecurity (Amendola, 1995), and can discourage the use of public space by people. This issue will be examined in more depth during the next part.

2. THE FORMS OF URBAN FEAR

2.1 The implications of insecurity

2.1.1 The notion of fear

Actual phenomenon of global urbanization seems to be supported by an economic motor, adequate to its growth, and therefore one of the result of spontaneous growth, which, in many cases, has not time and opportunity to be regulated by the institutions (Barberi, 2010) and has consequently spread in a spontaneous way. As I mentioned in the previous part, globalization has allowed different changes to lead to the manifest of various phenomena on several levels, both physical and spatial (economic growth, the explosion of consumption, the expansion of cities, the disintegration of the urban social fabric, the alteration of ways of life and values, ...). The rapid diffusion of these changes, and the inability of administrations and inhabitants to cope with their consequences, have made possible negative phenomena such as the weakening of family structures, poverty, social exclusion and drug addiction, which have inadvertently encouraged the spread of deviant behaviour. Periods of economic prosperity, accompanied by the creation of employment, are often been accompanied by a sharp increase in crime, despite that different scholars contradict the idea of the inseparable binomial between crime and crisis.

The different variables previously analysed, come into play especially in the urban process, must allow them to be overcome and, at the same time, their enhancement, through the process that involves all the various spheres with their related problems.

In need of transitional conditions and instability, the issue of urban violence is part of this panorama. Indeed, crime and violence can be seen as the direct result of the various processes and choices of the past (Padovan and Vianello, 1999), which have deep long-term roots and also include events linked to global economic changes, national conditions and the level and pace of urban development. Violence and all that gravitates around it, are phenomena of complex reading, also associated with direct risk factors, and mainly can be read through two different points of view (Lourenço, 2012) or the sociological one, focused on the actors and the relationships they establish with society, and the anthropological one, apparently in contradiction with the first, which is based on a more cultural definition. If we place ourselves in this perspective, we can better understand the phenomenon, without focusing only on the description of the object or the methods of manifestation of the fact.

The term "urban violence" therefore attempts to describe the various acts of different

penal levels, which in several cases fall within the definition of incivility. From these premises, one can therefore draw a definition of "urban insecurity" and "feeling of insecurity".

Bauman (2000), believes that in the general "cauldron of insecurity" are included several main dimensions, which concern different objects:

- Safety: relating to threats to the safety of life and to the physical and mental integrity of persons;
- Security: refers to personal protection linked to the conditions of an active social life;
- Certainty: which concerns cognitive orientation, the weakening of the ability to master the world and the disappearance of symbolic reference points.

Nevertheless, the deduction of this fear is incalculable (Curiel, R. P. and Bishop S. R., 2016), the combination of reactions and irrational evaluations, linked to unnatural cultural behaviours, difficult to isolate and measure.

The word "violence" comes from the word "*violentia*", which refers only to the physical aspect of vigour and power in the use of physical force, even from a quantitative point of view. More precisely, it refers to the action that a body carries out to exert the essence in the form of strength and, therefore, power, value and life force.

In the definition comes into play to emphasize, describe and outline the concept of insecurity, the concept of "fear", apparently linked to crime, which covers the central theme, around which there are a number of phenomena and sphere of influence (Roccato, 2012) like social and psychological construction, relationship with the environment, impact of victimisation passed to the current perception, methodological aspects such as measuring fear of crime. In the light of this overview, in the way of urban planning, it is important to focus on different elements (Padovan and Vianello, 1999), conditioned by the fear, but that must necessarily be considered separately: the "concern and perception for crime" (the concern for crime as a social phenomenon, and its implications in our life), the "feelings of fear or insecurity" (more personal and subjective, to be involved in a crime and to remain a victim).

Fear, therefore, can be considered in the abstract, referring to a specific criminal phenomenon, which subjectively is associated with a memory, but especially to the reminiscence of the feeling that spreads to the present sphere, where it fits in a decontextualized and misunderstood, taking over. Considering these suggestions (Padovan and Vianello, 1999), fear becomes a feeling that is realized by limiting normal behaviours, thus modifying the

routine, promoting attitudes to security and self-imposed limitations to one's life. At the administrative level, there is currently a lack of certain and learnable rules, for which urban violence has traditionally been organized and distributed, both from a temporal and spatial point of view, thus allowing a sort of control. These criteria of orientation, over time, have contributed to the construction of the means that have influenced the double dialectic (Acierno, 2010), or the simple urban dualism, for which the urban experience would be synthesized into opposition poles, including known / unknown and safe / insecure.

Several theories see the solution in a more focused approach to provide effective information about the risk, without diminishing it, but also trying to find constructive answers through a social strengthening through the networks or activities of existing organizations. In the spaces of the city, urban design and various techniques must be used to eliminate the external signs of physical decay and social disorder, always with a view to reactivating communities (Tulumello, 2011) that are becoming increasingly disintegrated.

From a psychology' point of view, various researchers observe that fear is a physiological and emotional response to a threatening stimulus, but that numerous scholars of the various disciplines emphasize only the emotional aspects, and fear of crime is specifically.

In specific, the fear of crime is an articulated concept that cannot be analysed and taken into consideration if its psychological connotations - perception, cognition and behaviour - are not also considered. Tulumello (2011) in his work developed a study to define the fear of crime through three dominant theoretical sub-concepts that are indirect victimization, community concern, and incivility; he also studied his way of measuring, possible through an analysis of the fear of crime and the various indicators in more detail, using: perceived disorder, concern for victimization, and perceived risk. However, the growing sense of insecurity among the population is contrasted by an absence to define the actual statistical data related to the problem, which allows measuring the phenomenon in a more objective way. As we shall see, the analyses are limited only to present the phenomenon of crime, understood from the point of view of homicides or reports of theft, without, however, effectively taking into account the variables that come into play when defining the general problem of insecurity. The level of crime can be understood through various factors, among which their effective involvement as victims of a crime, in fact past victimization can double the ratio of probability of perceiving fear related to a criminal act (Tseloni, 2007), but this does not change the fact that in many cities and on several occasions the probability of incurring a crime is very low. The International Crime Victims Survey has conducted a study in which it can be seen that less than 3% of the population of the

countries surveyed found personal theft during the 1-year period, and rates are equally low for other types of crime. However, the spread of the news of victimisation can indirectly involve many more people, who may feel threatened because the fact happened to a close person in their social circle. This may also be the case with media coverage, but we will see more in the following chapters.

We can therefore consider the fear of crime in relation to its manifestations, which therefore include all the individuals' cautionary practices, which are fundamental to avoiding involvement in any form of crime, which could involve us as victims. This factor, however, is not obvious; in fact, the relationship between fear and actual victimization is not so apparent. Most reactions to crime present emotional nature and can easily be influenced by the social context, thus making reactions unpredictable (Padovan D. and Vianello F., 1999), at the pity of individual subjectivity. The problem of the fear of crime induced, and therefore influenced, can cause a sort of moral panic; bad information or the diffusion of negative experiences, in response to the relationship that we associate between a high crime rate (an objective fact) and fear of being involved (a subjective attitude).

With reference to the manifestation of the feeling of insecurity, two prevalent types of individuals can be considered (Roccato, 2012):

- In the first, when fear prevails, individuals favour more materialistic values, such as economic growth and personal property;
- In the second, the concern is more related to the social sphere, thus determining the sphere of values defined as post-materialist.

These manifestations of concern also influence our behaviour, and therefore the relationship we have with the city and with the space outside our own homes.

In the absence of spatial rules, violence has spread, modifying in the culture and in the collective imagination the awareness that in the metropolis the danger zones are situated in a context of substantial security. The current strong image is that of the city as a danger zone, within which we can build or delimit protected areas. Control must therefore be central to our security, and this within the private space can easily be carried out, even if the phenomenon of crime and its spread can aggravate the actual negative perception. Fear has therefore become a constant in urban life and culture, rising to the principle of spatial and cultural organization, for which fear of aggression is reshaping the relationship of inhabitants with the city and its smaller spaces in large metropolitan areas. Individual perception is an important factor at the administrative level, more than subjective fear, as it

can help to understand how many actions or policies have affected a community, analysing it at supra-local level (Curiel and Bishop, 2016). It may be possible for two different regions, with the same levels of crime and of a similar nature, to differ in their response to citizens. This perception of a particular place is not relevant in itself, but is much more useful at the aggregate level, thus providing an overview that can easily change over time. An important dimension of the place's influence on mental health and well-being can be found through a comprehensive analysis of crime and fear of crime, related to a specific context (Lorenc et Al., 2012).

We have already underlined how several scholars have affirmed how the regional perception of personal security is formed by a series of different factors, among which the effective personal experience of victimization by the subjects involved is clearly more influential: it has been noted how the past victimization can even double the ratio of probability reported to the subjects (Tseloni, 2007). This factor is not the only one to take into consideration, among which the background environmental context is important, in which both the victim and the aggressor are inserted, as well as the information channels that provide an overview of a specific situation.

In many cases, the study of the perception of environmental dangers shows that in many cases isolated, rare and memorable events have a greater influence and are overestimated compared to common criminal phenomena that occur more frequently. This factor is defined by many scholars as "adaptation to the threat" (Ciappi), which in many cases can be a consequence of what happens in areas with a high level of crime, for which the subjects exposed daily get used to this presence, and over time the impact of these phenomena is mitigated. This adaptive effect, habitual to a specific event, is eliminated following episodes of direct victimization, which increases the levels of insecurity and perception of it in the place.

Security is therefore becoming one of the factors motivating the choice of home location, depend on the neighbourhood defined as more or less safe, but even in real estate is frequent witness sponsorship of homes suitable even for more problematic areas because they have the attributes of individual security and condominium (defenses and armour, surveillance, remote surveillance systems, etc..). Mental health linked with fear is an important constituent to consider. We can see that the promotion of a general situation of well-being and health from the mental point of view is closely related to the place (Lorenc et Al., 2012) to which it refers, as well as to the activities and physical characteristics and equipment of the spaces. The identification of links between the local environment and

crime and fear of crime, can be fundamental in the integration of this to define local production strategies that serve at local level to integrate mental health into local policies.

The adjective "urban" referred to the concept of security takes into account various meanings, or refers to a meaning that can distinguish it from the traditional concepts of security and public order. The affirmation of security therefore requires, from this point of view, not only the guarantee of protection or absence of threats, but also various activities relating to the very perception of public security in space (Fasolino and Graziuso, 2015). Secondly, the importance of the place is highlighted, that is, the background of the events, the space where it is possible to intervene to improve these types of characteristics.

The city has been reaffirmed in the collective culture as an irreplaceable resource not substitutable by a simple sum of parts or private spaces.

2.1.2 Insecurity: the present of the globalization

The process of urbanization has assumed, in past centuries, an immense growth, of planetary dimensions. At the beginning of the 19th century, only 20 cities had more than 100,000 inhabitants and only 1.7% of the world's population were urban, while by mid-century there were 4 cities with almost 1 million inhabitants. This figure increased to 19 cities in 1900, while since the beginning of the 20th century, 141 cities have a population of over 1 million, 12 cities between 5 and 10 million, 3 cities with more than 10 million inhabitants and 1'460 cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants. It is important to note that this strong increase has come about thanks to the global spread of the industrial production regime, and its heritage.

Nowadays, the perception of security has become a serious problem, especially from the city population' point of view. For this reason, it is very important to understand how the city's management can help in transmitting security to the subjects, both from the point of view of policies and administration.

The process of urban globalization has as a direct consequence a series of phenomena directly affecting the intensification of social inequalities and violence, through various repercussions on the design and composition of space, thus reflecting the fragmented aspects of society that focus on forms of unplanned urban segregation, and fixed mainly on privatization through the spread of modes of living based on utopian islands, where security is 100% assured.

In this context of anxiety and insecurity, there is a loss of confidence in the capacity of the State to ensure security and social order (Nelson, 2012). Individualism and the development of wider societal contexts have favoured the emergence of a protective and vigilant State, and have spread a decrease in the tolerance of activities in the population that detach themselves from the traditional routine.

Several scholars have thus been able to affirm that modern society has created the individual socially separated from his fellow human beings, and this, out of fear, has isolated itself from public life, concentrating only on itself its own interests, in a society that they do not know.

Hale (1996) in his work often emphasizes the real and indirect cost that a negative perception of crime can have on our personal lives:

1. Fear of individuals and communities, if extreme, can affect in a very negative way the quality of life of the inhabitants of a neighbourhood. In fact, fear can produce a mentality

that produces an approach that greatly reduces public life, further reducing informal social control and spontaneous surveillance of spaces. Exasperation of surveillance through strict but aseptic control may instead increase the risk factor and the likelihood of crime.

2. The individual's sense of vulnerability can be related to unspecified factors, such as gender, age and social class. This factor has a direct psychological, physical and economic impact on the ability to respond positively to an unforeseen event.

3. Fear is not always directly linked to victimisation experiences. For this reason, one of the fundamental roles we know is that of information, whether it is possible through direct and objective channels, or by word of mouth, in a way and of indirect will.

4. The perception of the local physical and social environment has its value and clear influence. It has been found that a well-tended environment is more appreciated, and that the theory of "broken windows" actually has much value in today's societies, regardless of the actual level of crime, as these symbols of apparent incivility become visible symbols of the lack of social control and order.

Two U.S. studies (Taylor 2000 and Sampson 2001) analyzed by Mastronardi and Ciappi (2014) rethink the relationship between city composition, disorder, incivility, crime and crime, through the evaluation of broken windows in North America.

The first study considers the development of the neighborhood through a study that examined the development of neighborhoods over a period of 10 years (from the 80s to the 90s, the years of greatest development). Taylor was the first to study the phenomenon from the temporal and evolutionary point of view of the spaces, thus highlighting how the physical deterioration of the neighbourhood affected the perception of insecurity more than the actual spread of crime. Another direct effect of the deterioration is the depreciation of the real estate value of certain properties. As far as the second research is concerned, the focus is on the links between urban disorder and crime, which is not directly related to the increase in crime rates, but highlights the importance of the control variable, explanatory of the so-called "collective efficacy", this can be defined as the degree of cohesion between residents, or the availability of actual possible social relations, in order to share a kind of rules and expectations, regarding the public space and its community use, which is essential to prevent the problem of abandonment of spaces focusing on the concept of "social capital".

The "concept of social capital" is taken into consideration in relation to the individualism of society by Coleman (1990), for whom the individual will act according to a calculation

of utility, even if inserted in a context inhabited by different subjects, which will influence his choices and with whom he will enter into relationship. In the perspective of the "theory of rational choice"¹, Coleman (1990) believes that individuals do not rationally decide to invest in share capital, but is instead a choice dictated by the possibility of carrying out activities undertaken for different purposes, for this reason of unintentional choice, the social capital is different from other typologies. Jacobs (1961), on the other hand, divides the concept into three closely interconnected forms of capital, namely neighbourhood networks (informal relationships which are recognised as having a sort of social monitoring role), associations (of neighbourhood or local), local self-government (formal relationships that can extend to the whole concept of the city).

These particular forms of social capital include both the socio-spatial and the socio-cultural vision, according to the various levels of territoriality involved.

Cardia (2005), highlights five components related to the demand for security, which, in addition to those already mentioned (risk of victimization, discomfort due to the breakdown of codes of coexistence, perception of insecurity, fear and components arising) also adds the break in the traditional amnesties of care of the territory, strictly linked to the social capital.

In the contemporary city, the triggering factor of the collective fear is the unpredictability of the criminal fact, risk and violence have always been factors that, even in the collective imagination, have always been associated, above all, with the great metropolises or megalopolises. In this scenario, public space is seen as dangerous, especially the street and public areas, and it has always been the case that they have been privatised.

These disciplines have been, as already mentioned, influenced by globalization and by the urban dynamics transversal to each discipline that have only fueled the break of stable preconceptions, accompanied by the decrease of social intervention policies, by deindustrialization, by the polarization of cities, by the emergence of dual cities and by transnational crime (Amendola, 2000). The so-called post-modern turnaround (for developing countries, this process happened in an even more explosive way, following the perverse colonial); on the one hand, there is, therefore, the affirmation of the post-fordist economies and the consequences in social structures, and, on the other, the evolution of the overall framework of policy production (Tulumello, 2011).

¹ The set of principles according to which the individual will make his choices on the basis of an independent assessment of the range of choices dictated by the costs and profits resulting from a given choice is defined.

BOX 3 - “SÃO PAULO CITY TELLERS” BY FRANCESCO JODICE

The documentary of Jodice (2006) in São Paulo Citytellers, expresses the life in the megalopolis through the expedient of the interview about the life of 7 different people that live in some emblematic global geopolitical contexts. One of that worked in the car market. “São Paulo Citytellers” was made for the 27th São Paulo Biennial, and in 2016 “Panorama”, the general exposition of the artist was settled at CAMERA (Centro Italiano per la Fotografia), in Torino. The “Citytellers” project is an important Prior to the event, Jodice spent the years between 2006 and 2010, in the city to create this video work which could well be classified within the strictest documentary tradition (the piece was made after a previous accord, that it would be broadcast on the Brazilian State’ television). In a city that stands in for the megalopolis, characterized by a complex and variegated background, Jodice was drawn the disparity in the city’s inhabitants, characterized by sharp ethnic and social differences. In the narration Jodice avoided any dramatic effect, to give a voice to different groups, whose daily lives range from affluence to survival, that including graffiti artists, helicopter pilots, armor-plated car, policemen, streets operator (“catador”), in parallel with the voice and the opinion of local specialists.

PESQUISA SOBRE SEGURANÇA URBANA

Olá, sou Jessica, uma estudante italiana de Planejamento Territorial do Politécnico de Torino na Italia. Estou conduzindo meu trabalho final de graduação sobre planejamento de segurança urbana, que comecei a desenvolver em São Paulo, durante o projeto Erasmus. Eu gostaria da sua colaboração para responder algumas simples perguntas anonimamente. Obrigada antecipadamente.

ALGUMAS PERGUNTAS GERAIS

1. Quantos anos você tem?

- ☐ < 20
- ☐ 20 - 30
- ☐ 30 - 40
- ☐ 40

2. Sexo

- ☐ Masculino
- ☐ Feminino

3. Em qual bairro você mora?

.....

4. Por que você mora em São Paulo?

- ☐ Eu sou residente (moro sozinho ou com minha família)
- ☐ Eu sou um estudante off-site ou Erasmus
- ☐ Eu me mudei para cá por várias razões
- ☐ Eu sou turista
- ☐ Outros...

SEGURANÇA EM CASA

5. Em que tipo de edifício você mora? (casa, apartamento, conjunto residencial, etc)

.....

6. Quais tipos de "defesas" existem na sua moradia para pessoas não residentes?

- ☐ Arame farpado
- ☐ Fio eletrificado
- ☐ Recepção
- ☐ Vigia noturno
- ☐ Parede
- ☐ Muro
- ☐ Outros...

7. Seu contrato de moradia há uma parte relacionada ao seu comportamento para garantir a segurança de todo o prédio? Se sim, faça uma breve descrição.

.....

8. O prédio tem algum tipo de serviço (supermercado, academia, lavanderia, ...) dentro do conjunto habitacional?

- ☐ Não

- ☐ Sim

9. Se você respondeu sim, quais?

.....

SEGURANÇA FORA DE CASA

10. Você acha seu bairro seguro?

- ☐ Não
- ☐ Sim

11. Os outros acham que seu bairro é seguro?

- ☐ Não
- ☐ Sim

12. Como você se desloca normalmente em seu tempo livre na cidade?

- ☐ Automóvel / Táxi / Uber
- ☐ Moto
- ☐ Bicicleta
- ☐ A pé
- ☐ Ônibus
- ☐ Metrô
- ☐ Outros...

13. A escolha está condicionada à segurança do lugar local que você tem que ir e os bairros que precisa atravessar?

- ☐ Não
- ☐ Sim

UMA ÚLTIMA PERGUNTA

14. Quais são as características que devem ter um espaço público para que você possa defini-lo como seguro?

.....

MUITO OBRIGADA PELA SUA DISPONIBILIDADE

Se você quiser se manter atualizado, se tiver algum conselho ou se estiver interessado no meu tema de estudo, entre em contato comigo pelo e-mail

15. Algum conselho / consideração / comentário?

2.1.3 The unmanageable form of cities and the loss of references

There is a strong connection between the complex forms of the city, their denseness and the spread of crime (UN-Habitat, 2007). A fundamental theory is that dimensions are closely associated with specific types of social ill health, including crime, and in developing countries this can be explained by three main factors:

- 1) The criminals decide to act in the zones of greater localization of high social classes, and of a more developed market for the resale of objects. As far as illegal actions are concerned, the high densities are the ideal and neutral background for the clash between rival factions;
- 2) The chances of arresting a criminal are lower in large cities, not so much because of their organisation, but because of community cooperation with the police, who in many cases do not have the confidence of the population.
- 3) The highest proportion of individuals at risk of crime or potential criminals.

The spread of crime has actually been associated with low population density, contrary to expectations about the link between the urban dimension, density and crime. Measures relating to the size and density of cities are, in fact, important for forecasting crime rates, but are incomplete for the study and spread of criminal behaviour (UN-Habitat, 2007).

The correlation between city spaces and illegal activities should be read in relation to the influence of moving activities to safer areas, at the same time these phenomena affect property prices in some cities, thus changing the decisions of investment zones and the locations of the main social classes.

One of the main sources of insecurity is the violation of communicative rules, which causes a suspension of the trust given to others. This behaviour, which is normally distrustful of outsiders in the community, is actually widespread throughout community life, outside a narrow circle. In fact, modern life imposes a frenetic rhythm of activities carried out with foreigners, thus imposing a unnerving and demanding attention, which only feeds the insecurity and the gap between the subjects (Padovan D. and Vianello F., 1999). We have already affirmed how the collective feelings of the past were more focused on strong collective groups, now replaced by feelings that have as object the individual subject and his personal sphere. Numerous researchers have found that the nature of the fear of crime can be traced back to a condition of economic social precariousness, fragility and isolation of personal identity, for this reason the most vulnerable social classes should be the most disadvantaged.

The individualism mixed with the privatization of areas and activities normally linked to public use, discourages local investment and thus does not allow people to participate in working life.

Tulumello (2011) highlights how these processes have strongly influenced the conformation of cities and their spaces, from a more securitarian point of view:

- 1) As already mentioned, the fracture of the community is also reflected in public places, characterized by a lower number of visitors;
- 2) It leads to an increase in economic disparities, thus leading to those who defend their property more and instead abandon it and allows a greater spread of crime in the confrontation of weak people who in many cases live in already disadvantaged areas;
- 3) The fear of crime is often associated with a reduction in tolerance, and can in some cases lead to greater private punishment, thus disincentive confidence in forms of state defence, or rehabilitation;
- 4) In relation to what has been said in the previous point, private justice can lead to an increase in the number of those who possess and support the possession of weapons;
- 5) The psychological effects related to the physical and social environment, provides a mistrust and abandonment of the spaces of a neighbourhood, especially if it is poor starting;
- 6) People who are afraid of being victims of criminal events change their habits drastically, tend to frequent the same places more and make their private space safer and safer.

The community is therefore reduced to the private space, in some cases to the condominium complex, and encourages the theories of the categorisation of the foreigner, who therefore sees the differences between the various groups exasperated, amplifying their negative behaviour in order to highlight the link between foreign-criminal (Polano et Al., 2007). This phenomenon can be confirmed by supporting the theories of social attribution, which therefore provides for a judgment regarding behaviour, not in relation to the individual but to the group to which he belongs, thus helping to create and strengthen a social identity, or to confirm certain attributions linked to prejudice.

According to Bauman (2000) there is a close correlation between the local response to the problems of insecurity and the contemporary social condition, which therefore leads to different definitions according to specific aspects. The first two both originate from the spread of the phenomenon of globalization and directly involve the dynamics of indefinite global flows, which the subject cannot control individually, such as:

- Insecurity, uncertainty about the future;
- Uncertainty, existential insecurity
- Unsafety, the fear of physical safety,

The latter, on the other hand, represents the fears that may be within our reach, and in many cases is associated with «segregationist/exclusive pressures, leading inexorably to wars for urban spaces» (Baumann, 2000).

Lefebvre (1999) repeatedly points out that urban reality appears more like chaos than an ordered subject. The notion of order/disorder of urban space is based on the continuous evolution of the contemporary city, much faster than understanding some phenomena and how to contain them (Lira, 2017).

Violence is present from the origin of the history of humanity and has always been an important and triggering fact of the urban problems that have historically marked some territories and societies.

BOX 4 - BRAZIL AND VIOLENCE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In Brazilian urban settings, the aspect has led to the identification of this attitude of the manifestation of violent crime in Brazilian urban environments, the panchronic and anachronistic measure (Souza, 2008). Pancrônico (from the Greek pán, all and chronikós, with respect to time) as useful for analyzing the different characteristics and manifestations during the different historical periods of human evolution.

It is anachronistic, however, in referring to the traditional recording of violence, which in serious cases is not included and contemplated in the context of the development of civilization.

The developing countries have particular stories, in many cases derived by historical ages of colonial submission. The main reasons that allowed this strong growth by the countries defined, in the 90s "Third World", can be summarized in four main points (Davis, 2006):

1. The decolonization of developing countries has given rise to a postcolonial urban space, dominated by the elites, which reproduce polarized patterns of land use and ways of life inherited from the model of the colonial city;
2. For the countries of Africa, Latin America, the Middle East and part of South Asia, they underwent a form of urbanization without growth, following the global debating crisis of the late '70s, taken over by the International Monetary Fund in the '80s in the Developing Countries;
3. The Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) seek to address the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) as a result of World Bank policies, which have contributed with the generation of a surplus that has targeted life in urban slums;
4. The economic crisis and political instability have favored the conflicts that arose from the displacements towards the main cities, which have become the spatial reference of these phenomena.

2.1.4 Recurrent symbols in the panopticon contemporary cities

In the previous chapters, it was noted that the presence of public and private spaces in today's society is not defined and dual, but Mastronardi and Ciappi (2014) believe that these spaces have intrinsic characteristics of demarcation that can allow us to mark their defense from the intrusiveness of others. Brown and Altman (1978) have applied this defined concept of "privacy regulation" to the defense of the territory, distinguishing different types of space according to their character. The space mediated by physical markers carrying non-verbal signs of ownership, monitoring and protection has therefore been defined as "primary", introducing a clear separation between this area and the one dominated by strangers. When fear comes into play, these spaces "recruit" (Mastronardi and Ciappi, 2014), thus leaving the areas that are not very territorialized at the mercy of themselves and available for acts of deviance.

This theory, therefore, allows us to delineate a sort of map that sees its own home at the center, as the most important place to defend, from which, if we distance ourselves, the sense of belonging decreases and therefore the insecurity increases. It is therefore important to develop a territoriality that allows greater social interaction, outside the home, which can increase social cohesion, diminishing the fear of the other.

In 1791 Jeremy Bentham theorized and designed a prison model known as a panopticon, whose structure was composed of a central tower, inside which the observer would station, surrounded by a circular construction, where the prisoners' cells were placed, illuminated from the outside and separated by thick walls. The disposition guarantees both the possibility of control and the impossibility for the prisoners to have human relations, each of them is in fact locked up in a cell directed exclusively towards the central tower. Later, several sociologists analyzed this form of imprisonment and attributed to the concept of Panopticon a wider meaning, namely to replace the crowd with so many singularities, to prevent the mutual exchange of ideas. It is a new and very powerful spatial form, endowed with a capacity of influence on the social and psychological world of the individuals who learn, forcibly, how to behave with the constant fear of being observed. In today's society, we see a willingness of people to "be observed" and the symbolism that was previously linked to medieval fortresses, impenetrable prisons, defense techniques, today are, in many cases, used to secure spaces. The feeling of insecurity, therefore, induces a predisposition of measures limiting individual freedoms and guarantees (UN-Habitat, 2007). A personal fear is superimposed by a fear that refers to society, thus taking into consideration different forms of caution, on which the feeling of insecurity is placed.

In some cases, control measures are preventive of a crime, but there should be no risk of relying on these defensive and monitoring tools to identify the perpetrator of a crime once it has been committed.

Overall, there is a limited decrease in crime (Lira, 2017), statistically insignificant, as a result of these measures, which tend instead to move the problem to other places or to look for situations of lack of identification of those who commit these actions.

Later on, a list is proposed with some of the main symbols frequently found in contemporary cities and their role in establishing urban insecurity:

▪ WALL

The wall in architecture is a load-bearing vertical building structure, created as the main frame of a building or as the delimitation of an external space. From this definition, we can deduce the two main functions of the wall, which have recurred in history, namely the foundation and the delimitation (Cennamo and Veratti, 2012). The wall is, therefore, the symbol of the defense against what is unknown and which, as a result, can represent a danger. For this reason, the walls must not be static, dividing, but must work on the concept of porosity, rather than trying to knock it down, for example by creating plant defenses, which in many cases are not entirely clear (Lira, 2017). We live today in one of the safest societies that have ever existed, but despite this, the sense of insecurity seems to be increasingly strong (Bauman 2000).

▪ CAMERAS

The possibility that a hazard may emerge from space is rendered in vain by the use of security cameras to monitor the spaces from which the hazard may emerge. Thus we are all continuously monitored, turning all of us into possible criminals (Petti 2007). In general, it seems that video surveillance is the most effective method to limit crimes to property, discouraging the possibility of carrying out crimes of an instrumental nature, deriving from opportunistic motivations (Tulumello, 2011). According to some scholars, video surveillance can indirectly stimulate informal social control, favored by increased natural surveillance (UN-Habitat, 2007). Incorporating the elements of media architecture as strategies of self-protection, the residential spaces of megalopolis express appropriation that reproduces particular forms that imprison spaces and tend to control them 24 hours a day (Lira,

2017).

▪ POLICE

In today's society there is a climate of distrust of administrations, however, law enforcement agencies have always played a symbolic key role within a society. The ineffectiveness and lack of awareness of the police are justified by the increase in demands for greater responsibility (UN-Habitat, 2002), as the expectations of citizens regarding security and the increase in crime, in many cases are not met by the preparation of these in the field of defense. To counter these feelings of insecurity and vulnerability, police forces, in addition to being deployed in the most vulnerable areas, must collaborate with local realities in their defense, ensuring their active cooperation and improving services in order to achieve greater accountability to the communities in which they operate.

▪ MASS-MEDIA

As already highlighted in many cases, the mass media do nothing but highlight the socio-spatial stigmatization of a city, thus reducing the discourse on a superficial level, such as the association between poverty and violence. The trivialization of violence also leads to the perception that certain types of activities are normal and traditional, telling of facts that no longer have an impact on society, especially when they involve people from different classes.

It is interesting to note how information can stimulate or not the spread of feelings of fear and insecurity, and how politics can use these means to create consensus in weak or disadvantaged situations, to the detriment of those who find themselves in situations of hardship, instead of focusing on solving the problems that lead them into these conditions. Amendola (2003) points out that it is not so much the indices of crime or criminal behavior that influence the tendencies of architects and town planners, but the demand for safety on the part of the urban population that is frightened. The media are aiming to emphasize those aspects that do nothing more than encouraging all those fears linked to a dangerous and indefinite future, making it even more obscure and threatening. In Brazil this control is everywhere, yet it is also in spaces defined safe, such as shopping malls, or subway stops, or the shopping streets of wealthy or tourist districts, that violence is seen and perceived through above all urban degradation; the streets are places of passage, in many cases experienced only by marginal people. Another important factor is the music spread among

young people, where the melodies become dark and the lyrics are vulgar and violent, contrasting sharply with the melodies of the past, characterized instead by cheerful melodies but melancholy lyrics. The media only feed the negative relationship that violence generates in terms of adaptation, repetition, and fear. The repetition of actions can instead influence the behavior of various subjects, to emulate gestures or actions, without thinking about the repercussions that these can bring. Fear, on the other hand, as seen in the previous chapters, can be an excellent tool for conveying people and fostering discrimination. The information of the media is to be understood as a commodity, governed solely by private initiative.

2.2 The forms of urban insecurity

2.2.1 A wrong social dichotomy: rich and poor

In the contemporary metropolis, it is frequent to notice how the society is diversified and has within it a mix of ethnic groups and social stratifications, in which it is inevitable that minorities are present. In some cases, as a result of well-established historical processes and prejudices, conflicts can often arise between these different parties, and in many cases when the interests of certain groups seem to threaten the customary practices of others. These clashes can occur due to different cultural habits and practices, especially with regard to the use of space, whether public or private.

The population explosion of the last century, especially in developing countries, has led to insufficient productive development, resulting in a crisis and polarisation of wealth, feeding the crowds of people who live on the margins of society, at the limits of survival.

The city itself feeds poverty, uncertainty, the government and financial crisis, resulting in a reduction in subsistence policies, privatization of various subsidies and problems of various kinds.

Those who do not have the appropriate resources are not able to interact to improve their condition and, in these realities, the network of solidarity is weakened, resulting in the marginalization of individuals. The precariousness of this condition stimulates these subjects to deviance, and in the common imagination the "criminalization of poverty" is established (Bauman, 2004). This statement, however, cannot have a certain value, since it is based on articulated and always different conditions, which do not focus so much on the wealth of the community of reference, but on vulnerability.

When integration policies fail, an attempt is made to "buy" security, thus feeding a private industry that has no interest in dismantling this reality. There is indeed a polarisation between the classes, but even more so the middle class can easily be equipped with security and defence measures, even if only at the level of the housing complex. As for the city of São Paulo, which has very high indicators of poverty and social inequality (Caldeira, 1996), has a particular spatial configuration and differs from other major cities in Brazil. In São Paulo the distinction between the formal city and the favelas is to be considered «prescriptive and discriminating, clearly separating the space of privilege and the space of oppression» (Souza, 1994). But in the city live mainly the middle classes, both inhabitants of the favelas, both of the more affluent neighbourhoods. The two different polarizations are located outside the city, outside the main interactions and the city life, without the need

to go there.

The distance between the richest and poorest members of society is perhaps more important than the conditions of poverty and social unease that influence the spread of crime and violence. Linked to inequalities are, of course, the key exclusion factors (UN-Habitat, 2007) linked to unequal access to various services, such as employment, education, health and basic infrastructure. Poverty and inequality remain the main determinants of precariousness, but its correlation to violence is not automatic, but the correlation is relative to the lack of security of his life, from another point of view.

Crime imposes itself on society, and drastically affects the quality of life and the physical and mental health of individuals, which, associated with this, have had a negative impact on democracy and the authorities (Souza, 1994).

We have previously analysed how community safety is identified, in many cases, as a fundamental element in the requalification of a neighbourhood, to make it safe. Other scholars, however, argue that this purely "physical" approach, linked to environmental design (Arriagada and Godoy, 2000), does not address the root causes of poverty, deprivation and spatial exclusion, the basis of the spread of crime.

The increase in urban poverty is generally considered to be associated with the increase in violence, delinquency and insecurity in cities, but many scholars believe that these factors are not only influenced by poverty. It is crucial to note that the poorest regions are not the most violent, and the existence of networks of mutual relations and trust in a community favours much more stable forms of interaction. In cities where inequality and social injustice are present, it is easier to connect the feeling and condition of frustration with the possibility of being diffusers of aggressive or violent behaviour. Among the marginal communities, the situation of constant fear and violence is to be considered routine, not only for the presence of criminal gangs, but also by the police.

However, this causal link between poverty and violence has also been questioned, and researchers have observed that violence promotes poverty by degrading physical and social capital in affected areas, enriching the rich and impoverishing the poor.

Two basic theories (Arriagada I. and Godoy L., 2000), on the study of criminal conduct are represented by :

- the theory of forms of socialization - which takes into consideration socialization among subjects, in that it takes into consideration the affirmation that violence has organizational, institutional and cultural dimensions, which can involve some social actors in their choice.

The primary causes of delinquency would be the existence of sub-cultural groups of criminals within the narrow circle of knowledge, who would then transmit the criminal know-how;

- the theory of rupture or anomaly - the emphasis is on the structural and social dimensions and on the drastic and rapid changes that have taken place within it. As a result of the processes of industrialization and urbanization, which have contributed to the dissolution of the traditional mechanisms of social control, a wide gap has arisen between the aspirations of the subjects and the means accepted to achieve them. In this way, criminal conduct would depend on the willingness to satisfy them, regardless of the social environment and economic level of the parties involved. From this point of view, therefore, there is an important correlation between poverty and crime and social exclusion (UN-Habitat, Safe).

The birth of the megacities has been strongly marked by the settlement of the deprived communities, who found continuous belts of dwellings situated in general in the peripheral areas of the urban spaces (Davis, 2006). This process of "favelisation" has thus defined the extent of the proliferation of informal housing, and, especially in societies such as Brazil, it is important that the nature of the buildings reflects the social group to which they belong, thus not acting on people from different social groups, without trying to find common solutions to urban problems (Caldeira, 2000).

The main characteristics of the houses in the districts of the city of São Paulo are their segregationist intentions, which Caldeira (2000) summarizes in four points:

- 1) First, using physical separators such as fences and walls, or large empty spaces, which create distance and disincentives for pedestrian circulation;
- 2) Secondly, separation is also ensured by private security systems that compete for isolation, control and surveillance.
- 3) Third, the design and organization are not turned on the way me inward;
- 4) Fourthly, these buildings must be independent worlds that make life better than outdoors, assessed in negative terms.

When crossing borders in this type of city, aggressiveness, fear, and the sense of suspicion and danger, given by the sense of restriction that residents of all social groups have, dominate.

It can therefore be affirmed how contemporary urban segregation is complementary to

the question of urban violence (Caldeira, 2000) and how social rigidity is strongly influenced by the rigid symbolic differences existing between social groups, which thus contribute to inflexible separations, with immutable boundaries.

Segregated living affects the worsening of social differences, which, in the absence of mixed social relations, are perceived more rigidly and arouse feelings of further fear.

BOX 5 - CRACOLÂNDIA

The term “Cracolândia”, literally translates as “Crackland,” is referring to the specific area that since 1990 is characterized by the presence of drug addicted and their occupation of the public space, the previous São Paulo's mayor, João Doria, described as an «open-air shopping mall for drugs». In 1995 the government has created a specific delegation to resolve the problem of these bairros. The operation was based on the expulsion of people by police, increased funds for rehabilitation centers and focused more on judicial intervention and involuntary treatment. The first problem of the phenomena is the loss of a political interest that can involve the factors of public security, public health, and social order.

From 1950 to 1980 in these central areas was constant the presence of homeless, prostitute and other types of illegal activities, but the use of crack was a recently diffusing phenomena because its origins have not been in central bairros. One of the principal sites of drug traffic was in the East periphery, where the drug was produced and sold, linked with the illegal activities of gangs and crime. Following the diffusion of the crack, there was a series of homicide of the people drug addicted, called “noias”, that moved from the periphery to the center, which, in these years, has lived a situation of dereliction. The original space of the periphery, when there is a mix of public and private, linked with the illegal activities, which permit to use the public space for the sold of the drug but also the private house, that is the place to buy and used, for the drug addicted.

As the same, during the day a lot of people pass and permit to consider Cracolândia as a space with a logic dynamic, and we cannot affirm that these spaces are a crossroads of different components, not only the drug traffic for the pusher or the stable presence of criminal gangs, but also for user consumer, that spend also a defined time in these place. Gomes and Adorno (2011, pag. 570) described that as «a space of passage, of possibility of access to more desired places». Some scholars defined these zone as a “psychotropic territory”, which attract some people and reject other.

Frugoli Junior and Cavalcanti (2013, pag. 75) defines that these areas «are precisely produced in their recognition as specific territorialities by different actors, who direct them to a series of practices - repressive or assistance (or even both) - or everyday tactics to deal with them, in the case of trafficking drugs or of the oldest inhabitants of regions where the cracolândias are set».

The concept of the “identity” of the community is important, for the people homeless that lived there, they are the last and they lost everything. The public exposition, the presence of the police around the occupation, the presence of the little pusher in contact with the

gangs, the condition of these people called “zombie” or “noias” by the residents, is crucial. The process of identification is important, because these tags are also used by the inner habitants of Cracolândia, strictly linked with the addiction and the place when they live, and their action are limited to the people inner the “region”, that is divided between users and pusher, but only a small part stay in these places all the time (it has estimated XXX that during the day the population of these areas reaches a pick of over 1’000 people, against between 300 and 400 people camped out every night). [IMMAGINE]

For the resident or the commercialist, these phenomena is a problem, also because the “noias” also steal to change things with a dose, the cost is very cheap, because the market is it was stabilized that single-hit balls cost 5 R\$, about € 1,50/2, in this way the drug dealer has the security to trade it. Social sufferance is, in this view, considered as the result of the damage of violence that social orders bring to people to endure (Gomes and Adorno, 2011), and it is supported by restrictions on the possibilities offered by the social, which conform to the daily experiences of the people who experience this violence in the body, in discourse, and in relationships.

The presence of the police is apparent, they control the access, around the principal sites, to “contain” the phenomena, and act only on the specific and immediate programs.

In the morning of the 21st of the May in 2017 [IMMAGINE], the Militar Police of the State, set the “Operação de limpeza da área” in motion, in the região da Estação da Luz, the place of “Cracolândia”. This operation was ordered by the State Governator, with the support of the Major, but the operation is only military, and want to demonstrate how the police and the State act for the habitants. After these violent actions people change their place of occupation in streets located near the previous site, and for this, police acts also in June 2017 to demolish it.

Different social Support programs have activities over the years, but without any support, their behavior was very restricted, but for these abandoned people is the only foothold to become in life, without the State support. The zone is also included in a program of Requalification of the Historic Centre, with the rescue of the Luz Region, through the promotion of the buildings, and new habitation for middle-class residents.

2.2.2 Gated communities: when the problem is out

Previously, it has been noted that violence and insecurity among the inhabitants of large cities can generate significant social and economic costs, which are unevenly distributed and constitute one of the main problems linked to the development of the region. An estimate (UN-Habitat, 2007) shows Latin American residents buying more than half of the world's insurance policies against kidnappings, as well as all the costs for private security.

In recent years, the architectural project of the fortification has projected itself onto the public space in the form of hostility, seeking a preventive aspect that, however, focuses on "total security" (Lira, 2017).

The concern for public safety becomes autonomous and separates itself from the insecurity experienced individually, along with the involvement of the individual as the individual is involved in multiplex socialization networks, an attribute that indicates the density and plurality of the ways in which the individual is linked to another or other social actors. Today, the recovery of the social bond certainly cannot take place through a concrete return to the micro-community, but it seems that the so-called "neighbour watching areas" want in some way to support them (Padovan and Vianello, 1999). Often they lead to real patrol actions of the territory, which however amplify the climate of alarm and the social tension around it. What they put on is the appearance of living in a different, better city, detached from everything.

The origins of the gated communities are to be found in the Common Interest Development programme, a residential building programme, in which the owners belong to an association that owns and maintains the common areas, while private individuals manage the building land and organise transport and services within these spaces.

The inhabitants of these communities self-tax themselves to pay for the maintenance of roads and the private police that protects them, as well as any additional expenses, only for the prestige of living safely.

From the United States these exclusive residential neighbourhoods have spread all over the world; objectively this type of urban agglomeration serves to recreate the old "villages" (Pinto, 2011) that characterized the pre-modern world, where a small number of families who shared the same economic and social conditions lived within a small urban nucleus, where the figure of the stranger was absent, since everyone knew each other.

In this context, gated communities play a role in the fragmentation of the residential area and the privatisation of primary services and, in this way, local administrations will avoid

providing this type of service, with the result that those who cannot afford to live within these communities are penalised.

The private sector is devising short-term solutions to fill the administrative deficits, with the risk of creating new ghettos, excluding parts of the city and creating barriers in the urban fabric, also threatening the free mobility of people.

In recent years, public space has become a space of "fear", in which some users are considered invasive or aggressive. The trend towards privatisation of urban space and social exclusion are therefore induced by urbanisation and this type of community is only the result of an often paranoid perception of risks (Curiel and Bishop, 2016).

Cultural globalization has made possible the export and diffusion of some architectural and urban specificities linked to American gated communities, to numerous societies. These enclosed spaces have consequences for the populations living outside the perimeter, and promote a model of use of private mobility, since, many times, they are located in areas far from the inhabited centre. Surveillance is a method of exclusion, which want to exaggerate people feeling of insecurity, during different passages (Bauman, 2008) that are:

- The environmental fear, and the most evident short term solution to feeling safe;
- The panic that produce security request, and the repetition of the "emergently state" of danger;
- Individuation of the problem on vulnerable targets, to reassure people and resolve that with violent and evident actions of expulsion or the exclusion;
- Emphasize the atmosphere of the fortress, dominates by the omnipresence of the technology devices of surveillance that control over the walls, to protect the community.

BOX 6 - ALPHAVILLE

Contemporary São Paulo is a more diversified and complex metropolitan region, very diversified from the center-periphery model, the transformations of the city have arisen from a combination of processes we can consider (Caldeira, 2000):

- the problem of demographic growth;
- the economic recession, deindustrialization, and the expansion of tertiary activities;
- the improvement of the periphery united to the failure of the working classes;
- the displacement of part of the middle and upper classes from the center;
- the common fear of crime that has made people from all social classes searches for more secure residence.

This inequality has also become more explicit if we refer to rich and poor residents, which live in close proximity to the newly expanded areas out of the limit of the city. One of the principal communities for rich people is Alphaville; the first site was built up in 1978, outside the city of São Paulo, in a large farm area in the neighborhood counties of Barueri and Santana do Parnaíba (sites 23 km along from the city of São Paulo). The land was an old Fazenda, owned by the Count Honório Penteado, displaced the local indigenous community present. Bought by the company and urbanized it for the metropolitan elites who wanted a refuge from inner-city crime.

Actually, the original Alphaville site has 33 gated areas, with more than 20'000 residences; there is a business area with 2'300 businesses, including 11 schools and universities, involving a daily movement of more than 150'000 people. The Guardian, in 2013, stilled a list about the 10 big Walls of the World, considered Alphaville. Its 4 km of walls on the perimeter, rises to a height of 2.5 m, are not the only type of defense of the structure, which also includes the high fence, security guards, and the support of the militarised police.

The surveillance is sold to the public opinion and convinces them that is fundamental, that the world outside is unregulated, and the only way to live a good life is into these complex of habitation. The site of Alphaville said: « Teach children to cycle in the street, get to know their neighbors by name and appreciate the contact with nature, whether it is sports activity or a simple walk on the beach. Living in the Alphaville housing complex is a unique experience: safety is guaranteed, there is a sense of community among the inhabitants and respect for the environment and for everything that preserves the beauty of the place prevails. It gives priority to pedestrians to the conscious use of the zone; live in one of our

condominiums is always incomparable».

One of the principal agencies of security in São Paulo is called “Seguridade” and provides to take all the measures of security in a complex building but also to give a cleaning maid service. For the contract they asked to respect 7 fundamental points to prevent inconveniences, which are:

1. Recruit only specialized professionals, to be secure on the quality of their work;
2. Use electronic security, that is a good investment and provides 24 hours of control, with integrated services (like sensors, automatic machines, ...) because for them «technology is an important ally in the fight against violence and the high rate of aggression and murder»;
3. Control people's access, and not open the door to criminals, it is important the identification of all strangers or workers and prevents the deception by means of false identities;
4. The guards are essential, and a typical landmark-tower is a good security protection;
5. Adopt emergency procedures, and communicate to the controllers the disease immediately, to be assisted;
6. Stabilize inner rulers for the habitants, to involve resident and dependents, and respect simple good practise for safety as keep attention opening the door, action the automatic gate closeness to it, always close the doors apartment, receive delivery man to the guard and not inside, keep attention to the staff of the house and know their history and provenience, know personal defence techniques to feel secure, ...
7. Outsource services to a specialized company, because it reduces costs and guarantees a high-level of preparation and competence.

According to Caldeira (2000), we can affirm that these sophisticated techniques are focused on social separation and the creation of distance, and not to find common solutions to their urban problems. Different scholars affirm that these gated communities are also a reinforcement to create community, which is formed after a selection and also the requests of particular types of people to live there. Different social classes live closer to each other in some areas but are kept apart by physical barriers and systems of identification and control, and belong to different and misunderstood groups.

These type of habitation is diffuse in all the State of Brazil, and also in the center of São Paulo is frequent to find residential estates which have various types of defense. The famous photo made by Tuca Vieira describe in a good way these dualities and the contrast

between poor and rich areas, which are bordering. It was also significant the photo taken by the inner perspective of the favelas, but it is not so famous, but describe in a good way that in both ways people are constantly in front of the symbols of difference, but they are separated and that condition just aliment the hate or the fear for the stranger.

2.2.3 The Crime Prevention techniques: the answers in public spaces?

The type of situational prevention technique was used in the 1970s mainly by the research unit of the UK Department of the Interior and the US police. It can be described as the science of reducing criminal opportunities and sees as its founder Ronald Clarke, a leading element of criminological situationism (Mastronardi and Ciappi, 2014). Among the most significant models necessary for understanding situational prevention is the theory of criminal models, i.e. the way in which subjects are involved in activities, through the study of the environment and the spatial distribution of activities.

The issue is normally addressed on three levels (Padovan and Vianello, 1999):

- a first level, the personal environment, i.e. everything that concerns the private security of the individual in his or her habitat;
- a second level, the wider neighbourhood environment, which concerns the sphere of collective security;
- finally, a third level, the city as a whole, where social imbalances pose a risk to collective security.

The situation theorists reiterate that the effects of displacement are counterbalanced by the measurability of criminal adaptation, according to which the times of criminal adaptation, which should favour the displacement of deviant activities from one place to another, are generally longer than the activities of situational prevention, which therefore is useful already in the immediate future. The prevention of violence is achieved through two fields of action (Boisteau, 2001):

- a centralised one, when the police are the main actor;
- a decentralised one, entrusted to local authorities or associations.

There is a clear link between the decentralisation of security responsibilities and the increase in private actors (Acierno, 2010), which inevitably leads to the view that the most vulnerable space that reflects our society, i.e. the public space, is the one. This trend includes the growing number of communities living in apparently safe spaces, but this trend does nothing more than make the rest of the population much less secure, as we have seen, and instead encourages the displacement of problems from one area to another. The management of public spaces can help us in the search for more equitable solutions, supported also by careful negotiation with local users (UN-Habitat, 2007).

The theories on crime prevention and reduction based on the location of defensible space,

crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED), situational crime prevention and environmental criminology have been increasingly supported by empirical research suggesting that physical design and management of the built environment play a role in facilitating or reducing opportunities for crime and violence. Although the number of incidents related to design or physical management cannot be accurately counted, it is estimated that 10-15% of offences have design and environmental management components. As permeable road patterns unite cities in the face of increasingly privatised communities and tend to reduce car dependency, especially when using mass urban transport. Although the evidence is inconclusive and the mechanisms imperfectly understood, studies have linked these elements with the movement, behaviour and routine interactions of offenders and targets in cities. From the point of view of planning and public order, therefore, where crimes occur and how places are designed and managed are at least as important as their perpetrators (UN-Habitat, 2007). Several studies have linked these elements with the movement, behaviour and routine interactions of criminals and targets in cities, arguing that space and its use have the power to shape social life (Carrabine E. et Al., 2009).

The various studies on prevention can be summarised in different approaches:

- situational crime prevention' (PCS);
- crime prevention through environmental design" (CPED).

The main theoretical inspiration of CPTED is the theory of defensible space by Oscar Newman (1972), who used the concept of "defensible space" to support the possibility of changing the built environment, with the aim of reducing the opportunity of crime and promoting the responsibility of the community.

It is based on four general assumptions (Bianchini and Sicurella, 2012):

1. Territoriality: sense of belonging and identification, which is an essential prerequisite for citizens to take care of and control the space they use;
2. Surveillance: through buildings, which should provide the best possible view of the surrounding area, as natural surveillance is based on controlling the use of urban space;
3. Image: Rapidly removing acts of urban incivility and supporting the idea that well maintained and clean urban environments and furnishings can discourage criminals or vandals from attracting people to commit crimes;
4. Surrounding environment: The areas surrounding a neighbourhood must be characterised by a high level of safety.

These concepts were previously introduced by Jacobs (1961) who in his work highlighted the three important points (eyes on the road, territoriality), which are the basis of safety design.

BOX 7 - PRAÇAS DA PAZ SULAMERICA

In 2011 the Ministério da Justiça drafted the important “Guia Espaços Urbanos Seguros” with an important indication to work in a safety prospect of space and people interaction. The non-governmental Sou da Paz Institute and the independent security group SulAmérica Seguros, become real in the period between 2007 and 2009 involved squares of three distritos: Jardim Ângela (South Zone), Lajeado (East Zone), and Brasilândia (North Zone). After this pilot project the good practices was transferred in the Secretaria Municipal de Habitação de São Paulo to contribute for the public valid actions in public space.

The principal objective was the revitalization of squares, to improve the community sense of security, especially including the young population. In facts the base principles of the project are the participation of the community in the center of the revitalization project, consider the local characteristics to promote the activities, promoting the democratic occupation of the space, the abolition of violence as a way to resolve conflicts. The principal strategies were fixed on this re-activation of the places through the participation and the involvement of people, which re-discovered the identity and community.

These areas are located in the periphery, not in central areas of development, for these motives there were a lot of challenges, which are:

- Restore the confidence with the Government, subdued by illegal actions of the local gangs or criminals, because these subjects were contradictory and population feels unsafe and unprotected by the administration.
- Heal the relationship between police and locals, because in these areas the police were violent, and people can't sign the abuse committed, they felt attacked by the criminals and also by the “defenders”, and it was important doing conjunct activities;
- Take care to the spaces, doing social activities that aimed the sense of care in squares, but also streets or public spaces where people lived that they can be used, and providing useful tools finalized to the encourage their actions;
- Accept the social mix, because the occupation of spaces can be caused by the insecurity among the more weak groups, it was important to encourage the pacific cohabitation of different types of people.

The results were positive if the first and second phase of participation was able to inform and share the principal information and the problems of the bairros, the third implemented the theory and the request given by the habitants. The public space is central to this pro-

ject, the squares become the contrivance to apply strategies to revitalize and spread security, involving all the various actors in a united perspective. The partnership and the co-responsibility of all parts was a transverse theme, necessary to transform a commonplace in a safe space, of mobilization and conquest of the community.

The results at the end of the Project was positive and evident, and permit to delineate the Guide Lines for the administration to invest in urban policies.

3. THE CASE STUDY OF SÃO PAULO: WHAT KIND OF VISION?

3.1 An overview about Brazil and the city of São Paulo

3.1.1 Historical background

Brazil is a constitutional federal republic with a population of over 200 million and consists of a federal district and 26 States, divided into municipalities (municípios), or autonomous political-administrative units governed by mayors (prefeiti) and municipal councilors (vereadores). States have their own constitutions and are autonomous within the framework of the federal constitution. The national constitution defines the administrative and legislative powers of central government and states and cities (International Bar Association, 2012).

The past history of Brazil was strictly related with the history of South America.

Thanks to the rapid urbanization that has taken place in the last forty years, Latin America is suffering the most urbanized region in the developing world, bringing back more than 75% of the population living in urban areas, where, specifically in Brazil, 83% of the total population lives in cities (Fernandes, 2007). However, this model of development has led to the production of cities strongly marked by the presence of precarious peripheral areas, combined processes of social exclusion, spatial segregation, and environmental degradation.

Violence has always been a characteristic feature of the history of Latin America, marked therefore by truculent acts of violence against indigenous peoples and in favor of European colonizers (the “Gringos”), underlining how violence takes on different representations according to the specific.

Caldeira (2002) says that in the last twenty years, both urban violence and democracy have taken root in Brazil, but neither phenomenon has managed to stop the other. On a symbolic level, therefore, the institutions of the order have never allowed the public to be guaranteed public security and minimum standards of justice and respect for rights. At the same time, violent crime has not prevented democratic consolidation and the legitimization of citizens' imagery and rights.

The Brasil was “discovered” in 1500 when Pedro Álvares Cabral landed in Porto Seguro and starts the colonization. Actually the term “discover” is incorrect, because it ignores the presence of 5 million of indigenous people that are stabilized in the lands, and for this motive, it is more correct to see “the arrive of the Portuguese in Brazil”.

The principal objective of the Portuguese Kingdom is to monopolize the trade of Pau-Brasil, initially cooperated with the indigenous population which known the lands, but later the working hours and the imported diseases, decimated their population and the need of labor-force led the Portuguese to import African slaves.

Despite agreements with other European countries (Spain, France, Holland, England) there was territory dispute and aggressively competition. The Portuguese central government relied on “captaincies”, and their “captain” low ranking nobles and merchants who were granted authority over captaincies, which were failed in 1549 and Portugal's monarch shipped a governor-general to supervise them and to found a capital (today's Salvador) in the central captaincy of Bahia. In the XVIII century, there was the discovery of reserves of emeralds, diamonds, and gold that change the commerce and also the immigration fluxes. In 1763 the capital was moved to Rio for administrative reasons, and the exportation also involved the clatures of cotton, tobacco, and sugar but Portugal's policies were inclined to stripping Brazil of its resources, and not to develop a truly local economy.

In 1808 the arrival of the royal family, who were chased out of Portugal by Napoléon's armies and promote the Reino Unido de Portugal, Brasil e Algarves, but with the fall of Napoléon in 1822, and the King return to Portugal, leaving his young son Pedro I at the Government. On the 7th of September 1822 has proclaimed Brazil's independence and established the Brazilian empire, which had its Constitution in 1824. In 1825 started the War with Argentina that end in 1827, with the independence of Uruguay. The opposition of the King caused the succession to the throne of the young son Pedro II, and during his kingdom in the 1850s Brazil resist to the Argentine dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas, from 1865 to 1870 won a war against Paraguay, and in 1888 there was the abolition of slavery. The republican movement had spread, leading to the creation of the First Republic on the 15th of November in 1889. The Country economy lived a collapse in 1910 with the lowering of the coffee and gum prices, and in 1922 there was an economic crisis, which provoked a lot of riots.

The Government was unstable, and there has been a succession of presidents, and in 1930 Getúlio Vargas seized power via a military coup and not with elections. In 1933 Vargas given a new Constitution adopted in 1934, which provided in particular women's right to vote, social security for workers and the election of the president by Congress, but this document did not limit the dictatorship methods. After that a period of rebellions, Varga was disqualified and legally re-elected in 1941, during the Second Republic, but in 1945 he suicides himself. The next President decided to shift the capital in a new city, Brasilia, and

symbol of modernism, erected in 1960 in middle of the Country; the enterprise dried up the money but economic sectors well operated. From 1964 to 1967 there was a Military Dictatorship that seen five different militaries to the guide of Brazil, during years of fear and preoccupation, signed by censure and limit of people freedom and rights.

Power was to go peacefully back to civil hands in 1985, with the Third Republic, sadly signed by corruption and incoherence.

BOX 8 - THE ORIGIN OF URBAN PLANNING IN SÃO PAULO

We can understand more about the city of São Paulo analyzed its history of planning and the principal consistent modification started at the end of the XVIII century. The proclamation of the Republic, in 1889, weakened the provincial powers, and in the year of 1892, the city of São Paulo was founded.

In the first decade of 1900 the most important projects act on the sanitarian and enlargement way, in Brazil the principal innovative factor shall consider the foundation, in 1896, of the Comissão Técnica de Melhoramento da Cidade, an institution which assumed the executive, and after the inspective, tasks regarding the reorganization of city plans and projects. In these years the terms like “urban art” “civic art”, “public art” are used in Europe and in the U.S. refers to the intervenes on the city, which considered both aesthetical composition and functional optimization in activities, embedding not only the decorative aspects but also the new request of the modernism, linked with public spaces and street circulation.

In 1911, in his article called “Melhoramentos de São Paulo”, Victor da Silva Freire wanted to support the principles of modern urbanism, based on forecast, aesthetics, and hygiene. It was important his focus on the necessity to give a plan to the city of São Paulo and launched a debate on the opposite questions of the path symmetry, projected by default, and the valorization of the irregular historical streets.

The urban theory of this period is more influenced by Europe and U.S. urban approach, especially the French ones because the European city model is very dominant in the urban ideas since the end of the First World War. In the last decades of the XIX century, the acts set up on the modification of the city form. After him Antonio Prado tried to change the image of the city based on the colonialism, redesign the squares’ plan and give to the city new buildings symbols, like the Municipal Theatre.

In the XX century, the principal reference city model was the European capital (Berlin, Paris, London) and the spatial configuration of São Paulo drastically changed in the light of the European organization of time and space, when the industrial capital assumed a relevant position. For this motives, in this period of the time, the definition of city areas has conditioned by the activities and the revenue of the social classes. But the principles have decontextualized, and the universal laws do not take in consideration the specific location of the city, which has different physical and social characteristics compared with the European ones, and the plan also referred to the city center and not to the city in general. The scholar approach was similar to the German one, where the urbanism and the architecture

was a specialization of the engineer, very different from the French approach, taken in consideration in Rio de Janeiro, where architecture is an art discipline. In 1920 the crucial question was the hygiene of the city, and the principal projects have focused on light and air influence on human life, also considered the habitation standards. In these years was made up the new Sanitary Code of the city of São Paulo, even if these rules were based on the numbers and the standards of the French Code, and Victor Freire denounced these mistake which the guidelines studied for the European cities was directly translated for the Brazilian cities. The importance of 1930 was in the strategic Plano de Avenidas, set for São Paulo, to create a valid reform of the road system, which contains the development of the city, and represents different valid alternatives to the road transport. In these years started the “metropolization” of the city: the consistent immigration, the various revolution of the States not associated with the coffee production (and supported by the Socialist Party), the government instability, have led a bad administration of the various new phenomena. The administration of public space and public transport was permitted by the creation of the Comissão Municipal de Serviços de Utilidade Publica, took into consideration the fundamental role of the urban planning in the city government. In the light of this vision, the principal expansions models were based on the decentralization linked with a checked to grow, to achieve the positive traits of campaign and city in a singular qualitative space. The turning point was impersonated in Prestes Maia, the mayor of the city, who stabilized the principal radical transformation, with the increase of building drawings, the enlargement of the roads, linked with the definition of the radio-centric form of the city expansion. The influence of U.S. standards is evident, also for the aim of the projects and the habits.

In 1947 was set the Departamento de Urbanismo, which previously had represented by the Divisão de Urbanismo. In the 1950 years there were the consolidation of two different points of view, which had already outlined in the 1940, regarding the urban planning: one supported the metropolis expansions in the light of the resolution of the mobility problems, on the other hand, there was the opposition, based on the creation of the garden-city quarters, to hinder the development. These views represented the critical point in the history of urban planning in São Paulo when there was the first institution of the discipline.

3.1.2 The roots of the insecurity in people and spaces

Violence has always manifested itself, assuming different characteristics in the various moments of the development of humanity, but the historical novelty of this phenomenon in the contemporary city is its breadth and intensity.

According to a study carried out by psychiatrist Ferri (2017) on the Analysis of Character, the history and conformation of the town can say a lot about the fears and behavior of its inhabitants. We have seen how the history of Brazil has been marked by the violence of the colonizers against the local populations and against imported slaves. It is important to note that Brazil's first Constitution, of 1824, was strongly inspired by that of Portugal (1822) and France (1814), thus providing a basic framework for constitutional governance, separation of powers and independence of the judiciary. In 1871 its promoters of justice were given a dual mandate to enforce the law but also to legally protect the rights of the weak and defenseless in Brazilian society, but despite this Brazil was the last country in the Western Hemisphere to abolish slavery (in 1888).

The evolution of the general framework of political production, after a post-modern turning point, occurred in a context of the clash between the growing demands of democratization of civil society and the pressures of multinational economic interests. The role of information is fundamental and has always justified actions and activities of manipulation of the truth (Tulumello, 2011), both strategic tools of power.

The government has always been on the side of the strong, and if we take a quick look at the government positions that have followed we can only notice its instability, and dissatisfaction on the part of the population. Extreme measures, such as military dictatorships, have reflected a reflection of imitation in government management, but this is also visible in corruption and in the lack of a general vision that looks at the people and not only at the ruling classes.

The forms that produce segregation in urban space can be found historically, between the '40s and '80s, the division between the center and the suburbs specifically organized the space of São Paulo, where great distances separated different social groups or the middle and upper classes were in the central districts and the others were outside.

In the 1980s and 1990s, different combinations of processes profoundly transformed the distribution model of social groups and activities throughout the city. São Paulo continues to be a highly secret city (Caldeira, 1994), but the way inequalities are inscribed in urban

space has changed considerably. Physical distances have decreased but, similarly, the mechanisms and specialization of technologies to separate social classes have increased.

The outskirts of the city became unsustainable, so from the '40s, the working classes had begun to build their homes with a process called "self-build" (Caldeira, 1984), buying lots at low cost in remote areas, which stabilized with fear and the agglomerates formed dense and poor neighborhoods.

Brazil has always been the country of a mix of peoples and traditions, but given its vastness, the border is difficult to establish (Ferri, 2017), and as a result, this lacks the identity and sense of belonging, which are fundamental to feel part of a community. A logical consequence of this malaise was the construction of walls, to define limits, to establish who should be kept out, with still strong and aggressive measures.

In the diffusion of controlled housing, exasperated in closed communities, according to Choay (2003), we see an example of a rationalist-progressive and at the same time culturalist model, but we can read the phenomenon as the constant fear of the other that has characterized these people, whose history is marked by insecurity and fear.

This phenomenon, however, represents a form of segregation and spatialization of social inequalities (Levy, 2010), whereby Brazilian culture in the post-inflationary period can also be described through the expansion of the condominium logic that seems to have changed the relationship between public and private life.

The condominium involves an attempt to create certain public rules and standards, within the limits of private life, but always in the condition of an exceptional space, erected to defend external barbarity. Assuming that in the situation in question the objective conditions and subjective intentions are of the highest quality, it can be argued that we are faced with a paradise for communicative action, the ideal scenario for the rational self-organization of a community at zero risks.

However, the economic crisis has denied future generations the opportunity to become homeowners, even in the precarious and remote areas of the city and the poorest people, in fact, had to move to favelas and corticos in the central areas of the city, or migrate to the municipalities of the metropolitan region.

The process of democratic consolidation has had many consequences, especially on the urban environment (Caldeira, 2000, social movements have encouraged local governments to improve infrastructure and services in their neighborhoods and legalize their land, shifting the focus to the needs of the neediest people, the design of services and the regulation

and integration of land in the official land market.

These new results have also reduced the supply of irregular and low-cost plots, with dramatic consequences for the population of those areas, which were then pushed into the areas of the favelas.

The economic activities of those years began to be restructured following the same model as the metropolises and megalopolises around the world, where São Paulo lost its position as the country's largest industrial centre, in favour of its role as a financial, commercial and coordination centre for production activities and specialised services, based on a model similar to that of the so-called "global cities" described by Sassen (1991).

The oldest industrial areas of the city are going through combined processes of degradation and gentrification, creating a polarisation of wealth that is reflected in the homes: abandoned houses and factories have been transformed into courtyards for the poorest, while the middle and upper classes have generated urban renewal and the construction of new residential buildings.

Since the 1990s, the outlying districts have been equipped with services and commercial activities, and the new model of residential urban segregation is conditioned by a phenomenon that has already been analyzed and implemented, namely the increase in violent crime and fear.

According to Caldeira (2000), violent crime in the 1990s accounted for about 30% of all crimes, compared to 20% in the early 1980s, with an increase in murder rates, but in São Paulo is also violence by the police.

The lack of trust in the State and its law enforcement authorities are phenomena that derive from the past history, still fresh from military dictatorships, aggravated by the real phenomena of corruption that have not allowed to place trust in the institutions, and have instead led to the adoption of new strategies of protection by citizens. The feeling of fear and insecurity is therefore visible from a reading in the history of the country, which has settled in the character of the population. In order to prevent this feeling from being further exacerbated, it is necessary to work towards the redefinition of values, tolerance and the resolution of real problems. Personal habits and strategies are changing the landscape of the city, patterns of residence and circulation, daily road routes, as well as habits and everything related to the actual use of public space and its services.

3.1.3 The divergent images given

Public fear of crime in Brazil has led to the creation of a vicious circle in which public fear of crime leads to supporting illegal methods of dealing with it, fuelling only a climate, which in turn creates more violent crime (International Bar Association, 2012). Several scholars, however, argue that the fear of crime has remained an obsession for the residents of St. Paul, who have allowed fear and violence to become an issue on the agenda but that you do not want to solve specifically. Despite their repetition, people never get bored, but the repetition of stories only reinforces people's feelings of anger, insecurity, and turmoil. Thus, the discourse on crime feeds a circle in which fear is faced and reproduced and violence is opposed and amplified. Caldeira (2000) defines this as "talking about crime", which feeds a sense of growing intrusion into safe spaces leading from the periphery to the center and the resulting divisions are socially corrosive and only fix existing inequalities.

Although in Brazil there are the most extreme disparities between the richest urban neighborhoods and the poorest rural neighborhoods, inequality can also be seen within the city itself. In fact, the place where the rich and the poor live in close but separate proximity, the mutual influence of inequality, crime and disruptive violence (Peirce, 2008). Symbolic segregation represents more than stereotypes since, in the dense geography of the city, the perception of crime is amplified through social discourse and the constant sense of fear.

The only published survey on crime in Brazil dates back to 1988 and was carried out by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), which verifies how 50% of Brazilians say they do not even report crimes to the police because it would be a waste of time. An accurate or precise picture of crime and violence is difficult to obtain, as the murder rate is the most common measure to represent violent crime, despite the severe limitations of these statistics.

3.2 Urban planning in a megalopolis

3.2.1 The city Statute of Brazil: the importance of safety

The new current controversies, regarding these themes of crime and public space and its safe and peaceful use, largely takes up the themes of what Lefebvre (1968) defined as the "right to the city".

This has been defined as the possibility for everyone to benefit from the goods constituted by the urban organization of the territory and the equal possibility for everyone to participate in decisions on transformations.

In Latin America, these two concepts could be summarized as the right to housing and the right to participation (Fernandes, 2001).

In this context, on the 10th of July in 2001 was issued in Brazil, the Federal Law n. 10'257, entitled "Statute of the City". This document represents an innovative juridical development that aims at regulating urban policy and its administration, introduced by the Federal Constitution of 1988, which recognizes this as a collective right.

The promulgation in 1988 of the Federal Constitution paved in the legal reform movement a valid way for progress, affirming the central role of local government and stating that representative democracy, reconciled with the participatory political process (Fernandes, 1995). During the 1990s, several Brazilian municipalities began to apply these provisions and the various constitutional principles in their redefined urban legal systems, making Brazil a laboratory for governance strategies. However, several legal disputes over the new constitutional provisions and conservative legal arguments have been formulated in order to undermine innovative local political-institutional strategies of urban management.

The federal law provides consistent legal support to municipalities committed to tackling serious urban, social and environmental problems that have had a direct impact on the daily living conditions of urban populations, following a decision-making process that lasted over ten years.

The City Statute has four main dimensions:

- 1) Conceptual, which provides elements for the interpretation of the constitutional principle of the social function of urban and city property;
- 2) the regulation of new legal, planning and financial instruments for the construction and financing of a different urban order by municipalities;

- 3) the indication of processes for the democratic management of cities;
- 4) the identification of legal instruments for the global regularisation of informal settlements in private and public urban areas.

These dimensions provide the content of the right to the city in Brazil, and conceptual terms created a rift with the long individualistic tradition of civil law and laid the foundations for a new legal-political paradigm for urban land use and development control in Brazil (Unhabitat, 2000). In particular, the right to urban property is guaranteed and recognized as a fundamental individual right, but on condition that a socio-environmental function, determined by urban legislation, takes place.

All these instruments should be used in a combined way, to induce the territory according to a common project, identified in the Master Plan. Some of its quality aspects are due to develop after the first wave of town planning, following the approval of the Law on the Statute of the City in 2001. It obliges all cities with more than 20000 inhabitants to draw up an urban plan and specifying that the implementation process must refer to popular participation through public hearings and management committees.

In fact, municipalities have been given greater powers to reverse to some extent the speculative dynamics that have led to social exclusion and spatial segregation in Brazil for years. The combination of traditional urban mechanisms, such as zoning, subdivision, building rules, have made it mandatory to subdivide into divisions. Following the entry into force of the 2001 City Statute, Brazil's urban legal system has been improved through the enactment of federal laws governing inter-municipal consortia, public-private partnerships and the creation of a national fund for social housing, the latter the result of a popular initiative.

The empty or underused land is thus taxed and possibly compulsorily divided, which is why several critics have decreed this Statute a confiscation of private property rights.

In 2003, the new Ministry of Cities set up several main and directional programmes (UN-Habitat, 2007), namely strengthening urban management, the Papel Passado programme (National Programme to support the sustainable regularisation of urban land), which has started the regularisation of housing for up to one million dwellings, the implementation of which has had to face challenges such as conflict with environmental policies and problems with funding agencies.

Finally, the rehabilitation of city centers and the prevention of risk employment in specific areas.

3.2.2 Unregulated dimensions in megalopolis

Brazil is the largest country in Latin America, with an estimated population of 187 million people (UN-habitat 2005) and in 2001, 82% of the Brazilian population lived in urban areas, about 141 million people, and half of the urban population lived in slums (UN-habitat 2006). As seen above, this urban transformation has taken place in a context that has largely denied rights to low-income populations, particularly people living in slums or urban shantytowns.

The Brazilian city of São Paulo presents more than 12 million inhabitants, that permit to define the city the largest urban conglomeration in South America, also with the 15% of its inhabitants living in precarious settlements (CEM/Cebrap & Fundap, 2013), also considered the largest municipal economy in Brazil. The center of a metropolitan region comprising 39 municipalities and over 20 million people, and we can define it as one of the 31 global megacities (United Nations, 2016).

With respect to the contemporary city (Scandurra, 2011), he has synthesized into four typologies the forms of conflict that arise from the continuing transformations:

- 1) The contrast between the real powers that act on the city, and that operate at a global level, and the citizens and communities that, remaining anchored in the local dimension, address their questions to urban and territorial governments.
- 2) The dialectic between center and periphery, both in a macro and in a micro dimension.
- 3) The processes of inclusion and exclusion, and arise from the growing presence in contemporary cities of separation zones that organize collective life and delineate and separate territorial and social areas in a more or less visible way.
- 4) The conflict that concerns the confrontation/clash between human activity and nature, radicalized in the progressive consumption of land and energy and in the overproduction of waste.

These aspects ensured the dichotomy of urban sites when there is not a regulation of an equal access to base rights, and the buildings represent a typical social position, when it is common the contraposition of rich sites and informal buildings, that is the physical consequence of the incapacity to public administration to govern the rapid expansion of the cities.

These first illegal sites, like favelas, lived a situation of exclusion to the principal connection to the city's water and electricity networks, and also the different base infrastructures. Abusive occupation is also presented in the empty houses, especially in the central areas,

after the recent processes to sprawl over the limits of the city. Another typical informal habitations, presents in central abandoned areas, are the cortiços, that are the cohabitation of different families, which lived in restricted spaces, in promiscuity, and without high hygienic standards. In 1980 in São Paulo 750'000 inhabitants lived in these conditions, when the central position not helped in the integration because the cities are not characterized by dualism (farm/urban, periphery/ center, ...) but an intricate patchwork of differences.

BOX 9 - THE PLANO DIRETOR ESTRATÉGICO

The new Plano Diretor Estratégico, adopted in 2014, accepts the challenge to create a plan for over 10 million of inhabitants, presenting different innovative aspects and a valid reference for the Developing Countries including the planning of the growth, the infrastructures, the social inclusion through the housing construction and services.

The capacity of urban structuring of the sudden growth of the city has never been equal to the phenomenon. On the one hand, the rapidity of the phenomenon meant that Brazilian urban planners had to develop new cutting-edge technical parameters and, on the other, the implementation of the plans had to face political contrasts that weakened their efficiency (Sobral Anelli, 2018).

The various rules that have followed have attempted to regulate the verticalisation of the city, but only the Plano de Avenidas has provided the city with a structure of expansion capable of conditioning the size of its future growth.

One of the main debates on the development of the city concerns the expansion of a radiocentric or polycentric model, and from the '20s to the '60s it conditioned the debate on the subject.

The choice of infrastructure was in favour of road mobility, but to the detriment of urban conditions, where it was necessary to adapt the network in industrial chains followed by an ever-increasing index of congestion.

At the end of the 1960s, the Plano Urbanístico Básico, carried out by an international consortium of consulting firms, attempted to provide an articulated urban structure that would synthesize the combination of various mobility systems. But because of political discontinuity the plan was reduced to a Zoning Law (1972) that stimulated a verticalisation of the city, with the exception of residential areas for the wealthy population, abandoning the idea of densification along the main public transport routes.

The various urban plans subsequently generated from the 80s to the 90s were not reflected in government instability, and only in 2013 did the city initiate the revision of the Plano Diretor, approved in 2002 following new Brazilian federal legislation on cities, thus leading in 2014 to adopt the Plano Diretor Estratégico (PDE). The revised Plano Diretor introduced the tool of the Operações Urbanas Consorciadas, which established the parameters of application of the instrument and the following plan the modalities of social participation to be defined during the process.

The PDE was developed following the first wave of Urban Plans following the approval of

the *Estatuto da Cidade* in 2001, which obliges all cities with more than 20'000 inhabitants to draw up an urban plan, implementing it through processes of popular participation, to avoid the monopoly of speculation by real estate groups.

The 2014 Plan is an articulated instrument that includes the New Zoning Law of 2015 (parcelling out and land occupation), the Regional Plans (2016) and the Building Regulations (2016), taking up the previously ignored development model that aimed at greater densification along the axes of public transport.

The new features that are taken into account by the plan concern:

1. The general form of the urban structure, based on the network of media mobility and which is expected to be implemented over the next 15 years, thus abandoning static radio-centric, polycentric or linear models;
2. Attention is given to the urban and architectural forms proposed for densification, based on a mixed use (housing, services and commerce) and supporting the creation of public spaces;
3. The zoning proposal has been submitted to a participatory process in all the different regions, trying to make the exclusively residential Areas permeable, which coincide with the areas with the highest income and quality of life in São Paulo, avoiding spatial segregation and mono-functionality, making them cross by commercial corridors, called "Corridors between the areas";
4. The environmental theme is considered on two levels in the large areas close to the limits of the urbanized area and one on the reduced scale of the batch.

3.2.3 Short-term solutions of the problems

In general, the theories of urban intervention are reduced to two great ideologies of intervention (Ricotta, 2013): that of exclusion and inclusion and public responses to crime have two aspects (Boisteau, 2007): repression and prevention. The first serves to affirm control and the will to punish, governments tend to use this strategy to ensure security in a short time, but the action translates into an increase in the number of police officers, and related to the convicted, an increase in the duration of detention, as well as the application of repressive theories such as those of "zero tolerance" (of the Major Giuliani in 1994), in the most problematic territories or requiring more attention from the population.

The choice of repression has the advantage of having immediate effects capable of satisfying, in the short term, the demand of the public opinion and the need of the political class for efficiency, of postponing the long-term results of the repressive security policies, are, however, questioned (Boisteau, 2007), since the results obtained in terms of reduction of criminality do not justify the consequent economic investment.

The centralized state is not able to account for the heterogeneous situation of insecurity perceived or experienced on a given national territory, in fact, the cities already offer a wide range of crime situations but the feeling of insecurity seems to be widespread without distinction. The displacement implies that there is sending a spread of criminal activities to other areas of the city (displacement of the place, but do not solve the problem).

The philosophy of exclusion concerns all those techniques of urban design that aim to separate some free areas from crime from the rest of the city. Within this philosophy of intervention, reference is made mainly to the use of physical barriers, fortified neighborhoods and defensible spaces closed to any external contamination. On the contrary, the philosophy of inclusion supports all those forms of urban design that aim at a greater openness of the neighborhood towards the outside, and therefore at its greater permeability to agents and identify situations.

One of the most evident apparently actions of resolution, used by Government, are the displacement, which implies there is no a diffusion of problematic activities into other areas of the city, but at the cost of a relocation of the phenomena that are not solved, but moved along the view (Mastronardi and Ciappi, 2014).

BOX 10 - THE ROLE OF THE POLICE

The Brazilian Police force is divided into different groups:

- The Polícia Civil and the Polícia Militar, both under the State, which present the two Police corps;
- The Polícia Federal, the Polícia Rodoviária Federal and the Polícia Ferroviária Federal, which depend from the Federal State;
- The Força Nacional de Segurança Pública, created in 2004, that is a particular corps that directly depend by the Justice Minister, and acting only in specifically violent and emergently situations.
- The Guarda Municipal, armed police under the distinct cities.

In 1992, the Sao Paulo police killed more people in comparison of the last military dictatorship did in all of Country, and in the last twenty years, the police in Sao Paulo have killed at least 11'692 people (Caldeira, 2002). These problems, are a result of the violent history when both civilian and military regimes have trusted in police and in their violent methods, which reinforce the high prevalence of inequality in Brazil.

The principal victims of police violence are the poor, the black, or the youth, group of marginalized people because its members reflect the criminal stereotype. People of low classes do not trust in these armed groups and do not report crimes, because they believe that criminals and police work together. There is a sort of reality in this affirmation because the low wages of police dependents cannot stand to a valid life tenor, and in different situations, they are obliged to do a second work.

In the docu-film of Francesco Jodice, there is an interview of a policeman who works both for public and the private sector. It is an important point of view, for the fact that the police in São Paulo, Brazil, carry out a public and private service at the same time, in a country that demands justice but, in reality, favors phenomena that are on the limit of democracy. It is disconcerting to imagine that a policeman until a certain point in time would protect everyone, and from a certain point in time on would become exclusive to who pay him for a service, also using handcuffs and weapons supplied by the police.

Repression and violence are normal actions by the police, which is in many cases justified by citizens, as they are considered necessary to combat the high levels of crime in the country, but sometimes can even be the manifestation of corruption and settlement of

accounts between some corrupt policemen for the purpose of controlling the Bocas (central drug shop inside the slums). The visibility of police actions are fundamental to the State to justify their presence, and also show that the State try to resolve problems.

3.3 Life and perception over the walls

3.3.1 A questionnaire for the inhabitants

During my personal experience I can be lived first-hand the feeling of fear and scared; from the beginning, I ask local people some advice and they said to me to kept attention and forgot all my “European habits”, in particular, I cannot walk around in streets alone. The premises were not warmed me, and I left Italy with some worries; the principal problem was these preconditions they given to me, not impartial, or with the objective to advised me, it was an outbreak of their fear, which soaked their narrations. It was particular that in the city, where I lived near the Avenida Paulista in a good-defined bairro, I took a while before I can perceive to stay in a secure place, and can move in a city that I know.

Also walk in the streets are difficult because it seems to walk in a corridor where overstated buildings, gates or walls are located on the sides.

The relation between the different typologies of spaces, into and over the boundaries are essential for understanding the feeling of fear that spread up in the city and not permits the free circulation of protected people.

To understand the existing dynamics between public and private spaces, and how fear acts in the limitation of the public, to preserve security.

The questionnaire is structured in 3 parts:

- Generically questions about the subject;
- The life at home;
- The life out of home.

With 15 total answers, the work want to put a light on the general characters and processes involving São Paulo, and reflect on the articulated variable that conditioned behaviors or also perceptions.

I have chosen ask you to fill in the documents by internet platform, in different students groups or direct contacts who given to their acquaintances, and the full sample is about 150 documents.

RESEARCH ABOUT URBAN SECURITY

Hello, I am Jessica, an Italian student of the Msc Territorial, Urban, Environmental And Landscape Planning at the Polytechnic of Turin, Italy.

I am doing my thesis on urban security, which I started to develop in Sao Paulo, during the Erasmus project.

I would your collaboration to answer a few simple and anonymously questions.

Thank you in advance.

SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS

1. How old are you?

- ☐ < 20
- ☐ 20-30
- ☐ 30-40
- ☐ > 40

2. Sex

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

3. What is the name of the bairro where you live?

.....

4. Why do you live in São Paulo?

- ☐ I am a resident (I live alone or with my family)
- ☐ I am an out of home students or under an Erasmus Project
- ☐ I moved me there for various reasons
- ☐ I am a tourist
- ☐ Other ...

SAFETY INSIDE HOME

5. In what kind of building do you live? (house, apartment, residential complex, etc.)

.....

6. How much of "defenses" exist in your home building for non-residents?

- ☐ Barbed wire
- ☐ Electrified wire
- ☐ Reception
- ☐ Night guard
- ☐ Walls
- ☐ Cameras
- ☐ Other ...

7. Does your housing contract contain a part of your behaviour to ensure the safety in the interior places of building? If you affirm, please make a brief description.

.....

8. Does the building have some kind of service (supermarket, gym, laundry, ...) inner the residential complex?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes

9. If you answered yes, which ones?

.....

SAFETY OUTSIDE THE HOME

10. Do you think your neighborhood is safe?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes

11. Do others think your neighborhood is safe?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes

12. How do you normally move during your free time in the city?

- ☐ Car / Taxi / Uber
- ☐ Moto
- ☐ Bicycle
- ☐ Walking
- ☐ Bus
- ☐ Metropolitan
- ☐ Other ...

13. Does the choice depend on the level of safety into the place you are, and in the neighbourhoods you need to cross?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes

LAST QUESTION

14. What are the consideration about your definition of public spaces?

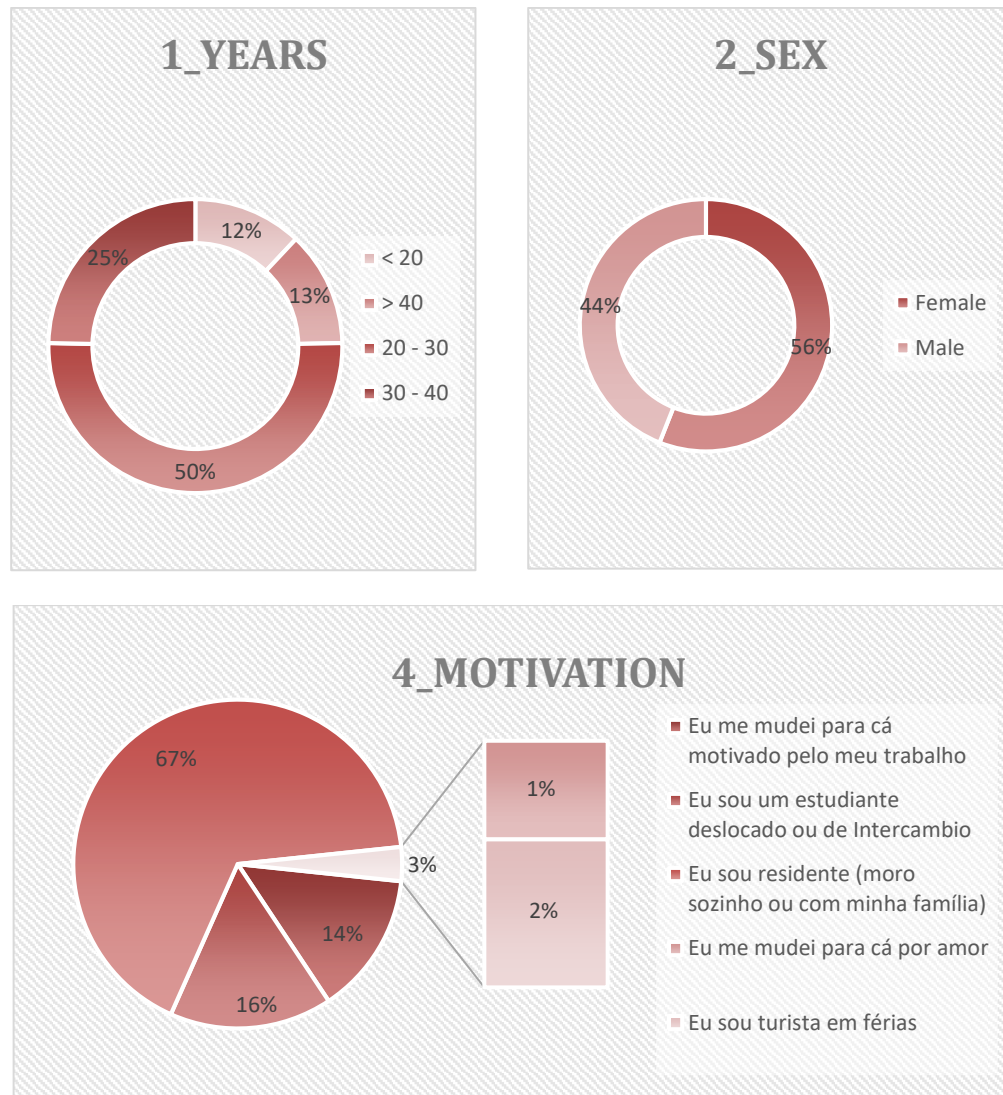
.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

If you would like to be updated, if you have any advice or if you are interested in the topic, please contact me

15. Some advices / consideration / comments?

.....



The conditioning of the channel for the diffusion of the questionnaire, which took place via the Internet and through direct or indirect university channels, made it possible to obtain an unequal stratification of the sample with regard to age (there are 50% who are in the age range between 20 and 30) but a sort of balance was reached between male and female candidates, with a small majority percentage of the latter.

With reference to the living conditions in São Paulo, on the other hand, we find a prevalence of residents, and a quasi-balance between students and workers, while other motivations do not reach 5%. Given these premises, the analysis was mainly based on the comparison between the results obtained and the sex, as well as the geographical origin in the city, of the responses of the subjects.

3.3.2 The residential typologies in bairros involved

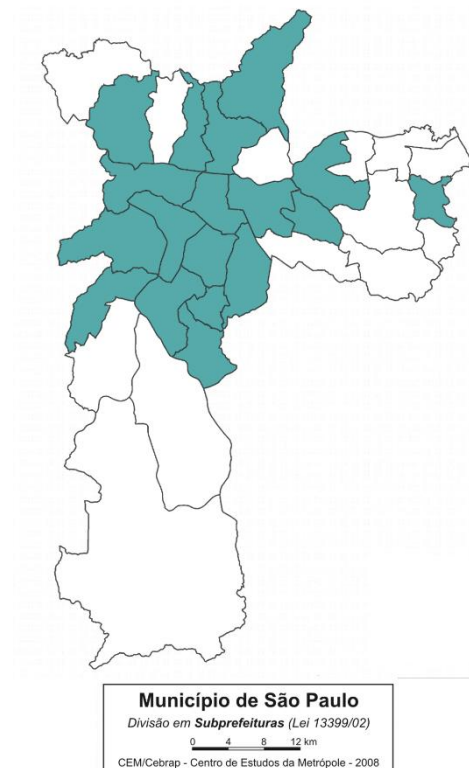
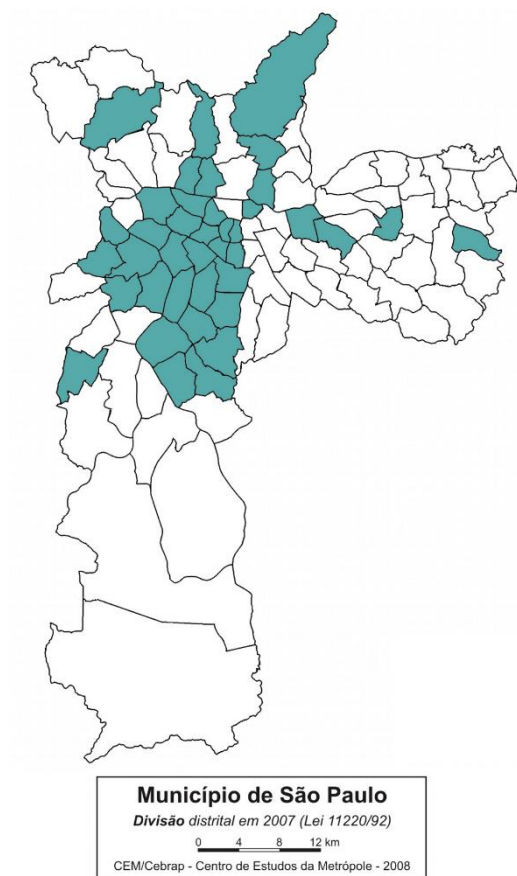
3_BAIRROS

Jaçanã	0
Tremembé	1
Vila Maria	0
Vila Guilherme	1
Vila Medeiros	0
Santana	1
Tucuruvi	2
Mandaqui	0
Casa Verde	3
Cachoeirinha	1
Limão	1
Freguesia do Ó	0
Brasilândia	0
Pirituba	0
Jaraguá	1
São Domingos	0
Perus	0
Anhangüera	0
Aricanduva	1
Vila Formosa	0
Carrão	1
Mooca	0
Tatuapé	5
Pari	1
Brás	0
Belém	0
Água Rasa	0
Penha	0
Cangaíba	0
Vila Matilde	0

Artur Alvim	1
Sapopemba	0
Vila Prudente	0
São Lucas	0
Cidade Tiradentes	0
Ermelino Matarazzo	0
Ponte Rasa	0
Guaianases	2
Lajeado	0
Itaquera	0
Cidade Líder	0
José Bonifácio	0
Parque do Carmo	0
Itaim Paulista	0
Vila Curuçá	0
São Miguel Paulista	0
Vila Jacuí	0
Jardim Helena	0
São Mateus	0
São Rafael	0
Iguatemi	0
Ipiranga	1
Cursino	0
Sacomã	1
Jabaquara	1
Vila Mariana	5
Moema	1
Saúde	2
Cidade Ademar	1
Pedreira	0
Jardim Ângela	0
Jardim São Luís	0
Campo Limpo	0

Capão Redondo	3
Vila Andrade	0
Socorro	0
Cidade Dutra	0
Grajaú	0
M'Boi Mirim	0
Parelheiros	0
Marsilac	0
Santo Amaro	1
Campo Belo	1
Campo Grande	4
Butantã	30
Morumbi	1
Vila Sônia	2
Rio Pequeno	12
Raposo Tavares	0
Lapa	2
Barra Funda	3
Perdizes	5
Vila Leopoldina	0
Jaguara	0
Jaguaré	2
Pinheiros	14
Alto de Pinheiros	1
Jardim Paulista	5
Itaim Bibi	2
Sé	6
Bela Vista	6
Bom Retiro	0
Cambuci	0
Consolação	7
Liberdade	4
República	2
Santa Cecília	3

These are the name of the bairros involved in the research, but to understand the disposition and the territories at the different scale, it is indispensable to create groups and maps to take in consideration the location and the problems that are present in determinate places. The various levels of administrations, in de-growth order, Bairros, Distritos, Subprefeituras, Zonas, were very useful to organized the dates and to visualize my interpretation in space.



The prevalent answers come from the Central-West Region and prevalent interested the residential typology of the condominium, but in different forms we previously analysed. In fact there are a lot of condominium typologies, linked with the economic status by the subject involved; I can affirm that in the central bairros and distritos there are a sort of middle class stratified, also because poor people and rich, we saw, stay over the periphery.

The prevalent typologies are also:

- Casas: the residential complex that in the city of São Paulo mainly refers to the former workshop houses, therefore low (maximum one / two floors) where on the ground floor there was a business, with the owner residing in the same residential complex. Now houses are also called bifamily houses with a raised entrance, characterized by a horizontal seriality;
- Condomínio fechado: as we saw previously, it is a residential agglomeration defended by walls and with an entrance controlled by avant-garde technologies, where inside you can live a high standard of living based on living patterns typical of European or North American regions;
- Kit-net: studio apartment mainly characterized by the presence of a kitchenette located in the bedroom;
- Sobrado: the old colonial house, now available for several families, mainly on two floors and with common areas dedicated to leisure time;
- Aparthotel: increasingly popular and frequent especially in commercial or business areas, is a yes apartment block where the internal apartments are rented for limited periods of time and can not be bought;
- School residence: in some cases called República, these are housing complexes that include several houses and apartments, mainly entrusted to students, and therefore present in the university area;
- Condomínio: Vertical buildings of many floors, as well as being an agglomeration of different families, also include services and facilities that are normally associated with the life outside the house.

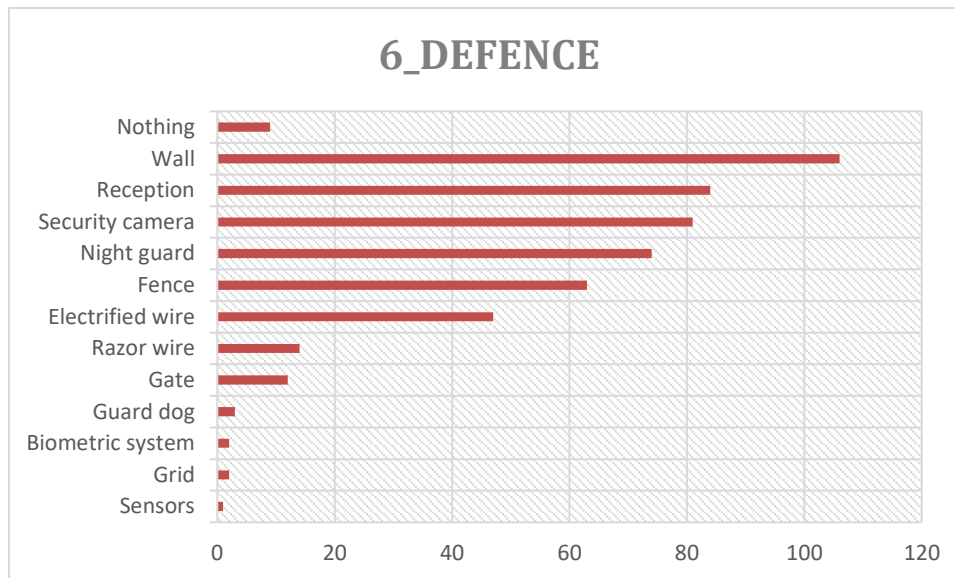
The variegation presents only for the Central-West Region, and in general we have the prevalence of Condomínio and Casas typologies.

[illegible]

Zonas	Psubprefeituras	Distritos	CASA	APARTHOTEL	CONDOMINIO FECHADO	KITNET	SOBRADO	RESIDENCIA	AP. NO CONDOMINIO	Arame farpado	Cachorro	Câmaras da segurança	Fio eletrificado ou cerca elétrica	Grade	Muro	Nenhuma	Parede	Portão (automático, gradeado)	Recepção	Sensores de presença	Sistema de biometria	Vigia noturno	Contract					
	Pinheiros	Alto de Pinheiros							•			•					•		•				•	?				
		Itaim Bibi							•			•								•				•	X			
		Itaim Bibi							•				•							•					•	X		
		Jardim Paulista							•				•							•					•	X		
									•								•		•	•					•	✓		
				•						•		•						•								•	✓	
		Pinheiros								•				•						•					•	✓		
			•												•											•	X	
			•												•				•							•	✓	
										•							•				•					•	X	
			•											•												•	X	
										•				•							•					•	✓	
										•				•												•	X	
										•				•							•					•	X	
										•		•															•	X
										•				•													•	X
		Bela Vista								•				•							•					•	X	
										•				•												•	X	
										•											•					•	X	
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									•				•												•	X		
	Consolação								•				•							•					•	✓		
									•				•												•	X		
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	Liberdade								•				•							•					•	✓		
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Santa Cecília								•				•												•	X			
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Sé								•				•												•	X			
								•				•												•	X			
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								•				•												•	✓			
								•				•												•	✓			
								•				•												•	✓			
								•				•												•	✓			
Leste 1	Aricanduva	Carrão	•																•						X			
	Mooca	Pari	•																	•					X			
		Tatuapé								•			•						•						•	X		
										•			•												•	X		
	Penha	Artur Alvim	•						•									•						•	X			
Leste 2	Guaianases	Guaianases	•									•						•							X			
	Guaianases	Guaianases	•															•							X			

Zonas	Psubprefeituras	Distritos	CASA	APARTHOTEL	CONDOMINIO FECHADO	KITNET	SOBRADO	RESIDENCIA	AP. NO CONDOMINIO	Arame farpado	Cachorro	Câmaras da segurança	Fio eletrificado ou cerca elétrica	Grade	Muro	Neihuma	Parede	Portão (automático, gradeado)	Recepção	Sensores de presença	Sistema de biometria	Vigia noturno	Contract
Norde 1	Jaçanã / Tremembé	Tremembé							•						•		•						✓
		Santana	•									•							•			•	X
	Santana / Tucuruvi	Tucuruvi	•											•	•								X
	Vila Maria / Vila Guilherme	Vila Guilherme	•						•						•		•						✓
Norde 2	Casa Verde	Cachoeirinha							•			•			•		•						X
		Casa Verde	•							•					•								X
		Limão	•						•						•			•					X
		Perus	•										•										✓
	Pirituba	Jaraguá									•				•				•				X
Sul 1	Ipiranga	Ipiranga							•			•							•			•	✓
	Sacomã	Sacomã	•										•		•		•						X
	Jabaquara	Jabaquara							•						•		•		•				X
	Vila Mariana	Moema							•						•				•			•	?
		Saúde							•			•	•						•			•	✓
		Vila Mariana							•			•		•	•		•						?
Sul 2	Campo Limpo	Capão Redondo	•									•			•		•						X
			•									•							•				X
			•												•		•						X
	Cidade Ademar	Cidade Ademar	•									•							•			•	X
	Santo Amaro	Campo Belo							•		•				•		•						✓
		Campo Grande							•						•								?
									•			•	•						•			•	✓
		Santo Amaro							•			•	•						•			•	X
											•								•				X

3.3.3 The defence and the private services

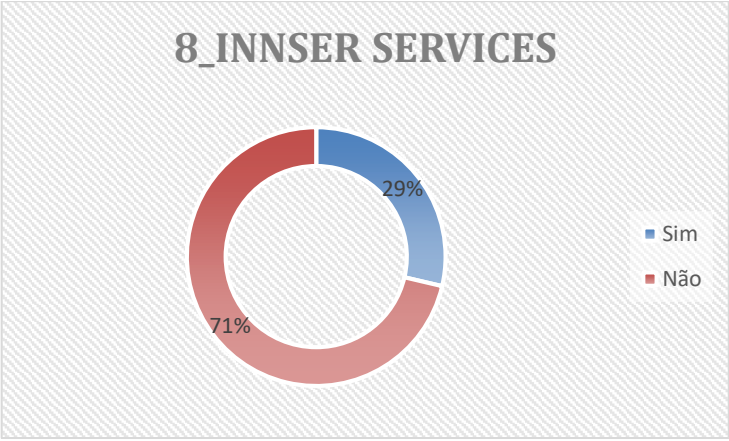


We can see that the defense techniques are mainly the classic ones, or those referring to the fortress city, the wall is the most common feature, followed by the presence of porters or security cameras. This mainly concerns the condominium, in the houses, the main defenses in addition to the wall are the armored gates, or the thorny/electrified wire, to prevent someone from bypassing the property. Night guards are also a fundamental and present character, in some cases accompanied by guard dogs.

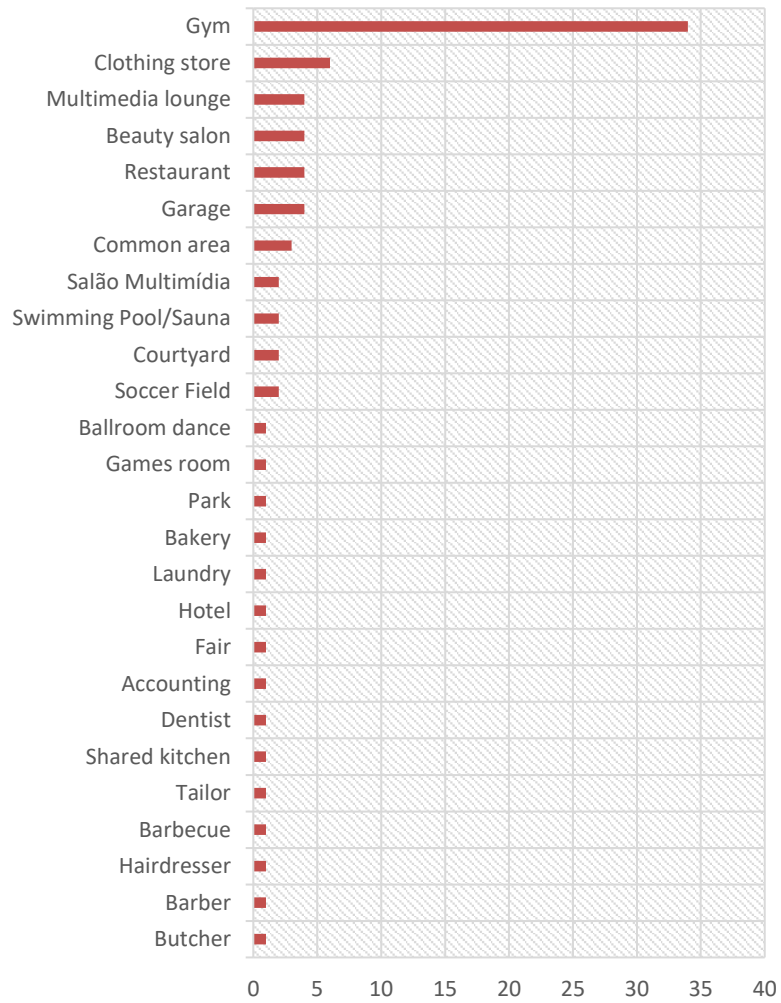
Techniques related to the biometric system are not yet widespread, even if they are present, but their publicity on the websites of the Security Agencies could have some feedback in the future.

However, there are several answers that deny the presence of techniques to defend the house and mainly refer to ancient houses, the sobrados.

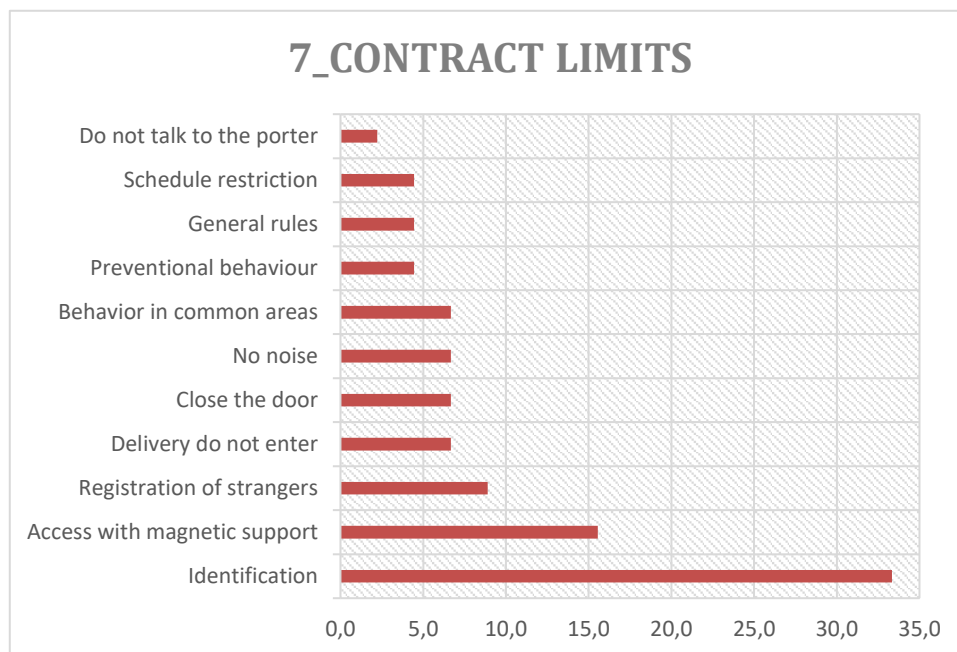
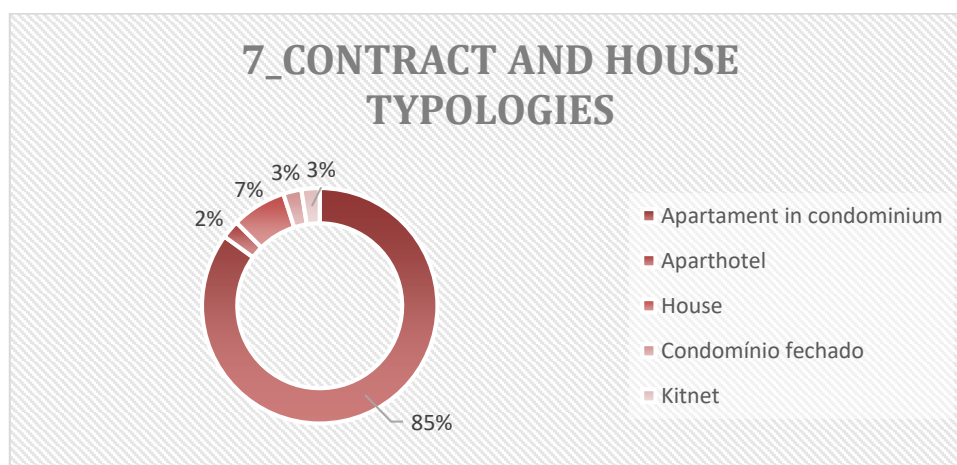
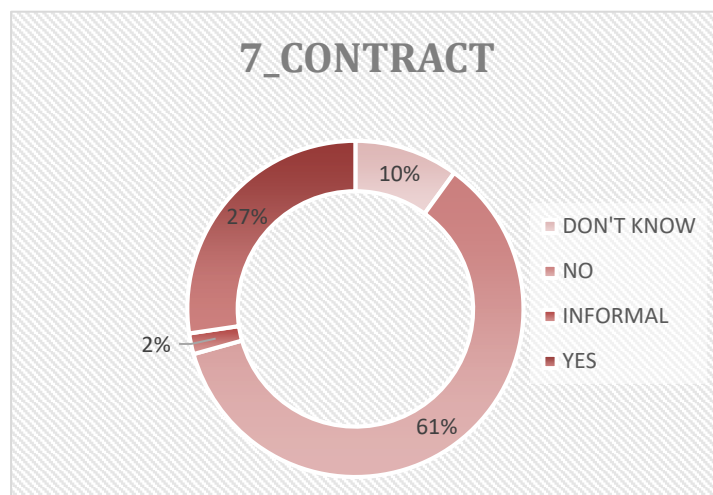
The presence of internal services is typical of condominiums, but has not been a determining characteristic, since only 29% of respondents believe they have services within their housing complex, and the principal activity are the gym and others are typical commercial activities.



9_INNER SERVICES



3.3.4 Types of house rental contracts and protection

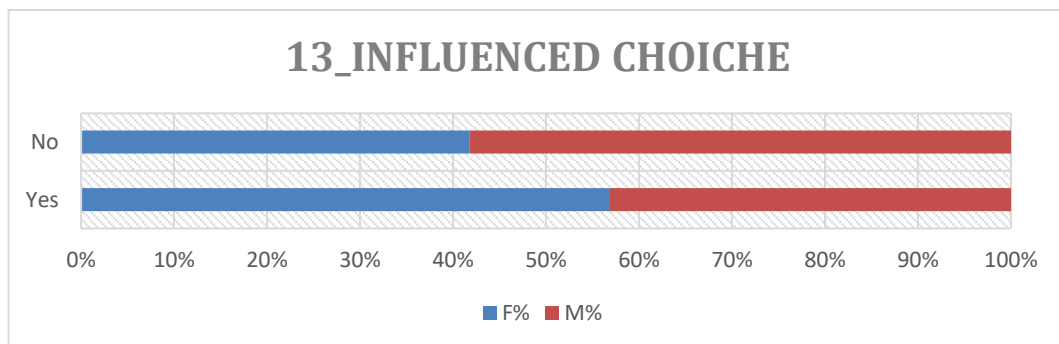
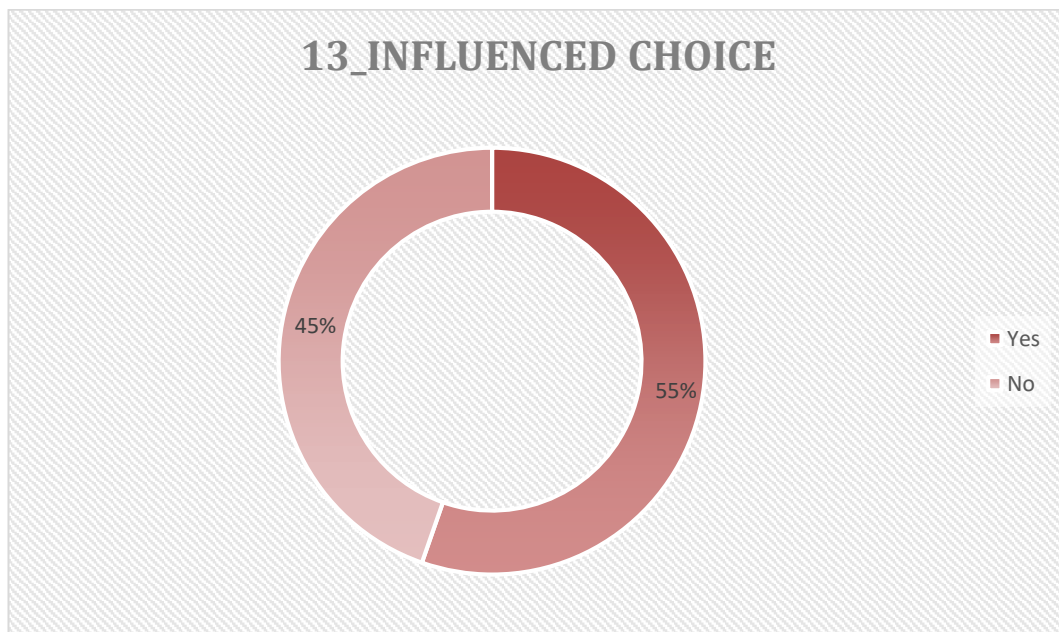
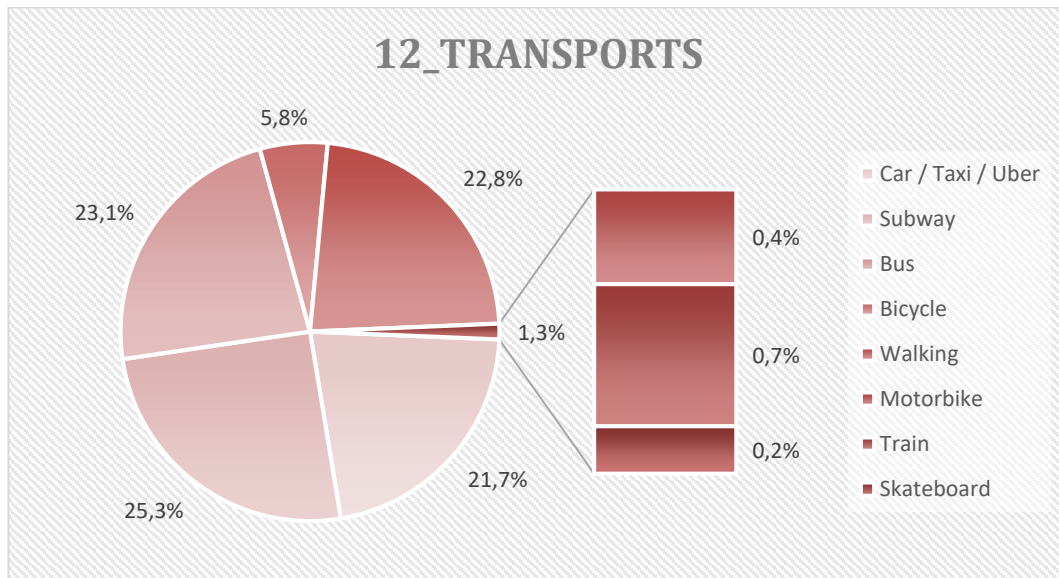


Among the analyses of the private space in relation to security is certainly the contractual issue and the behavioral limits to facilitate the control by the competent persons. In general, control measures regarding the identification of strangers who introduce only the only predominant and valid, as well as normal rules to ensure good sharing with the neighborhood.

The central figure of this reflection is the *Porteiro*, which therefore plays a key role in the administration and recognition of a possible danger introduced.

Thus, in this case, the main type of housing that provides for these restrictions is the apartment in a condominium, but also those who live in *aparthotel*, or *fechade* communities. The latter also benefit from a very personal private identification system, which guarantees total security in the introduction of people into the structure. Many people, however, do not know or ignore these constraints, especially those who live at home, who then administer their own defense, which is often purely physical and externalized by barbed wire, walls, double gates, ...

3.3.5 The use of the public street



The megacity of São Paulo have a complex net of public transport, and with an exception of a small network by the EMTU (the Empresa Metropolitana de Transportes Urbanos de São Paulo, which is a company owned by the Secretaria de Estado dos Transportes Metropolitanos), the buses operated by concessionaires under the supervision of SPTrans, a municipal company responsible for the planning and management of public transport.

The the São Paulo Metropolitan Transport Network have 13 lines and a total extension of 363 km (being about 225 km within the limits of the city of São Paulo), and is the largest rail system in Latin America.

But people prefer to use private cars, also because they think that are more safety. Streets for residents are very insecure, a night rule for the taxi driver permit to pass in the worst road crossings, to prevent a criminal assault. Also the cars are little fortress; in the past ten years the number of armoured cars in Brazil has doubled, and people of middle class search a ways to live safely in a class-driven society where the murder rate or assault are frequent. In Jodice (2006) documentary is very important the narration of a dependent of an armour-plated cars industry. She put the evidence of their products and emphasize the importance to drive in a car which ensures your security, also with the darkened and bullet-proof glass.

In the questionnaires is evident that there are not a domination in the use of car, but the choice is also conditioned by the bairros to cross, in particular for female subjects.

BOX 11 - HELICOPTERS TO ESCAPE TO THE TRAFFIC

In São Paulo there 5.9 million vehicles, or one for every two people and a lot of problem of pollution and traffic, backed up as much as 576 km, despite the street system is very articulated and projected facilitate the circulation. In addition to the modes of transport are private vehicles, public transport and walking there are alternative types of movement: the helicopter. São Paulo presents the highest per capita rate, among developing countries, has the second largest helicopter fleet in the world, and the owners are a little billionaire class that uses about a hundred heliports to avoid the intense traffic and the most dangerous aspects of city life.

Now there is also a helicopter taxi service, defining “economic and practice” when the weather permit to fly, and it is a wildcard because São Paulo is the land of the “garoa”. It is interesting that once again the resolution of a problem is an escaping alternative, which solves the problem only for a restricted group of the population.

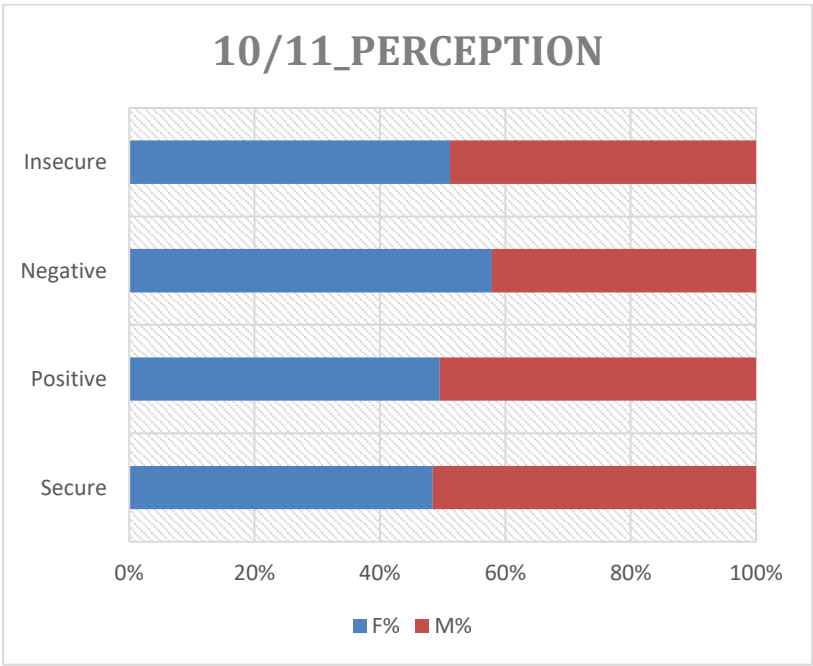
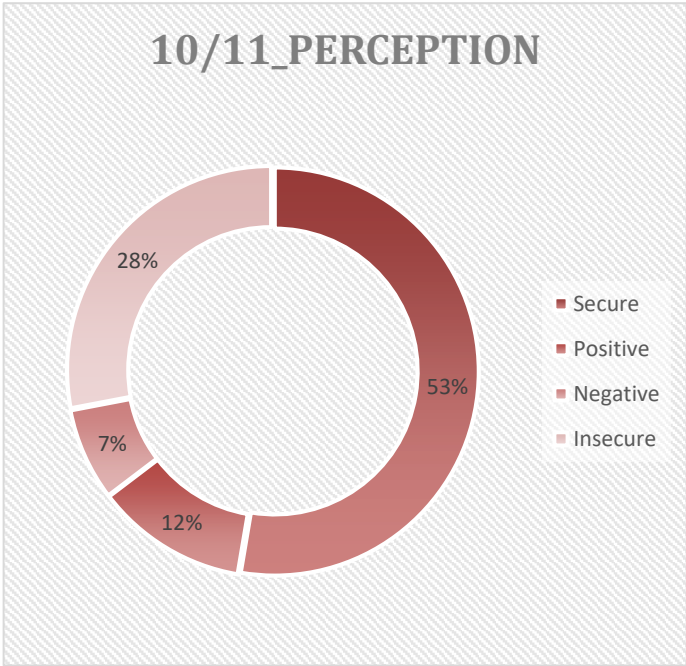
In the documentary film by Jodice (2006) it is presented the voice of a helicopter pilot, from his work perspective it is interesting the value that people assign to a “safe” vehicle. People also choose helicopter because is far from street violence, and are private, only for them and their route. The pilot said that the principal trips are for pleasure, to go to the beach or to restoration events. Actually, there is the disposition of 700 helicopters on the platform, like Uber, with 5 start station in the city.

3.4 The social and physical limits

3.4.1 How we can change a negative perception?

10_YOUR_PERCEPTION	
Yes	97
Not	53

11_OTHER_PERCEPTION	
Yes	90
Not	60



An attempt has been made to differentiate the perception of the security of one's neighborhood from the public's perception of it. Since the questions refer to this with a dry answer, we have not tried to give an interpretation of the answer, basing ourselves on the background of the person, or at least on the factors that can intervene in establishing a yes or no to the answer. In fact, on the basis of the consistency between the two answers, I found four groupings, which are:

- safe: when both answers were yes;
- positive: when it has given an affirmative but negative answer to the external perception;
- negative: when it has given a negative answer even if the external perception is positive;
- uncertain: both are not.

In general, the answers were mainly positive, and more than half of them were registered in the category of "safe", if we analyze the data according to the gender variable, however, it is evident that "negative" data are mainly women, and at this point we should analyze the reasons for this insecurity.

The process of territoriality and consciousness of the territory, can change these results, and make people more consciousness of their conditions.

BOX 12 - APP “ONDE FUI ROUBADO”

The crime mapping efficiency is an important instrument, used to prevent the victimization processes, linked with the urban criminality, and can georeferencing the violent actions and the deviant behavior, to help the public administration to understand when are necessary adopt operative strategies to contrast insecurity and prevent safety (Bravo, 2014).

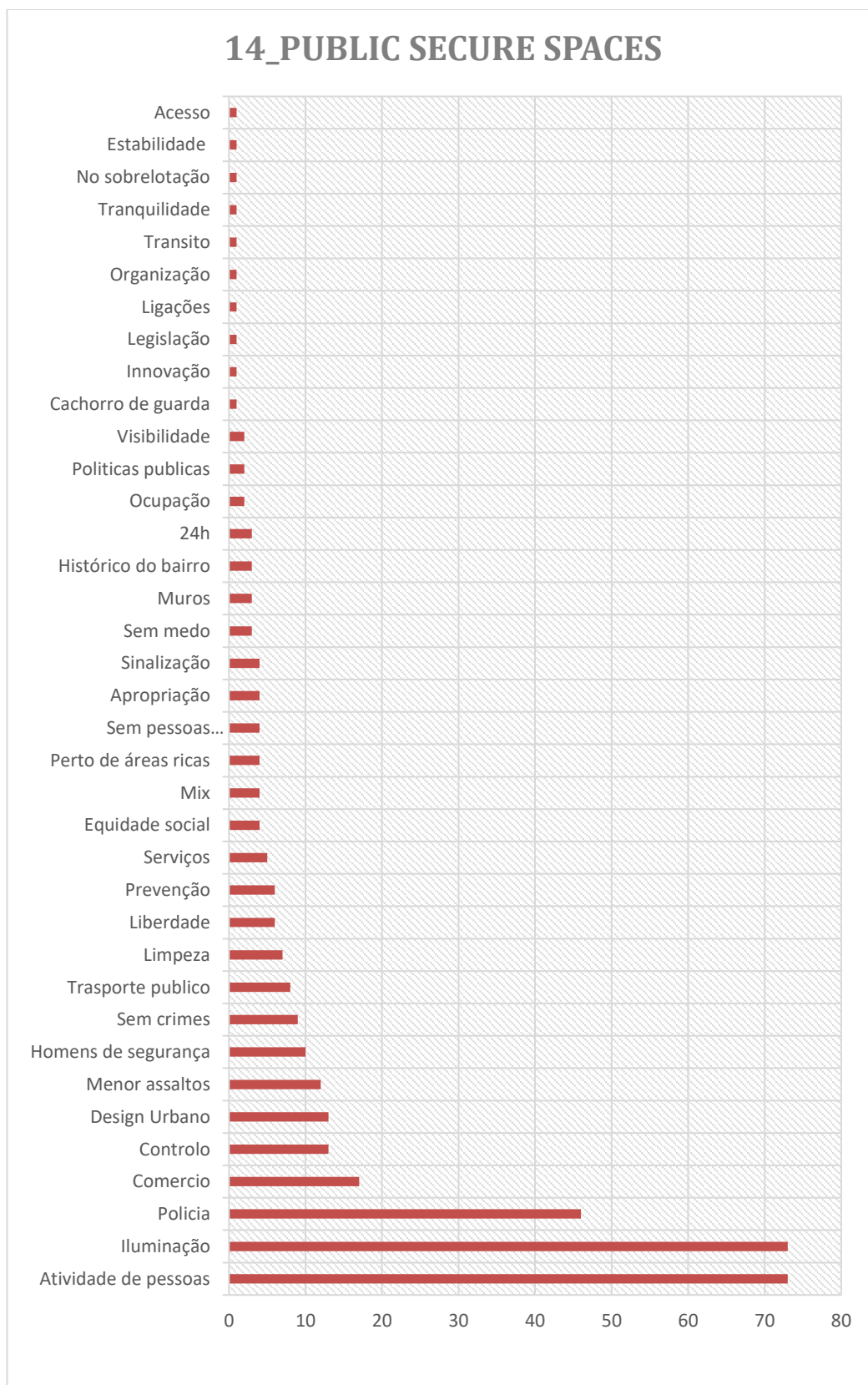
In Brasil is very important to localize crime, because there is a lot of concepts linked with stereotypes, which conditioned the public opinion. The App Onde Fui Roubado was created in 2013, with the aim to help people, against the un-care of police and administration, and the responsibility of the citizen in the process, asking their collaboration.

The user must select the city that wants to consult and can view the map with the denounced crimes, filtering the results by data and statistics. To make the reports it is fundamental to indicate the address, sign the type of crime, and the date and time.

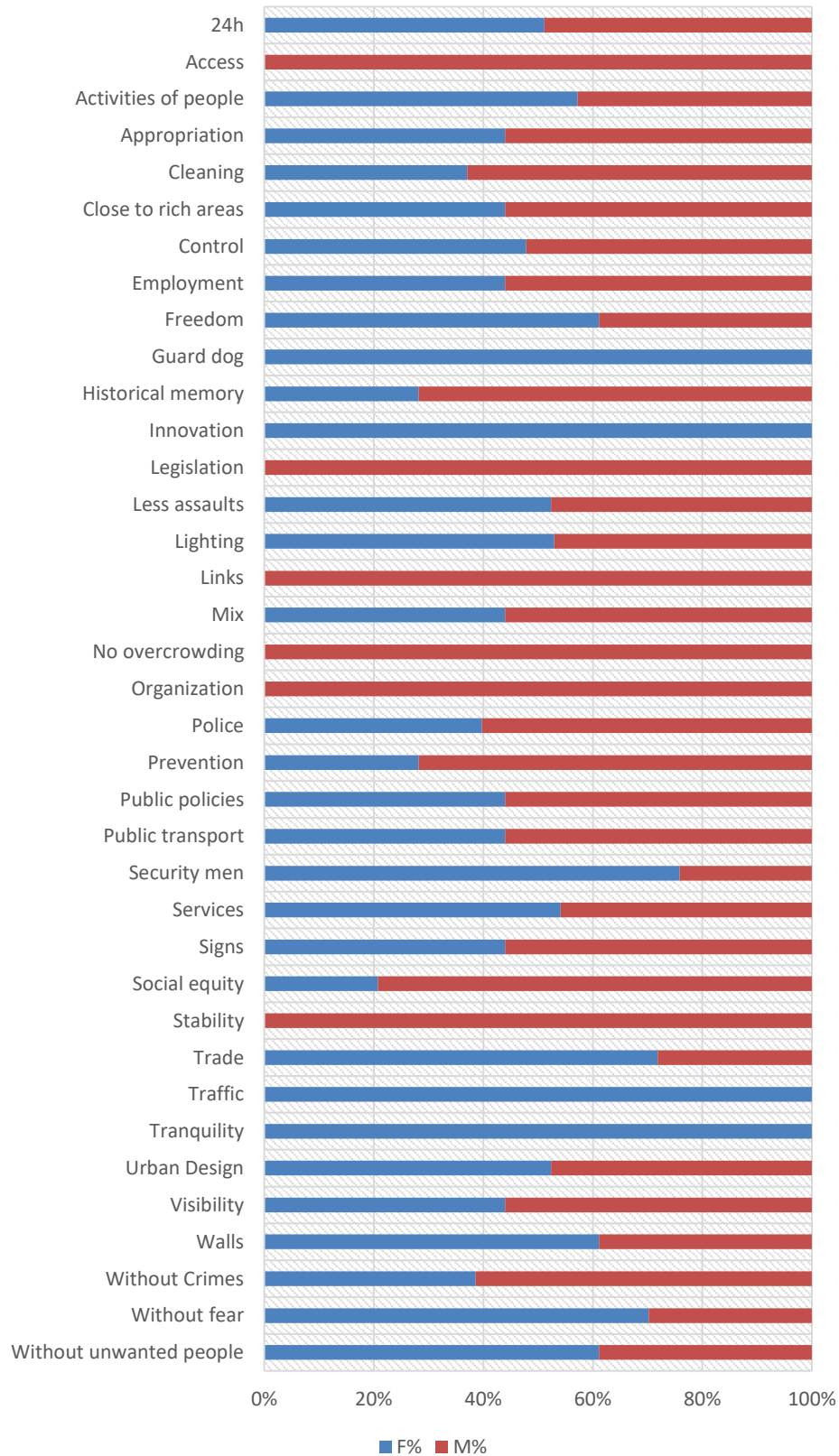
For the programmers, the end map can help people to find the safe ways and places to stay, and also help people to demonstrate the inefficiency of the public sectors, that can't accommodate their request of security or bringing justice to their denounces. Without confidence in traditional methods, people can also avoid unsafe places to escape criminal incidents. I think that this way of action can only raise the territorial imbalances in the city, excluding problematic territories and valorize only the good ones.

I analyzed the dates collected in the period when I have given the questionnaires to people, and it is interesting to notice that the statistics represent a situation which is diffused over all the city. It is impossible to find a particular zone of negative influence, but with a zoom of the chart of denounces, we can see that there is a concentration along the Avenida Paulista and also in the poor areas to the City Center. It is also important to notice that the crimes are prevalent during the night and criminals acts on male people. The prevalent illegal act is the robbery, and the object must steal is the cellular phone.

3.4.2 How we can define a good public place?



14_PUBLIC SECURE SPACE



The question mainly refers to the characteristics that space must have in order for the interviewee to define it as public. It was interesting to note that everyone responded in an articulate way and that it was easy to group the answers into sub-categories that were constantly repeated in the answers. In proportion the first three needs by the population were:

- The activity of people;
- Lighting;
- The police presence.

These requests also clearly reflect the previous analyses, and it is essential to note that all elements are present in the neighborhoods that participated in the survey.

A further analysis that sees the intersection of data with the sex of people shows an interesting view of the phenomenon, showing how some characteristics have been taken into account only by men or women. The answers given by women were mainly reflected in the definition of defense attributes or more physical aspects (guard dogs, innovation, traffic, tranquility, security men, lack of unwanted people ...) while the male component has focused more on more generic and intellectual aspects (access, organization, legislation, stability, prevention, social equity, part of the neighborhood, ...).

In the definition of a good public space is important referring to all the characters that I analysed in the first part and that are good indicator of territoriality and also presents factors of natural control of it. It is important to accept also negative characterization, it is not productively said that "a good space is a space without bad things" but in concrete how we can resolve bad things around us? This is a rethorical question but it is fundamental to put ourselves in aperspective that can embrace all of the component of the space, which can also

4. CONCLUSION

This study, starting from the main research demand, has allowed to expand and take a complex articulation, referring to all the phenomena that concern us. The theme of the study of public spaces was well suited to the city of Sao Paulo, which presents a considerable amount of outdoor activities but also a considerable closure of the houses. The experience has helped me to reflect first of all on people, those who use these spaces but who are totally scared if they have to face them alone. During the holidays or demonstrations it is as if the fear vanished and the streets become the chaotic stereotype that we know, full of celebration and joy, and then end and close again within its walls.

This condition takes into consideration the various aspects previously analyzed, first of all, territoriality, which in Sao Paulo, but in Brazil in general, is felt only at certain particular moments. Their gaze towards Europe does not allow them to become aware of their reality, having "idolized" aspirations for something unknown but to which they aspire. The same houses within the Gated Communities reflect what has been said, and in fact, this flattening of their culture does not allow to have a strong and valid foundation to face the future. This can still happen through the education of young people, starting with the awareness that Brazil was not "discovered", was not hidden, and its history does not begin with the history of its colonization.

Another concept on which the Government should focus in order to change the widespread insecurity is in guaranteeing greater social equity, as Bauman (2002) argues, human society cannot be freed from its fear if its poor part is not freed from its misery. Social polarisation does nothing but feeds into a strong feeling of insecurity in the middle class, which leads to fear of all that is "different" and from which we must move away. The walls are thus erected to exclude and exclude us from the city, and our habits change accordingly. Privatization and individualism are, therefore, manifestations of sedimented fears, which see no resolution except in the evident actions of force that the State imposes on us to affirm its intervention. But it does no more than feeding the discomfort and distrust of the state apparatus, causing a need for private justice. The community suffers, and its reflection in the city suffers just as much because everything that is seen as outside the walls, not controlled, is a danger. Fear can, therefore, be an influential variable of the urban form, even if it is never taken into account as such, but mainly as a fear of some criminal wind. I am talking instead about pure fear, about that primordial instinct that is also a positive factor in other respects, which has allowed human beings to survive before they erected insurmountable walls. Urban spaces must, therefore, be given the opportunity to feel fear, from

the point of view of trust in the actions and communities that frequent certain spaces. Brazil's causality of aggression is also a cause for uncertainty and insecurity, but sound policies aimed at an attempt to accept and then solve secular problems that seem to be part of the country, such as drug trafficking, juvenile crime, the use of hard drugs, can establish a valid beginning in the treatment of that "social defect" that Bauman (2002) defines as the lack of critical receptivity for which we are questioning, which therefore derives from the contacts that can occur in those spaces belonging to all, or the public space, the mirror of our society.

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