

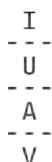
MIMESIS
INTERNATIONAL

ARCHITECTURE
n. 4



Reducing Boundaries | Understanding exclusion through security defensive systems in wealthy urban areas

Edited by Emanuela Bonini Lessing,
Fabio Vanin, Daniel Achutti



Università Iuav
di Venezia

LATITUDE
PLATFORM FOR URBAN DESIGN
AND RESEARCH

UNIVERSIDADE
LaSalle

The research leading to the results has received funding from the People Programme (Marie Curie Actions) of the European Union's Seventh Framework Program FP7/2007-2013/ under REA grant Agreement n. 612063

www.reducing-boundaries.net
ebonini@iuav.it

This book is edited by:
Emanuela Bonini Lessing, Fabio Vanin, Daniel Achutti.

Editorial management by:
Emanuela Bonini Lessing, Micol Roversi Monaco.

Andrea Facchetti designed the layout of the visual essay by Andrea Facchetti;
Chiara Ferronato and Seraina Rizzardini designed the layout of the visual essay by Chiara Ferronato;
Marta Finotello and Seraina Rizzardini designed the layout of the visual essay by Marta Finotello and Thomas Stefani;
Giacomo Zonta designed the layout of "Geographical localization" and his own visual essay.

All the essays of this book have been evaluated through a peer-review procedure by the following scholars:

Prof. Matteo Basso- Università Iuav di Venezia, Italy;
Prof. Valentina Bonifacio- Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italy;
Dr. Alice Covatta- Keio University Tokyo, Japan;
Prof. Marco Dugato- Università di Bologna, Italy;
Prof. Giulio Ernesti- Università Iuav di Venezia, Italy;
Prof. Priscila Leda Farias- Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil;
Prof. Sabina Lenoci- Politecnico di Torino, Italy;
Prof. Mario Lupano- Università Iuav di Venezia, Italy;
Prof. Sandra Regina Martini Vial- Universidade Federal Rio Grande do Sul/ Uniritter, Brazil;
Prof. Fabricio Pontin- Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil;
Prof. Michael Stoll- Hochschule Augsburg, Germany.
Prof. Martino Tattara- KU Leuven, Belgium;
Prof. Maria Chiara Tosi- Università Iuav di Venezia, Italy;
Patrick Zachmann- Magnum Photos.

Cover photograph © Andrea Facchetti.

© 2017 – Mimesis International
www.mimesisinternational.com
e-mail: info@mimesisinternational.com
Book series: *Architecture* n. 4
isbn 9788869771187
© MIIM Edizioni Srl
P.I. C.F. 02419370305

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	9
Emanuela Bonini Lessing, Fabio Vanin, Daniel Achutti	
THE TRACKS OF SOCIAL FEAR ON THE URBAN SCENE. A REPORT ON RESEARCH METHODS, PROCEDURES AND FINDINGS	19
Emanuela Bonini Lessing	
THE BUBBLE: TRENDS AND PARADOXES OF THE SECURE CITY MODEL	33
Fabio Vanin	
SOCIO-LEGAL STRUCTURES AND SOCIAL CONTROL: INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN LAW AND SOCIETY	49
Daniel Achutti	
LEGAL ASPECTS OF URBAN SECURITY IN BRAZIL AND ITALY	53
Cristiane Catarina Fagundes de Oliveira, Micol Roversi Monaco	
THE FRAGMENTATION OF URBAN AREAS DUE TO THE CULTURE OF FEAR OF CRIME: (re)thinking boundaries and observing actions in Canoas City (Porto Alegre)	71
Renata Almeida da Costa	

**GEOREFERENCED COMPARISON
OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CRIMINAL DATA.
TANGIBLE EFFECTS ON THE URBAN SETTINGS** 86

Giacomo Zonta

**THE EMBODIED SPATIALITY OF FEAR:
DWELLING (IN)SECURITY IN PORTO ALEGRE** 107

Olivia Casagrande

**REPRESENTING THE SPACE OF FEAR
AND SECURITY** 126

Marta Finotello, Thomas Stefani

**WITHIN BOUNDARIES. A VISUAL EXPLORATION
INSIDE PORTO ALEGRE'S GATED COMMUNITIES** 144

Chiara Ferronato

**SHARED SPACES. HOW THE SEARCH
FOR SECURITY CAN GENERATE ISOLATION
FROM THE CITY** 163

Marta De Marchi

**RENDERED VISIONS OF SECURITY
Exclusion and exclusivity
in real estate advertising** 172

Andrea Facchetti

**SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR SOCIAL CONTROL
Data, Rhetoric and organization
of the middle class against insecurity in private
and public space in Porto Alegre and in Venezia
Città Metropolitana (Italy)** 181

Giulia Cantaluppi

PUBLICNESS AND SECURITY IN URBAN PARKS 197
Adriano Cancellieri

THE ROLE OF PRISON IN THE 'SECURITY COMPLEX'
The case of Porto Alegre
and Veneto Region (Italy) 209
Daniel Achutti, Fiammetta Bonfigli

THE DIFFUSION OF THE VIDEO SURVEILLANCE
SYSTEM IN THE CONTEMPORARY URBE:
Argus Panoptes, electronic brains and their
connection with the violation of liberties
and equalities 223
Marcos Catalan

BELLIGERENT EYES. THE AGENCY OF GAZE
IN SOME STORIES OF SUBMERGED IMAGES 239
Sara Dotto

CONTROL, PARTICIPATION, REGIMES
OF VISIBILITY AND REALITY 253
Giovanni Fiamminghi

USING INSTITUTIONAL AND MEDIA
COMMUNICATION ANALYSIS AS A TOOL
TO SHAPE THE MULTIFACETED URBAN SECURITY 275
Maurizio Pioletti

BIOGRAPHIES 291



THE TRACKS OF SOCIAL FEAR ON THE URBAN SCENE. A REPORT ON RESEARCH METHODS, PROCEDURES AND FINDINGS

Emanuela Bonini Lessing

Introduction

The issue that the research study 'Reducing Boundaries' has sought to delineate and elucidate was the understanding of 'exclusion through defensive security systems in wealthy urban areas'. Instead of concentrating on the gentrification process that is globally affecting cities from the point of view of the poor and middle classes being evicted from their homes, the research focussed on the upper classes, positing them as the initiators of that process.¹

In line with this assumption, as anticipated in the book foreword, one of the main questions that the Università Iuav di Venezia research team initially addressed was: Who are the upper classes of Porto Alegre?

Imagining the research process as made up of concentric circles, the core was the identification and definition of the focus group. In other words, the work by the Iuav team began with a question about the identity of the upper classes, requiring ad-hoc activities to conduct both a quantitative and qualitative analysis, as described later in this text.

Moving ideally from the core of the research project outwards, further questions emerged, such as: What constitutes the upper classes' idea of security? How do they protect their own security?

These questions entailed an investigation – first – and a description – later – of both the material and immaterial instruments, tools and

1 For more details on the initial assumptions and goals of the research please see: Emanuela Bonini Lessing, 'Research Purposes', Emanuela Bonini Lessing (ed. by), *Urban Safety and Security* (Milan: Angeli, 2015)

devices on which the focus group relies, in order to ensure its security. luav therefore conducted a second level of investigation, concentrating on the materials most commonly adopted by the upper-classes to guarantee their own security, that of their families and their environment, and on the frameworks that guide their choices. This activity led to a more defined 'spatialisation' of the research, locating specific gentrified neighbourhoods that could be the object of closer observation.

Bearing the initial purpose of 'understanding exclusion' well in mind, the luav scholars understood that working exclusively on the focus group could limit the investigation. Who are the stakeholders in the security issue in the city of Porto Alegre? What is the role of the upper-classes in relation to other social groups, for the purpose of preserving their own security?

These questions represent the third level of investigation, committed to defining the nature – if it indeed exists – of the influence that the focus group exercises in the management of security in the city.

The study itself started with the intuition that it was important to work on all the levels described, but in fact throughout the research process they were sometimes developed in parallel, sometimes in sequence. Ultimately, the study aimed at highlighting the relationship between objective risk – as documented by official statistical data – and the actions undertaken by the upper classes, based on their risk perception.

1. Methodology and team

Along the research timescale, three professors, three Research Fellows and six Ph.D. candidates took part in the project. The nature of the research questions, of the methodology applied and, finally, of the presentation of the output, derives from the multidisciplinary composition of the luav group. The professors represent the fields of communication design, administrative law, the philosophy of science; the Research Fellows those of sociology and urban studies; the Ph.D. candidates from the luav School of Doctoral Studies in Architecture,

City and Design, are following the design sciences, and the regional planning and public policy tracks.

As the coordinator for both the luav team and the 'Reducing Boundaries' research project, my concern has been to combine the analysis of the morphology of the city – the development of which also follows from security issues – with an observation of the material and immaterial apparatus of the measures of protection of which the focus group makes use, with special attention to the communication strategies and/or effects generated by various stakeholders in the urban scene.

Taking into account the different backgrounds within the luav team and the research group as a whole, the study focused primarily on the public realm in the matter of security in Porto Alegre. The activities conducted by Latitude and by Unilasalle had many points of contact and often overlapped, leading to positive opportunities for debate within the group. In particular, topics such as the manifestations of tension between social groups on the physical threshold between private properties and the public sidewalks, or the nature of the video-surveillance practiced by public and private bodies on those thresholds, animated an interesting debate on the sometimes ephemeral categories of the public and private sphere.

The study involved two field activities on site in Porto Alegre. The first took place from October to December 2014, and involved five scholars who spent more than two months together. The second occurred in 2016, involving one researcher during the month of August, and the other six from October to December, with partial co-presence. Before, between and after the intense on-site activities, there were regular meetings between the luav scholars and online meetings with the other research partners. luav University relied on the scientific support of Unilasalle during the second research session in the field, whereas it hosted the Brazilian colleagues in Venice from December 2015 to January 2016. The goal was both an intensive comparative study on security in the metropolitan area of Venice and the validation of the results of the previous findings. The most recent part of the work in particular was characterized by public meetings, where experts and

scholars were invited to demonstrate and expand upon the knowledge that had been acquired.

Regarding the operational aspects of the work, only four academics were active throughout the almost four-year timeframe of the research project, and just two of them participated in both on-site activities. This aspect implied a significant and enduring effort by the previous scholars to store, share and deliver materials and data to the newcomers. In fact, some of the topics listed below were addressed by a single researcher, such as the comparison between Brazilian and Italian administrative law on security, whereas others, such as data collection on crime and its geo-localization in Porto Alegre, were carried out by different persons across the entire timeframe. During the second research phase, some researchers were invited to join the team on the basis of their curriculum, in order to cover particular topics that had merely been approached during the first stay in Brazil, such as the press review on crimes reported in the two most popular local newspapers.

As the lead institution, luav was responsible for coordinating the production and on-time delivery of a wide range of documents and reports prepared by all the researchers to the European Research Agency, the institution funding the project.

To perform the study, both quantitative and qualitative methodologies were applied and a rather varied range of data was collected: bibliographic review, interviews, focus groups, press reviews issued by the main newspapers, analysis of official documents, participating observation in the neighbourhoods, attendance at public seminars, walks through the city districts.

All these activities allowed an investigation into the multifaceted and sometimes contradictory aspects of security issues: the legislative framework – both at the national and municipal levels – (Fagundes-Roversi Monaco, p. 53); the ‘Do It Yourself’ actions undertaken by citizen groups (using digital devices, social networks, or more traditional communication tools) as well as the political discourse in recent municipal elections (Cantaluppi, p. 181); the gap between the official ‘objective’ data on criminality and the perception of security, reported by daily newspapers (Pioletti, p. 275) and witnessed by the security apparatus installed at the borders of the wealthy residential

areas (Zonta, p. 86); the exclusive 'dream of security' offered by real estate companies (Facchetti, p. 172) as opposed to the presumed unsafe public parks (Cancellieri, p. 197); or even more to the social and spatial isolation of undesirables in the prisons (Fiamminghi, p. 253); the unstable thread between private and public actors and factors fostered by the almost invisible but pervasive video-surveillance system, covering extended areas of the city (Fiamminghi, p. 253, Dotto, p. 239).

2. Principal findings

The study that was conducted shed light on several interesting aspects concerning the security of the upper-classes in the Porto Alegre area, and yet the (provisional) findings give rise to further questions.

The following paragraphs offers a synthesis of the primary activities carried out by luav, seen through the lens of my personal background, which combines studies in architecture and in communication design. The text therefore concentrates on issues that have significant implications or effects on the dynamics of communication with regards to the focus group, its relation to the other social classes, the tools, devices and context that made the observation possible, its manifestations on the urban scene. Bibliographical references derive from the field of communication design as well as other areas that may offer connections and further reflection. My attempt now is to stress the scope of the contribution that communication design can bring to research areas that are most commonly developed by urban planners, architects or sociologists. During the work, I shared my point of view with the luav scholars, who were free in any case to conduct their research according to the consolidated methodologies of their areas of study.

2.i. Who has the right to the city?

As mentioned earlier, one of our goals was to understand the

relationship between the focus group and the city government, in order to assess the influence of the upper classes on urban policies.² Though the research was based on both a quantitative and qualitative examination, the sample observed does not allow for generalizations, and our observations are undoubtedly influenced by our original cultural framework. I therefore feel more comfortable saying that our impression was that the idea of security pursued and adopted both by the upper-classes and local management, is that of physical and social separation between social groups. Different social classes are not encouraged to meet in the city.

The social separation leaves evident traces in the physical space of Porto Alegre. The city is divided into neighbourhoods that have very different reputations, corresponding to a clear differentiation in terms of population density, education, average income, real estate prices (Zonta).

Every neighbourhood and city section ends up being used by homogeneous social groups. Overlapping activities and mixed-use zoning causes tension between the social classes, both on the real and the fictional level. As a consequence, the thresholds between public and private areas, such as the entrances to homes, buildings, shopping malls, etc. are perceived by the upper classes as very dangerous areas. In addition, the fact that public space is perceived as having little value because it is dangerous, leaves it prey to the tendency of private concerns to swallow it up, creating separate urban areas and making them accessible to 'homogenised' users, in the name of security.³

2 See: Emanuela Bonini Lessing, Valentina Bonifacio, 'Identity across boundaries: a study conducted by communication designers and social anthropologists', in ICDHS 2012 8th Conference of the International Committee on Design History and Design Studies, *Design frontiers: territories, concepts, technologies* (Sao Paulo: Blucher, 2012); Emanuela Bonini Lessing, 'Diritto all'urbano e identità precarie. Intervista a Tiziana Villani/ On the right to the urban and on precarious identities. Interview with Tiziana Villani', *Progetto Grafico*, 20 (2011) 110-111; Silvia Sfligiotti, 'Sovvertire la rappresentazione dello spazio. Intervista a Sébastien Thiery/ Subverting the representation of urban space. Interview with Sébastien Thiery', *Ivi*, 112-113.

3 Ruedi Baur, Sébastien Thiéry, *Don't Brand my Public Space* (Zurich: Lars Muller, 2013); Emanuela Bonini Lessing, 'From corporate identity to city branding', *Volume* (2009), 19 Architecture of Hope, 132-133.

By branding⁴ portions of urban territory, private and commercial concerns turn them into safe and secure places, seemingly by magic, but in reality by evicting other social groups and imposing strict control over access and behaviour in these places. Even public parks tend to be used by homogeneous groups of people to perpetuate similar activities, 'specializing' their calling through continual actions and habits (Cancellieri).

The city space is highly polarized: making a 'bold' statement, it can be asserted that on one side, there are the wealthy people who tend to live in sheltered residential areas, equipped with many degrees of separation from the public space; on the opposite side, the undesirables, confined in prisons, with other devices for separation from the rest of the city. In between, the daily struggle for acceptable living conditions expressed by the diverse social groups.

Apart from the strategies and actions undertaken by the middle/upper-classes to foster or sometimes try to invert that tendency, as described by the Luau scholars (Cantaluppi, Cancellieri), one social phenomenon in particular attracted the attention of the media and of some Brazilian scholars during our first field research (October 2014): the so-called *rolezinhos*. It so happened that large numbers of people belonging to the lower social classes gathered to walk through shopping malls. In most cases, their sole aim was to demonstrate a

4 In a few words, branding consists of the identification and application of a precise set of basic visual elements that identifies an entity, as well as its members. While it works as a powerful instrument to glorify the belonging and membership of internal elements, it acts simultaneously as a means of exclusion and rejection of everybody and everything that acts or behaves differently. Corporate design - at least its traditional core - works and magnifies the categories of 'we' in juxtaposition to 'the others'. Between the end of the '90s and the beginning of the new millennium, the book "No Logo" by Naomi Klein as well as the discourse against global brands developed by many social movements had a relevant impact and wide appeal within the community of designers, traditionally located in a position of mediation between the necessities of industry and private companies, and those of the final users of products and services. On the opposite side, communication designers such as Wolf Ollins sharpened their position in the following years, arguing that public institutions and non-profit organizations should also adopt corporate and branding attitudes, to move beyond naive and paternalistic behaviours.

temporary and peaceful occupation of places from which they were precluded by unwritten rules.⁵

What the reports of luav scholars outline, is that security is a social issue, a horizontal factor. Despite the double engagement of military and civil police in managing security in the city, the level of 'privatization' of security services is very high: all social classes invest money in private security, depending on their income. The cooperation between a variety of specialized companies and local authorities is apparently very limited.

As a former luav researcher stated: "Many are the forms of institutional and bottom-up participation by means of which the issue of security is addressed and discussed in the city. From Participatory Budgeting to neighbourhood committees, these practices appear to be profoundly diversified according to the organisational procedures and subjects involved".⁶

2.ii. Who has the right to 'visual representation' in the city?

To European eyes, the real estate market is one of the key factors orienting the change in Porto Alegre, from a spatial as well as a visual point of view. Both in the past and in the present, the construction of new buildings has influenced how the city grows, the movements of the population within it and the appearance and vocation of numerous neighbourhoods.

Since some of the property developers have regional and national status, the living standards they offer, in advertising campaigns and in the construction of real-estate development, has a significant impact on the consolidation of the idea (I) of a highly-segregated city.

One of the luav researchers (Facchetti) has therefore concentrated on the visual rhetoric that underlies the marketing campaigns of the major real estate companies in the city and in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, and compared them with the effective and factual lifestyle of the inhabitants.

5 Alexandre Barbosa Pereira, 'Rolezinho no shopping: aproximação etnográfica e política', *Revista pensata*, v. 3, 2 (2014), 8-16; Darlene Fróes da Silva, José Carlos Gomes da Silva, "'Rolezinhos': sociabilidades juvenis, discriminações e segregação urbana', *Ivi*, 17-35.

6 Luisa Tuttolomondo, 'Security in Porto Alegre. Actors, Frames and Policies', Emanuela Bonini Lessing (ed. by), *Urban Safety and Security* (Milan: Angeli, 2015), p. 23

Among the many considerations his text offers, is the thesis that in advertising campaigns directed at wealthy targets, security is a taboo: there is a clear shift from the discourse on security to an imaginary vision of comfort and luxury (which in most cases includes security services, though often not explicitly). Once again we see another form of polarization. On the one hand, the upper classes assert their presence in the city as well as on the web, making use of idyllic self-representations, which correspond in reality to recurring residential typologies qualified by internal leisure services and a significant display of defensive systems outwards. On the other hand, the lower classes, evicted from their places and their homes, do not even have the right to a visual representation in the marketing campaigns that promote the desired urban lifestyle. There are *villas*⁷ all over the city, but since the single house, and its inhabitants, do not follow any marketing standards, the entire informal settlement can be cancelled, both in the collective imagery and in operating procedures.⁸

At the same time the lower classes are overexposed, though they may not be aware of it, especially because they live and act in public spaces more than other social groups.

Near the wealthy residential areas, they are closely watched by private guards and concierges, shielded in small protected cabins inside or in front of the gated communities. Public spaces facing these communities are also monitored by alert middle and upper class dwellers, who use common smartphone apps and chats to report suspicious behaviour to the members, but in most cases directly to the police (Cantaluppi). People and spaces are also scanned by anonymous eyes behind the

7 This is the way how the informal settlements- *favelas*- are named in Porto Alegre.

8 Before 'Reducing Boundaries', my studies concentrated on communication process and approaches to self-portrayal developed in some European cities, as reported in: Emanuela Bonini Lessing, *Interfacce Metropolitane. Frammenti di corporate identity*, (Milano: Et Al, 2010); for preceding Italian bibliographical references on communication design in cities, please see also: Giovanni Anceschi, 'L'interfaccia delle città', *Ivi*; Gianni Sinni, Andrea Rauch, *Disegnare le città. Grafica per le pubbliche istituzioni in Italia* (Firenze: LCD, 2009); Giovanni Anceschi, 'Emblemi del sublime artificiale', *Il Verri*, 4-5 (1997); Sergio Polano, 'L'immagine delle città', *Casabella*, 634 (1994), pp. 2-11. In none of these references has the topic of the identity of the city dealt with the question of the security of its inhabitants.

public and private cameras in the control centres, where sophisticated software further fragments the urban scene into cones, tunnels and frames of vision, that are even tasked to predict possible illegal behaviours (Dotto, Fiamminghi). Inmates are permanently controlled by penitentiary eyes.

As communication tools, digital technologies play a significant but also multifaceted role within the security issue. As Dotto and Fiamminghi argue, video-surveillance produces a stream of images of persons and places, so that technology can be seen as a powerful tool to practice top-down control over the population. Tuttolomondo⁹ and Cantaluppi have shown instead that digital devices allow horizontal communication among dwellers and bottom-up initiatives giving voice to the community and visualizing facts and initiatives for it. Facchetti stresses the possibility of transforming non-photogenic urban areas into idyllic places, as well as simulating the use of drones, formerly a military technology, to improve the sense of control over the urban arena by the wealthier social classes.

Invisibility is a privilege for the few.¹⁰

2.iii. What are the traces of the interaction between upper classes and other social groups on the urban scene?

One of the first findings of our study was that the highest upper classes do not play any significant role in terms of interaction with other social classes, or with the physical space of the city. Their relationship to the local context is very limited, while they tend to develop contacts and relationships with persons of the same social level living in places that are sometimes geographically very distant (given that they make daily use of private helicopters, airplanes etc.).

This having been said, the level of interaction among and across the other social classes is very low.

⁹ Luisa Tuttolomondo.

¹⁰ Antonio David Cattani, *The old class: the dark side of the rich*, (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2011) It can be seen in: <http://www.lac.ox.ac.uk/sites/sias/files/documents/BSP%20Paper%20%2008%2012%20ADCattani.pdf>


The research confirms that even Participatory Budgeting¹¹ has lost its original edge in recent years. On the one hand the range of topics brought to the discussion is limited to a small number of local interventions, and the implementation of the decisions depends on the quality of the negotiations carried out by the stakeholders. The result is that shared decisions on security have a limited impact on the city. On the other hand, Participatory Budgeting is not really an opportunity for a discussion that brings different social classes to the table, but often turns out to be a debate between representatives of the local administration and a variety of associations expressed by the same social groups. This does not mean that wealthy people do not play a role in managing security in the city. The pressure of private companies and investors on the destination of use and on the management of public issues is very high, as is their capacity to influence the city government.

In my understanding, the insubstantial participation of representatives of the higher classes in public discussions and in the administrative process feeds their alienation towards the local physical context. Consequently, it is common for wealthy dwellers to feel foreign, different and insecure in a territory they perceive as unfamiliar and hostile.


As described by many 'Reducing Boundaries' scholars, the borders between public and private spaces are characterized by a high level of tension. In these zones the 'possession' of the territory and its branding are not definitive, but are still the object of contention. Because of these characteristics, these areas, along with the public spaces, would have the potential to become spaces of mediation and negotiation among the stakeholders, showcasing other ways and other qualities of interaction among dwellers, preventing segregation and fostering peaceful coexistence.

The luav team dedicated its efforts to assessing and mapping the measure of the relationship between the focus group and the great variety of stakeholders acting in the city of Porto Alegre – local governments, companies and enterprises, lobbies, citizen associations, etc. – and its consequences on both the urban fabric and the lifestyle

11 The topic has been treated in Luisa Tuttolomondo.



of the wealthy dwellers. Unfortunately, there was not enough time or energy to try to understand and to detect if and how a sense of safety and security could be produced by means other than building physical obstacles and barriers that lead to such a highly divided city, though this was one of the aims of the 'Reducing Boundaries' project. This does not mean that there have not been initiatives of this kind. It is probably due to the fact that – at least at the time of our research work – we did not encounter projects aimed at possibly reversing the status quo, developed in a way that could garner the attention of public authorities or of the media, thereby passing unobserved to our eyes. The principal results of our search are shown in the following pages. The cross-disciplinary approach to the project has led to the production of varied forms of documentation: texts and academic papers as well as visual essays based on data visualization, photographic reports and a video installation (by Giovanni Fiamminghi, not described in this book).



3. Final considerations on the forms of security

Summarizing the previous considerations, the security of the upper classes in Porto Alegre goes hand in hand with attitudes and actions that foster fragmentation and segregation, both at the social and physical levels of the urban territory. The most visible manifestation of this trend is the deployment and sometimes exasperated exhibition of security devices surrounding the wealthy residential areas.

Despite the use of different degrees of material and immaterial devices to keep them secure, the upper classes do not feel safe in Porto Alegre. The impression is that the cultural and political framework that has led to the current state of affairs seems unable to guarantee better results, in terms of crime prevention for the near future. Instead, the underlying legislative and commercial apparatus seems to require ever-increasing levels of material and immaterial intervention, in a never-ending loop.

The research began by assessing the role of the economic gap among social classes as one of the key factors to the perception of insecurity

by the upper classes. Brazil as a country is facing increasing economic, social and political instability since the research began. Figures on criminality seem to support the link between unstable socio-economic conditions and the crime rate. As for Europe, the idea of risk and the identification of possible related elements has changed during the timeframe of the research study. Together with the growing economic gap between social classes, other factors must be taken into consideration today when seeking to provide an overview of the factors that are having an impact – be it real or perceived – on security: terrorism and trans-border migration flow, especially in Italy, as described by Cantaluppi.

It is probably worth mentioning that our study took place at a time and in an area that was probably influenced by facts that are external to the research topic, but that may in some ways have changed the scenario on security: the FIFA World Cup for which Porto Alegre was one of the venues in July 2014, and the Olympic Games in Rio in August 2016. Extraordinary decisions on the issues of public security – ranging from the implementation of video-surveillance, in the form of equipment and of special laws; the presence of the army in the city; the demolition of spontaneous housing settlements to build the new football arena in Porto Alegre – might have had a greater impact on security than our research could assess.

MIMESIS GROUP
www.mimesis-group.com

MIMESIS INTERNATIONAL
www.mimesisinternational.com
info@mimesisinternational.com

MIMESIS EDIZIONI
www.mimesisedizioni.it
mimesis@mimesisedizioni.it

ÉDITIONS MIMÉSIS
www.editionsmimesis.fr
info@editionsmimesis.fr

MIMESIS COMMUNICATION
www.mim-c.net

MIMESIS EU
www.mim-eu.com

Printed by Digital Team – Fano (PU) in September 2017