

URBAN PLANNING, SOCIAL COHESION AND SAFETY
IN THE CITY OF BRASÍLIA

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INTRODUCTION

Reflecting upon the organisation of urban space can reveal more about its configuration than first meets the eye. The processes of urbanisation, like the practice of fixing borders, traffic routes, and design and location of public and private edifices, are informed by the consideration of political, economic, social and environmental welfare. What we see in Brazilian cities is how history and political ideologies have deeply informed city architecture and planning. What we also see though, is that city plans do not always have the desired outcomes. This is especially the case, it seems, when city planners try to ‘design in’ ways of using public space and creating a sense of ‘community’.

Ideals of industrialisation, development and security have impacted the occupation and the built environment of cities in the twentieth century. The thinking behind those who plan cities can be understood in many cases, from documents and master plans, as is the case with the relatively new city of Brasília. Brasília is a heavily documented city. The urban model of Brasília was based on the development aims of order and progress. Through organised spaces, Brasília’s planners intended to create a new Brazilian society. The intention was that through investments in urban planning, a social architecture would precipitate the birth of new sets of values for Brasília and Brazil. New values meant the creation of homogenous and functional spaces. Brasília’s iconic urban design was intended to be a model for the rest of the nation in terms of how to forge a good space for a society in transition. In reality, as this thesis shows, the dream for the city was not realised. Brasília today is not an example of a homogeneous, harmonious and unified society.

Different analyses have tried to explain the reason why the dream of city planning failed. Anthropological analysis of Brazilian society, economical approaches focusing on the depression and inflation of the 1970’s and 1980’s, as well as government failures in regulation of housing and transport, are commonly discussed to explain patterns of centre-periphery division in the inaugurated Brasília. This thesis takes a different approach. I argue that the reasons behind the failed intentions of the city lie in problems of intent, process and the reality of socio-spatial segmentation.

The unique architecture of Brasília has captivated numerous inquiries regarding society and space. I have chosen in this dissertation to look at the relationship between urban design, social efficacy and (fear of) crime in Brasília. In other words, I will be looking at Brasília through the lens of crime, urban public life and socio-spatial segregation. I use as my

starting point Caldeira's (2000) assertion that "cities (societies, cultures) we live in are, like ourselves, continuously changing. They are cities to make sense of, to question, to change. They are cities we engage with" (ibid 2000:5).

In many ways this thesis is a personal engagement with the city. One of my rationales for focusing on this particular city is that it is the city in which I spent most of my life. In some ways I have written this thesis from the standpoint of a resident trying to make sense of space, culture and current security problems in Brasília. The investigation of security and socio-spatial aspects was precipitated by personal disquiet with transformations in the built space of Brasília and the escalating problem of violence.

The study of Brasília tested my previous (perhaps common-sense) understanding of it. Through this thesis I was able to unpack some of the complexities about designing the city in which I lived most of my life. I came to understand how my family and my neighbourhood actually felt about the city and how they chose to live in it. I also grew more conscious of what government – at all levels – had anticipated for us as inhabitants of Brasília. As much as I am interested in how Brasília came to be what it is today, I am also interested in how Brasília can be made into a city characterised by safety and by social cohesion. In this regard, the thesis has a normative component; I look at what should have and could still be done to make Brasília into the city its planners had hoped it would become.

Growing up in Brasília means that my native language is Portuguese, not English. I ask the reader to bear with me as I try to make sense of the reading material and the ideas that are informed by Latin American thinking and syntax. My personal puzzle in writing this thesis was to have to write in English, while accessing literature/data written in Portuguese and residing, as a Global Studies Programme student, in Germany. I was confronted with three different ways of seeing the world, of being in the world, of making sense of the world and of describing the world. What I did not have in doing this thesis was "the freedom and the security of unconscious constructions" (Caldeira 2000:5).

THIS STUDY

The key question underlying this thesis is: what impact does urban design have on social cohesiveness and on feelings of insecurity? The thesis is grounded in the literature that maintains the importance of orderly environments in creating social cohesion which in turn creates an environment more prone to community safety; the idea here is that the more communities cohere and build a sense of social efficacy, the higher the likelihood of feelings

and experience of safety. What I investigate in this thesis is whether urban design (in Brasília) has had a positive impact on social integration and how this has impacted on perceptions and incidences of crime. What I argue in this thesis is that, contrary to what city planners had anticipated, the urban design of Brasília has had a negative impact on social cohesiveness. This has resulted in weak bonds between residents which in turn fuels feelings of insecurity.

Brasília is often remarked upon internationally for its unique architecture. Yet, perhaps in a more hidden way, the city is also remarkable for the division of populations from one another. Poorer, more marginalised groupings live on the periphery of the city centre and much of the activity of the police is focused on reinforcing this division. The periphery is made up of ‘displaced’ communities who often describe their existence as isolated and with little sense of community involvement or social attachment.

There is a vast literature emphasising social capital as an important instrument for crime prevention and security sensation. The criminological and social approach which discusses the efficacy of bonds between people as the best way to prevent crime is anchored to the ideas of “neighbourhood ties, social control, mutual trust, institutional resources, disorder, and routine activity patterns” (Robert et al. 2002:443). What this literature states is that strong collective patterns, peer-group influence, and institutional capacity are important intervening factors in determining what happens in so far as crime is concerned (ibid:443). It follows that crime and perception of crime are directly related to feelings/experiences of social cohesion.

In a country like Brazil, where the formal institutions responsible for the provision of security are questioned by its citizens and mistrust in the police is easily perceived, it would be fair to expect that there exists, particularly at the most local level, informal organisations oriented toward social control and security governance. Yet in reality what we find is high dependence on the use of private security for those who can afford it and low levels of civilian security control. Despite perceptions that crime is prevalent and the fact that violence is a feature of city life in Brasília, there has been no real impetus to forming community associations. Instead, what we find is individualised ways of solving problems. I argue that in large part this is the result of poor city design and planning. In getting to grips with this, I have decided to focus just on the city of Brasília¹.

¹ Transformation in the urban space of Brasília lead to the creation of eighteen satellite cities mainly occupied to supply housing needs for unplanned residents; together Brasília and satellite cities form the Federal District. Satellite cities will also be investigated as they are part of some of the urban results of the planning of Brasília.

It is my hope that this research will contribute to the existing literature on informal social control and management of crime in urban spaces. The urban features of Brasília illustrate the complex relationship between social cohesion, city design and crime. Based on the understanding that neighbourhood effects are part of spatial, social and cultural dimensions, I demonstrate in the chapters to follow that designing-out crime and designing-in spaces for social cohesion will not work without a real consideration for localised historical experiences of public space, expectations on ways of living and possible transformations of the space. I conclude this thesis by discussing some of the limits of urban planning and crime prevention and hint at ways of minimising crime and fear of crime.

Brasília, as I think of the city, is a 'young lady' of forty-nine years. She is still in the making and her body remains largely a mystery. There is a very poor knowledge base about how those who live in Brasília perceive crime and whether or not they feel a sense of social cohesion. Given this, this thesis is restricted by the limited data available on spatial organisation, social cohesion and crime perceptions in Brasília. I use this limited data to test current criminological and sociological debates about the link between city planning, social efficacy and crime.

This thesis is organised into three chapters and a conclusion. In the first chapter, I review the existing social science and development planning literature on design, social cohesion and crime perception. The review includes recent theories on informal social control as a form of policing, urban planning attempts to increase social cohesion and initiatives such as community policing; and ultimately the impacts environment and neighbourliness have on crime perception. This review will be also attentive to the limits of the theories presented.

In the second chapter, I describe the creation of Brasília and its urban environment. I explore primary and secondary sources on demographic aspects (population density, racial diversity, poverty and spatial segregation), housing patterns and conditions of transport. I also briefly discuss existing reports that have been completed about levels of social cohesion in the city.

In the third chapter, reported crime data, residents' crime perception and management of crime in the built environment of Brasília will be reviewed. I will tie this data to the analysis provided in the previous chapter. The aim of this chapter is to examine any evidence linking urban planning with social integration and perceptions of crime. This discussion will be followed by explanatory conclusions. Toward the end of the chapter I outline problems and limits in socio-spatial approaches to prevent crime and increase social cohesion within a community.

In the conclusion I bring together the ideas explored in previous chapters. I make some final conclusions about the applicability of existing theories on social efficacy, city design and crime in the case of Brasília. I provide some normative explanations and recommendations on the relationship between urban design, social cohesion and the governance of security.

1. SOCIETY, SPACE AND CRIME PREVENTION

1.1 IMPORTANCE AND GROWTH OF THE STUDY OF CITIES

I will now suggest that, in order to understand the problem of exclusion in modern society, we need a cultural reading of space, what we might term as ‘anthropology of the space’ which emphasizes the rituals of spatial organization ... (Altbeker 2007:72).

The growing importance of city studies is noticeable in the recent social science literature. This literature, which includes sociology, criminology, and political science, covers a range of contemporary urban concerns such as globalisation, governability, security, economy, identity and cosmopolitanism. In this literature, cities are commonly addressed as positive spaces for change and deliberation. This is because cities are viewed as “subnational components” (Sassen 1998), but they are also spaces that characterise national interests and problems.

Focusing on cities provides a good starting point for understanding problems of change, sustainability and adaptability. In grappling with these topics, social scientists have honed in on the key problems of infrastructure, employment rates and demography. In addition to that, multiculturalism, integration, culture, migration flows and history are examined for a broader understanding of the space. Cities are viewed by urban scholars as important spaces and an understanding of them requires knowing about their historical development, their architecture and the logic behind their planning.

Following up the importance of historical and spatial analysis, authors have frequently addressed the legacy of colonialism. As one example, Johan Lagae (2004) states the linkage between architecture and history. He points out that while some edifices can be understood in terms of their function, the location and style of many others are wrought with historical meaning (ibid:173). In the case of colonial cities, the built environment is considered to be instrumental in order to imprint the identity of the metropolis in the colonised spaces. As Parnaby (2005) puts it, the structure of a city illustrates that political and economic statements are commonly manifested “in mortar, concrete and steel” (ibid:2).

Enmeshed in a huge theoretical discussion, urban violence has been meaningful for the scope of city studies. The analysis of crime and violence has been made not only under the scrutiny of cities, but also international organised spaces, neighbourhoods or communities.

The scale of international organised crime and focus on its prevention and the emergent investigation of informal organisation and communities have perceived the problems of borders for understanding security. The built environment is now a growing field in criminology as some environments are understood to be more criminogenic than others.

What has emerged in criminology is an assumption that for effectual analysis of security and violence the investigation of urban spaces is important. Herbert et al., writing about policing and crime, emphasise that “urbanization continues to be a pervasive force in virtually all parts of the world” (Herbert et al. 1989:1). While social spaces such as neighbourhoods, communities or international regions await more precise definitions, cities as geographic locations invite investigation in the field of security. In this regard, Holston and Appadurai (1999) argue that cities remain as strategic centres because “in many postcolonial societies, a new generation has arisen to create urban cultures severed from the colonial memories and nationalist fictions on which independence and subsequent colonial memories were founded” (Holston et al. 1999:3). A historical approach to cities can reveal cultural and structural aspects. The modifications in urban areas are perceived as intentions to achieve different political, social and economic aspirations as well as to express “individual and/or collective anxieties; sign-posts reflecting our concerns and fears at particular moments in both time and space, sometimes remaining visible from one generation to the next” (Parnaby 2005:2-3).

Focusing on cities does not mean that rural spaces should be neglected. Indeed they are important to examine precisely because they are more difficult spaces to access and because there are more evident problems in these areas in regard to policing and the reporting of crime (Altbeker 2007). But cities remain the focus of this dissertation.

The urbanisation of spaces and the accelerated growth of cities are addressed as elements which escalate crime. According to Altbeker (2007), people who live in cities are much more likely to be victimised than residents of rural zones (ibid:54). This fact is explained by the author based on the Durkheimian idea of anomie. The lower rates of crime in rural areas are determined by higher levels of solidarity, dependency and accountability present in small communities.

The anonymity of cities, the rapid urbanisation and the displacement that accompanies this, the migration growth, the economic inequality, the rates of population density, the historical and architectural aspects of city, amongst other issues, are all important factors to be considered in the study of urban complexities and security (Carpaneda 2008; Altbeker 2007).

At a very basic level, and particularly in developed countries, most of the population inhabit urban areas and as a result most crime occurs within urban spaces. Cities are built environments which are usually designed to control social behaviour (Parnaby 2005:3). Consequently, the study of urban violence is grounded in the assumption that the physical environment impacts upon criminality. The concentration of populaces and high incidence of crime can reveal social aspects which correlate manifestations of violence with the environment where they occur. It is the aim of this chapter to review the recent literature which has struggled to state the socio-spatial aspects of crime prevention.

According to Hughes (1998), the emergence of urban criminology, more specifically the prevention of crime, is linked to the historical and social context of Western capitalist states. During the period of ‘modernity’, the ideology presented in Western countries involved the scientific control of both social and physical environments with the dominant belief that progress and rationality would bring order and solutions to social problems. This dream was never quite realised and today, in ‘late modernity’, we live in what has come to be known as the ‘risk society’ (Hughes 1998). What is meant by this term is that the certainties and solutions of modernity have been substituted by uncertainty from the late twentieth century, increasing feelings of risk and insecurity. In this ‘risk society’ people have become obsessed with the “quest for security and safety, not least through the appeal to community and belonging” (ibid:7).

The prevention of crime has been gradually substituted by the management of risk, “moving beyond the paradigm of crime prevention to that of *risk management* and *community safety* in the globalising/localising trends of the social control of populations” (ibid:10). According to Hughes, this tendency of risk management has privileged “bottom-up” approaches, supported by “Communitarians” who locate informal social relations for the initiatives on crime prevention (ibid:8).

In spite of the value added to crime prevention and bottom-up approaches, scholars such as Sibley (1995) argue that the “promise of post-modernism” that “barricades will be lowered, allowing the fusion of cultures and ideas and the creation of new hybrid forms” is still just a promise and “everyone does not have equal voice” (ibid:116). The author maintains that socio-spatial exclusion has to be considered for aspects of social control, where social control is understood to be “the attempted regulation of the behaviour of individuals and groups by other individuals and groups in dominant positions” (ibid:81).

In socio-spatial relationships, the aspect of boundaries has major importance as it addresses the zones of certainty and uncertainty and the environments where the ideas about

social control take place. Sibley argues that theories of urban sociology related to social relationships should address the space as areas where the ideas of social control and exclusion assume form excluding minorities; “the imperfect people who disturb the homogenised and purified topographies of mainstream social space” (ibid:116).

Space and society under the scrutiny of socio-economic inequalities have also motivated the work of Mike Davis. In his book *Planet of Slums* (2006), he studies the growth of slums in the developing countries during the twentieth century. He assesses time and space in countries of the ‘Third World’ and addresses the role of post colonialism in the organisation of the territory. In Davis’ view, as in the colonial period, in many parts of the third world people attempt to defend advantaged spaces. In this part of the world, the legacy of inequalities from the colonial era persists, particularly in the cities, and assumes forms of urban segregation and gated enclaves.

Throughout the Third World, postcolonial elites have inherited and greedily reproduced the physical footprints of segregated colonial cities. Despite rhetorics of national liberation and social justice, they have aggressively adapted the racial zoning of the colonial period to defend their own class privileges and spatial exclusivity (Davis 2006:96).

For Davis, the slums that we find, are risky areas because in these spaces the state fails to regulate and provide. What we find in these spaces, in places like the shanty towns of Latin America, is that residents often have to organise themselves to make their spaces more ordered (Morton 2006:155).

What we have then is two strands of theories that bring together the notion of cities and the notion of safety. We have instrumental approaches that look at environmental design of cities and how this impacts on crime prevention. And there is the social theory approach that looks at issues like inequality, associationalism and community bonds. What we get from these combined approaches is that architecture and urban planning are central to our understandings of how societies ought to work. Understanding crime means understanding the very structuring and planning of cities and how this impacts on policing and security governance. Secondly, we are alerted to the fact that the physical environment could encourage or discourage public encounters and social interactions, and this in turn plays a determinant role in levels and possibilities of crime incidences. Thirdly, residents’ perceptions of crime are influenced and influence the socio-spatial relations. In addition, crime is often opportunistic, and spaces can ‘design crime out’ (Taylor et al. 1986:387).

1.2 URBAN DESIGN AND CRIME PREVENTION

From shopping malls to fast food restaurants, from amusement parks to high schools, particular design techniques are deliberately used to gently suggest – and sometimes outright demand – that we behave in particular ways (Parnaby 2005:2).

Crime prevention in which physical environment comes into play includes “the discussion of environment features, residential socio-demographic characteristics, behaviour patterns, policing patterns, offenders’ collective social knowledge of locale, and the knowledge and disposition of the individual offender” (Taylor et al. 1986:390).

Taylor et al. (1986) state that a comprehensive and consensual idea for the interdisciplinary “crime-design-prevention-resident-offender ... seems a far way off” (ibid:412). Nevertheless, it is possible to state that environmental/social discussions for crime prevention and risk management add to the debate regarding security and vigilance. The growth of cities and the fast urbanisation of areas around the world demanded new solutions (other than calling for more state police) for crime problems. Attention is now being turned to an understanding of society bonds, environmental design and communitarian solutions in preventing and combating crime.

The intersecting scholarly interest between issues of criminology and space came to the fore more prominently in the field of critical criminology and criminal sociology. The School of Chicago is a central reference in this regard. They were interested in the ways of characterising social interaction and the structure of North American cities, using Chicago as the case study. These studies focused on the cultural, social and spatial aspects of cities. The focus of the School of Chicago strongly brings together social realities of inequality, segregation and population density in understanding the topics of security. Much of this scholarly work, and subsequent work that drew on the Chicago School, centred on how space and segregation impact on social cohesion and safety (Guia 2006). While the Chicago School is now widely seen as the innovators in this field, scholars such as Sibley (1995) make the point that much of their knowledge was inspired by “the pre-existing knowledge about capitalist sociology” (ibid:148).

The study of urban spaces and the findings of Chicago School, although not considered to be ground breaking, had a profound influence in the design and study of cities. In this path, Oscar Newman (1972) is remarkable with his work for *defensible spaces*. This work adds to the previous ones because not only the aspects of socio-spatial distribution of

populaces were analysed, but the attempt to control neighbourhoods through the quality of city design and planning was introduced. According to Newman, it is possible to make a space *defensible* by observing aspects of territoriality, image, natural surveillance, and “proximity” (in Parnaby 2005:23).

These four aspects would improve the ability of residents to form social bonds and develop a strong sense of community. According to Newman (1972), residents should be able to familiarise themselves with the space where they live, which would consequently enable the inhabitants from one area to recognise the non-residents and the threats in the environment. In so doing, local communities would play a crucial role in securing themselves through social bonds and networks. Familiarity, it was shown, allows people to “detect and act upon unwanted behaviour” (Parnaby 2005:23). What we have here is an idea of natural surveillance. And scholars like Newman (1972) then concluded that enduring social relations among residents should be encouraged as a way of strengthening informal social controls.

Aside from the idea of close social networks as natural guardians of spaces, it was argued that “deviants” select vulnerable spaces for their acts. Spaces with strong sense of community and vigilance are generally viewed as less vulnerable and by definition then, more secure (Newman 1996:17, in Carpaneda 2008:32). There is, in short, a strong relationship between urban structure, neighbourly social relations and safety (Jacobs 1961). Jacobs binds the ideas of urbanism and violence when she analyses some interventions in the city of New York to achieve security. She demonstrates that spatial ordering is imperative to the formation of cohesion among habitants. And social cohesion is a key indicator for levels of safety that exist or are perceived within localised communities.

One of the main differences in her sizeable work *The death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) and Newman’s approach is the fact that the merging aspect of cities (the accessibility of spaces such as sidewalks, neighbourhood parks and small streets), would for Jacobs constitute the achievement of safer spaces. She argues that open and permeable areas would allow strangers passing through spaces, as well as inhabitants to exercise ‘natural policing’, while for Newman closed spaces would guarantee that people would have the chance to be familiarised with each other and with the space; moreover, only residents are able to exercise ‘natural policing’ in their localities (Hillier 2004:31, see also Taylor et al. 1986).

From a somewhat different and more conventional criminology tradition, Wilson and Keeling (1982) discussed the idea of community control in their theory of *broken windows*. For these authors, rates of crime can be controlled if signs of disorder and “incivilities” such

as broken windows, public drinking, vandalism and graffiti are controlled in the neighbourhood. The authors state that crime is less likely to happen in spaces considered to be organised. Additionally, in localities where ‘incivilities’ are higher residents are considered to be more fearful and therefore less expected to engage in situations where help is needed (Taylor et al. 1986:407; Parnaby 2005:39). The main hypothesis in the *broken windows* theory is that crime is positively linked to ‘incivilities’ because where they occur weaker responses to crime are perceived encouraging higher incidences of offence. Signs of disorder are considered to be a signal of the indisposition of residents to intervene in deviant acts, consequently, maintaining the image and functionality of spaces increases responses to crime, and thus social ties, sense of community and attachment to the place (Sampson et al. 2002:465; Taylor et al. 1986:407).

Linked to all these ideas is the promotion of associational life, such as in the form of *neighbourhood watch* programmes. Those who advocate associations such as neighbourhood watch, argue that these groupings encourage residents to observe their environment and report ‘suspicious’ activities to the police. Crime possibility is reduced through communities coming together and indicating cohesion and watchfulness to those who could pose risk (Parnaby 2005:40).

But there are limits to social cohesion and calls for well ordered communities. As authors like Van Wilsem et al. (2006) point out, disadvantaged communities often struggle due to a lack of economic and political capital in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. As they put it:

in low status neighbourhoods social bonds between community members are relatively few (Bellair 1997), participation in local organizations is rare (Sampson and Groves 1989), and trust in other people is low (Rossm Mirowsky, and Pribesh 2001). In such a context, collective social control is hard to realize, which, in turn, increases the attractiveness of the area as a place to commit crime (Kornhauser 1978; Sampson et al. 1997; Van Wilsem, De Graaf, and Wittebrood 2003). Furthermore, some scholars have argued that because members of disadvantaged neighbourhoods have few connections with local government officials, they lack the ability to secure the external resources necessary for local crime control (Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Vélez 2001) (ibid:226).

The authors also surmise that in communities with high “heterogeneity and instability”, in other words, communities with high migration flows and gentrified neighbourhoods, community cohesion will be low and ultimately local crime will increase (ibid: 227).

Aside from community cohesion as an issue of city spatial consideration in security governance, it is clear that environmental design is crucial to making communities safer. In effect, what those who look at environmental design argue is that you can “design out crime” through proper development of cities. Cities should be built to encourage neighbourliness, prevent unknown spaces and discourage appearances of disorder (Carpaneda 2008:36-41).

There are, of course, those who critique proponents of “designing out crime theories”. These critics emphasise that different types of crime have different correlations to the space and therefore claim for different solutions. Moreover, criminal acts can be committed by the residents themselves in which the efficacy of ‘territoriality’ can be contested.

1.3 THEORIES ON SOCIAL COHESION AND RISK ASSESSMENTS

There is a vast literature emphasising social capital as an important instrument for crime prevention and security sensation. The study of Northern Ireland by Brewer et al. (1998) presents the city of Belfast as a good example of a place where there is clear evidence that high levels of social cohesion led to a social environment that was not criminogenic. Indeed, what the authors argue is that informal social control resulted from highly bonded communities. These strong bonds are evidenced by the survival of extended family kinship patterns, neighbourliness and legitimate authority accorded to community representatives (ibid:570). These authors argue that in the city of Belfast crime prevention took place through informal social control mechanisms which were propelled by feelings of neighbourliness and shared political and community identity.

Brewer et al. observe that social cohesion is considered to be a by-product of kinship networks, community solidarity and shared religion/moral values (Brewer et al. 1998:572-583). Accordingly, in places where the idea of social cohesion is perceived through “feelings of mutual trust, group loyalties, and densely enmeshed interdependencies” (ibid:574), crime management will take place in the forms of social control, “surveillance by local residents and norms by which residents are regulated” (ibid:578).

Along similar lines, Australian criminologist John Braithwaite (1989) refers to the importance of social involvement in crime prevention and in ‘order maintenance’. Drawing on the traditions of the first peoples of Australia, the Aboriginal people, he shows that the best way to deal with ‘offenders’ is to engage them in a process of reintergrative shaming. What this means is that the community directly involves itself in crime prevention and crime combat work by getting those who have acted against other community members to account

for their actions publicly, to acknowledge guilt and to find ways with those that have been 'hurt' to rebuild relationships and to repair the harm done. Reintegrative shaming, according to Braithwaite, is effective, but works best in societies where communities are strong, where citizens are densely enmeshed in loving and have mutual trusting, respectful relationships with others and interdependencies as chief defining characteristics.

Braithwaite analyses the aspect of social cohesion and crime in different dimensions. For the author the first aspect which links social structure and crime is the definition of crime itself. The awareness of a criminal act is fundamentally a social construction before being a judicial assessment. The "deviance is not a quality of the act a person commits but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender" (Braithwaite 1989: 7). For Braithwaite, then:

Low crime societies are societies where people do not mind their own business, where tolerance of deviance has definite limits, where communities prefer to handle their own crime problems rather than hand them over to professionals. In this, I am not suggesting the replacement of the 'rule of law' with the 'rule of men'. However, I am saying that the rule of law will amount to a meaningless set of formal sanctioning proceedings which will be perceived as arbitrary unless there is community involvement in oralizing about and helping with the crime problem (ibid:8).

Although the author stresses that crime is not a "unidimensional" construction (ibid:1), he also argues that the role of social cohesion will be a determinant because a criminal's decision will be affected by "social pressures mediated by shaming" (ibid:10).

The theory of Braithwaite and the importance of community morality in crime prevention have been tested in different places and received several criticisms. Firstly because aspects such as 'morality', 'attachment', and 'shaming' are part of a set of structures in which measurements challenge researchers. Secondly, community claims deny internal difference "by bringing all such separated individuals under a common measure of rights" (Young 1990:229). A third criticism is that reintegrative shaming ideals are nostalgic and possibly backward looking (Melossi et al. 2000:160). As a result they are not always viewed as 'fitting' the context of modern cities. Added to this is the point that Sampson et al. (2002) make; whether or not social cohesion exists in the first place is dependent on physical space characteristics and notions of neighbourliness and mutual trust.

Residents' assessment of risk is a further important consideration in determining whether social cohesion in regard to safety governance is likely and whether reintegrative

shaming is a possibility. But in turn, as Donnelly et al (1998) point out, residents' perceptions of crime are mostly based upon the physical conditions and the social bonds of their localities.

Risk perceptions are considered to be higher where shifts in ethnic composition, low house ownership ranges, low length of residence in a place, high levels of unemployment and population density; as well as physical disorders like graffiti, broken windows, ill-kept buildings and lack of street lights can be perceived. Such statements would lead to a breakdown of social relationships and thus increase insecurity feelings (Donnelly et al. 1998:190; Richard et al. 2000:605).

Social cohesion and risk assessment might then be negatively associated. Confrontation with risk of crime is expected to prevail in spaces lacking social meaning and social support. It follows that the scarcity of neighbourhood cooperation decreases aspects of neighbourhood solidarity and attachment to the locality. Unfortunately, what this literature suggests is that "community anticrime programs are less likely to be found in the neighbourhoods where they appear to be needed more – in high crime, heterogeneous, transient, and deteriorating neighbourhoods" (Donnelly et al. 1998:198).

Some have gone as far as to suggest that (Luhman 1989, in Walklate 2000:55; Hope et al. 2000) urban life is irreconcilable with trust and social cohesion, implying that strong social ties are entrenched in "rural tribal traditions" (Hope et al. 2000:55). Such statements of trust and insecurity detach risk and social bonds and focus on the consequences of insecurity perceptions rather than on the causes.

According to Zedner (2000) what we find in contemporary society, rather than security governance from the bottom-up, is the expansion of professional careers which "rely upon the continued threat of crime ... not to eliminate crime but to make it tolerable" (ibid:209). The private security industry is the new answer to problems of crime, in those communities where this is affordable.

In both rich and poor communities, people make risk assessments in their everyday lives (Ferraro 1995). People more carefully select where to go, at what times and with what people. How people make sense of their victimisation risks in everyday life is commonly measured by crime surveys. Such questionnaires attempt to observe the responses to crime rates, environmental design and lastly, the feelings of crime vulnerability. Such methods, however, are unable to distinguish fear – fundamentally psychological experience (Ferraro 1995:25) – from perceived risk – "openness to attack, powerless to resist attack, and exposure to traumatic physical (and probably emotional) consequences if attacked" (Richard et al. 2000:607). These surveys are also unable to account for the varying access to information that

informs the respondents' risk of victimisation (Ferraro 1995:44; Stanko 2003:13-14). Stanko (2003) is mindful that around the assessments of risk of victimisation the confidence in the police often contributes to people's perceptions and experiences of safety (ibid:14) and this can vary according to places and personal experiences. Although crime surveys underestimate the aspects mentioned, victimisation and perceptions of risk are still mainly measured using that instrument.

Lastly, Ferraro (1995) makes the point that people's assessment of crime is only partially linked to real crime experiences or incidences. Perceived risk often has little bearing on actual risk (Stanko 2003:25). Nonetheless, whether perceived risk is "paranoia" from urban spaces; city managers and planners continue to promise that they can come up with models of cities that allow for greater control (Ewald 2003:192). However, as we will see in this dissertation, these promises have often not amounted too much. In some cases, such as in Brasília, designed-in security precautions commonly increase social isolation. This in turn increases perceived risk even when criminality itself is on the decline.

1.4 RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND LIMITS OF SOCIO-SPATIAL CRIME PREVENTION THEORIES

The first limitation of theories on socio-spatial mechanisms and crime prevention is related to the subjectivism of indicators. Perceptions of crime and social cohesion are "filtered through the individual's own perceptions and then weighed according to his expectations, experiences, attitudes and present circumstances" (Abrams 1973:35, in Herbert et al. 1989:34). To be able to observe and account personal attitudes related to crime prevention and risk perception is essential in order to write about security. There are difficulties in the use of subjective indicators, which include the expenditure and time to conduct interviews and surveys to estimate perceptions of crime, as well as the difficulty to interpret the data according to social and psychological scales (Herbert et al. 1989:34).

In order to diminish such problems, subjective perceptions, commonly measured by surveys, are combined with objective indicators. In the case of security, for example, questionnaires accompany the observation of residential precautions to prevent crime, such as the growth of security market, number of policemen in a place, amongst other objective indicators. In this regard, Caldeira (2000) argues that in order to effectively study perceptions of insecurity and the spatial transformations in the city questionnaires could be combined with newspaper reports. Newspaper reports are viewed as more 'objective' indicators of what is

happening, when and how often. Newspaper article can include adverts which make mention of camera circuits, the size of property walls, the existence of dogs patrolling the area, private security, and the distance to neighbourhoods considered to be dangerous; such announcements according to the author are indicators of insecurity perceptions and reveal the attitudes of crime vulnerability (Caldeira 2000).

But issues of subjectivity are not the only challenges to a real understanding of risk and insecurity. Information about the type of crime, socio-economic characteristics, as well as gender and age will impact the analysis of space, crime prevention and crime perception. The data on crime and the assessments of crime perception vary according to the variables mentioned, and equally crime reported data generally is also affected by these factors. The validity of crime statistics has to be carefully extracted because “the true incidence of crime is unknown and unknowable” (Williams et al. 1980:566).

Furthermore, location seems to be questionable in security studies. As emphasised through the chapter, the delimitation of space (neighbourhood, city, country, region), seems to be more a discretion of the author and the methodology chosen than a theoretical consensus. Nonetheless, even in a street-block level, heterogeneity and transformations in the space and population should be taken into account. Most of the theories which prefer to focus on face-to-face groups do so in order to encounter similar aspects which would allow the testing of theories on crime prevention (Taylor 1986:410); however, Hillier (2004) states that in any interaction between place and societies, specificities and research problems should be emphasised to prevent ‘fuzzy’ results (Hillier 2004:43; Sampson 2002:465-472).

Finally, there are vastly contradictory views about where social cohesion is likely to be strong. Some, as above, have argued that poorer communities may be dislocated and disorganised and lack social cohesion and therefore are less likely to participate in local associations and organisations, thus, reducing “their capacity to exercise social control, and thereof conducive to higher rates of crime and delinquency” (Villarreal et al. 2006:1725). Moreover, the theories also commonly found that lower social bonds are correlated to higher perceptions of crime, where social control does not operate, and residents would perceive a higher chance of victimisation.

But there are other studies that indicate the opposite. The study of Villarreal et al. (2006) in the city of Belo Horizonte, Brazil, revealed that greater social cohesion was in fact related to higher perceptions of crime victimisation. These authors attribute this to social interactions on the topic of crime, where “the greater spread of information regarding crimes” magnifies the perceived threat of victimisation, especially in more cohesive neighbourhoods

“where residents interact more frequently” (ibid:1725). And these communities may be in low socio-economic areas. What is clear is that social cohesion – crime control – perceived risk do not offer a single direction for analysis. Perhaps what this means is that there is no continuum, but rather that any determinations of the relationship between community, cohesion and social control needs to be made on a case by case basis.

The hypothesis underlying this dissertation is that neighbourhoods in Brazil continue to have high victimisation rates; those city spaces designed to create social ‘codes’ to improve neighbourhood appearances and satisfaction with living spaces, in reality, do not seem to have overcome high rates of crime and exalted perceptions of risk (Villarreal et al 2005:1747; Goudriaan 2006:725). The physical and social aspects of crime prevention are, it would seem, controversial and raise a mosaic discussion. In crime prevention, solutions to crime problems have no unconditional or unidirectional course. This dissertation makes use of the city of Brasília to illustrate the complex relationship between social cohesion, city design, fear of crime and the reality of crime.

2. THE CASE OF BRASÍLIA: INTENTIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS

2.1 THE TRAJECTORY OF THE CITY OF BRASÍLIA

... In portraying an imagined and desired future, Brasília represented a negation of existing conditions in Brazil” (Holston 1989:5).

Brasília was built under the Government of President Juscelino Kubtschek de Oliveira (JK), who ruled Brazil from 1956 until 1961. In Brazil, the 1950's and 1960's witnessed government focus on economic growth alongside prioritisation on urban development replacing previous focus on rural activities (Ianni 1979:307). The Southeast region of Brazil had previously held economic and political power during the years of the 'Milk and Coffee Republic' (1889 – 1930) when the politicians of Minas Gerais (milk production) and São Paulo (coffee production) agreed to take turns holding the presidency. The concentration of activities in that region was thus entrenched. It was in this imbalanced regional context, that the Brazilian development discourse in the 1950's proposed programmes for the Northeast and the centre of the country. The interference of the government aimed to accelerate development and speed up industrialisation.

In the years of the JK government the progress ideal was framed by the slogan “50 years of development in 5”. Associated with the development aim, one of the main projects of JK's government was the integration of the country through highways, which coincided with growth in the Brazilian automobile industry. Together, the development ideals combined with development of infrastructure made the vision of Brasília a reality. Brasília was constructed and inaugurated in the 5 years President JK mandated.

It is important to emphasise that a new capital in the “heart” of Brazil was already planned in the history of the country. The constitution of 1891 formalised the plan to build a new capital. The transfer of the capital from the coast to the centre of the country represented the first time since Portuguese rule that it had not been located on Brazil's coast; symbolically this expressed a political system no longer devoted to external agendas. Over and above that, this was a strategy to develop and populate the centre of the country. A capital chosen and built by Brazilians for Brazilians was proposed as a means to overcome legacies of colonialism and launch a period of emancipation and progress (Lauande 2008:4). The inauguration of a new capital coped to the image of a new Brazil (Nunes 2004:66). Regional

development and national integration were symbols of Brazilian progress and social changes connected to urbanisation and architecture would be a model for future progresses (Holston 1989:3).

Brasília in 1956 was “the acropolis of an enormous expanse of emptiness ... It is in this tradition of desert sculpture that the steel and glass oasis of Brasília arises, almost 1000 kilometres from the coastline” (Holston 1989:14-15). The existence of the city in the middle of emptiness drove several scholars in architecture, social sciences and urbanism to study what motivated the creation of such a novelty city. The association of that city with modern architecture is commonly discussed. The modernist school of architecture had its major influence on urban planning during the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the main intentions of that school was to overcome the malfunction of industrial cities, which had failed in organising the needs of production, distribution and consumption. The project of a modern city was associated with the idea of social transformation, where new forms of daily life would emerge. The functions of residence, work, leisure, population management and traffic had to be planned by a “social architecture” concerned with the solutions for collective problems. A modern city was also a classless city. The planning of housing, work and leisure would unify people in the functional units. Proponents of modern architecture believed that the strength of the government's commitment and available technology would ensure accomplishment of the social and functional ideals proposed (Holston 1989).

The intentions and the influence in the architecture of Oscar Niemeyer and Lúcio Costa, respectively the architect and urban planner of the city, are subject of debate. While Costa and Niemeyer claim unique inspiration and originality in a new conception of city, the similarity between the vision for Brasília and cities designed by modernist architects cannot be neglected. The association of the work of the mentioned planners with the work of Le Corbusier (globally recognised proponent of modernist architecture) is related. Although this correlation could be pointed out, the Master Plan of the city is conceived as a spontaneous design. This controversy in the roots of Brasília's planning challenges a full understanding of its design (Holston 1989: 65).

Whether the urban planning of Brasília is original or not, the inventive architecture of Brasília is mentioned when historical ruptures in the conception of city design and icons of architecture innovations are accessed. Aspects other than the unique design of the city are also described as remarkable. One such example could be the lack of planning for the inhabitants of Brasília during the construction days; the majority of those workers were displaced after the inauguration of the city. Displacement is one of the first aspects which led to the

unplanned parts of the city, and will be described in this work. More radically on this topic, Holston draws an analogy about the construction of Brasília and the discovery of Brazil. For the author, in both cases past and future are disconnected. As the indigenous population of colonial Brazil were dislodged from the inaugurated spaces, so too the builders of Brasília were dislodged from the inaugurated spaces of Brasília (Holston 1989:200-201).

The introduction of the dualism between the plans for Brasília and the consequences will be discussed. The city is commonly divided between its intentions and its results. Although opinions about its success or failure vary, and so too the understanding of its architecture, it is possible to assert that the city has diverged from its original conception.

2.2 IDEALISM AND REALITY

The recent history of Brasília means that access to literature, documents and observation is simple to come by. A study of recent history also provides the opportunity to investigate the many versions of the idealism behind Brasília's construction; and further discuss the city's outcome in the context of its intentions. In the words of the acknowledged urban planner of the city "Brasília is the expression of a determined urban concept, it has specific affiliation. It is not a bastard city; its urban face is of an invented city, which assumed singular personality" (Costa 1985, in Reis 2001:11).

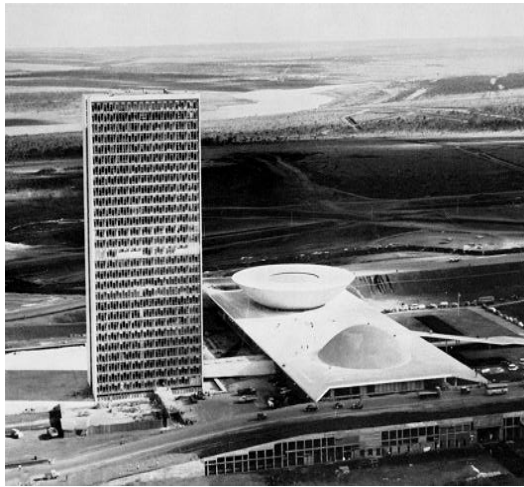
Certainly, historical analyses of Brasília are not impartial. The values and contexts of the authors have to be taken into account. Regardless, the documentation of city planning is helpful to understand the consolidation of a new model of city intended to be:

highly ordered regular and governable, their streets uniform, and the functions assigned to particular areas of the city (e.g., housing, commerce, government) predetermined and restricted to those areas ... the ideal of rationality, of order reflected in the new layout of the city (Goldstein 2004:6).

The primary design of a bird, an aeroplane, or simply a cross reveals the idea of a simple and functional capital. The monumentality of Brasília would only emerge from the simplicity and emptiness of spaces. The city would be magnificent because it would be uncomplicated. The proposal was to surprise the observers of the city with cutting-edge architecture surrounded by a plain urban environment. The combination of *civitas and urbis*² intended to create a city where the residents would feel free (Freitas 2007:9).

² In the literature *civitas* means society, or citizens and *urbis* means city. I opted to use these terms in Latin because most of the literature consulted did not translate the terms.

Image 1: The Parliament Buildings in 1960



(in: Holford 1962:18)

Image 2: The Factual Parliament



(Areal, in: www.infobrasilia.com.br)

In Lúcio Costa's proposal he utilises level grounds and platforms for the configuration of Brasília. The interconnection of the axes (east and west and south and north) was meaningful for the encounters of the populations in the urban centre. The planner used four different scales to conceive the city. The first one was monumental; which includes the administrative sector of Brasília, where the splendid buildings built on an area of flat land gave to the city, through their uniqueness, symbols of national progress. Secondly, the merging aspect; Brasília was designed to have specific places for social encounters; the establishment of encounters of distinct peoples from all over Brazil would be expected in open spaces in the middle of residential and central areas of the capital. Thirdly, the residential aspect; the housing sector of Brasília was carefully built in order to satisfy demands from education to health. Lastly, the bucolic aspect; Brasília was designed with large green areas and the lake sector to serve as a countryside space (Freitas 2007:43).

This design was grounded in the features of a social architecture. Borrowing from Freitas (2007), Brasília is different from any other city in Brazil; it represents a single attempt to create an ordered space which would predict how society ought to function (ibid:10-11).



Image 3: View of the Southern City Centre (Areal, in: www.infobrasilia.com.br)

The influence of Le Corbusier and the modernist movement of architecture developed in Europe are noticeable throughout the understanding of the ideas informing the conception of Brasília. The premise of functionalism in that school was suitable for the period of development and progress in Brazil. The JK administration was committed to the concept of open space in urban design and spatial ordering. The view that urban structure could precipitate social change informed the few experts who managed the planning of the city. The discourse based on rational organisation to transform society was behind both the architecture and the development programme in Brazil.

Aspects of modern art in Brazil also influenced the ideology for the new urban space. The Modern Art Week, in Sao Paulo – 1922, inaugurated a new period of Brazilian art and literature. That modern movement encouraged a new discovery of Brazil from a Brazilian perspective. The creation of national heroes, the value of Brazilian folklore and the search for a Brazilian identity were results of that period. The Modern Art Week ensured that there would be a cultural influence behind the idea of a new capital and new urbanism would inspire this identity search (Reis 2001).

The urban project of Brasília has also religious grounding. The prophecy of the Italian Catholic priest, Dom Bosco, in 1893, influenced the realisation of the plans to construct a new

capital. His dream foresaw the construction of a city with an artificial lake localised between the parallels 15° and 20° – exactly where Brasília is located – where a new land would emanate milk and honey and a new civilisation would exist. This prophecy was explored in order to explain and legitimise the conception of Brasília (Reis 2001:13).

In sum, the historical, structural, political, cultural and religious aspects of the construction of Brasília reveal different facets in the ideologies of a new capital.

Regarding the idealised vision of a magnificent Brasília; the success of its distinctive architecture can be pointed out by mentioning that the city is today the largest urban area to be awarded UNESCO World Heritage Site status: 111, 25 km² to be precise, and the original layout of the city is being preserved in order to conserve the monuments and the standing of Brasília as an international icon of architecture (Reis 2001:12).

The discussion about the quality of Brasília's urban space though, commonly emphasises the lack of accessibility and integration of peoples in the spaces of the city. Therefore, the socio-spatial structure of Brasília is highly criticised and the merging aspect of Brasília is considered to be unsuccessful.

In Goldstein's work about Latin American cities, more specifically about Cochabamba, Bolivia, he points out that the goal of urban planning for cities like Brasília was a reflection of a single rational plan intended to create a space "economically productive, healthier, and more amenable to state control" (Goldstein 2004:8). The author argues that the "commitment to order, rationality, and progress" was often inspired by city planners trained in European modernist schools, and those institutions and professionals failed to understand the "realities of life in Latin America" (ibid:10):

Their idealised, universally applicable models could not respond adequately to an urban scenario that included rapid population growth, particularly the tremendous demand for housing that urban migration would create in the second half of the twentieth century, in cities from Buenos Aires to Bogotá, Mexico City to Cochabamba. As migrants arrived in unprecedented numbers to the cities of Latin America, urban planners and administrators were unable to respond to these people's demands for housing, employment, and municipal services and found themselves desperately trying to defend their original modernist visions against the shifting realities of contemporary urban life (ibid:10).

In the next section the urban structure of Brasília will be illustrated through four focal points. Firstly, the spatial configuration and housing situation will be addressed. The stiff regulation regarding house ownership, the inelastic use of the land, the speculation of prices in the main residential area and the settlements in the satellite towns will be described.

Secondly, the demographic characteristics and the composition of the population will be explored. Aspects of segregation and population grouping will be addressed when ‘rights’ to property in Brasília are described. Thirdly, historical and contemporary aspects of club formation, neighbourhood associations and community self-governance initiatives will be brought to the fore in order to establish levels of social bonds in Brasília. This part of the thesis will discuss the social responses to the urban planning of Brasília and the lack of involvement between the inhabitants and the city. Lastly, the aspects of transport in Brasília will be described. The transportation system in the city plays an important role for understanding the urban environment. The large reliance on private vehicles, the segregation between housing and work, the concentration of activities in one area of the city, as well as the travel distances from the satellite towns to the main central business district, are important urban aspects to understand socio-spatial patterns in Brasília.

2.3 SPATIAL FEATURES AND HOUSING

The layout of Brasília is based on an aeroplane. The cockpit is the Square of Three Powers where the Congress, the Palace of the Plateau and the Supreme Court are located. The square leads to the Esplanade of the Ministries, from where the Monumental Axes (highway that crosses the city) connect the two wings north and south, where the main residential area, namely the Plano Piloto, is located (Carvalho 1991: 361).

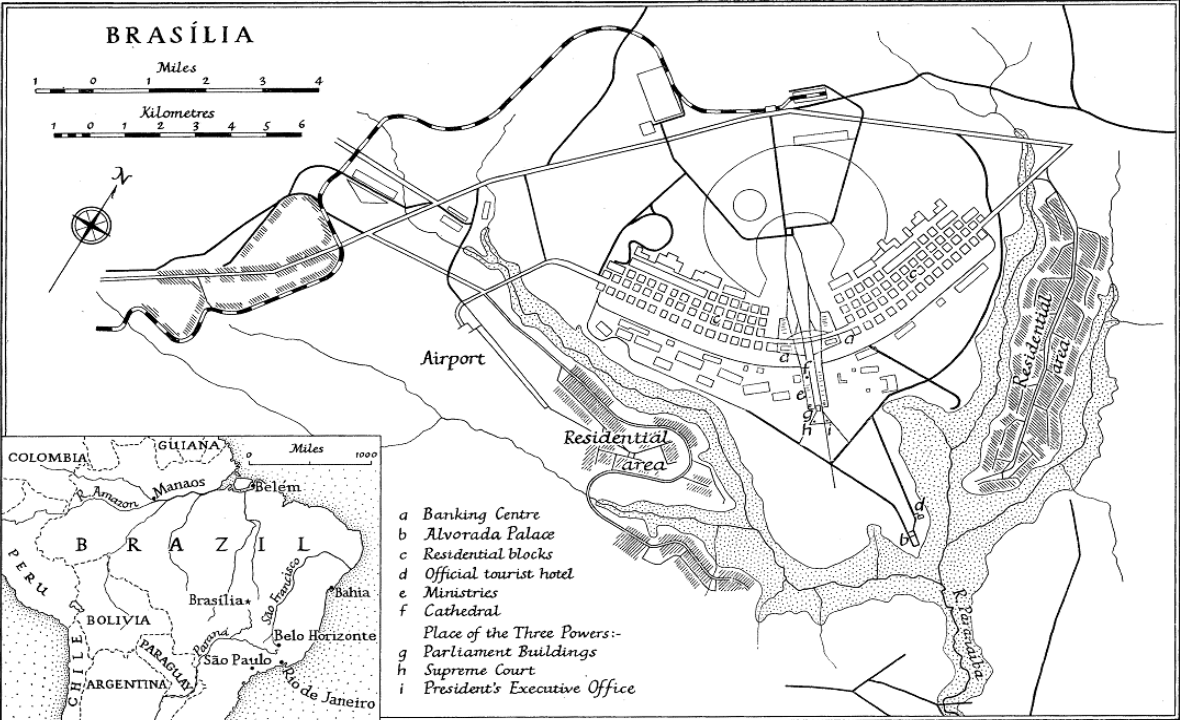


Image 4: the Plano Piloto (in: Holford 1962:17)

The Plano Piloto of Brasília was designed alongside south and north wings in the shape of four-by-four grouping of Superblocks. Each Superblock entails a combination of apartment buildings. In each of the wings there are 15 Superblocks (Holston 1989: 166).



Image 5: Superblock 202 North (Areal, in: www.infobrasilia.com.br)

In the Superblocks the buildings have a serene and uniform façade; there are pillars in the basement, thus making from the ground floor an accessible and open space for circulation and visibility. The apartment buildings are mostly rectangular blocks with six levels above the support columns. Some apartment blocks in the east of Plano Piloto have three floors and commonly they do not have the pillars on the ground floor; moreover, apartments in this area are smaller and economically more accessible than in the buildings of six floors (Carpaneda 2008:76; Holston 1989: 166).

In the Superblock areas there are gardens, several trees, commercial sectors³, public playgrounds and public primary schools. Public health centres and other services, namely: post offices, kindergartens and bank branches are evenly distributed alongside the Plano Piloto; such facilities are usually shared by each group of four Superblocks. Private schools and higher education institutions can be found in the bands on the extreme eastern or western sides of the Plano Piloto; in addition, on the extreme north and south of the wings there are hospital sectors (Carpaneda 2008:75).

The essential idea of residence in Brasília was to enhance the experience of living in apartments by extending the limits of each property. The provision of gardens and services like education, leisure and commerce in the surroundings of the buildings combined with the free pavement of the blocks, intended to offer more space than conventional apartments could

³ Some Superblocks' commercial areas concentrate one kind of commercial activity, such as: bars, pharmacies, restaurants, electric stores or boutiques.

provide, and consequently, the sense of intimacy and convivial between residents. In addition, as explained by the planner during the construction days,

The four-by-four grouping of superblocks will, while favouring the coexistence of social groups, avoid any undue and undesired stratification of society. And, in any case, variations in the standard of living from one superblock to another will be offset (*neutralizadas*, in original) by the organization of the urban scheme itself and will not be of such a nature as to affect that degree of social comfort to which all members of society have a right (Costa 1957: 17, in Holston 1989:136-137).

Lúcio Costa designed a rigid project of a city. The inhabitants of Brasília had to adapt to the city and not the contrary. The inelastic and preconceived form of the city aimed to conserve the monumental structure of Brasília. Moreover, in 1987 the Plano Piloto of Brasília was awarded the UNESCO World Heritage site; necessitating institutional arrangements to preserve its original layout. In this regard, under the regulation of the Ministry of Culture, the Federal Government of Brazil was able to preserve the Plano Piloto. Finally, with a new constitution in 1988, the Federal District became an autonomous state in Brazil; therefore, the new local government also established new policies for the regulation of the space of the Plano Piloto (Capparelli 2004:41).

This rigid structure can be presented as the “greatest strength and the fundamental weakness of Brasília” (Snyder 1964:36). The lack of spontaneity and softness in the regulation of the city for housing, transport and leisure generated conflict between the purposes espoused by Lúcio Costa and the needs of the community.

The unique character of the city was the object of bemusement for the Brazilians coming from other parts of the country. The city was frequently considered clinical and artificial. On one hand the practical life of the city facilitated the daily activities for those living in the Plano Piloto; on the other hand, it deprived the city of spontaneity (Coelho 2001:6).

Brasília was conceived to be different from the rest of the country. But the “city’s separation” and the estrangement due to its spectacular architecture did not imply a separation from the problems of the country. Holston emphasises that if the design of the city was an “antithesis” of society stratification in Brazil, the “antidote” Brasília provided did not create the desired values (Holston 1989:20).

The Superblocks, planned to be homogenous and accessible, had different effects when occupied. The repetitive design of residential blocks emphasised other monuments of the city adding extra impact and surprise. However, the box format and the lack of personality

gave the impression of monotony to the residents of the Plano Piloto (Carpaneda 2008:76). Some upper middle class or upper class families opted for the occupation of the house sector around the lake of Brasília. That mansion sector contains freestanding houses and does not allow for shared public spaces as in the peculiar Plano Piloto. This rejection of public spaces and preference for houses was greatly explained in the work of Caldeira (2000). The author emphasises the tastes of the Brazilian elite, which in the late 1960's and early 1970's exuded preferences for houses (as apartments were connected to the idea of ghettos). When the option of houses was not available and families started to occupy apartment buildings, the rejection of shared facilities in the buildings became normal practice. These facilities, Caldeira explains, were considered to be "more ostentation than a sign of new patterns of sociability among neighbours or of new concepts of private life" (ibid:267).

Despite all the attempts to preserve the original forms of the Plano Piloto, the idea of free pavements in the residential blocks was denied. Residents of the Plano Piloto negotiated the possibility to close up to forty percent of the free pavements under the residential blocks. Gradually, the free passage under the residential blocks and the idea of public and private spaces in coexistence has been modified. Many of the blocks bordered their pavements with green fences or used the area to build common rooms, bicycle deposits or servants' rooms. Although such closure was initially considered illegal, residents posited security reasons and aesthetical concerns to gradually close the public spaces under the buildings diminishing the accessibility and visibility of the blocks (Carpaneda 2008:77-78). As emphasised by Capparelli (2004), the transformations involving the public spaces of the Plano Piloto and the process of demands for privacy from residents can be explored in anthropological and sociological approaches, although the residents' main argument is based upon security reasons (Capparelli 2004:54).

The public schools in the Plano Piloto are also an example of conflict between the planning of the Plano Piloto and the needs of the populace. According to the Secretary of Education, ninety percent of the students in public schools in the Superblocks do not reside in the area (Klingl 2008). Therefore, residents are forced to encounter outsiders using the education facilities in the Superblocks. The disquiet felt by residents is formed by the daily encounters with incomers from different social groupings. This situation was considered to be typical of the disquiet felt when different social classes encounter each other in Brazilian society (Nunes 2004:161). Reports and public demonstrations stress that many of the local residents in the Plano Piloto do not approve of the existence of public schools in the neighbourhood because they do not serve their educational needs (Klingl 2008).

Above all, the rigorous land use control in the city should be stressed. Intended to prevent irregular expansion in order to preserve the original layout of the city, the constraints in the housing markets engendered the use of irregular lots and the rise of condominiums. Such a characteristic started in the first days of the city has existed to the present time. Dowall et al. (2007) illustrate that the informality and share of housing in Brasília has increased significantly in the past few years. According to the authors, this is a result of the “mismatch between land and residential infrastructure policies, and the housing need of population growth” (ibid:1876).

Currently, Brasília contains the area of the Plano Piloto, and the urban space of the Federal District incorporates Brasília and eighteen satellite towns. Other municipalities in boundary areas of the Federal District were also occupied by poor populations who could access home ownership in such areas (Guia 2006:43).

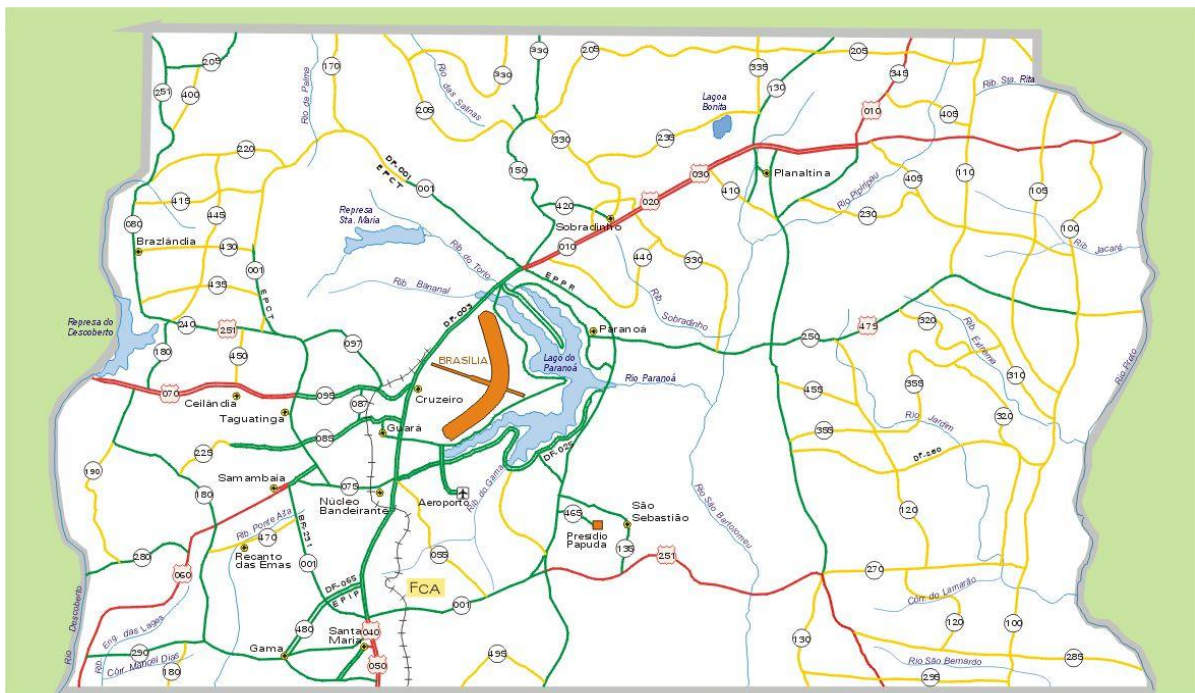


Image 6: Map of Brasília and the satellite cities (in: <http://www.mapasdf.com/transportes.htm>)

The territorial configuration of the satellite towns cannot be easily generalised. Aspects such as illegalities in the occupation of space, provisionality and lack of planning are distinctive. Nonetheless, some unifying factors defining those cities could be mentioned, such as the absence of local working places, with the one exception of Taguatinga with its industrial and commercial sectors. In addition, another common characteristic of most satellite cities is the lack of infrastructure, public services and green areas. While some cities

have an urban design similar to the homogeneity of the Plano Piloto, housing schemes are not associated with the creation of open spaces and recreational areas. Moreover, the over population of those spaces, the peculiar arid physical aspects together with unpaved streets, results in an environment of unhealthy conditions and absence of social interaction in the urban environment (Romero 2005:134).



Image 7: The satellite city of Ceilândia (Areal, in: www.infobrasilia.com.br)

Satellite cities embody both the processes of population growth and the permanence of temporary workers. The permanence of the construction workers in the city and the lack of rights or opportunities in the residential areas of Brasília resulted in the development of satellite towns altering the urban plan of the city. Specifically after the 1970's and 1980's (years of economic depression and rapid inflation in Brazil), the high costs of housing in the Plano Piloto made that area unaffordable, when families opted for settlements outside the Plano Piloto or irregular private condominiums (Guia 2006:6).

Some of the satellite cities were populated by the construction workers even before the inauguration of the city, when the right of residence in the Superblocks was given mainly to the employees of the old capital Rio de Janeiro who transferred to Brasília. Other satellite cities, as in the case of Ceilândia, received most of its population after the inauguration of Brasília. More than 80.000 people moved to that area in order to evade 'invasions' in the city core. This process of displacement is described as violent, largely because the settlements did not possess the minimum conditions to receive residents and the workers had their actual incomes critically reduced in the face of higher transport costs (Guia 2006:50).

The restrictions to property markets had a severe impact in the spatial distribution of inhabitants in the city. In 2001 only seven percent of the population lived in the residential area of the Plano Piloto up to 10 km away from the city centre; twenty-three percent of the population lived from 10 to 20 km away from the city centre; forty percent lived from 20 to 30 km away from the city centre; and finally the other thirty percent of the population lived over 30 km away from the city centre (Serra et al. 2004:27).

The numbers reveal an average travel distance of 24 km to the city centre. Considering that the majority of the formal jobs, entertainment zones and other facilities are located in the Plano Piloto central area; Brasília resulted in an obvious dispersive spatial structure (Serra et al. 2004:34).

The distribution of leisure centres in the territory of the Federal District was described in the study of Romero (2005). The author describes how the satellite city which concentrates the majority of the population and the majority of the young population, Ceilândia, contains only 60 leisure centres or seven percent of the sum in the city, while it hosts seventeen percent of the total population of the capital. On the other hand, the Plano Piloto, hosting less than ten percent of the population, contains 275 leisure centres, or thirty four percent of the total at the city's disposal (ibid:135).

Lastly, the house ownership situation in the capital was considered. In 2000, half of the populations owned their own properties (Guia 2006:93). But this aggregation must be considered by addressing figures in different parts of the city. In the mansion area surrounding the lake eighty percent of residents own their residences. In the Plano Piloto most of the apartments designated for government sectors were sold accordingly. Access to property ownership in that area is still unaffordable for most of the population, ensuring the Plano Piloto remains an exclusive sector; and twenty percent of the apartments in the Plano Piloto remain as properties of the government (Nunes 2004:99). Therefore, when property ownership is discussed, it can be concluded that accessibility to ownership in the main residential areas of the city is extremely selective serving the small section of the population who can afford the high prices in the area or access special conditions because of their employment sector. The rest of the population accessed house ownership in other sectors of the city, or in many cases, the levels of house ownership in areas outside the Plano Piloto are not as high as a result of the illegal housing situation.

In sum, the design of Brasília for a population fewer than the eventual size resulted in central residential, recreational, educational and commercial areas for select residents. The demand for housing outstripped predictions, and attempts to reconfigure the space and

services in the Plano Piloto were the outcome. The institutional support to preserve the original layout of the Plano Piloto prevented the distortion of the original plan and the present-day layout of the area is consistent with the plan. Such protection and barriers against an increase in housing capacity inflated the property market in the centre of Brasília. The actual scenario in the city demonstrates that the majority of the residents are forced to live 12-76 kilometres away from their workplace and suffer some of the highest transportations costs in all of Brazil. The concentration of schools, hospitals and jobs in central areas distorted the functionality of Brasília, which consequently exists as a core of work, study and leisure activities and disparate (usually illegal) residential areas, called satellite towns or dormitory cities.

2.4 THE RIGHTS TO THE CITY

Brasília is composed of a population of migrants from different parts of Brazil. The construction workers emigrated mainly from the “impoverished” Northeast of the country. Lack of employment opportunities and the unpromising situation in their homelands motivated that population to remain in the city after its inauguration, thus rejecting the original plan for temporary workers (Snyder 1964:41).

Candangos, a name given to the population of builders who occupied the city since its construction period, are: “manner (humble), dress (poor), education (none), origin (interior), language (ungrammatical), mode of arrival (pau-de-araras)” (Holston 1989:233).

The conditions offered to the workers were never adequate. The majority of them lived in work camps controlled by the state, which discouraged the presence of their wives or families. After the inauguration of the city, plans of betterment in housing conditions were frustrated when the builders were displaced to the “unplanned cores of housing in the Federal District” (Snyder 1964:41).

When Brasília was inaugurated, construction workers resided in the towns located fifteen to forty kilometres away from the city centre, while the functionaries of the old capital – Rio de Janeiro – started to populate the Plano Piloto (Snyder 1964:43):

“In fact, the disparities between Brasília and its satellites are even more severe because the good life of the capital is based to a significant degree on the perquisites of office – called *mordomias* or ‘blutlerisms’ – that garnish the incomes of the elite officials of all branches of government. Depending on their level, these officials receive residence, car, food, telephone and servants – who, of course come from the satellite cities” (Holston 1989:29).

Silva (1997) reports the “adventure” during the construction of Brasília. That study about the construction days of the capital discusses workers’ frustrations. After having built the city, the builders of Brasília were excluded from central areas. From interviews with the construction workers, Silva documents that Brasília was for most of them an exciting activity. The opportunity to leave their original towns in order to build the spectacular city is reported as their great achievements in life. The workers talk about the construction period with nostalgia. Their memories about the working camps report a better life than their actual experiences. Most of them talk about the city of hope, where the construction workers were a community and a family. What these reports reveal is that the *candangos* preferred the reality of the construction days (even considering difficulties of work injuries and working hours which hardly gave them any rest) then the current spatial sprawl of the city and their lack of access to the city centre (Silva 1997).

More about the topic was discussed by Cristina Zackseski (2006), who writes about the origin of the residents of Brasília. In 2000 less than fifty percent of the inhabitants of the Federal District were originally from that region; thirty percent of the population was originally from the Northeast of the country; fifteen percent from the Southeast; eight percent from the Central West; two percent from the North and one percent from the South (Zackseki 2006:165-166). She maintains that despite this diversity, inhabitants of satellite cities are mainly migrants from the Northeast.

The correlation between race and the spatial distribution in the Federal District can also be discussed. The connection of race, education, occupation and place of residence was portrayed by Guia (2006). The author described the racial composition per occupation in the labour market in the Federal District. Using the IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística) survey from 2000 as a basis, the groups of professionals were divided according to areas such as agriculture professionals, government employees and intellectuals, and unskilled workers. The results reveal that in the group of bureaucrats and intellectuals, a majority is white people possessing high levels of education and income. In the agriculture sector and unskilled labour sector, the majority of the professionals are black people or *pardo* people⁴ with less than seven years of education. The author stresses the correlation between employment sector and residential location, which highlights the reality of centrally located concentrations of government employees and the housing sprawl for other employment sectors. In that study it is possible to gleam that race and education are variables by which to

⁴In Brazil, a black person is the Brazilian afro-descendent. *Pardo* is the definition for mixed races, mainly it refers to the junction of black and white people, or indigenous and black people, or finally indigenous and white people. The IBGE data is based in the self-declaration of colour (Oliveira 2004).

understand spatial segregation in the Federal District. Access to better housing conditions in the city is concentrated amongst a white and educated majority of the population (ibid:100-101).

The population distribution and population density in Brasília is according to the following pattern: the region of Brasília, which encompasses the Plano Piloto area, has an extension of 472 km² and population of 198.422, which represents 420 habitants per km². Other regions of the city present a very different scenario. Ceilândia (thirty kilometres away from the Plano Piloto) covers an area of 230 km² and a population of 344.039 habitants or 1.493 habitants per km²; similarly, Taguatinga with 121 km² has 243.575 habitants, or 2.003 habitants per km². Other smaller satellite cities also present high population density, as an example, Cruzeiro with 9 km² has the population of 63.883 and 7.177 habitants per km². The analysis of the numbers reveals that the core of the city is not only the habitat for the minority of the population, but that the area also possesses many open spaces and administrative areas, unlike the majority of the other eighteen swarming satellite cities (Governo do Distrito Federal, in: www.df.gov.br).

2.5 SOCIAL RESPONSES TO THE URBAN SPACE OF BRASÍLIA

the planners proceed with the naive hope that through the imposition of order and the implementation of a rational plan they could create not just a city, but a society characterized by wisdom, justice, and prosperity, with economic, residential, ecological and infrastructural needs kept in balance (Goldstein 2004:79).

One of the remarkable consequences of the occupation of the space in Brasília was the populace's dissatisfaction and disinterest with the city. Regarding contentment in Brasília, the study conducted by Smith et al. (1971) shows the effect of geographical location upon the adaptation of migrants in the new urban complex of Brasília (central city and satellite cities) in the late 1960's. Centred on the levels of satisfaction of wives in Brasília, it asserts that the satisfaction with a place of residence is associated with the individual's proximity to work, the physical environment and access to recreation opportunities.

The findings of the study revealed that only in the centre of Brasília and in the next largest satellite area is income positively associated with satisfaction. The authors relate this finding to transportation and distances. In most of the cases the day is largely spent away from home and most of the interviewees from satellite cities did not necessarily associate

better employment opportunities with satisfaction (ibid:19). Similarly, another hypothesis investigated the correlation between moving to better housing condition and contentment. The result demonstrated that the interviewees could not positively associate housing and satisfaction in most of the cases. Frequently, better housing conditions are associated with moving to satellite towns but the seclusion from the core of the city unities improved housing and satisfaction (ibid: 121-122). In conclusion, although housing, school, work and leisure impact positively upon wives' satisfaction, the access to those facilities alters the degree of satisfaction, which is the reason why according to different areas of the city access to housing and work conditions did not necessarily imply contentment (ibid:127).

James Holston (1989) and Snyder (1964) were also concerned with the lack of contentment in Brasília. In both studies they ponder the descriptions from inhabitants of Brasília, which reveals a city soulless, monotonous, tedious and without life (Snyder 1964:44; Holston 1989:172). In the works mentioned, the authors report reactions from the first generation of inhabitants of the city. The unsuccessful relationship between people and the city is commonly connected with the isolation aspects in the Plano Piloto, where people do not use the public areas, do not know their neighbours and report difficulties in meeting people (Holston 1989:105):

To the one accustomed to an outdoor public, to the sociability of the corner, its elimination produced not just an interiorization of social encounters, but also a profound sense of isolation. In planned Brasília, there are no urban crowds, no street corner societies, and no sidewalk sociability (Holston 1989:107).

Recent studies confirm similar judgements about the city. The article by Peluso et al. (2005) investigates social responses in the context of the Federal District. The study reveals that the populations remain fragmented and the intense division between city centre and periphery is exposed in long travel distances from satellite cities to city centre. These distances result in fewer hours at home for the majority of satellite cities' residents who work and study in the centre, which is claimed to contribute to the lack of involvement in their residence location and reinforces aspects of disengagement with their neighbourhoods (ibid: 268-270).

These findings raise different explanations. According to Sant'Ana (2006), there are three main reasons for the socio-spatial segregation of Brasília. Firstly, the state as the main agency in the organisation of the space in the capital promoted the displacement of the construction workers from the core of the city and facilitated central residences for specific

inhabitants, thus entrenching social and spatial distances among the populations. In that perspective, inclusion and exclusion is related to government regulations in housing. Secondly, Brazilian society and the practices of social stratification are addressed. In that case, Brasília is a city like any other in Brazil, except for the fact that the spatial segregation is more rigid in Brasília than in any other city, and the urban space simply shows the picture of socio-economic status of the populations where economic privileges usually accompanies spatial seclusion. Thirdly, the author offers an economic approach where actions from the state or its absence to manage the spatial structure of the city represent the affirmation of market demands instead of popular ones. The territory is thereupon understood as essential condition to the production and reproduction of economic capital and the action of the state is limited by capitalist interests (ibid:17-24).

On the same topic, Nunes (2004) argues negligent city planning and the state's failure in making the city and its facilities accessible and fairly distributed. The author also stresses that the selective occupation of spaces questions characteristics of Brazilian middle class and its tendency to isolation and differentiation (ibid:152).

Although explanations vary in political, economic or anthropological perspectives, the aspect of the rational city design of Brasília is negatively compared with the social needs of the populations; the separation of populations is then emphasised as fundamental barriers to feelings of satisfaction and engagement within the city.

2.6 CIVILIAN ASSOCIATIONS AND LACK OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE CITY

In spite of reports of social discontentment within the city, the existence of some communitarian associations can be found. Currently communitarian associations are reported to be mainly concerned with aspects of legal residence and security promotion. Beginning with the "rebellion of the pioneers" in Brasília, construction workers organised themselves into associations in order to have their rights to the city recognised, however, "after achieving their objectives, the residential association dissolved" (Holston 1989:288).

Contemporary studies by Silveira et al. (2005) report on the associations of one of the satellite cities of the Federal District, Varjão, where residents organised themselves seeking for improvements in infrastructure in the village. As a result, legalisation of property ownership, one of the main goals, was achieved presenting the population with better housing conditions. The authors cite that the longevity and size of such associations has increased as

further illegally housed residents harness the support of the associations to work towards the same goals.

In the case of associations for security promotion, the initiatives come mainly from the local government. The Sub Secretary of Communitarian Programmes is the executive organ working towards collective action to achieve security. One of the programmes entails open meetings where the community can express their security concerns. The government organises communitarian councils *Conselhos Comunitários de Segurança* in order to identify problems and plan solutions for security. Despite the initiatives of the government to increase communitarian participation since the 1990's, members of such groups are mainly drawn from members of policing corporations. It is a prerequisite for the collaborative members (civil society) to reside in legal housing in the community for at least two years before joining, thus limiting societal participation in these forums (Steinberger et al. 2005:120).

Again in the security field, three main programmes can be mentioned as components of specific public policies; *Esporte à Meia Noite* (sport activities at midnight), *Picasso não Pichava* (graffiti cessation through art classes) and *Companhia de Teatro Pátria Amada* (theatre on specific topics such as drugs, violence and sexuality). These programmes offer transport, food, music and sports, aiming to assist adolescents in the periphery and to entertain them in the evening period (Steinberger et al. 2005:122).

Such policies, Zackseski (2005) explains, do not prevent crime, but instead stigmatise segments of the population from poor areas of the capital labelling them potential criminals. Meanwhile policies do not give due consideration to middle class areas of the city that also suffer from high incidence of crimes (ibid 2005:243-246). In addition, the isolation of the initiatives, which are not connected with educational activities or with the increase of legal housing (the main concerns in satellite cities), has been the focus of criticism.

Weak communitarian associations in Brasília are described in most of the works about the city and disapproval about the existing organisations seems to be a common point in the literature on Brasília.

What that literature emphasises is that civilian associations seem to be guided by the pressing housing problem. The participation of populations in such communitarian activities has not yet positively impacted social responses to the city. It is unsurprising then that government initiatives have received criticism for their unstructured approach to tackling security problems when they do not fit within a broader programme to improve housing conditions or infrastructure.

2.7 TRANSPORT: INCLUSION VS. EXCLUSION

Patterns of urban expansion and the process of segregation and differentiation usually modify environmental features such as routes and transportation access, so too do insufficient transportation services which frequently amplify the displacement of economically and spatially disadvantaged populaces (Kronauer 1988:280).

The importance of traffic systems was realised and discussed in the beginning of the twentieth century. The debates pointed out systems which were competent and fast. The infrastructure of cities was then planned with strong emphasis on highways (Capparelli 2004: 28). Following the historical tendency, transport strategy in Brasília emphasises private vehicles and high speed ways.



Image 8: Highways in Brasília (Areal, in: www.infobrasilia.com.br)

The optimism regarding the transport system of the capital was remarkable in the construction period and first days of Brasília. The roads that would connect Brazil and develop the centre of the country, as well as the great axes crossing Brasília in fast traffic roads, were mainly associated with the private car as chief transport means.

Now and here is a crossroad time – space, road which comes from the past and goes to the future, road from the north, from the south, from the east and from the west, road traversing the centuries, road traversing the world: now and here all cross at the sign of the holy cross (cited in *Diário de Brasília*, 21 April 1960; in Holston p. 72).

The highways of Brasília; which “constitute monuments of civic pride” (Bertaud 2001:8) are considered by Snyder as an “ingenuous circulation system”. Brasília “domesticated” the automobile which is “almost a member of the family” (Snyder 1964:38 -

39). In the current analysis of transportation in the city, mobility, competency or rapidity are not commonly reported as products. Collective transportation in the Federal District is considered to be one of the most expensive and inefficient in the country. The inefficiency is related to the low number of public vehicles; lack of organisation (like timetables and punctuality); long distances to access public transport stations and a disconnected system of buses and underground⁵. The planning of Brasília for private vehicles generated their over utilisation, resulting in traffic jams in the city, in spite of the enormous highways.

The recent reality of populations who inhabit the Federal District is incompatible with focus on private cars. The functionality of the space in the capital was associated with a population significantly lower than the current figures. The complexities of cities and the “simple” solutions offered by automobiles were already stated by Jacobs (1961). In her book she discusses the planning of cities during the 1950’s and 1960’s and the illusory belief from planners that it would be possible to anticipate traffic problems without attention to the city itself and the needs of the populations (ibid:17).

The inflexible urban features in Brasília resulted in the spatial sprawl of the city, which thus makes the visible transportation system one of the central features in its urban design. To illustrate that character, the Plano Piloto is the location of seventy percent of the formal jobs in the capital while for ninety percent of the population their residence “is forced to happen in the periphery” (Dowall et al. 2007:1871). This spatial mark in the city implies elevated commuting costs, long travel distances and environmental harm.

In addition, the distribution of private and collective transportation corresponds to economic stratification. Most of the population located more than 20 kilometres from the city centre commonly depend on public transportation and face long travel distances to their work and entertainment places, as well as high transport prices (Holston 1989:160; Dowall et al. 2007:1871).

To demonstrate some of the difficulties the transport system of the capital can imply, the study of Romero (2005) about the biggest satellite city in Brasília, Ceilândia, can be useful. According to the author, Ceilândia is a city with large streets for cars and lacks pedestrian and cycling ways. Paradoxically, the population of that periphery uses mainly public transportation and bicycles in their daily lives. The hostility of that transportation

⁵The recent underground system, inaugurated in 2001, runs 45 kilometres and has 21 stations. It serves only seven percent of the population. The tickets for the underground cannot be used for buses, and it runs on the weekends no more than until 7 pm (<http://www.metro.df.gov.br/>).

system is stated by the author, who affirms the risk of elimination of people and activities in such a space (ibid:152).

More generally, Holston emphasises the absence of street corners and pedestrian passages (Holston 1989:101). Such an imbalance, in the words of the author, entails the lack of “public encounters of the third kind, social life oscillates unremittingly between work and residence” (Holston 1989: 163).

These factors together are helpful to understand the emptiness of satellite towns during working days and the emptiness of the city centre during non-working hours. The negative effects of the sprawl in the urban scenario of Brasília can be noticed in the little time spent in the satellite cities, which therefore received the term dormitory cities. The absence of job opportunities and the long distances to daily activities reveal fragile relationships among the inhabitants of the satellite towns. These aspects communicate a picture where attachment to the city is rarely found and reinforces in the periphery aspects of isolation already found in the city centre (Ferreira et al. 2005:80).

It is also relevant for the scope of this study to emphasise the high costs of travelling and the reduced options during the weekends. Such a scenario reveals not only a low quality of life for the majority of the inhabitants, but statistics of crime in the city are also highly associated with the dislocation of the population from the city centre.

In sum, the description of the spatial dynamic of the city and the demographic aspects of the population was based on the works of many authors who realised the importance of Brasília to the discussion of urban design. Stating a distinctive pattern of architecture and fast population growth, Brasília displays the character of stiff regulation of space and inability to cope with accessibility to the main sector of the city.

Such a spatial structure is detrimental for the quality life of the residents and has led to high housing and transport costs. In the next chapter the association of urban aspects, lack of social cohesion and crime will be emphasised. Crime statistics and the measures taken by the population to achieve security will be attentive to this study in order to observe the difficulties the space has created for communitarian movements to achieve security.

3. URBAN VIOLENCE IN THE CITY OF BRASÍLIA

3.1 CRIMINAL DATA IN THE PLANO PILOTO AND SATELLITE CITIES

In order to consider the prevalence of crime in the Federal District, I decided that the first (though not necessarily the most reliable) source of information should be recent crime statistics. This data set records the most visible crimes and those crimes which are reported. These crime statistics were gathered from different sources; statistics from the Military and Civil Police, data from the Brazilian Ministry of Justice and Brazilian Ministry of Health, as well as literature about crime in this area. This multi-source approach was used as it is clearly documented in the criminology literature that official police statistics are often not notoriously reliable. There is always a 'dark' side to crime statistics; the many crimes that are not reported or recorded.

In Brazil, over and above the international problems with crime statistics accuracy, are the institutional problems in registering criminal records, a lack of national standards in analysing crime data, and high levels of distrust in the police leading to low reporting rates. Furthermore, we have to bear in mind that not all kinds of violence are categorised as 'criminal' and crime statistics are highly reliant on official and societal definitions of what a crime is (Costa et al. 2005:34). In trying to understand community and official understandings of crime, I have also examined crime prevention techniques in the built spaces of the Federal District. The aim of this chapter, then, is to explore the prevalence of crime, perceptions of crime and forms of social cohesion that exist in the city. This allows me to draw some analytic linkages between actual crimes, perceptions of crime and social cohesiveness.

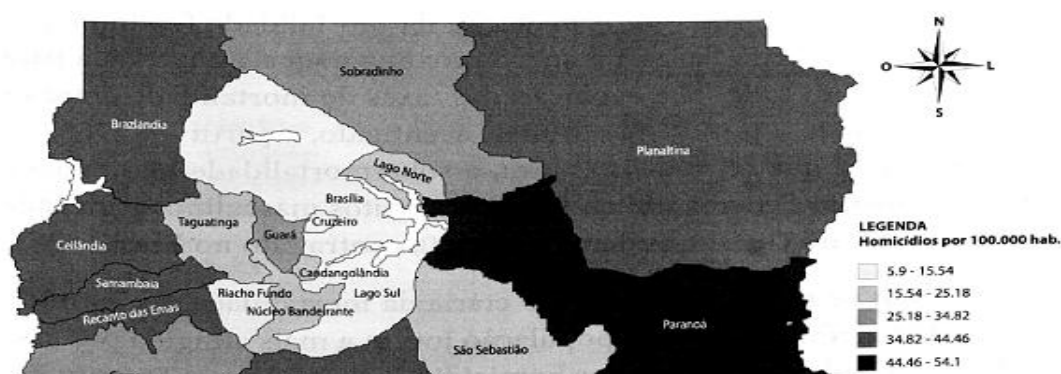
According to Costa et al. (2005), the Federal District (the Plano Piloto and eighteen satellite towns) was organised into three main regions according to family income and the incidence of crime. By using homicide rates, these authors demonstrate that economic and spatial situation can be correlated with criminal levels. Table 1 below shows that in the areas where family income is lower the rates of homicide are higher. Following this table, the map of the Federal District helps to visualise where the regions with higher homicide reports are located.

Table 1: Family Income, Population and Homicide Rate per Region in 2000

	Family Income in USD ⁶	Population	%	homicides (1999-2001)	%	Incidence in 100.000 inhabitants
Region 1	1.992,61	319.947	15,6	38	5,6	12,90
South Lake	3.271,17	28.137	1,4	3	0,4	9,8
North Lake	2.056,78	29.505	1,4	6	0,9	21,1
Plano Piloto	1.602,53	198.422	9,7	26	3,8	12,9
Cruzeiro	1.382,27	63.883	3,1	4	0,6	5,9
Region 2	572,79	734.757	35,8	191	28,1	25,9
Núcleo Band.	925,13	36.472	1,8	7	0,4	18,0
Guará	792,77	115.385	5,6	31	0,9	26,6
Taguatinga	653,03	243.575	11,9	59	3,8	24,4
Sobradinho	561,64	128.789	6,3	37	0,6	28,4
Candang.	441,84	15.634	0,8	3	0,6	17,7
Gama	396,93	130.580	6,4	40		30,4
Sao Sebastiao	394,82	64.322	3,1	15	0,6	23,1
Region 3	271,69	996.442	48,6	421	62	42,2
Riacho Fundo	346,45	41.404	2,0	6	0,9	14,2
Ceilândia	297,89	344.039	16,8	150	22,1	43,7
Brazlândia	288,77	52.698	2,6	23	3,4	43,3
Paranoá	284,90	54.902	2,7	30	4,4	54,1
Planaltina	272,37	147.114	7,2	63	9,3	43,0
Santa Maria	258,71	98.679	4,8	35	5,2	35,7
Samambaia	253,37	164.319	8,0	73	10,7	44,1
Rec das Emas	211,48	93.287	4,5	41	6,1	44,1
Federal District	660,43	2.051.146	100	679	100	33,1

(Ministry of Health, CD-Rom 2002, in Costa et al. 2005:45-46)

Image 9: Map of the Federal District: The incidence of Homicide in 2000



(in: Costa et al. 2005:47)

⁶ In the original Family Income was presented in Brazilian Reais, the conversion to USD aims to make this data more accessible.

Looking at the map we can see that the darker areas, where the rates of homicide are higher, are spatially distant from the city centre. As described in earlier chapters, the satellite cities in the Federal District, especially the ones more distant to the city centre, are considered dormitory cities. In these areas, there is a clear irregularity in housing provided, lack of physical infrastructure, public transport deficits and a lack of recreational facilities. Unemployment in these areas is also considerably higher than in the more central districts. Costa et al. (2005) conclude that the demographic, social and economic aspects in satellite cities have a direct influence on high levels of criminality.

The data of Costa et al. is reinforced by statistical data of the Ministry of Justice. They too found that between 2004 and 2005, the number of homicides per group of 100.000 habitants is higher in the satellite cities than in the Plano Piloto. In fact, in satellite cities like Ceilândia, Planaltina, Santa Maria and Samambaia homicide rates are usually more than three times higher than in Brasília (Ministry of Justice:2006).

Data from the Civil Police of the Federal District (2008) also emphasises that in 2007 and 2008 the cities of Ceilândia, Planaltina, Samambaia and Santa Maria, which together constitute one third of the population, are the areas where more than fifty percent of all the homicide are reported in the region (ibid). While this evidence is compelling, Carpaneda (2008) reminds us that there are a range of personal and social factors that feed into levels of homicide (Carpaneda 2008:85). There are different causations behind crimes such as rape and kidnapping as compared to crimes such as theft and public damage, these latter crimes are often highly related to spatial opportunity.

Considering the comments of the mentioned author, the incidence of rape in the Federal District was assessed. In view of statistics provided by the Ministry of Justice (2006), the incidence of rape in the Brazilian municipalities with more than 100.000 people was accounted for the years 2004 and 2005. The cities in the Federal District covered by that study revealed again that in satellite cities the incidence of rape is higher than in the city centre. In the case of Ceilândia, for example, reported rape in 2004 had the average of fifty cases per 100.000 habitants, while in the Plano Piloto this range was no more than thirteen.

The cases of theft in the Federal District stand unlike characteristics compared with the incidence of the crimes above described. Considering that Brasília (the Plano Piloto area) is one of the three municipalities in Brazil with a higher incidence of that crime (Ministry of Justice 2006), this record differs from the typical figure of satellite cities as more violent than the city centre. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Justice adverts that in the case of the Federal District theft reported data was based on items stolen from the victim and not number of

victims. Therefore, to conclude that Brasília is among the top three Brazilian municipalities in theft crime statistics needs more precise investigation⁷. In the case of theft with restriction of victim's freedom (*flash kidnapping*) the numbers of the Civil Police (2008) reveal that the city centre is as violent as some satellite cities. The Civil Police (2008) compared data from 2007 and 2008 in the Federal District and concluded that the incidence of *flash kidnapping* has increased in the Federal District. Among the cities with a higher incidence of that crime, Brasília and Ceilândia stand out. According to the Civil Police (2008) the profiles of victims usually differ in race, gender, age and economic status. What is similar about these areas is that more serious crimes occurred in parking areas and public streets next to banking terminals during working days between 14:00 and 23:59 (Civil Police 2008). In the case of personal theft on public transport, Ceilândia is the city where this crime is most prevalent. The data from the Civil Police reveals that the monthly average of this crime is equal to 15 cases and the crime commonly happens during work days from 18:00 until 23:59 hours (Civil Police 2008). The statistics so far presented show that the incidences of crime are higher in the periphery of the Federal District in almost all types of crime reviewed.

The idea of a peripheral location has always implied a space which has poorly defined geographic borders although is characterised by very particular economic and social characteristics (Weiselfisz et al. 1999). It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the periphery of the Federal District is a space where residents are poor and are often the victims of relocation processes and exclusionary policies (Weiselfisz et al. 1999). The spatial character of exclusion, the economic dynamic of deficiency, and the fact that these areas are inhabited by heterogeneous, 'unstable' groupings means that they are, according the evidence, more prone to higher levels of crime. Yet why this correlation exists requires careful investigation.

3.2 CRIME IN THE CONTEXT OF SATELLITE CITIES

The socio-economic characteristics of populations of Ceilândia, Samambaia and Planaltina, three of the most criminogenic cities in the Federal District, are relatively alike. The infrastructure is precarious in these localities, the level of education of most of the populations is low and family income ranges are amongst the lowest in the Federal District. The housing policy of these places was based on the idea of dormitory cities. Ceilândia was

⁷ Among the criminal statistics accessed in the Federal District, reported-theft data is generally divided according to location (commercial area, public transport, domicile, etc) and injury caused to the victim. All reported cases of theft were recorded in numbers of objects stolen by the Ministry of Justice (2006), but this strategy of documentation prevents any conclusions being drawn about spatial incidence of theft and numbers of victims. We opted therefore to focus on two kinds of theft: theft with restriction to the victim's freedom (called *flash kidnapping* due to the short duration of the act) and theft occurring on public transport.

created in 1971 for the purpose of avoiding the overcrowding of the city centre and the 'invasion' of the lower classes into the city centre. In the case of Planaltina, the city existed before the inauguration of Brasília and that space was the destiny of newcomers who could not reside in the city centre and opted for more accessible lots. Samambaia, more recently occupied, has in its population 25.000 families removed from illegal housing in the city centre (Weiselfisz et al. 1999:34). Planning in these peripheral areas was not well considered. They were created as quick fixes to a mobile and somewhat 'unwanted' population grouping. This has resulted in spaces characterised by restricted services and infrastructure and endemic unemployment (Weiselfisz et al. 1999:34). Those who are employed generally travel long distances to work or to educational centres. What we have here are neighbourhoods that are fluid, both because of migration to 'better' places, but also because distance and lack of infrastructure result in people spending much of their time outside of the 'neighbourhood'.

With that in mind socio-spatial-crime theories can be discussed in the satellite cities of the Federal District. Higher incidence of crime in disadvantaged neighbourhoods would be one expected result, according to many authors who associate crime and socio-spatial aspects. Instrumental approaches linking environmental design and crime prevention are helpful to explain why in disadvantaged spaces the incidence of crime is higher. Approaches like the one from Van Wilsem et al. (2006), as explained in chapter one, argue that in disadvantaged communities lack of social and political capital would increase the "attractiveness" of these localities to criminal acts (ibid:227). This lack of social and political capital comes from a low level of commitment to 'place' and from the deficit of working networks that advantage people in these poorer areas.

To discuss crime in the satellite cities under the scrutiny of instrumental perspectives the theory of *broken windows* has become extremely popular in the criminology literature. Satellite towns are characterised by a flagrant deficit in infrastructure. It is common to find in these localities abandoned lots, uncollected garbage, graffiti, lack of public lights, unpaved streets and lack of sidewalks. According to criminology based on physical/spatial tradition, these signs of community deterioration, especially if accompanied by *incivilities* (public drinking, loud music, vandalism, among others), reproduce the image of disorganised spaces; above that, deterioration is a sign of residents' indisposition to respond to crime. It follows that in disorganised spaces, the opportunity and willingness to commit crime is higher (Taylor et al. 1986:407).

If we are to take the assumptions of instrumental-criminal theories as our starting point, there would be little doubt that deteriorated neighbourhoods are criminogenic areas. In

fact, the statistics reveal that criminal records in the Federal District are largely concentrated in the city spaces where the lack of infrastructure is most evident, such as is the case in the satellite cities. It is hardly surprising then that research conducted in 1999 concluded that seventy percent of domicile respondents from Ceilândia, Planaltina and Samambaia assess their localities as inappropriate places to live or worse than the Plano Piloto (Weiselfisz et al. 1999:39). These respondents perceive rape, homicide and theft as signal crimes in their neighbourhoods. Personal perception and numerical analysis would conclude that the physical structure of satellite cities is deteriorated and criminogenic.

Furthermore, as discussed in chapter one; 'natural surveillance' is barred when abandoned spaces, general physical deterioration and lack of residents' familiarisation with the spaces and with each other characterise these areas. Regarding residents' cohesiveness, Braithwaite (1989) argues that, in a vacuum of social capital the incidence of crime and repressive state policing is likely to increase (ibid:186). Surprisingly though, in spite of high incidence of crime and reports about police abuse, satellite towns are described by their residents as friendly places. Social interrelations in that space are perceived to have solidarity and communitarianism (Weiselfisz et al.1999:23). These lead us to question the assumed link between low social capital, poorly developed city spaces and crime. The reality is that there are social networks and a sense of neighbourliness in the satellite cities of Brasília. This reality, the reality that strong and deliberative networks do exist in poor areas, is not peculiar to parts of Latin American studies (Villarreal et al. 2006:1725).

Historically, many satellite cities were occupied by populations coming from different parts of the country who built their houses in community managed ways. What we see here is that in the vacuum created by the lack of formal systems, alternative associations are formed (Leeds 1996:48). The fact that residents perceived their communities as highly integrated must be carefully appraised. While residents of the Federal District may talk about social cohesion, this is very localised and there is a sense of marginalisation from the 'core' city spaces (Weiselfisz et al. 1999). This was particularly expressed by younger people living in the satellite areas. Young people interviewed by Weiselfisz et al. reported that they experienced discrimination based on economic status, race, dressing code, and way of speaking. Any sense of connection and brotherhood exists only in the most local of contexts. Authors like Caldeira (1989) have consequently argued that the discourse of populations from poor areas is filled with attempts to offset poverty with notions of local solidarity, honesty and morality. Wealthier communities, by comparison, are depicted as naive, snobbish, selfish and careless (in Weiselfisz et al. 1999:45).

While there may be alternative and informal networks in poorer communities, there seems to be a lack of more structured neighbourhood associations, club formations and other communitarian initiatives. It is not surprising then that reports on social cohesion in the Federal District demonstrate that communities come together, temporarily around burning issues such as security or housing regularities. To conclude then that these poorer areas have 'social capital' is somewhat problematic⁸. The bottom line is that there is, within the literature and within local community discourse itself, an absence of consensual instruments to measure social capital.

We are left then with trying to discover how these population groupings speak about vulnerability to crime and the management of crime in their neighbourhoods. What we find here is that populations in satellite cities associate violence with socio-spatial exclusion, lack of public services and structural deterioration. In the opinion of residents in Ceilândia, Planaltina and Samambaia, lack of education, work opportunities and the absence of effective state policing are among the main causes of violence (Weiselfisz et al. 1999:68). Crime, in their view, is not related to low levels of social capital. Local authorities have been concerned with the correlation between crime and socio-urban conditions (Ferreira et al. 2005). This is hardly unexpected given that residents of dormitory cities express real concerns about the profiling by the police and the military of poorer communities (Weiselfisz et al. 1999:153).

Government officials have tried to develop programmes in satellite cities to break the cycle of poverty, disenchantment and crime. They have tried to create facilities for populations from poor areas in the Federal District to participate in sports activities and art programmes, believing that these could reduce the prospects for engaging in criminal activities. Yet residents have not welcomed such initiatives because they do not believe that crime comes from 'within' the communities or that such attempts at building social cohesion will work (Zackseski 2006). This is because research conducted on the perceptions and experiences of residents of these communities indicates that they believe that crime is directly associated with more structural problems such as unemployment and poor study opportunities. Critics of programmes that aim to build social capital argue that such policies have reproduced the idea of exclusion when people spatially segregated become socially differentiated when considered 'potential' criminals.

In sum, the discussion about crime in the context of satellite cities indicates that there is a correlation between criminal incidences and physical deterioration. The character of

⁸ In this dissertation social cohesion is understood considering the aspect of urban life which presupposes continuous interactions among individuals and interactions among individuals and the space (Nunes 1994:157).

spatial segregation and lack of infrastructure seems to be strongly associated with crime opportunities. Poverty, at least in the minds of residents of satellite cities, is not correlated with low levels of social capital. They felt a sense of cohesion, yet at the same time they were fearful of crime. It is difficult to draw conclusions from these studies largely because there is no real way of quantifying or indicating social capital in ways that make sense to the people that are being studied. Social capital clearly does exist, how we measure it, identify it and value it are issues that require further research attention if we are to pursue the idea that a low social cohesion strongly correlates with high levels of crime. It is not surprising therefore that the effectiveness and appropriateness of public policies aimed at creating greater security have been questioned.

3.3 CRIME IN THE CONTEXT OF PLANO PILOTO

Research data from the Plano Piloto area provides even more conflicting data about the relationship between social efficacy, space and crime prevention. Planned to be a space for social encounters, studies of this area reveal that residents feel a sense of extreme social isolation as well as high vulnerability to crime.

In designing the Plano Piloto, Lúcio Costa established free walkways in bucolic spaces. The project of the North and South Wings was attentive to creating accessibility and associability. Residential buildings were designed with the idea of open and public spaces in mind through the use of pillars in the basement, assuring visibility and free transit of people. Gardens, playgrounds, commercial areas and other public facilities were intended to extend the possibilities for social meetings and appropriation of public spaces by residents.

Crime statistics available for this area indicate that it is a low crime area as compared with satellite towns. According to the Civil Police (2008), the frequency of commercial theft, theft in petrol stations, domicile theft, homicide and rape stands out in the years 2006 and 2007 in the Plano Piloto. As the map shows, the areas with higher incidence of crimes are the central ones, between the North and South Wings, including the TV Tower, Mané Garrincha Stadium, the bus central station and the sectors of entertainment. Focusing exclusively in the residential area, the Superblocks from the 400s (Eastern side of the Monumental Axes) are the ones with higher criminal incidence (Carpaneda 2008:92).

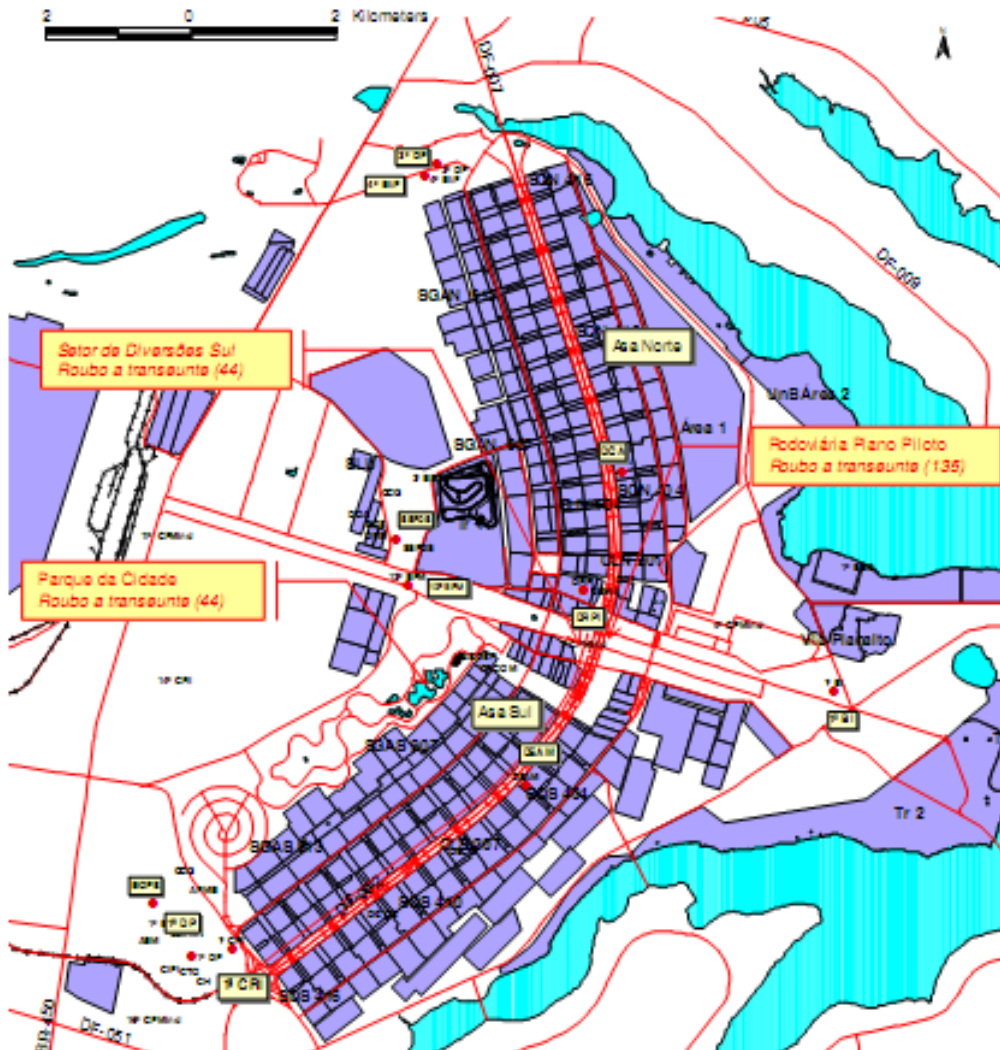


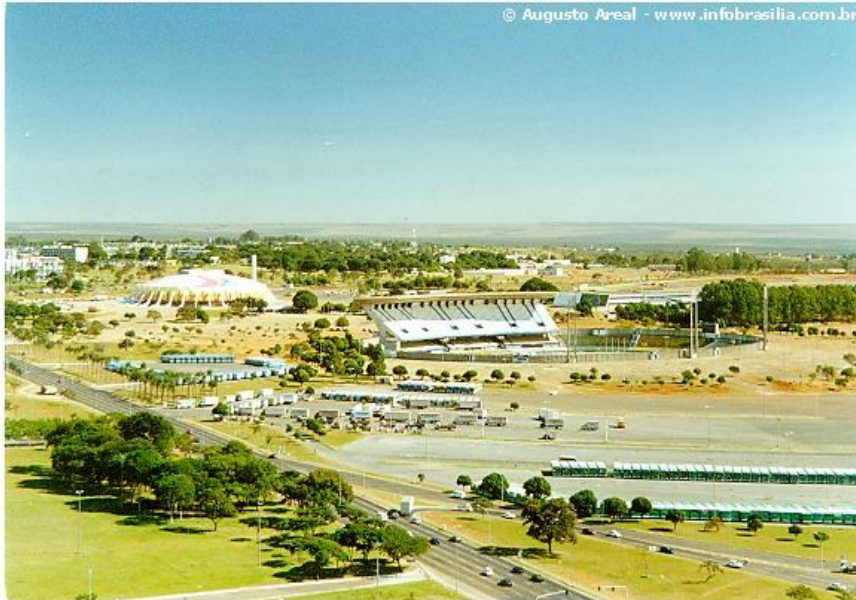
Image 10: Areas with higher criminal incidence (Civil Police 2008, in: www.pcdf.df.gov.br)

The central areas in the Plano Piloto were planned in order to offer populations opportunity for social meetings. The areas are composed of large streets, parking spaces and green fields. Planned in a very similar way, the Superblocks residential areas were also intended to have open spaces for social meetings. However, the plan did not work as anticipated. What seems to have occurred is a great distinction between public and private spaces. The merging areas in the superblocks and central Plano Piloto were never populated and residents tried to limit access to the Superblocks as much as possible.

Despite the urban design of open and public spaces, social encounters in the city do not often take place in public areas. Instead, areas meant to encourage social interaction and community sharing have become large empty spaces. An added problem is that walking in the central areas in the Plano Piloto or in the Superblocks involves the expenditure of a large

amount of time. The distances from one building to the other or the size of the streets to be crossed discourages pedestrians to walk in these areas.

Image 11: Central Plano Piloto: Mané Garrincha Stadium and Nilson Nelson Gymnasium



(Areal, in: www.infobrasilia.com.br)

The instrumental approach linking environmental design and crime prevention would possibly consider the idea of open, permeable and unoccupied spaces as remarkable features in the Plano Piloto. They would no doubt view the Plano Piloto as a model for building social cohesion and therefore safer spaces. The idea would be that residents and people passing by would be able to exercise ‘natural policing’ and control the area (Jacobs 1961). Residents, such scholars would argue, would exercise ‘natural policing’ in these areas and become familiarised with the space and with each other thus recognising threats and strangers (Newman 1972). Differing in the aspect of who should exercise vigilance, both approaches mention the idea of space and community directed policing. Yet despite the good intentions of the design, the reality is that open spaces are seen as spaces of vulnerability. This feeling amongst residents is backed up by data of authorities and crime statistics which indicate that central open spaces in Brasília are indeed criminogenic.

The 400s residential Superblocks have visible graffiti in the edifices’ pillars, abandoned playgrounds and the public spaces (gardens and sidewalks) are in many cases not properly maintained. Moreover, the financial accessibility of property in that area and the size of the properties lead to the occupation of that space by students and newcomers. In addition

to that, security instruments (camera circuit, sentry boxes, fences, private vigilantes) are not commonly visible as in other Superblock areas.

With that in mind, we can discuss the spatial features of security in the residential areas in the Plano Piloto. The 400s Superblocks are generally more deteriorated than other Superblock areas, and the patterns of neighbourhood deterioration, as mentioned before, would indicate a sign of criminal opportunity. What we see in the Plano Piloto, much like in the satellite cities, is that neighbourhood deterioration and economic disadvantage are directly linked to higher incidence of crime.

The discussion about space and crime in the Plano Piloto was the focus of Carpaneda (2008), who compared the safest and most criminogenic Superblocks in the North Wing based on data from the Civil Police 2007. In the case of the safest Superblock area, the space has absence of graffiti or signs of community deterioration. Maintenance of common areas and equipment is evident; the commercial area is specialised (mainly computer stores) and the edifices have security infrastructure (including barriers to access the buildings, sentry boxes, presence of camera circuit and private vigilantes). In the case of the most violent Superblock area, the author described lack of maintenance of public equipment, presence of graffiti, and high turnaround of residents and casual pedestrians due to the proximity to universities and bars. The study concludes that physical conditions of residential areas in the Plano Piloto are associated with higher incidence of crime.

There are, however, aspects of that study that are contradictory. While the idea of neighbourhood deterioration was connected with crime records, the socio-spatial feature has no simple correlation. The aspect of isolated spaces is contradictory in the Plano Piloto. While statistics of crime emphasised the likelihood of crimes occurring in isolated and unpopulated spaces (as in the case of central open areas in the Plano Piloto), the research in the residential Superblocks revealed that access and transit of people is not associated to safety. Contrary to what Jacobs (1961) suggested; permeable environments (for residents or strangers) did not offer safety. It seems that collective social control is unaccomplished in environments where transit of people is interconnected with population instability (short-term residents, occasional pedestrians and consumers) as Van Wilsem et al. (2006) argue. Lastly, the type of crime committed can also indicate the relation of crime and environment. While in depopulated areas in the city centre the incidence of kidnapping rises, in the residential Superblock there is high levels of vehicles thefts.

What the case of residential Superblocks manifests is the regular debate around the meanings of social cohesion and the environments where natural surveillance would be

effective to achieve security. The combination of space, activities, residents' family kinship, house ownership, length of time in the same residence, time spent in the neighbourhood, socio-economic backgrounds, and types of crime lead to copious theories and possibilities of informal social control and crime prevention.

Lastly, I examine different perceptions of crime and social cohesion within the population in the Plano Piloto to attempt to show how threat from criminality is perceived between those sections of society. Residents' perceptions of crime and social cohesion in the Plano Piloto were the subject of the work of Wiselfisz (1998). The author interviewed a young population in the Plano Piloto and assessed that seventy percent of the respondents believe that the spatial organisation of the Plano Piloto in residential Superblocks leads to rivalry among residents; increasing social distances and differentiating residents according to their Superblocks. These respondents explained that empty and common areas in the Plano Piloto are demarcated by local young residents. The appropriation of public spaces in Superblock areas takes place mainly through the use of graffiti in edifices' pillars and cases of aggression towards non-residents. What these respondents perceive is that emptiness of common areas in residential Superblocks favours the existence of gang warfare. Accordingly, they cite that criminals are part of families in high political positions in the government and that police action is prevented to protect the image of national authorities (ibid:15). For these respondents the Plano Piloto is perceived to be as violent as the satellite cities. The other part of the residents, however, perceives satellite cities to be a focus of violence. In that case, residents consider that crime is a consequence of lack of employment and education in the poorest areas of the Federal District (Weiselfisz 1998).

Residents' perceptions of crime vulnerability and management of crime marked the debate around the significance of social cohesion and the environments where it can increase security. The interviews with young populations have demonstrated that residential spaces in the Superblocks encourage grouping divisions and gang warfare instead of crime prevention. This aspect however was not consensual and some respondents perceive violence to be a key problem related to economic and study variables and to be mainly concentrated in the satellite cities.

In the face of controversies between space, social cohesion and crime prevention, what seems to be a constant is that populations in the Plano Piloto have dealt with crime problems in customary ways established in other Brazilian cities. In spite of open and functional architecture, residents have fought against the original regulations of the Plano Piloto to have the right to diminish the access to their residential buildings and strategies to achieve security

have increased the use of fences, private security, cameras, private transport and preference for enclosed places for social meetings. For residents in Plano Piloto, crime prevention is about physical barriers and technology not about permeable and open spaces and a sense of community.

While I began this thesis with the hypothesis that the urban design of Brasília has had a negative impact on social cohesiveness and this has created weak bonds between residents which in turn serve to fuel feelings of insecurity. This hypothesis has not been verified. What we see instead is residents defying the logic of urban planning meant to design out crime. The result, for the most part, has been relatively weak social relations among populations in the capital. What we see is that to reduce feelings of insecurity, residents have opted for social isolation and that has changed the urban environment and reduced public areas. Communitarian spaces and the easy access to residential areas were unused and the efforts to create functional and democratic spaces in the Plano Piloto did not succeed in crime prevention, indeed reports of gang warfare in such spaces were exposed. What this suggests is not that social efficacy is unimportant or unwanted, but rather that in developing new cities and spaces it is vital to take into account societal/community values and community motivations. For example, planners would need to have a proper understanding of the kinds of shared/common spaces people like and are willing to use, when and for what activities. Good planning intentions do not always have good practical outcomes if there is a lag between what cultural forms are anticipated and those that already exist in regard to public civic life.

3.4 SECURITY CHALLENGES IN BRASÍLIA AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Much of crime prevention theories and urban planning is dominated by issues of space and public usage of facilities. And yet, what is evident from this thesis is that the problem of crime is largely viewed by society to be the result of issues such as socio-economic conditions; human diversity problems; existing strategies for dealing with risk; and societal history and culture. In the case of Brasília we can see rather clearly that context and motivations need to be configured into urban planning and crime prevention strategies. Well intentioned as plans might have been, the architecture meant to encourage community associations did not in fact lead to increased public life or feelings of community building. Instead, the city developed in unplanned ways and in the planned areas of Brasília, residents determined their own techniques for securing themselves, usually through creating barriers and private spaces of exclusion. These community strategies fly in the face of the initial city

design, and also in the face of those theories that demonstrate that social efficacy and cohesion are the most powerful tools in securing local spaces.

While there is strong evidence in the Plano Piloto and satellite cities that crime levels increase where there are signs of physical decay and disorder, residents did not necessarily prioritise pride in place in preventing crime. Instead of trying to improve local spaces and to build a sense of social cohesion as a mechanism to fight crime and build security, residents of Brasília have chosen to privatise their space. This is not to say that networks and associations do not exist. They do, but in informal ways. They are not viewed as a key strategy for creating safer spaces. The reason for the more inward approach of individual residents is perhaps, as Caldeira suggests, the result of “racial and ethnic anxieties, class prejudices, and references to poor and marginalised groups” (2000:1). In addition, Caldeira makes the point that the reality confronting those who live in the Federal District is of public spaces as violent. This may well be perception rather than reality, but regardless, it impacts on the social behaviours of community groupings in securing local spaces.

Discrimination, separation and suspicion in urban spaces taint residents’ perceptions of security and also notions of social engagement in the Federal District. The social merging aspect thought to happen in public and bucolic scenarios in the capital is today far from reality. As emphasised by Santos (1988), the isolation of classes increases feelings of insecurity and estrangement. Attempts to implement security in the Federal District have confronted obstacles which take precedence over communitarian efforts. In the absence of social initiatives to prevent the problem of crime, security is shaped in private ways (such as the use of security technology) for those who can afford it.

Sadly, I conclude that the attempt to create a new social order by building a totally new city failed and Brasília today is confronted with as many social problems as is the case in larger and more established cities of Brazil. The attempt to focus on designing out crime and designing in social cohesion failed in Brasília because these designs did not resonate with residents’ historic experience of public space or their aspirations for ways of living in the city areas. In addition, the functionality and efficacy of spaces was challenged by population growth, migration flows, socio-economic diversity, housing demands, lack of transportation supplies and other aspects not properly predicted in the plan of the city. Environmental criminology needs to bear in mind these very real obstacles when looking toward the relationship between space, society and risk in preventing crime. In preventing crime, territories can become more vulnerable to crime occurrence because open spaces are viewed as threatening and there is not adequate infrastructure and community integration to allow for

the organic growth of city pride and social cohesion. Borrowing from McCord (2006), intervention programmes can increase crime; unless safety is well related to social studies, the choice of security prevention programmes “will remain a dangerous guess” (ibid:17).

To prevent blurred crime prevention strategies it is necessary to account dynamic responses to socio-spatial order. I am not arguing that the discussion of crime and socio-spatial crime prevention is in vain, but rather that more assessments about space and society including historical and cultural aspects are needed if planners are to really succeed in designing out crime and insecurity.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I studied urban planning, social cohesion and the quest for security in the city of Brasília. I started by examining the city planners' ideas of designing a new city in a manner that was meant to build cohesion and 'design out' crime. What I demonstrate in this thesis is that the city has grown in unanticipated ways. I focus particularly on two parts of Brasília, the Plano Piloto and the so called satellite cities as a way of tracking population growth, transformations in the built environment, community use of public space, and the governance of security from the bottom-up. What I try to make apparent in this thesis is that the city is being constantly reshaped by its residents and those in authority. Outcomes are often unexpected. Cities are living spaces, constituted not just of a built environment but of people with memories, cultural meanings and ways of life.

I started my thesis with the personal lived understanding that the urban design of Brasília limited social cohesion. The lack of social bonds fuels feelings of crime vulnerability. My initial understandings were challenged in many ways. What I noted by looking at early design plans is that the city planners were deeply concerned with the notion of social cohesion in their architecture of the city spaces. As many authors describe it, a social architecture was concerned with a city which would unify aspects of functionality and sociabilisation. The city, it was hoped, would consist of flat green areas, large sidewalks and shared public facilities connecting *urbis* and *civitas*.

Using city planning to achieve social cohesion within a city is not unique to the city planners of Brasília. As discussed in chapter one, the importance of the built space to manage populations is documented in a long list of books and articles. Planning environments to achieve social cohesion has inspired the construction of edifices, cities, schools, and restaurants, amongst other built environments, which are carefully designed to dictate or suggest how social relations ought to function. Especially with the acceleration of urbanism and escalation of crime, new solutions for achieving security required attention to social bonds through environmental design. City managers, urban planners, criminologists and different bodies of experts have struggled to state how a safe environment would look. Authors have examined different societies and spaces and have made a variety of suggestions about how to create environments that promote social cohesion and produce safety. This has generally been done on a case study basis, looking at successes or failures in order to test

theories. This thesis follows the tradition of using a case study (here Brasília) to interrogate theory and urban design thinking.

In the case of Brasília, the creation of spaces for social interactions including green fields, long sidewalks and shared public facilities did not succeed in producing social cohesion or a sense of safety among residents. In the residential and central Plano Piloto, open areas were rarely occupied by residents. Large public spaces turned into empty areas and high incidence of crime and gang warfare was reported. The strong regulation of housing in these areas prevented families from the central residential area of Brasília from freely moving and creating 'natural' communities. In addition, most of the residents of the satellite cities live many kilometres away from their work and education centres. The consequence of this is that the lack of public transport and the spatial distances of satellite cities prevent forms of encounters between inhabitants of different areas in the spaces planned for that purpose.

Planned spaces for social cohesion were poorly utilised (even misused) and social meetings do not tend to take place in the spaces that were anticipated as public meeting areas in the Master Plan of the city. Clearly there are huge discrepancies between the intentions of urban planners and the lived reality of urban residents in Brasília. The consequence of this disjuncture is communities who feel no real sense of ties and who feel unsafe. This inconsistency between planning intent and outcome has impacted on the broader management of security in Brasília. The misuse of open areas has increased the incidence of criminality and the unplanned spatial sprawl of the city and unstructured periphery cities have created highly criminogenic environments. The intended homogeneity and openness of buildings in the Plano Piloto has been transformed as residents have retreated into their own private spaces and strangers find themselves in the space with little in common to create social bonds. As in other parts of Brazil, societies have opted for indoor forms of encounters and have closed their properties to achieve security. Sentry boxes, camera circuit, private guards and fences are among the instruments used to achieve security for those who can afford it. What we see here is a 'misfit' between theories, planning and lived reality. What requires further investigation is why people in Brasília have chosen to retreat rather than to look outward, beyond their private spaces. Was the city planning faulty from the start? Are there cultural meanings and coping mechanisms that were not accounted for and are not yet understood? Or have social theorists romanticised notions of social efficacy and desire to build bonds with neighbours?

Unfortunately, detailed answers to these questions lie beyond the reach of this thesis. What I hope I have shown, in some small way through my case study, is that the attitudes

toward crime prevention and social cohesion are underpinned by a complex range of expectations, values, economic conditions and varied understandings of the very nature of social interactions, community and safety. Jackson is correct when he asserts “that the world is sometimes an unsafe place ... (and) the state cannot guarantee security and cohesion for its citizens” (Jackson 2004:962). This is not to say that there is no correlation between social cohesion and safety. Indeed I believe there is. Rather what this thesis has demonstrated is that we should not assume that ‘publics’ want to associate and to build ties, nor that the spaces that are created (usually without consultation) will on their own lead to public living. Planners, it would seem, need to spend a lot more time understanding the histories, cultures and economic conditions of the populations they are planning for.

What this study has shown is that human agency in security precautions cannot be neglected. In Brasília, endemic insecurity and previous experiences of public spaces has lead to the growth of ‘fortified enclaves’ even when violence is reported to be a consequence of economic, social and spatial inequity. The governance of security is then not limited to a single discourse, instead a multiplicity of feelings, experiences, expectations and resources impact alternative forms of security based on social cohesion and environmental design.

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