

rio without make-up

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The subjective safety perception of low-middle class and upper-high class due to police and surveillance devises

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Generally, writing a thesis gives better writing skills and theoretical knowledge, and finishing a thesis brings a degree certificate. However, this thesis brought me much more than the above. It gave me new insights on the world we are living in, a world led by corruption, capitalism and violation of human rights, but also insights on humanity, honesty and equality. I would not have learned these important life lessons without the help and support of the people around me, of which only a few are mentioned in this acknowledgment.

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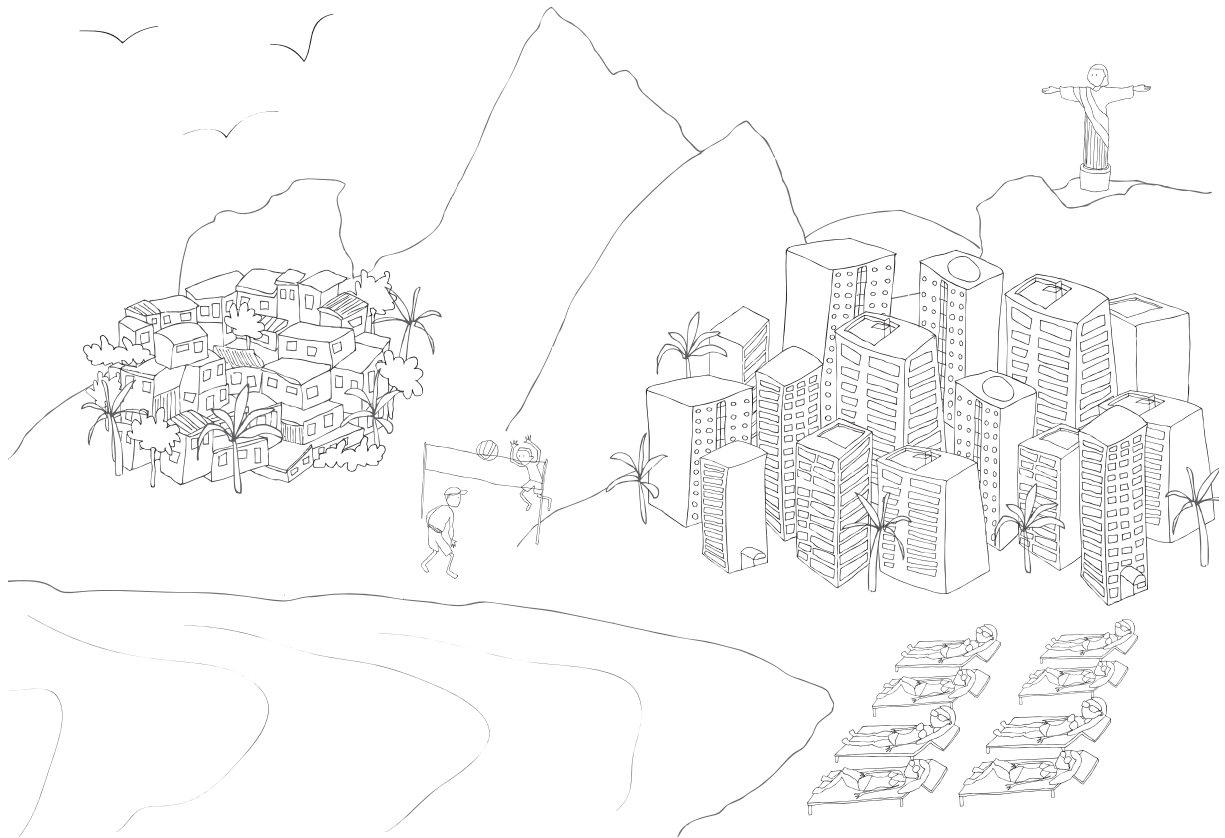
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Abstract

Despite the worrisome high crime rates of Rio de Janeiro it will host the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games, These rates are generally associated with the low -middle class residents, among whom crimes appears to develop most. Even though Rio de Janeiro is characterised by the spatial structure of the divided city, upper-high class residential areas are also influenced by this crime. Therefore, the government has the task to transform the city into a safer city by diminishing crime rates. This is done via two safety measures, namely increasing the number of police officers and surveillance devises within urban public spaces. As the government mainly focuses on decreasing the crime statistics, this research will study the subjective safety perception of low-middle class residents and upper-high class residents related to these two safety measures. This research assembled information about safety feelings through ethnographic method. The concept of safety was leading. Results showed that the concept of safety, of the low-middle class residents and upper-high class residents, is perceived in different ways. Whilst the first wishes for basic needs, the second protects themselves through self-protecting in fear of crime. The outcomes of safety perceptions directly linked to the increase of police officers is negatively growing, since all citizens fear police due to the lacking trust within its system, which is also shown in the safety perception of surveillance devises. These results confirmed past studies partly, showing how safety perceptions are indicated.

Index

Introduction	6
1. Rio de Janeiro’s framework	12
1.1 Violence within Rio de Janeiro	12
1.2 Divided city.....	14
1.3 A ‘safer city’	19
1.4 Measures.....	20
1.5 Civil disobedience.....	25
2. Theoretical Framework	27
2.1 Concept of safety	27
2.2 Safety perception through classic theories.....	29
2.3 Safety perception through a Social Constructionist Perspective	34
2.4 Safety perception about police.....	36
2.5 Safety perception about monitoring devices	37
3. Method	39
3.1 Research setting; Rio de Janeiro.....	39
3.2 Research location.....	41
3.3 Research design.....	42
3.4 Method.....	44
3.5 Introduction of the informants	48
4. Perceiving safety	52
4.1 Rocinha.....	53
4.2 Leblon/Ipanema.....	57
4.3 ‘The new generation of Rio’	59
5. Do people feel safe with the two new measures to built a safe city?	61
5.1 Increasing number of police officers until 2016	61
5.2 Surveillance and monitoring devices	72
Conclusion	79
Sources	82



Introduction

On the second of October 2009, the president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Jacques Rogge announced that Rio de Janeiro is awarded to host the mega-event of 2016 Olympic Games. However, as the city deals with high violent crime rates within urban public space (German, 2010), the IOC which is the non-profit organization of the Olympic Games, emphasizes the insecurity issues within Rio de Janeiro. A study of Cardia (2002) shows that violence and crime in South America are historically associated with poverty in urban areas and low-middle class citizens. Because of the poverty, people make money out of robbery, theft, and drug trafficking and created a local economy in their neighbourhoods. In the case of Rio de Janeiro this goes back to the 1970s when economic migrants came to the city without housing and transportation provisions. This triggered the creation of self-made illegal settlements in the unmanaged part of the formal city, outside of the regulated safety of urban services, in neighbourhoods that are also known as 'favelas' (Martin, 2012). Through the expansion of the local economy, drug gangs took control over the favelas, which caused armed battles among drug gangs, many times out of their controlling neighbourhoods. This brings the association of violence with favelas and its low-middle class residents: 'favelados'.

Hosting mega-events is important for Brazil's government to develop its country politically and economically (Darnell, 2012), as it has developed as a major player within the economic world, due to its status of the fifth-largest economy of the world and because of the economic, trade and technological developments within the country (Bernal-Meza, & Christensen, 2013). This corresponds with Brazil's application of FIFA's 2014 World Cup and Rio de Janeiro's applications to host the Olympic Games. With governmental billion dollar investments in several facilities, such as tourist-, transport- and security infrastructure, the government of Rio de Janeiro wants to transform the city to reach these political and economic developments.

The history of mega-events in Rio de Janeiro goes back to 1919 when Rio de Janeiro hosted its first major international event: the South American Football Championship. The same games returned to Rio de Janeiro in 1922, and the most important elements to host the games were to develop "*satisfactory plans for the material and aesthetic transformation of the City of Rio de Janeiro with a special view to the probable necessities of its development in the most distant future*" (Gaffney, 2012). Organizing this international event attracted international investments in Rio de Janeiro, through the permission of the municipal government to demolish and transform several public spaces within the city by these investors. Through these investments mega-events showed its capacity of economic growth for the host city (Gaffney, 2011).

For the 1950 World Cup, the Municipal Government agreed with the condition for building a new stadium in Rio de Janeiro. The stadium *Estádio Municipal do Rio de Janeiro* (nowadays known as Estádio Mario Filho, or Maracanã) was built with the support of Brazilian citizens and became worlds' biggest stadium and monument of Brazilian's national identity of sport, especially football (Bocketti, 2008). Through the simplicity of football, it has always been one of the few sports with the accessibility for all social classes within Brazil (Lopes, 1999). In the 1950s, this accessibility was represented through ticket prices of one dollar for a football match within the Maracanã stadium (Gaffney, 2012). However, as the investments usually overrun the public budget, the ordinary consumers get forced to spend a huge amount of their wealth to attend these sport events. For example, the Maracanã stadium underwent a restructure amounting 400 million dollars for the 2007 Pan American Games and 2014 World Cup. This resulted in ticket prices of at least 45 dollars during the 2013 Confederation Cup, while the ticket prices were one dollar before. This change of ticket prices automatically excludes some of the social classes, whereas Rio's Maracanã should symbolize the Brazilian love for sports by all social classes (Gaffney, 2010).

As Gaffney (2010) argues, attending the bid of the Olympics and hosting these mega-events became a competition between cities and countries worldwide. Cities and countries participate with the hope to create an opportunity to 'remake' their cities through huge amounts of public money for massive projects, such as upgrading safety. As the governments want to reach the highest goal and the best facilities as possible to win the bid for hosting one of these events, they increase the public budgets and usually also exceed this budget multiple times. According to Mackay (2012), the Olympic Games and the World Cup are 'urban mega-events' for cities which contend with deindustrialization, suburbanization and globalization, to create a new way of urban economics. Therefore, as Darnell (2012) argues, nowadays mega-events are inseparably connected to economic and political rationales. As Gaffney (2010) argues, mega-events contain an important (inter)national economic aim, through generating employment and international investments by for example multinationals. According to Gaffney (2010), there has been a shift from organizing events with the main objective of recreation for Brazilian's national identity, to hosting mega-events with the aim of retaining a stronger economic position in the world. However, since the inception of the Modern Olympic Games by Pierre de Coubertin in 1896, a philosophical ideal for the Olympic Games was developed and is nowadays argued as the Olympism (Guttman, 2002). As the Olympic Charter (1995) defined: "*Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal principles. The goal of Olympism is*

to place everywhere sport at service of the harmonious development of man, with a view to encouraging the establishment of a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of encouraging human dignity” (Olympic Charter, 1995).

Two weeks after the announcement of the winning bid in 2009, there was a violent shooting between police and citizens in one of the biggest shantytowns of Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil also known as ‘favelas’ (Baena, 2011). Fourteen people got killed, eight wounded and one police helicopter was shot down (Phillips, 2009). This incident touches the daily circumstances of Rio de Janeiro, by which the issue of unsafety has also been pointed out in Rio de Janeiro’s candidature bid to host the Olympic Games, as the bid attained the lowest credits for the theme ‘safety and security’ (Rio2016, 2009). Consequently, the IOC requires measures to forestall these issues in order to make Rio de Janeiro a ‘safer city’. The Brazilian authorities, the President of Brazil, Dilma Rousseff (Rousseff), the Governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Sergio Cabral (Cabral), and the Mayor of the city Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Paes (Paes), have the task to execute IOC’s requirement to diminish violence and crime and subsequently improve safety and security of the city. The Federal Government of Brazil, and State Government and City Government of Rio de Janeiro reported in policy documents, being *“totally committed to ensure the safety of the Games’ clients, residents and visitors before, during and after the 2016 Olympic Games”* (Rio2016, 2009). In order to make Rio de Janeiro a safer city the authorities have established a public security program to reduce violence and crime through two principal measures. The bulk of the investment is assigned to the first measure: increasing the number of civil and military police officers in order to create more safety in the streets of Rio de Janeiro, which is achieved through the pacification of favelas. Since 2008, the City Government of Rio de Janeiro planned to *pacify* - take over the control of favelas- through a special police battalion *Unidade de Policia Pacificadora* – Pacifying Police Unit (UPP). Crime and violence should decrease through the pacification since drug gangs would not control favelas anymore. The second measure is improving security by surveillance and monitoring devices to analyses crime trends (Rio2016, 2009), through Closed-Circuit Television (CCTV), helicopters, drones and monitoring stations.

These measures will mostly be applied in low-middle class neighbourhoods, as it is these areas that are often associated with violence and crime by upper-middle class residents. However, the measures will also -in different extent- be practiced in upper-high class neighbourhoods, as its citizens fear crime and violence as present in the favelas (Reis, 1999), which can be seen through their living within gated communities. Research on the effectiveness of safety measures has shown that introducing these kind of measures are focused on diminishing the number of violence and crime rates, also defined as objective safety (Herrewegen, 2010). As previous

research has demonstrated the effect on objective safety, this research will study the effect of the before-mentioned two measures on subjective safety perception of both low-middle class residents and upper-high class residents, in which subjective safety can be defined as the perception and feeling of safety and security (Herrewegen, 2011). According to Herrewegen (2011), there is a lack of knowledge in the safety perception of different social classes. This research will put emphasis on subjective safety and hereby contributes to a research gap within this matter by investigating both low-middle class and upper-high class.

Subjective safety perception can be circumscribed as a feeling and experience about *unsafety*. Fearing insecurity creates a negative subjective safety perception. Fear is a feeling that is often related to someone's experience and perception of his or her daily life routine and surrounding (England & Simon, 2010). It can effect and restrain someone's actions through daily life by, for example, performing avoidable behaviour or it can encourage someone to protect him or herself excessively in several ways (Alkimim, Clarke, & Oliveira, 2013). According to Mourão Kanashiro (2008), the increasingly amount of private investments in surveillance systems by citizens of upper-high class neighbourhoods themselves, such as private CCTVs, demonstrates the increased fear of crime and thus the feeling of necessity of self-protection measures in Brazil. Given the self-protecting measures, fear of crime creates a high level of self-protection. So, building a safer city is not only based on statistic lower numbers of crime events, but is also influenced by the level of fear of crime (Mourão Kanashiro, 2008). Does this mean that these safety measures for the upcoming mega-events do not have an effect on safety feelings of Rio de Janeiro's citizens? As crime has his history in favelas it is also interesting to find out what the safety perception is of favelados, since they live in these 'criminal neighbourhoods' as shown by anecdotal evidence. Based on this movement of safety issues, this research will investigate the effect on safety perception through safety measures to answer the central question of this research:

'To what extent do safety measures for upcoming mega-events in Rio de Janeiro until 2016 effect the subjective safety perception of low-middle class and upper-high class citizens?'

The research question needs some further explanation as it contains terminology that is extensively discoursed within literature. The first term is 'safety'. In the context of this research I draw on the definition of the National Safety Council, which defines safety as 'the control of recognized hazards to attain an acceptable level of risk'. The second term 'measures' refers to the two safety measures taken by the authorities of Brazil and Rio de Janeiro to transform Rio de Janeiro to a safer city until 2016, namely increasing the number of civil and military police

officers, and improving security by surveillance and monitoring devices. The mega-events stand for the enormous events within Rio de Janeiro such as the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. The fourth term 'subjective safety perception' has been defined as the feeling and experience about unsafety. The last two terms 'low-middle class' and 'upper-high class citizens' refer to the different social classes, whereby low-middle class refers to the citizens of the favela Rocinha, and the upper-high class refers to the citizens of the wealthy neighbourhoods Leblon and Ipanema.

As this research is innovative in a way that it is focussing on the safety perception of two contradictory social classes, and on particular on the safety perception about the two main safety measures for the upcoming mega events, some might argue that it is "premature", as these safety measures and the situation in Rio de Janeiro is new. Precisely for the reason that there is so little known about the difference of safety perception between two social classes, it makes it an interesting and valuable research topic to study. Is it actually necessary to invest in these measures or are other actors more influential in safety perceptions of citizens and so, effective for a safer city? The outcome of this research provides important insights that contribute to our understanding of how investments in safety measures due to increasing number of police officers and surveillance and monitoring devices affect the perception and the different perspective of social classes during the preparation time of the upcoming mega-events until 2016 in Rio de Janeiro. These results show the actual safety feeling of Rio de Janeiro's citizens and the concrete level of importance of the safety measures.

To understand the safety measures in order to the two mega-events, it is important to have background information on the level of crime and the geographical distinction of crime within Rio de Janeiro, which will be followed with an explanation of the two safety measures. The theoretical framework in chapter 2 will represent a collection of interrelated concepts and theories, including safety, safety perception, fear of crime and Social Constructionist Perspective. Subsequently, chapter three will present the methods that are being utilized aiming to explore relevant issues that are related to the safety perception of both social classes. Chapter four will discuss the concept of safety in order to the low-middle class and upper-high class followed by chapter five, which will present the subjective safety perception of both classes. Chapter six aims to answer the research question of this research with an in-depth conclusion. The consulted literature for this study can be found in chapter seven. Furthermore, as an addition to this research, two drawings, one as seen already and one right after the conclusion, illustrate how this research started and how it ends.

1. Rio de Janeiro's framework

As crime and violence are the leading issues during the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games within Rio de Janeiro, this chapter will start to give insight into the crime and violence rates to make these issues more comprehensible. It will continue with a review on Rio de Janeiro's history of violence. Hereafter, the geographical distinction between low-middle class residents and upper-high class residents will be explained through the lens of a divided city, and how violence affected the way of living. By having more knowledge on this important background it becomes more understandable why violence and crime are leading issues for the upcoming two mega-events. This chapter will continue explaining how the Federal and Municipal Government of Rio de Janeiro try to transform Rio de Janeiro into a 'safer city' through two main safety measures.

1.1 Violence within Rio de Janeiro

According to the IOC (2009), the crime rates of Rio de Janeiro are worrisome. When looking at the official statistics of Brazil it becomes clear that the level of violence is not only very high but also grew alarmingly. UN-HABITAT (2007) argues that homicides are a major issue in Brazil, as the rates were the fourth highest out of available statistics of 84 countries worldwide. As the IOC stresses the safety of Rio de Janeiro based on crime and violence rates, figure 1 summarizes these statistics from 2003 until 2012, with absolute numbers and numbers per 100.000 inhabitants. The table shows a decrease of sixty percent for death rates from 3.637 in 2003 to 1.427 in 2012. However, this table also shows the increasing numbers of non-deathly crime from 29.767 in 2003 to 39.222 in 2012, an increase of 32 percent, including the striking fact that the rape rates increased with 455 percent between 2003 and 2012. Even the number of theft and robbery increased with twenty percent within these ten years. So, where the death rates decrease, the non-deathly crime increases within Rio de Janeiro.

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Total in 10 years	Percentage 2003 till 2012
Population		6.000.000			6.093.472			6.320.446				
DEATH BY VIOLENT CRIMES RIO DE JANEIRO												
Intentional homicide	2.574	2.653	2.406	2.465	2.336	2.069	2.155	1.628	1.417	1.206		
Bodily Injury Followed by Death	25	24	32	31	25	22	14	24	21	15		
Robbery (robbery followed by death)	98	103	86	117	91	98	90	68	62	53		
Cause of death not defined	940	660	442	390	365	264	197	196	172	153		
Total	3.637	3.440	2.966	3.003	2.817	2.453	2.456	1.916	1.672	1.427	25.787	-60%
Death per 100.000 inhabitants		57,1			46,2			30,3				
VICTIMS OF VIOLENT CRIME												
Attempted Murder	1.852	1.547	1.548	1.743	1.693	1.612	2.001	1.551	1.454	1.583		-14%
Bodily Injured	27.552	27.040	27.414	26.184	26.941	27.102	29.383	31.093	33.613	35.622		29%
Bodily Injured per 100.000 inhabitants		450,7			442,1			492,0				
Rape	363	418	428	403	420	449	622	1.443	1.591	2.017		455%
Rape per 100.000 inhabitants		7,0			6,9			22,8				
Total	29.767	29.005	29.390	28.330	29.054	29.163	32.006	34.087	36.658	39.222	316.682	32%
Total victims per 100.000 inhabitants		483,1			476,8			539,4				
THEFT AND ROBBERY												
Total	62.710	73.590	84.043	93.372	98.167	99.284	96.364	86.360	77.261	75.230	846.381	20%

Figure 1. Summarized crime statistics Rio de Janeiro

These crime rates mostly show violence and crime related to drug gangs and the way police try to control this violence within Rio de Janeiro. The history of gang violence within Rio de Janeiro goes back to the end of the 1970s when the government housed common criminals together with political prisoners in a prison on an island in the state of Rio de Janeiro (Arias, 2006). According to Arias (2006), the prisoners became prison gangs and as soon as they got released the gangs spread out over the city of Rio de Janeiro. As the ex-prisoners did not have any income, they made money out of organised robberies and drug trafficking, mostly within the wealthy areas of Rio de Janeiro, whereas the gangs lived diffused within several favelas. Through the enormous flow of money from drugs, the drug gangs gained power within the favelas they inhabited, resulting in drug gang competition between the favelas. The police tried to control the competition between drug gangs with heavy violence (Arias, 2006). However, through the high income of drug trafficking, the drug gangs were able to provide themselves with weapons to protect themselves and their neighbourhood from the other drug gangs and police violence. In this way the spread of drugs trafficking increased violence and authorized drug gangs in favelas with both economic and political power (Leeds, 1996). Ever since, the homicides by armed forces within Rio de Janeiro increased, mostly related to drugs trafficking (Cano & Ribeiro, 2007). Unofficial statistics relating to police brutality in Rio de Janeiro showed 6,806 deaths between 2003 and 2008 (UN-HABITAT, 2007). Also the number of child mortalities by armed forces increased, something that is related to the employment of children within drug gangs (Reichenheim et al., 2011).

To sketch a picture about the logistics of drugs trafficking, the local drug lord within the neighbourhood buys drugs from mediators and (inter)national drug gangs, these mediators are powerful members within the society. There are indications that these mediators and (inter)national drug gangs are not only internally connected, but also have their connection with the police and the Brazilian Federal Government (Arias, 2006). The police also combats the violence within favelas. Since the 1990s, cruel policies against violence within favelas resulted in

'invasions' in these neighbourhoods. Armed police entered these neighbourhoods in a brutal way and 'invaded' the area. The purpose of these invasions were to enforce the law and protect public security, by fighting against drug gang members. During these invasions many favelados got harassed or even killed 'by accident'. Nevertheless, this police strategy is authorized politically (Koonings & Veenstra 2007). According to Koonings and Veenstra (2007), the contradiction of police strategies has been visible through police participation in the same drugs and arms trafficking where police fights against. The lack of democratic control makes corruption possible, which can be seen as illegal economy and money laundering (de Souza, 2005).

As explained, the high violence rates mainly originate from drug gangs within the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. However, while the number of violence seems to be the highest within low-middle class neighbourhoods or created by low-middle class residents, it also includes other classes (Arias, 2006). As the borders between favelas and other neighbourhoods became faint, favelados suffer more in terms of control. De Souza (2005) describes the three main reasons why favelados suffer more; one of these factors is the spatial construction of favelas. As these areas are usually structured without regulation, the areas have bad access because of a lack of pavements and streetlights. Another reason De Souza (2005) describes is the socio-economic character of favelas, mainly known as 'poor'. However, one of the most important factors is the geographical location. Favelas are closely located to middle-class and upper-high class residential areas, where the main drug consumers inhabit, which makes trafficking more easy. Nowadays the extreme opposites live next to each other, which makes Rio de Janeiro a 'divided city'.

1.2 Divided city

The contrast between 'rich' and 'poor' in Rio de Janeiro is significant and symbolizes the unequal structure of the city. The great differences between social classes are spread throughout the city in different areas and building styles. Rio de Janeiro is known as a city with two faces. The first is the upper-higher class city of tailor-made suits, red carpets, doormen, covered with metal bars, locks and private security. This face of Rio de Janeiro is also called '*asphalt*', symbolizing the well-facilitated neighbourhoods. The other face of Rio de Janeiro is the low-middle class city in the mountains, also known as '*the hill*'. This city is the one without pavement and public facilities, a city leaded by poverty and violence, but also street parties and samba music. The next two sections will explain both faces of Rio de Janeiro.



Picture 1. How low-middle class lives right next to upper-high class.

As this part of the city is inhabited with upper-high class citizens, the opposite part of Rio de Janeiro's citizens lives in a city that is characterized by endemic violence. High crime rates, drug gangs, drug trafficking, social exclusion and highly unequal class relations, shape the daily setting for residents of Rio de Janeiro (Koonings & Veenstra, 2007). These themes are worrisome for the upcoming mega-events. This paragraph will describe the disunity of the city through an explanation of the upper-high class and the low-middle class residential areas within Rio de Janeiro.

The hill

A samba song of Noca da Portela and Sergio Mosca (1994) tells:



Picture 2. Example of a favela

*The favela is a social problem
 And what's more, I am the favela
 My people are workers
 I never had social assistance
 But I can live only there
 Because for the poor there is no other way
 We don't even have the right to a salary of hunger
 Or a normal life
 The favela is a social problem*

The origin of the favelas within Rio de Janeiro goes back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when African slave trade reached Rio de Janeiro. Slaves came to both Brazil and Rio de Janeiro to get employment in the exploited labour of usually poor people. At the same time these slaves were socially not maintained very well, neither policed (Arians, 2006). The slaves built their own houses and settled on the hills of Rio de Janeiro, nevertheless these slaves were not the only ones to settle in this informal city. At the end of the nineteenth century, the first federal soldiers of the Canudos War in the province Bahia built and settled their houses on the same hills of Rio de Janeiro. As the government did not pay the salary of these soldiers, they compensated the veterans' salary with a housing permission on the hills. These veterans called their neighbourhood *favela*, named after a plant which grows in the hills of Bahia, since these neighbourhoods are also uphill (Arias, 2006). The fact that the government permitted these residential locations for the veterans changed the informal city into a less informal living area. During time, this triggered the creation of illegal residences in the unmanaged part of the formal city by 'poor' migrants (Martin, 2012). However, the city had to deal with the rapid growth of favelas between the 1930s and the 1960s, caused by rural-urban migration, natural population growth and industry, due to Rio de Janeiro's tourism industry among others (Koonings & Veenstra, 2007). Despite this growth, the military government of the 1960s and the 1970s made almost no efforts to improve the conditions of the favelas (Arias, 2006). Thus, with the growing population of the favelas, the favelados organized themselves, also known as *self-help*, and in some cases with the help of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). For example, the favelas had little access to electricity, whereby some favelados began to tap electricity illegally from the well-developed city sides, or the favelados paved the roads within the neighbourhood for better access (Arias, 2006). Rio de Janeiro's favelas solve the problem for low-middle class residents who cannot afford to live in the formal housing market (Hanley et al., 2005).

Theoretically, favelas are known as settlements outside the regulated safety of urban services and off-limit to police (Denyer Willis, 2013). The '*Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*' defines a favela as a '*subnormal agglomerate with a minimum of 51 household units*'. The subnormal agglomerates are generally in need of essential public services, are urbanized out of the legal standards, occupy or have occupied a third-party property and are arranged in a disordered and dense manner. A more comprehensive definition, given by the '*Observatoria de Favelas*', defines favelas, as "*a territory where there is recurring deficiency of state action and formal market investments, where the housing is mostly characterized by illegality and self-construction, and where great cultural diversity coexists*" (Turcheti e Melo, 2010). In this research a favela is considered to be a combination of the above-mentioned two definitions, since they

complete the definition of a favela in Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, *favela* is defined as: “a subnormal agglomerate, characterized by illegality and self-construction houses with a great cultural diversity, settled outside the regulated safety of urban services”.

Unofficial statistics show that Rio de Janeiro nowadays has an amount of a thousand favelas with a total of 1.65 million favelados (O'Hare & Barke 2002). However, through time, these neighbourhoods became different from each other with various levels of population and better developed houses (Koonings & Veenstra, 2007). Favelas became regularized since the 1980s and have the disposal of limited urban services. Currently, many favelados work in the industry or service sector with informal working conditions (Leeds, 1996). Due to discrimination and a lack of education within the favelas it is still difficult to find a matching job (Gay, 2010). The inequality between favelas and the city remained and is still strongly visible. So, on one hand the poverty and ‘*poor*’ in favelas and on the other hand the ‘*rich*’ and wealthy neighbourhoods within Rio de Janeiro.

The asphalt

The last decades, the wealthy, well-developed areas of Rio de Janeiro, also known as *the asphalt*, strongly changed on economic and social level, resulting in the segregation of urban space (Coy & Pohler, 2002). Since the natural population growth of the 1960s and the 1970s Rio de Janeiro expanded, not only within the favelas with the arriving migrants, but also the population of the inner city has increased (Arias, 2006). From that time, the upper-high class residents created a preference for the type and location of living. However, the wealthiest class had a preference for healthy, attractive and secure residential areas since the nineteenth century, which is still of high importance within the latest trend, namely walled residential areas. These walled residential areas, also known as ‘*condomínios exclusivos*’, are comparable with gated communities within North-American countries. Condomínios exclusivos are of various types and sizes (Coy & Pohler, 2002). This research will use a definition of gated communities by Roitman (2013) as “*closed urban residential settlements voluntarily occupied by a homogeneous social group, where public space has been privatised by restricting access through the implementation of security devices. They are conceived as closed settlements from their inception and are designed with the intention of providing security to their residents and prevent penetration by non-residents; their houses are of high quality and have services and amenities that can be used only by their residents, who pay regular compulsory maintenance fees. They have a private body governing and enforcing internal rules concerning behaviour and construction*”.

Most Rio de Janeiro’s inner-city gated communities, the focus of this thesis, have some elements in common. First, they are condominium complexes with services such as a doorman,

valet parking and laundry services. Second, they are all provided with fences and security measures, such as cameras. Even older exclusive condominiums are renewed into gated communities by adding security features (Coy & Pohler, 2002). However, these gated communities were mainly created within Rio de Janeiro to protect themselves against crime, as the favelas were in the direct vicinity of the upper-high class residential areas, many residents became victim of robbery and theft, as this became the main source of income for criminal gangs (Reis, 1999). Ironically, while these urban upper-high class residents associate violence and crime with low-middle classes and try to exclude the latter, they do not consider them as neighbours, but they welcome the low-middle class residents as employees in their gated communities. They fulfil the role of housemaid or nanny within upper-high class families. These upper-high class residents, living in wealthy, absolute 'safe' areas illustrate the high social inequality in Brazil (Alkimim et al., 2013)

Most of the inner city gated communities of Rio de Janeiro are located within the district *Zona Sul*, which is known as the wealthiest area in the world with the highest Human Development Index of 0.988, based on the factors life span and health care among others and compared with countries such as Norway (Arias, 2006). This beach-boarding neighbourhood *Zona Sul* is nowadays inhabited by the wealthiest citizens of the city because of the geographical top location in between the mountains, the large city lagoon and the beaches. So, *Zona Sul* is geographically located between the favelas and the natural environment of the city.



Picture 3 & 4. Examples of gated communities

The level of violence within Rio de Janeiro and its geographical distinction between favelas and gated communities explain the issue as seen by the IOC. To host both 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games, the Federal Government of Brazil and the Municipal Government of Rio de Janeiro guaranteed to control the violence during these two mega-events, and create a safer city by decreasing violence and hazard. The governor Cabral and mayor Paes of Rio de Janeiro will try to regulate this level of crime through two main safety measures. The next section will

explain how mega-events could securitise and how the Brazilian Government will secure Rio de Janeiro.

1.3 A 'safer city'

Since the 1970s, security has become a crucial issue of bidding documents and preparation for hosting mega-events. Not only for local safety and security issues, but also because of the perceived 'soft targets' for terrorism. Since 9/11, 'security standards' around mega-events have also been increased to prevent terrorism (Philip & Kevin, 2010; Clavel, 2013). However, the securitisation of mega-events is distributed over different (inter)national organizations. Nevertheless, Coaffee et al. (2011) made clear that "*the Olympics are an international sporting event, not an international security event*". This section will explain the securitisation of mega events and the operated two safety measures.

Securitisation of mega-events

Mega-events do not only apply a universal security model, but are highly dependent on different local dynamics, such as the culture and the economy of the host city (Roche, 2000). In spite of local dynamics, to securitise the mega-events it is also necessary to bear international political factors in mind (Cornelissen, 2011). First, after 9/11 the international security environment and politics changed drastically. Mega-events are seen as major security ventures through the risk they bring with them (Boo & Gu, 2010). The Ministry of Defence and Public Security has the main task to protect the country during the mega-events from terrorism and controls this through the Army, the Air Force and the Navy. Secondly, securitisation of mega-events not only becomes more expensive and complicated but is also influenced by politics of extending power, since the high risk position (Pradhan & Ravallion, 2003). A third feature of securitisation is the complexity, which will be explained more thoroughly. The security of these mega-events has a global character. Like in Rio de Janeiro, the security is not only regulated from a local setting, but also by national, regional and supranational bodies (Cornelissen, 2011). With regard to the Olympics, the most important non-profit supranational body is the *International Olympic Committee* (IOC), which has the function to establish and advance the principles of the Olympic Charter and its attendant ideology of Olympism, as discussed before. On national level the Brazilian division *Comite Olimpico Brasileiro* (COB) shares the idea of IOC and emphasizes the value of Olympism, whereas the local body Rio2016 has the executive branch of the Olympics in Rio de Janeiro (Rio2016, 2009). As seen in Rio de Janeiro, the *Olympic Delivery Authority* (ODA) regulates the securitisation of the mega-events on a public national level through the Ministry of Defence and Safety. The ODA is set-up in cooperation of the three levels of government with the

main objective to coordinate government's actions and public services for the mega-events (Rio2016, 2009). The regional and local body of securitisation of the upcoming two mega-events in Rio de Janeiro is regulated by *Secretaria Nacional de Segurança Pública* (National Public Security Secretariat - SENASP) and *Secretaria Extraordinária de Segurança para Grandes Eventos* (Extraordinary Secretariat for the Security of Big Events - SESGE). These two branches have the objectives to preserve public order and safety for citizens and property through different (armed) police departments.

To prepare the two mega-events in Rio de Janeiro by fighting against violence and crime the Federal Government has set-up a law to coordinate public security and social policies in partnership with governmental federations as well as with the civil society. The law: *Programa Nacional de Segurança Pública com Cidadania* (National Program for Public Security with Citizenship - PRONASCI), has the purpose to invest in preventive and rehabilitation initiatives supported by multidisciplinary teams consisting of social workers, psychologists, educationalists and other specialists. It includes the improvement in public security, but especially strengthens the measures to fight organized crime. The Federal Government fixed a budget of 3.35 billion dollars to this program (Brazilian embassy in London, 2007). Together with SESGE, PRONASCI has the task of creating a security legacy from a technological, infrastructure and capacity-building perspective (Soccerrex, 2012). The next subsection will explain the two main safety measures as set-up by the authorities to fight crime and violence rates to create Rio de Janeiro into a safer city, prepared for the two mega-events.

1.4 Measures

To ensure the safety and security of the two mega-events, crime management programs will be supported by detailed assessments of all venues and non-Games areas are likely to be visited by Olympic Games' family and international visitors (Cano, 2010). Crime locations are being identified and crime management plans are being developed. Similar crime reduction strategies will be implemented during the 2014 World Cup and refined as necessary (Rio2016, 2009). The national public security program of PRONASCI and SESGE will focus through the local organizations on two main elements: the increase of civil and military police officers and surveillance and monitoring. These two measures will be explained in the following sections. However, according to Cummings (2013), the security infrastructure map of Rio de Janeiro demonstrates the conscious choice for securitised locations and measuring safety within Rio de Janeiro. Cummings' (2013) research shows that the selected locations to execute the measures are based on the mega-event locations within Rio de Janeiro. As figure 2 shows, the pacifying

favelas are based on the mega-event locations and not on the most needing favelas of Rio de Janeiro.

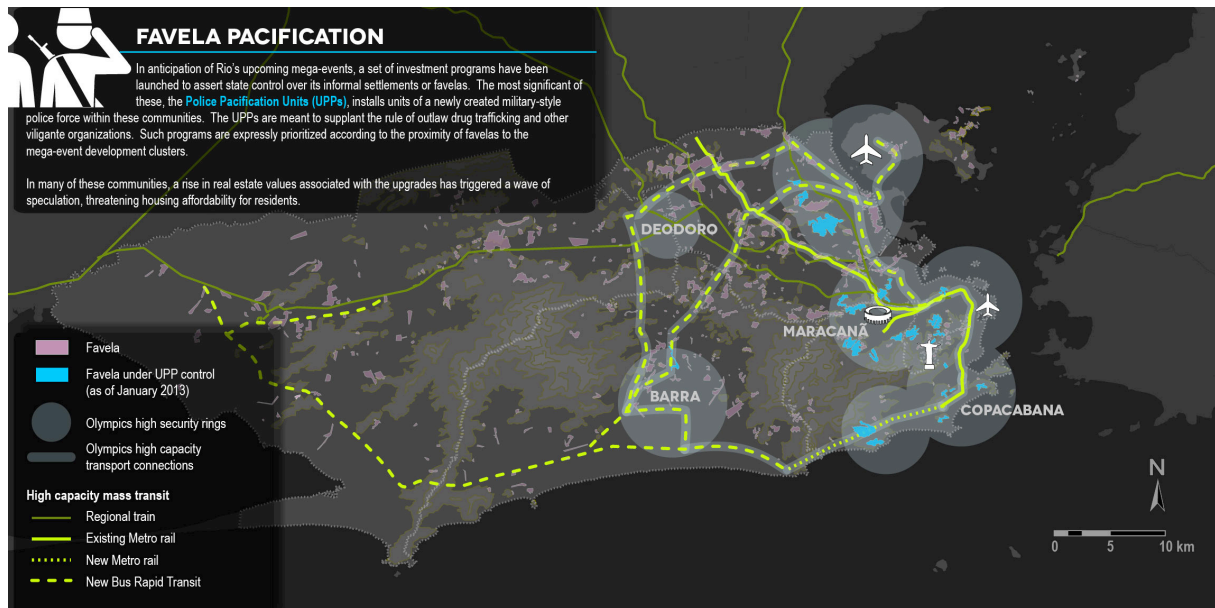


Figure 2. Pacification locations.

Pacification: increasing the numbers of civil and military police

Rio de Janeiro's police has a negative reputation and is known as violent, mostly because of the way the police acts towards low-middle class residents of the city (Van Reenen, 2004). The extreme violence commenced through the settlement of criminal gangs in favelas and the way the police countered with military arms. This resulted in a total of 10,000 deaths killed by military police between 2003 and 2012 (Instituto de Seguranga Publica; Human Rights Watch 2009). Nonetheless, as seen in Table 1, these rates do not match with each other. The rates within table 1 are official statistics, which most probably do not include the numbers of death by the police. However, the residents of favelas face military police violence their entire life. Nonetheless, with an eye on the upcoming mega-events it is necessary to control the violence within Rio de Janeiro. Increasing the amount of civil and military police officers is the main measure. As the lack of safety is associated with favelas, this main measure is applied in these neighbourhoods through the *pacification* strategy, with the main objective to increase security in the favelas. The Government has the idea to create a community police with the pacification police, who are present 24 hours a day. However, as the pacification police should be different from the regular police, it is necessary to have a basic knowledge of the body of the police department in Rio de Janeiro.

The Ministry of Defence and Public Security is the body of the police departments which is divided in *Polícia Federal* (Federal Police), *Polícia Militar* (Military Police) and *Polícia Civil* (Civil

Police). The national Polícia Militar and Polícia Civil is a security force whose function is to perform a perceived police operation and to preserve the law and public order. The measurement to increase the number of Polícia Militar and Polícia Civil to regulate safety and security in preparation of the two mega-events, created several subdivisions of the police department. In 2008, governor Cabral has launched the special battalion initiative *Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora* (Pacifying Police Unit (UPP)), also known as the *pacification* strategy. It is a local subdivision of the Polícia Militar, to retrieve control over the favelas and bring police control for safety and security for the inhabitants of the favelas. The objective of the UPP is to reduce (organized) crime and regain peace between police and the inhabitants of the favelas during the preparation time of the two events and to lessen violence within the city during the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic games, as the Federal Government guaranteed the IOC a safe city during the Games. As violence and crime are (historically) associated with favelas, the police started to control these neighbourhoods the most. Even though the death rates decreased between 2003 and 2012, it is striking that the non-deathly crime rates increased. In the past the police entered favelas with brute-armed force and fired without discretion to fight the drug gangs and drug trafficking within the favelas. To reach their goal, they used both deathly and non-deathly methods. Could these rates be explained through that the police does not kill that much anymore, but uses other methods to control the inhabitants of favelas?

As the drug gangs governed the favelas, the UPP has set-up a four-step plan to take over control of the drug gangs within the favelas through the pacification strategy. According to Cummings (2013) the word *pacification* brings two words together: war and peace, war by means of control and peace in the sense of submission. By occupying the favelas, the UPP wants to bring 'peace' through 'war'. However, the first step of the pacification happens through an invasion by a special elite police battalion: *Batalhão de Operações Policiais Especiais* (Special Police Operations Battalion - BOPE). The BOPE invades the favela with many '*caveirões*' (armed vehicle comparable to a war tank) to detect the drug gangs through uncontrolled shootouts with lethal weapons in the neighbourhood. They do not only invade the public space of the favelas, but also residents' houses. By breaking up their houses, BOPE tries to find traces of drugs trafficking. Their first objective is to remove noticeable signs from the streets where trafficking happened with impunity. This kind of violence within favelas is almost synchronized with homicides and becomes a daily routine within favelas. However, according to Cano (2010), the BOPE should be more trained, better educated in using weapons and should maintain a more friendly manner. Nonetheless, the actual action of BOPE does not always show these more trained, better-educated and friendlier manners. To strengthen the image of BOPE: their emblem illustrates a black circle with a red frame, representing the enduring fight and the blood lost in conflicts. The

two guns in the middle crossing a nailed skull by a knife represent the victory over death (Cano, 2013). However, as the BOPE is an elite squad and has the single responsibility for the favelas, the more flexible Choque police officers- *Batalhão de Polícia de Choque* (Riot Control Battalion)- is a battalion originating from the military police corps, which are put in action to create social and crowd control in all public spaces within Rio de Janeiro.

After the first step of the pacification, the second step of the pacification strategy is to stabilize the neighbourhood. The occupation of the UPP within the neighbourhood should create more safety. The UPP includes police officers that are specially trained for this stabilization phase. The UPP brings new formal rules and laws which overrule the informal rules and laws of the drug gangs who controlled the neighbourhood before the pacification. In this phase the inhabitants of the favelas should follow the new formal rules as set-up by the authorities of Rio de Janeiro. During this time the UPP should fight drugs and weapon trafficking to 'clean up' the neighbourhood. The third phase of the pacification is the phase of definitive occupation. This should be a social occupation whereby the inhabitants of the neighbourhood will get social attention and help. The last and fourth phase is called the post-occupation, which is the period that the favela has the ability to manage their neighbourhood by themselves and does not need the presents of the police. Up to September 2013, no favelas in Rio de Janeiro reached the last two phases of the pacification. The UPP is still fighting the drug trafficking and tries to stabilize the situation within the favelas. However, the Federal Government guaranteed the safety of the city of Rio de Janeiro before April 2014. This creates restlessness within the organization of the mega-events. According to Tomlinson et al. (2011), critique to the UPP could be that the new pacifying program does not solve the real issue, but pushes the drug gangs into other favelas. As shown by Cummings (2013), the pacified locations show the strategy of the pacification and the goal to create a safe city around the mega-events. Besides, according to Cano (2011), the financial budget of this measure is limited, whereby the question is how temporary the results of this pacification will be.

However, the authorities also try to create a safe city by controlling the general public space within Rio de Janeiro. The new organized subdivisions of the *Polícia Militar*, BOPE and Choque, invested 500 million dollars since 2011 in weapons, armed vehicles, high-tech equipment and technical resources (Ribeiro, 2013). This measure gets recuperated with the second main measure, namely the arriving of surveillance and monitoring technology devises. The next section will explain how the Federal Government purchases and uses this measure within Rio de Janeiro.

Surveillance and monitoring

In the aftermath of 9/11, surveillance and monitoring of city's (semi-) public space became one of the most leading safety measures for mega-events (Houlihan & Giulianotti, 2012), something that goes for Rio de Janeiro too. During the pre-mega-events time, surveillance and monitoring is a significant task of SENASP and the subdivided organization SESGE. SENASP is a security secretary that sees public security as a duty of the State Government and will preserve public order and safety for citizens and property. It runs a single integrated security force, combining the relevant security agencies, such as the Federal, Civil and Military Police, fire brigades and rail- and highway police (SENASP, unknown). Surveillance technologies used by SESGE are CCTV systems, screening technologies and informational databases. Through these technologies it is possible to monitor and analyse crime trends, control violence and respond more quickly. Monitoring CCTVs is in charge of two different bodies *Centro de Operações Rio* (Emergency Response Center- COR) controls the city for natural disasters, traffic, accidents and weather and *Centro Integrado de Comando e Controle* (Integrated Center for Security and Control - CICC) encompasses all of the city's public security (Margolis, 2013).

The COR is set-up by Rio de Janeiro's mayor Paes after a devastating natural disaster in 2010, resulting in the death of 68 people (Singer, 2012). The COR alerts citizens for emergencies and creates the opportunity for safety agencies (such as ambulances) to respond immediately and prevent the city from more catastrophes. To control all incidents within the city, the system uses 290 CCTVs all over Rio de Janeiro including the beach, highways and low-middle class and upper-high class residential neighbourhoods. These CCTVs are controlled and in use of the police to monitor the area through CICC. These CCTVs are weakly spread, but moveable so they can be controlled whenever needed, and locations of these CCTVs are not published. All these CCTVs support the task of the UPP to track drug gangs through these CCTV, but as well through *drones* (unmanned helicopters) and helicopters, which are also provided by monitoring systems. Nonetheless, the newspaper O Globo published in November 2013 that Rio de Janeiro's citizens have been followed by 700,000 cameras. These are mostly private camera systems that not only guard the private spaces but are especially pointed to the public spaces. These private cameras are generally not integrated with the public cameras. However, there is a special event agreement that allows access by police during the mega-events, such as 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games, to share information (Murakami Wood, 2011). These devices and vehicles were used during the protests of June 2013 in the centre of Rio de Janeiro. The next section will explain the situation of the civil disobedience in June 2013.

1.5 Civil disobedience

At the time of the application to host both mega-events 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil had no history in large and violent protests. However protests and other civil disobedience were unexpected to Brazil, the governor Cabral and mayor Paes guaranteed any possible protest would not impact the mega-events. The Municipal Government guaranteed within the bid well-established public order management to allow legitimate protest activities to occur without impacting the safety of the events (2016, 2009). Nevertheless, during the pre-games of the 2014 World Cup in June 2014, called the Confederation Cup, the citizens of Rio de Janeiro and other host cities in Brazil gathered to express their voice against the huge investments and changes for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. The demonstrators requested governor Cabral and mayor Paes to invest more in low-middle class citizens who need public safety, education and health instead of a rebuilt stadium. These demonstrations continued until the final game in Rio de Janeiro, and this was not without violence. The safety of this mega-event was mainly regulated through the power of Rio de Janeiro's police with visible use of armed vehicles, innovative surveillance technologies and the amount of police during the protests (Van Rooijen, 2013). Around 50.000 *Polícia Militar*, mainly armed Choque officers were brought into action to regulate and control the surrounding area of Maracanã stadium during the international football games. Controlling the surroundings also happened through monitoring CCTVs, which ensured the presence of police and the undertaken action. Helicopters could trace the mass of people and report to the centres, with drones recording all actions. During the protest time of two weeks the SESGE invested another fifty thousand dollars to contain the demonstrations (Figueiredo, 2013). These monitor images can be used to identify the offender by tracing faces and other patterns (Figueiredo, 2013). Besides the period of the Confederation Cup, the period during the Pope's visit to Rio de Janeiro in July 2013 was also troubled. The demonstrations and the additional police action through armed vehicles continued. Tear gas and rubber bullets were used frequently during the protests within the city centre of Rio de Janeiro.

These actions during the protests do not reconcile with the effort to transform Rio de Janeiro in a safer city. Rio de Janeiro has the challenging mission to create a city with less crime and violence to host the upcoming mega-events. It will set everything together to improve the safety through the increasing number of civil and military police and surveillance and monitoring systems. According to Rousseff in 2013: *"the worst that can happen in a country is the feeling of insecurity"* (Margolis, 2013).

To conclude this chapter, safety and security are on a worrisome level within Rio de Janeiro. The IOC emphasized this, especially because of the geographical location of crime. As Rio de Janeiro is a divided city, crime and violence can happen everywhere, but especially within the favelas. The Government tries to transform Rio de Janeiro into a safer city through the pacification strategy and monitoring devices. Through these measures the crime and violence rates should decrease. Since the pacification in 2008, the death rates in Rio de Janeiro decreased with sixty percent, whereas the non-deathly crime rates increased with a striking element of rape rates which increased with 455 percent. Therefore, it is interesting that Rousseff touched upon the subject of '*feeling insecure*' (Margolis, 2013). It is worth knowing what '*feeling insecure*' means and if these measures will change the safety feeling of the citizens of Rio de Janeiro, divided in the low-middle class and upper-high class. In the next chapter the concepts of safety and subjective safety perception of individuals will be central.

2. Theoretical Framework

Each individual in the world knows the feeling of insecurity, but what is it exactly? This chapter will explain this term from a theoretical perspective, as this research will investigate the effect of the safety measures on the subjective safety perception between both low-middle class and upper-high class. As this research focuses on safety from the crime and violence perspective within Rio de Janeiro, it is important to understand what violence means and how violence and crime can be explained theoretically. These definitions will be followed by the explanation of the concept of safety through Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory (1954). Maslow describes safety from the individual's general basic needs in life. As this research compares two classes, it is interesting to understand what basic needs are and if it can be comparable with the informants of this research. After having understanding of the general definition of safety, the safety perception will be discussed through the idea of *fear of crime* and will be followed by the *fear of crime paradox*. These two concepts will be explained through two theories, namely Hale's (1996) Explanation Model and Herrewegen's Social Constructionist Perspective (2011). Both theories will be explained on the basis of the fear of crime paradox and the concept of a divided city.

2.1 Concept of safety

Chapter 1 presented Rio de Janeiro's violence rates from 2003 until 2012. These statistics show how many times violence activities have occurred within Rio de Janeiro. The Government and IOC are concerned about these rates in the light of hosting the two upcoming mega-events, and called Rio de Janeiro 'unsafe', therefore they want to securitise the city more to diminish these rates. However, theoretically, violence can be explained through physical force, psychological hurt, use of power or material deprivation. According to Concha-Eastman "*Violence is an intentional use of force or power with a predetermined end by which one or more persons produce physical, mental (psychological), or sexual injury, injure the freedom of movement, or cause the death of another person or persons (including him or herself)*" (Concha-Eastman 2002). So, violence does not only mean physical injuries, but also includes psychological injuries. However, the IOC declares Rio de Janeiro as 'unsafe' based on the official crime rates, but psychological violence rates are not included within the official statistics of the government (see table 1). In other words, measurable statistics and the actually captured and registered crime and violence within a space are just one part of the definition of safety, which is also known as *objective safety*. The other part of the definition of safety can be understood as *subjective safety*, which includes

violence that is influenced by feelings and experiences of individuals through their social and cultural daily path (Herrewegen, 2010).

However, declaring a city as unsafe and securitising a city to make it safe, can also be defined theoretically. Both safety and security are social phenomena and created by social and cultural processes, and are influence one's experiences and feelings (Herrewegen, 2011). In spite these terms are close to each other, both can be defined in a different way. The Oxford dictionary of 2013 defined both terms. Safety can be seen as *'the condition of being protected or unlikely to cause danger, risk of injury'* (Oxford Dictionary1, 2013), whereas security is defined as *'the state of being free from danger or threat'* (Oxford Dictionary2, 2013). In other words, losing protection (safety) can lead to the loss of being free from danger (security). According to the National Safety Council (2011), the coordinating definition of the term safety is *'the control of recognized hazards to attain an acceptable level of risk'*. This corresponds with Maslow's (1954) definition, which argues that safety is one of the basic needs in life. It is something that is corresponding with concrete and abstract elements (Taormina & Gao, 2013).

Need for safety

According to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory (1954) people fulfil five needs in life, namely physiological, safety-security, belongingness, esteem, self-actualization (see Figure 3). In this case a *'need'* can be defined as a *"lack of something that is essential to an organism's (a person's) existence or well-being"* (Taormina & Gao, 2013). The lack of something stresses the need in someone's life. As Maslow (1954) argues, the component of safety is the second requirement attempted in life. Safety and security are human basic needs and humans are unconsciously trying to fulfil these elements constantly. As Maslow (1954) explains, it is not possible to satisfy safety in someone's life independently from the basic physiological needs because of its conceptual relation with the preceding needs in life. Someone has to fulfil the basic physiological needs, such as food, water and sleep first to be able to fulfil the need of safety in his or her life (Van Hagen & Peek, 2004).

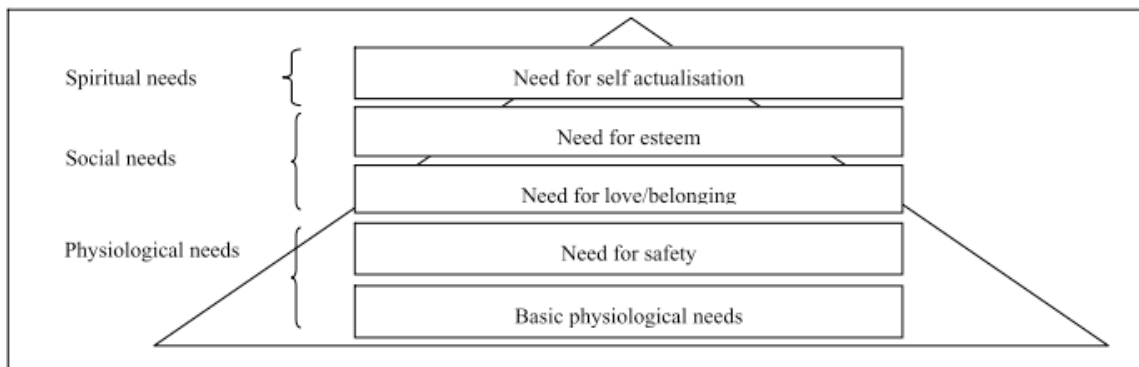


Figure 3.

Figure 3. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory with the more basic needs at the bottom (Binti Tahir & Binti Hussin, 2012).

To understand the needs of safety and security, it is essential to define the threats that could evoke the response on safety and security. Threats could be concrete elements, such as war; natural catastrophes or job insecurity, and abstract elements, for instance crime; social chaos and finance. These elements can be gratified by safe feelings, for instance through reliability or protection (Taormina & Gao, 2013). According to Taormina & Gao (2013), safety and security needs can be identify as the lack of safe feelings. However, regarding to Maslow's Theory of Needs, the more the basic physiological needs are gratified, the more someone is able to satisfy its safety and security needs. This means that one has to satisfy their needs starting from the bottom to attend the next level of the pyramid (see figure 3).

2.2 Safety perception through classic theories

Safety and security are usually associated with negative issues. It can evoke multitude images or ideas ranging from crime, traffic accident and natural disaster. People always have in mind to be as safe and secure as possible, and to protect their belongings and beloved ones. Within a city the images of crowds, pollution and urban policies are also involved in safety (Johansson, Laflamme, & Eliasson, 2012). American research already showed in 1967 the phenomenon of safety perception is not easy to elucidate. The concept of safety perception is usually approached in a negative way. It is not only the objective safety, but also the experiences with inconvenience and nuisance or other feelings of uneasiness. Moreover, actual crime threats elucidate a little part of safety perceptions of individuals, whereas 'not criminal normalized behaviour' can be seen as a threat and are of interest for feelings of fear or vulnerability (Van der Veen, 1999). In other words, safety perception is similar to subjective safety. Perceived safety of urban citizens effect's in the same way as subjective safety, someone's daily path and creates an individual geography. Public spaces within a city are as diverse and unique as the persons who create the urban structure. People have their own understanding of urban areas and produce both positive and negative experiences and create their own perception. Safety perceptions of inhabitants in urban space are usually measured with a negative point of view by crime and is largely intended to social security (Boers, Steden, & Boutellier, 2008). Since the perception of safety is based on individual feeling and life experience, the perception of people on unsafe situations differs largely.

The classic theories for safety perception are mostly focussing on the conceptualization of safety perception and the methods how to measure the perception. The classic theories try to control and correct all components which influence the safety perception. Hale's (1996) Explanation Model is one of these classic theories. Hale argues that safety perception is created through one

out of four specific elements, and every element functions as an individual model. The first model is the Victimization Model, which explains if an individual has already any experience with being a victim. The second model is the Vulnerability Model, which stands for the effect of the physical, socio-economic and socio-cultural factors of an individual. The third model is the Environmental Model, which explains that the environment of an individual directly affects their safety perception. The fourth model is the Uncertainty model, which includes the daily life risks within the society. The Explanation Model is utilized within this research to show the importance of each of these four elements for creating a safety perception. These models are interwoven within the next sections.

Fear of crime

As the main focus within this research is on crime and violence, the concept of *fear of crime* will be emphasized. The concept of fear of crime explains the feeling that an individual creates through the existing and non-existing crime. However, according to a study of Shirlow and Pain (2003), the concept of fear is difficult to operationalize. It is diverse, universal, unknown, nor measurable and free for individual analysis and usually based on one's identity (England & Simon, 2010). Treisman (2011) explains fear as a feeling that can be seen as a deep, unpleasant emotional response to perceived danger and a reaction to an experienced threat. Also the term crime can be defined in different ways. Hermalin (2005) explains crime as a situation "*when society declares it a crime and, moreover, commits to a level of enforcement and punishment*". In other words, the concept of fear of crime can be defined in several ways. Within this research fear of crime will be defined according to Jackson's (2004) theory. Jackson (2004) explains fear of crime by separating the concept in 'expressive fear' and the 'experienced fear' to express the differences between the several forms of fear. Where 'experienced fear' explains the fear which is determined by the direct environment, criminality and personal vulnerability, 'expressive fear' symbolizes the possible social problems and the concern about a general lack of safety. This approach refers to the importance of the geographical location of the fear of crime and the vulnerability of an individual. Hale (1996) affirms the influence of the environment and the personal vulnerability within her Explanation Model through the Environmental Model and Vulnerability Model.

Hale (1996) argues that the vulnerability of some population groups have a dominant effect on safety feelings through physical, socio-economic and/or social-cultural factors. Physical factors are inherent and impossible to change, such as gender and age. Socio-economic factors contain someone's chance to create an economic growth, such as income or education. The social-cultural background is dependent on the geographical location, for instance ethnicity and

religion. Social and economic disadvantaged individuals and groups are more vulnerable due to the lack on means of self-protection. According to Elchardus et al. (2003), they are often confronted with risky situations and live in communities with high criminality. The safety perception of underprivileged groups is coherent with the high risk of victimization and this group is therefore more vulnerable to unsafe feelings (Herrewegen, 2011). This theory should fit the vulnerability of low-middle class residents of this research, as favelados live in high-risk areas and are more confronted with risky situations due to crime and violence within their neighbourhood, as discussed in chapter 1. According to a study of Moser (2004), violence and crime are spatially related (Modly, 2009). As Herrewegen (2011) argues, socio-economic subordinated individuals have a more problematic safety perception because of the lack of self-protection possibilities. This could mean that favelados have another safety perception based on their socio-economic status.

A study of Pain (2001) also argued the differences in social identities, such as socio-economic status, which leads to different experiences of fear. However, Pain (2001) pointed out that beside the personal identities, also the geographical location is related to the fear of crime. Therefore, Pain defines fear of crime as *“the wide range of emotional and practical responses to crime and disorder individuals and communities may make”* (Modly, 2009). Hale’s (1996) Environmental Model affirms the importance of the geographical location for the fear of crime. The Environmental Model is a deterministic mode of thought and bears the environment of the citizens in mind. Safety feelings will be defined only by external environmental circumstances. The environment can be both physical and social. The ideas of the 1970s and the 1980s focused on physical features and natural social cohesion.

The ideas of Jane Jacobs (1961) underlined the architectonical aspects of the environment and the good of natural social cohesion. Jacobs (1961) measured from the vitality and diversity of the city life and had the idea that citizens and visitors of a city are crucial actors in an active natural social cohesion. Jacobs also argues that public spaces should include diversity to stimulate the social interaction between users. As this research already discussed the divided city, it is obvious that Rio de Janeiro does not have diversity within its neighbourhoods. Rio de Janeiro’s favelas and wealthy areas are homogeneous as regards to social class, but not as to facilities. However, as seen within gated communities, the social cohesion is less important than within the non-gated communities in the favelas. The environment of these gated communities is in line with Newman’s (1976) theory of *Defensible Space*. He argued that a well-protected life environment could secure citizens from criminality and unsafety (Pleysier, 2009). The phenomenon of a well-protected life environment can be seen at the condominiums in Rio de Janeiro where upper-high class citizens live in. These condominiums are the defensible spaces with high protection systems to secure the residents.

Coy and Pohler (2002) affirm that the motive and the success of the walled residential areas can be various, but it is mainly self-protection and the fear of crime. As Csizmady (2011) argues, *“gated communities embody the desires of a well-definable population, and hence provide a glimmer of hope for escape; escape from the terror of violence, which in certain countries can be linked to immigrant-inhabited agglomerations and run-down neighbourhoods”*.

As Hale (1996) discussed, fear of crime is related to the perception of the environment. Thus, the fear about a location can be dependent on the crime rates within that location, but research demonstrated that is not necessarily like that. As Herrewegen (2011) expressed *“fear of crime is not always highest in the areas where official crime rates are highest or where rates of victimization on the survey findings are highest”*. In other words, the safety perception of an individual does not need to be in line with the actual safety, which is known as the *fear of crime paradox*.

Fear of crime paradox

Furstenberg's (1971) *fear of crime paradox* is important for this research as it investigates both low-middle class and upper-high class residents within the favela and the wealthy district within Rio de Janeiro. As explained in chapter 1, crime and violence are spatially located within Rio de Janeiro. As the favela is associated with poverty and poverty is associated with crime (Arias, 2006), it is obvious that its inhabitants face more threatening and hazard situations because of their living environments (Pantazis, 2000). However, even though the objective safety of a favela shows high criminality, the fear of crime does not need to be in line with that. To comprehend this paradox, Furstenberg (1971) made a distinction between 'fear of crime' and 'concern about crime'. The 'fear of crime' refers to the emotional component that is part of an individual's feeling by which the person can estimate his or her probability of victimization. The 'concern about crime' indicates the cognitive component whereby the individual estimates in which extent he or she sees criminality as a social problem of the society (Herrewegen, 2011), which corresponds with Jackson's (2004) 'expressive fear'. This has been seen within gated communities in upper-high class residential areas, where private security measures show the need of self-protection and so, concern crime. Concern of crime can also be caused by an uncertain situation. Hale's (1996) Uncertainty Model argues that safety perceptions can totally be detached from crime and violence, and can be completely influenced by feeling uncertain, uneasy, or apprehends for daily life risks or social and cultural transformation of the society (Herrewegen, 2011). Boutellier (2002) affirms this idea of morale uneasiness and relates it to two longings. On the one hand the pursuit of individual freedom, for example vitality, and on the other hand, longing for protection and security. However, these two longings are not

reconcilable. More freedom comes with more uncertainty, and more certainty takes individual freedom (Boutellier, 2002). This explains the unfeasible longing between the vitality and security which is named '*safety utopia*' by Boutellier (2002). In other words, a world with a varnish of safety where individual freedom exist.

Fear of crime and 'expressive fear' explain that citizens can have high unsafe feelings in spite of a low risk on victimization of crime, but that citizens with a high victimization risk can feel safe (Furstenberg, 1971). Furstenberg's 'fear of crime' corresponds with Hale's (1996) Victimization Model. According to Hale (1996), victimization is something when someone already experienced crime and created a fear for crime through the experience. Therefore victimization can directly be linked with the cognitive component of fear of crime, namely the 'concern about crime'. Hale's (1996) model of victimization distinguishes victimization in direct and indirect confrontation with crime experience. Direct forms of victimization mean someone's personal experience with a criminal incident. This person is a direct victim of crime. As low-middle class residents live in poverty, which links with a more crime-prone environment, they have the chance to be a victim of the crime created by police or drug gangs within the favelas. This also concerns the residents of gated communities. These upper-high class residents live in these communities because they fear crime. One of the components of fearing crime is the fear of becoming a victim. This could be possible because of the direct form of victimization or because of an indirect form of victimization. Indirect victimization presents the indirect form of criminal experience. The indirect form of criminal experience comes from private and public communication. Private communications are, at the one hand, intimate relations with an emotional involvement, such as the partner and children. On the other hand, these are unknown people where citizens identify themselves with, geographically or socially, such as through age, gender or being neighbours. Public communication stands for media (Herrewegen, 2011). Broers (2008) argues that victimization of people is highly dependent on the media's reporting. According to Payne and Gainey (2007) living in an environment with crime and violence changes the fear of crime feelings and therefore the perception of safety. Whenever people live in poverty and within a more crime-prone environment it is more likely to hear stories about victimization, which creates a higher fear of becoming a victim. This can also be an explanation why wealthy people all live in gated communities and try to protect themselves as much as possible, as they want to decrease the chance of becoming a victim.

Fear and crime are things that shape the daily routine and create a spatial distribution. It can produce spatial segregation and an urban reallocation, by which people decide to avoid specific places within a city, for example by having a more negative perception during night or by trying not to walk alone in some neighbourhoods (Alkimim et al., 2013). It is an interaction of space with the people using these spaces, and it's also bound to different perceptions of safety.

According to Stanko (from England & Simon, 2010). it *'all contributes to assessment of risk and strategies for safety'*.

The previous used theories reduce citizens to passive victims of their own personality, everyday surroundings, culture, economics or media. Citizen's safety perceptions are not only based on external or internal realities without influences of human action. It is not that these factors are less important, but it's just that the interpretation of safety by citizens is more important. The reality should be seen as a product of human action and interpretations. Herrewegen (2011) argues, that not all the influential components of the fear of crime need to be controlled and corrected, since these components are exactly the valuable components within the interpretative design. Therefore this research adheres Herrewegen's (2011) Social Constructionist Perspective.

2.3 Safety perception through a Social Constructionist Perspective

Herrewegen's (2011) Social Constructionist Perspective approach is an interpretative movement that accentuates the human interaction and its meaning. Social constructionism is not based on an objective or subjective reality and does not follow one reality. The approach tries to understand how and why citizens have their safety perceptions (Herrewegen, 2011). It is important to analyse how an unsafe situation diverts from the 'normal' daily life pattern. Projecting the safety perception of an individual into their own personal social-cultural context where they grew up and/or live, helps to understand their perceptions (Boers et al., 2008). The use and experience of these factors explain the perceptions and are important to understand the interpretation of the safety perception. Through this way it is possible to analyse to what extent safety perceptions are stabilized in time and space. It is important to keep in mind that these factors cannot be seen detached from human interactions. Due to this model it is essential to make visible what people describe as unsafe, and what they identify as a cause, how citizens interpret the meaning of unsafety in their daily life, and how they use social and cultural factors to manage the meaning of their perception. Citizens' daily life safety perception can be seen through four constructions of safety perception (Herrewegen, 2011), namely the unforeseen safety perception, the irregular safety perception, routinely safety perception and the manageable safety perception. The safety perception of these four constructions are related to (un)verifiability, (in)explicability and (un)expectably (see table 4).

Unforeseen safety perception	Unverifiable	Inexplicable	Unexpected
Irregular safety perception	Unverifiable	Inexplicable	Expected
Routinely safety perception	Unverifiable	Explicable	Expected
Manageable safety perception	Verifiable	Explicable	Expected

Figure 4. Construction of safety perception

The first construction is the ‘unforeseen safety perception’. This perception is created by unverifiable, inexplicable and unexpected situations that interrupt the daily life of a person. The person could not provide the harm of the unforeseen situation to the integrity of oneself. The daily life routine is out of its ‘normal’ pattern. The second construction is the ‘irregular safety perception’. Due to this perception there is an expectance that something can go wrong within a specific situation. This expectance is usually settled in own-based experience or experiences of others, but even though an individual can expect an unsafe situation, it is still unpredictable for daily life. The third construction is the ‘routinely safety perception’, whereby unsafety is an expected situation which is also predictable, but not verifiable. However, as the situation is still unverifiable, it can be harmful for the individual. The last construction is the ‘manageable safety perception’, which is the expected unsafe situation. This situation is predictable and verifiable (Herrewegen, 2011).

The body of the constructions due to the safety perception of an individual shows the inconsistency of the traditional theories as discussed in the previous section. The traditional theories argue that the safety perception is related to a single situation, such as the geographical location or the experience of being a victim. Nonetheless, the Social Constructionist Perspective approach shows that each construction can be linked with several situations, instead of being linked with only one situation. For example, the regular safety perception can be influenced with victimization experiences but can also influenced by an uncertain feeling about the society. Second, an identical situation can be linked with several constructions of safety perception due to an individual’s experience. For example, victimization can be experienced as an unforeseen unsafe situation, but also as a regular unsafe situation. Put differently, every situation can be experienced in different ways.

As this research investigates the subjective safety perception of two safety measures in order to the two upcoming mega-events, it is important to give insights on the theoretical basics of safety perception of these two safety measures, namely police and monitoring devises. These insights will be present in the next sections.

2.4 Safety perception about police

As Brazil is known as a democracy, citizens can require the basic need of personal safety from the authorities (Glebbeck, 2003). Every citizen has the right to feel safe and secured in his or her daily life. This can be seen as the citizens' democracy, whereby the citizens should be able to trust authorities for being protected. According to Dennissen (2008) citizens' democracy is: *"broad and relatively citizenship is guaranteed, there is binding consultation of citizens with respect to the state policies and personnel, and citizens are protected from arbitrary state action. The basis of a citizens' democracy is twofold: the accountability of leaders to the people and respect for citizenship rights."* This quote explains that citizens should be able to count on protection by the authorities. So, the citizens should have the feeling being protected by the authorities which explains that the quality of policing is related to the feelings of security. The police has the responsibility for the moral unity and social order within a city. Keeping the context of this research in mind, the authorities set the plan to protect the citizens within the favelas from drug gang related crime with the pacification strategy. Within the residential areas upper-high class residents protect themselves through living within gated communities. As Goldsmith (2005) argues, a good relation between police and the citizens is necessary for the accurate operationalization and the effectiveness of the police, which creates a positive perception of citizens. However, as police is mostly violent within favelas, it is questionable if a good relation between police and favelados actually exists within these neighbourhoods. The most essential factors for this relationship are trust and communication (Goldsmith, 2005). Schuck and Renbaum (2005) discuss the factor trust and agree the positive influence of policing. Trust can be a way of measuring the level of confidence of the citizens in the police and the ability of the authorities to complete their responsibilities (Neild, 2003). However, trust can also be an essential factor for citizens' behaviour. Positive attitudes towards the police are less likely to behave deviant, whereas citizens with a negative attitude are more likely to break the rules. The relevant question here is if there can be trust if the police acts in a violent way towards the citizens.

Communication is the other important factor in order to keep a good relationship between police and citizens. According to Mayhall et al. (1995) trust and communication go hand in hand. Citizens need to trust the police to communicate with them, otherwise citizens will avoid police contact. Whenever distrust creates avoidance of communication, the effects are dramatic. These effects can be seen as a lack of reporting crime or making no statements to officers who investigate crimes, which results in inefficiency and unsafe community. According to Mayhall et al. (1995), community policing can be an attempt to improve the relation between citizens and police. The general idea is to have police officers that are more involved with the community in which they work. Community policing can be seen as a philosophy based on the

concept that police and citizens work together in creative ways. This could solve contemporary problems related to crime, the fear of crime and social disorder. This is what happens with the pacification within favelas in Rio de Janeiro. The idea of pacification within Rio de Janeiro's favelas is to add more community police to fight crime, and to create a safer city in this way. However, the situation of insecurity, violence and crime within the favelas creates a more dramatic situation whereby community policing is difficult.

Creating a positive perception about the police needs two factors, namely trust and communication. As this research investigates the safety perception of the safety measure 'increasing the numbers of police', it is interesting to see if the informants of this research touch upon the subjects of trust and communication.

2.5 Safety perception about monitoring devices

Monitoring devices cannot be seen separated from police. As already mentioned in chapter 1, in Rio de Janeiro the military police is monitoring through CCTVs, helicopters and drones. During the special events the police also has the permission to capture the 700,000 private cameras all over the city (O Globo, 2013). However, there is little literature about the perception of these monitoring devices. Most literature only investigated the effectiveness of these devices, instead of investigating the safety perception. However, these devices are marketed as a new technology that helps creating a positive perception about the geographical location where these devices are installed. Nonetheless, we still do not know how these devices can create a more positive perception as the literature lacks this knowledge.

According to Armitage (2002), CCTVs are generally installed with the assumption to lessen criminal actions. These assumptions are presented in five points. The first assumption is to deterrence the possible offender. The offender can assess the risk with the presence of the CCTV and can choose not to offend. Second, it assumes the efficient deployment, people who are able to determine whenever police assistance is needed are monitoring CCTVs. Third, potential victims are guarded by the presence of CCTVs. However, according to Foucault's (1991) Panopticon theory, the hazard of possible surveillance creates self-discipline with potential offenders. This can be seen as creating self-discipline through a fear of surveillance. Another assumption can be the presence of a capable guardian. To have CCTV as a capable guardian can help to reduce crime. The fifth assumption is the ability of detection. By capturing images of crime it is possible to punish the offender. These motives can be used to install CCTVs by authorities but also privately. However, the effects of CCTVs are less than expected. Research

showed that property crime reduces within CCTV-locations, whereas the same research also demonstrated that car theft and damages increased (Armitage, 2002). Nonetheless, according to Armitage (2002), CCTVs had less influence on personal crime, such as assault. Welsh and Tarrington (2007) showed that camera supervision only has a preventive effect on offenders who know the risk of the criminal activity which they planned, whereas rational offenders hardly bear the presence of the CCTVs.

The previous section relates to the self-protection of the upper-high class residential areas where gated communities with these monitoring devices are the standard. The residents of these communities try to protect themselves from the possibility to become a victim of criminal activities, which can be related to the fear of crime as discussed within previous sections. However, monitoring devices are not only privately used but also public. The public monitoring devices are largely utilized to control public space and to lessen crime activities.

To conclude this chapter, the concept of safety can be seen as one of the basic needs in life. As safety can be divided in objective and subjective safety, the importance of subjective safety is shown through the safety perceptions. This perception is generally created by the fear of crime which is influenced by diverse elements, like the experience with victimization or a vulnerable situation. Through the fear of crime paradox it is shown that objective and subjective safety do not go hand in hand. The geographical location of crime does not have to correlate with the actual safety feeling of the same geographical location. This brings this research to an alternative approach, namely the Social Constructionist Perspective, which pleads for approaching safety perceptions from several dimensions. Herrewegen (2011) argues that safety perception has four constructions which show the diversity of the situation.

3. Method

This chapter describes the methods that are being used aiming to explore the safety perception of low-middle class residents and upper-high class residents due to the safety measures in order to the two upcoming mega-events within Rio de Janeiro. To gain more information about the situation, I travelled to Rio de Janeiro. During a period of three months I spoke to many Cariocas (citizens of Rio de Janeiro) to get a better understanding of my informants' situation, their living environment and their safety perception due to the increasing number of police officers and the surveillance and monitoring technology devices. I visited several neighbourhoods, had informal conversations, interviewed safety experts, but also monitored stations to get a better insight into these measures and the circumstances of both social class residents.

3.1 Research setting; Rio de Janeiro

To conduct my research I lived in Rio de Janeiro for a period of three months. This city is renowned for its beautiful beaches, mountains, the perfect weather and the yearly carnival. Behind all this beauty, one will find Rio de Janeiro's alter ego: a city where people struggle with insecurity and unsafety, violence and crime, and extreme poverty and extreme wealth living next to each other. Rio de Janeiro's image of the paradox of poverty and wealth directly attracts attention. The wealthiest part of the city is established in the southern zone of the city, called the *Zona Sul*. This part of the city includes the neighbourhoods Leblon, Ipanema, Gavea and Copacabana. These areas are well-provided with luxurious facilities and inhabited with the governor Cabral and mayor Paes among others. As *Zona Sul* is established between the beach, the *Rodrigo de Freitas* lagoon and the mountains, the favelas with its low-middle class favelados are settled within the mountains sprawled all over the city, which create the marvellous view from a street level. The amount of facilities within favelas is diverse and depends on the location. Some of the favelas are provided with diverse cultural rich facilities and several other favelas still deal with the lack of the basic facilities.

Given the fact that the context of this research is based on the subjective safety perception of the safety measures for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games, it interested me to choose two research locations which are already provided with these measures. In this way, I was able to collect data about the actual and current safety perception of citizens. As figure X shows, there are four main event locations within Rio de Janeiro, namely Copacabana, Barra, Deodoro and Maracanã. These locations are connected to each other through the main transit

roads. The small blue spots on the map present the favelas that are already pacified before January 2013, and the small light pink spots are the favelas in Rio de Janeiro which are not yet pacified. Based on the event locations and the transit roads I have chosen the locations Rocinha, Leblon and Ipanema, showed on the map with the big pink and green circle.



Figure 5. Rio de Janeiro mapped with Rocinha, Leblon/Ipanema

Before I went to Rio de Janeiro, I planned to focus more on the Maracanã location, since the games of the 2014 World Cup will take place there and the level of pacification was higher. However, as I started to investigate this area and tried to network and find contacts for my research, I bumped into an unpleasant experience within a favela. As this experience concerned my personal safety, I learned a lot about individual safety perception within favelas, and was able to understand my informants better. Because of this experience I decided to give priority to my own safety, and to not continue with my research in this particular location.

Concerning crime

I often visited this neighbourhood by bus, where favelados gave me a ride by motor taxi from the bus station to the heart of the neighbourhood. As I travelled many times with these taxis, I was not so aware anymore. However, it proved to me that being conscious about crime was not unnecessary. On a random day in this favela, I jumped on the pillion to get a ride to the bus station. Given the fact I knew the route to the bus station, I noticed that the driver took an alternative route, and I started wondering "why?". At some point he stopped and said in poor English: "sex? You sex?" But it did not occur to me, until he used body language to let me understand what he wanted from me. As soon as I understood, I pretended I was calling a friend and explained in poor Portuguese where I was at that moment. That was my salvation. He brought me to the bus station, and I never went back.

I choose two new neighbourhoods within a new area, namely the Zona Sul. The most important reason to choose this area was my own safety. As I had familiarity with this neighbourhood because of my friends who live there, and as this area functions as the home base for tourists, I felt more pleasant. After my personal safety experience, I decided not to include favelas within my research location and just to focus on upper-high class residents. However, as I learned more during time in Rio de Janeiro, my ideas changed and I choose to still add low-middle class residents of favelas to my group of informants. Another reason to choose this location was due to the situation with regard to the transit route to the Olympic event location Barra. People who stay in the Zona Sul and want to visit Barra – The Olympic Village – have to pass Rocinha, Leblon and Ipanema. The next section will explain more about these research locations.

3.2 Research location

When I arrived in Rio de Janeiro I visited many neighbourhoods where the effect of the upcoming mega-events were visible. I have seen different areas that undergo transformations to prepare them for the events. Within *Zona Sul* the transformations could be recognized through new metro stations, new bus systems, luxurious facilities on the beaches, CCTVs and 24 hours police surveillances. The transformation in *favelas* is illustrated by the presence of UPP-officers and armed vehicles in and around the neighbourhoods. However, three neighbourhoods appeared of extreme importance since the visitors of the mega-events will attend these areas; Leblon, Ipanema and Rocinha. *Zona Sul's* Leblon and the neighbouring Ipanema are the most affluent neighbourhoods of Rio de Janeiro. Many hotels, bars, restaurants, shops and other touristic attractions can be found in these two neighbourhoods, what explains the touristic representation in these two neighbourhoods. According to Alkimim et al. (2013), most people

live in exclusive apartments in a gated community, called “*condominio fechado*” (closed housing estate), which are strictly controlled and are shielded by walls and fences. Most inhabitants own two or more cars and do not use public transportation, as this is associated with the low-middle class (Alkimim et al., 2013). Therefore, these two neighbourhoods were interesting research locations for me, to collect data from upper-high class citizens about their subjective safety perception on the safety measures.

The third neighbourhood is Rocinha, which is a neighbouring area of *Zona Sul*. This neighbourhood is the largest favela in Brazil, located about one kilometre from a nearby beach and is built on a steep hillside overlooking Rio de Janeiro. Rocinha has developed from a shantytown into an urbanized slum and almost all the houses are made from concrete and brick. Many houses have basic sanitation, electricity and plumbing, however, other houses lack these facilities. Compared to simple favelas, Rocinha includes also better-developed infrastructure and various businesses. In general, the people living in Rocinha are of low-middle class, they share their houses and have a less-developed access to hospitals, schools and sport facilities. In 2011, the UPP invaded this neighbourhood with hundreds of police, and military patrolled the streets to crackdown on rampant drug traffickers and bring government control to the neighbourhood, to create a safer area. After this invasion the UPP installed several surveillance technologies, such as CCTVs and drones to control and monitor this residential area. According to BBC News (2013), Rocinha has more CCTVs per capita than London has, whereas London is known as world’s most monitored city. This fact interested me to choose Rocinha as my second research location for the low-middle class citizens, even though I had an unpleasant experience within the other favela. As I already had this experience, I tried to be more aware.

3.3 Research design

With a focus on the subjective safety perception of citizens within Rio de Janeiro and exploring personal experiences in a context of the upcoming mega-events, I applied a qualitative research, adapting an interpretative approach. As this research focuses on the subjective safety perception of citizens through Herrewegen’s theory of Social Constructionist Perspective, this interpretative method fits best. The interpretative approach is a form of the constructivist perspective. Within this perspective, a researcher perceives the world as ‘socially constructed’; the empirical world is a human conception, established by the interaction between science and research (O’Reilly, 2005). From a constructivist perspective this means that ‘reality’ does not exist. The world contains several social realities and different interpretations by dissimilar people (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2006). In this research the differences between two social classes will be emphasized. The different interpretations by these dissimilar groups will be investigated. The

knowledge of the social construction of the world is achieved through interpretation, experience and feeling, while giving attention to reflection. The reflection is not only the interpretation of the topic of the research, but also the role of the researcher. Atkinson and Hammersley (2007) stress the importance of the researcher's role during the research, as the behaviour of people has to be seen in their own particular social and cultural environments. That is why I have chosen to stay in Rio de Janeiro for three months, visiting several neighbourhoods to understand the situation and the living environment of my informants. O'Reilly (2005) argues the importance of the research environment. It is necessity of the researcher to try not to disturb this environment, but to become a part of the daily life of the research group. This creates the ability to interpret the world of the research environment in the same way as the research group (O'Reilly, 2005). As defined by Bryman (2012), interpretivism is "*a epistemological (theory of knowledge) position that requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action*". According to O'reilly (2005) an interpretative research has the purpose to enrich human discourse by generating understanding rather than by accumulating knowledge.

Within interpretivism, ethnography is a qualitative method. Having an ethnographic research, the research needs to contain several factors (O'Reilly, 2005). One of the most important factors should be that the researcher is the research instrument itself (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007). Furthermore, ethnography is a triangulated research, which means that the researcher can rely on several research methods and combine them (O'Reilly, 2005). Lastly, ethnography is iterative-inductive. This means that research requires greater flexibility to modify the boundaries of the subject, and inductive research design sees theory as a framework formulated after collecting and analysing data through qualitative research method (Bryman, 2012).

As an ethnographic research needs a relatively long-term stay in a field, I was not able to use this method completely as my research period was too short. That is why I have chosen to collect my data as much as possible through an ethnographic method, with the essence to follow people, connections, associations and relationships with my research locations. However, I mainly followed the line with Stablein's (1996) 'ethno data' method. Stablein (1996) defined 'ethno-data' as data which is approached from 'single' open interviews or observations. Stablein (1996) replaced ethnography with his ethno-data. He added the following statement: "*The ethno- researcher's organizational world is full of constructs to be discovered. The participants of this world make their own meaning and weave their own patterns. The ethno-researcher is a visitor, a voyeur, a stranger on a journey of discovery*" (Stablein, 1996).

3.4 Method

As explained before, this study is held through a social constructionist perspective which is comparable to the subjective perspective. Perren and Ram (2004) consider the subjective perspective as an “*understanding of the way in which the individual creates, modifies and interprets the world*”. The interpretation of the citizens' safety feelings, based on the two main measures to prepare The 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games, is of important interest. As my research time was too short to hold a complete ethnographical research, I utilized multiple methods to understand as much as possible about the safety perception of the low-middle class residents and upper-high class residents. The methods I used are formal and informal interviews, both open and semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, participant observation and participation in the daily life routine of the citizens of Rocinha and Leblon and Ipanema. As the protests of June 2013 occurred during my research time in Rio de Janeiro, I also participated in these protests to create a better understanding about the situation.

However, as I planned to hold a multi-sited ethnography in Rio de Janeiro, I had to deal with a language barrier, as the official language of Brazil is Portuguese. The next section discusses how I handled this barrier.

Translator

Before I made the choice to go to Rio de Janeiro for three months, I already had the knowledge about the existing language barrier. I was prepared that I had to work with a translator, so I planned to engage with academic English students for translating. As lucky as I was, engaging with students was not necessary, as I met Rafael Puetter through a friend of mine. Rafael is a 28-year old and a fluent English speaking Carioca. He has a university degree in movie making, and nowadays is an independent video maker and online journalist. As he is a political activist, and stands for human rights and pure democracy, he was really interested and willing to help me through my research whenever it came to a language barrier. However, I choose to have Portuguese language lessons for the first four weeks of my stay in Rio de Janeiro. I learned a good basic of the language, but it was not enough to hold my interviews completely by myself and to understand the conversations clearly, especially not in Rocinha where the knowledge of the English language is nil. The knowledge of the English language within Leblon and Ipanema was much better, whereby I could hold my conversations in English and therefore did not need a translator.

Before Rafael started to accompany me during my interviews, I shared the aim of my research and my interests extensively. Soon enough Rafael and I found out that we share the same thoughts and opinions, what resulted in almost perfect teamwork and friendship. We prepared each interview, conversation and visit and made a translating strategy. We agreed that

I should start all conversations in Portuguese and introduce Rafael and myself to the informants, and explain Rafael's presence. After this introduction Rafael started the conversations in Portuguese and translated every sentence which could be interesting. Except that Rafael accompanied me during my conversations, and translated them to English, he also guarded me from unsafe situations and areas. He explained me the situation within Rio de Janeiro and primary the situation of Rocinha, Leblon and Ipanema, as my research is focused on these three neighbourhoods. As Rafael lives in Leblon, he was able to give me all the information I needed, and since he travelled to Rocinha many times, he advised me about my travel mode, and the right time and moment of my visits to Rocinha. Rafael also warned me about the subject of my research, namely 'safety'. He explained me how emotive the subject of safety is within Rio de Janeiro and explained me how to broach the subject. During the consideration about my subject I realised that anonymity of my informants is of great importance. The next sections will explain how I have dealt with this emotive subject and how I guaranteed the anonymity of my informants.

Consent and confidentiality

As explained, safety is an emotive subject for the citizens of Rio de Janeiro, irrespective of the social class. Both low-middle class and upper-high class are engaged with safety in their own way. In that sense, many of my conversations were informal and there were situations that I did not want to tell that I was doing a research or that I was a university students, as this could affect the way my informants acted in specific situations, or that my informants could not really understand my research, because of their age or life experience. However, O'Reilly (2005) shows the importance of getting consent of the informants of the research. Usually the researcher should explain what the research is about and that happens with the information the researcher collects. I tried to follow this scientific fact at all time, but in some situations I choose not to ask consent, as this could be detriment for my informant. As the subject safety is emotive, some of my informants were suspicious about my presence and asked me questions like: "*are you here in order to collect data for the police?*". In these cases I choose not to tell about my university research and not to ask consent, because some of my informants were not able to divide university with police. According to O'Reilly (2005) consent has an ethic value, and as he discussed: "*ethics is about trying to ensure that you cause as little pain or harm as possible and try to be aware of your effects on the participants and on your data.*"

This brings me to the subject of confidentiality, as most guidelines maintain the respect of privacy of the informants. In an (semi-) ethnographic research it is difficult to keep the study anonymous, but it is possible to make the study confidential. According to O'Reilly (2005) this means: "*ensuring that what you [researcher] hear goes no further*". This is somewhat in line with

my research. Many of my informants, especially the low-middle class residents, asked me not to publish their names, some even did not give me their names. As I wanted to respect the privacy of my informants, I did not ask further. Thus, I guaranteed my informants the confidentiality of their privacy and I neither used their real names within my research or location within the selected neighbourhoods. In line with the consent and confidentiality and respect of privacy, I did not record all my conversations.

The next section will discuss how I sampled my informants and shows which research methods for interviewing and participant observation I applied.

Sampling

As I created a confidential relation with Rafael, I could sample data for my research through a snowball method. As I met a small group of people, who were relevant for my research, I was able to establish contact with others who could be my informants (Bryman, 2012). However, I did not only sample through a snowball-method. I found some of my low-middle class informants in Rocinha randomly. I sampled by walking around in the neighbourhood and by starting conversations with several people. Some were working; some were waiting for their child and some were just hanging around. To use diverse people as a 'snowball' I was able to create a diverse group of informants in Rocinha and Leblon and Ipanema as well.

Interviewing

Interviewing is one of the most important research methods in qualitative research (Boeije, 2005). However, within ethnographic research several interview types are possible. Within my research natural conversations, open interviews and semi-structured interviews were the most suitable. As the research subject could be emotive to my informants, it was of important interest to create a personal conversation, which would allow me to get insights into my informant's feelings and experiences (Potter, 2010). The interviews and conversations taken are considered to be my respondents: low-middle class residents who live or work in Rocinha and upper-high class residents who live or work in Leblon or Ipanema. As to my respondents, I interviewed thirty-five citizens in total, whereby seventeen low-middle class residents from Rocinha and eighteen upper-high class residents of Leblon and Ipanema.

The type of interview or conversation depended on the situation and the information I needed. The reason to perform semi-structured interviews were that, on the one hand I had a focus what I wanted to explore: to get responses about subjective safety perceptions based on the two measures to prepare the mega-events in Rio de Janeiro. On the other hand I wanted to give respondents the opportunity to talk easily so that unexpected scopes could pop-up. Semi-structured interviews were especially necessary whenever I had to work through a translator.

Because of the language barrier, I had to prepare the interviews carefully and discuss the different topics before. In this case, I brought a topic list to each interview and both Rafael and I made notes during the interviews. I did not control my informal and natural conversations and open interviews and I let it to take its own course. In general, my informants inspired me during the natural conversations and open interviews to create new sub-subjects for my research.

The interview and conversation locations were varying. Most of my informants invited me at their house, but some informants wanted to be interviewed on a different location, as they feared their privacy. Some of my informants even did not trust me as a researcher and did not want me to come over to their house or neighbourhood. I tried to take away the mistrust, as trust is something crucial based on the experience of the informants (Hynes, 2003). Therefore, I started most of my interviews with news facts, mainly about the upcoming mega-events. I started the conversation with asking my informants how they thought about the news fact of that day. My informants related the news fact almost all the time with their private situation, such as their experience and feelings about safety, poverty, education, self-protection and Rio de Janeiro's authorities. In this way I collected the data I needed.

Participant observation

Another method I used as a researcher is participant observation, which can be understood as participating in the daily life of the informants and observe their behaviour based on the research subject. It is necessary to understand the behaviour of your informants within their own culture during the observation. Participant observation suited my research, since it created a way to collect other types of data than with interviewing, as I had to collect data through a translator.

My participation within my research locations was different. Within Leblon and Ipanema I participated in my informant's daily life many times, for example through preparing lunch or diner, helping within housekeeping or by going out. Another moment of participant observation was within my Portuguese language classes. I could observe the data I needed for my research through the employees of the school, including my teacher. Within Rocinha I observed more than I could participate. I observed the neighbourhood and its residents by walking through the area and understood why people behave in some way. In some cases I had to interview a resident of Rocinha outside their neighbourhood, because of their work. In that case, I tried to help my informant with their work to participate and give a more pleasant feeling to my informant. However, besides the individual participant observation, I also participated in the protest in June 2013. As I went to all the demonstrations in the time I lived in Rio de Janeiro, I could observe the behaviours during my own participation. After a few participations in protests with my informants, I noticed that the trustworthiness between my informants and me

increased. These situations were important as I could link the reason of the protests with my research.

Unexpected situation

Two weeks after my arrival in Rio de Janeiro, the situation changed. As mentioned before, enormous protests started against the government of Rio de Janeiro and the Federal Government. As these protests started during the Confederation Cup, it was interesting to see the protests and talk to protestors, to gain information about the aim of the protests. Where the first protests started around the Maracanã stadium, it expanded quickly to the city centre of Rio de Janeiro, and later on even to Leblon and the favelas. People all over the city participated in these protests, whereby the number of protestors increased to two million. This unforeseen circumstance affected my experience as a researcher and visitor. As I participated in these protests, I saw the way people protesting against the lack of social needs and people's awareness of this lack. Also the awareness of citizens about governmental investments, which do not fill this lack, is enormous. As these protests also expanded to Rocinha, the police surveillance in Rocinha and other favelas increased. The police tried to stop the protests in the city centre through rubber bullets and tear gas, whereas the protests in favelas were stopped with real bullets, with a consequence of ten deaths in the favela 'Complexo da Mare' (Rioonwatch, 2013). These circumstances made it more difficult to visit Rocinha by myself; therefore Rafael accompanied me at all times.

Another circumstance within Rocinha was a shooting involving a German tourist. This German tourist visited Rocinha with his photcamera to make pictures of the neighbourhood. The story goes as follows: the German tourist was walking around in Rocinha and as soon as he saw a man holding a Kalashnikov gun (news papers say that this man was a drug trafficker) he tried to photograph this man with his camera. This did not happen unnoticed and the man with the gun asked the German tourist to give up his camera. The German tourist decided to run away, without giving up his camera. The man with the gun probably felt threatened and shot the German man six times (Reuters, 2013). After this incident I worked more cautiously and considered my own safety during every visit to Rocinha.

3.5 Introduction of the informants

As previously mentioned I interviewed 35 citizens, with seventeen low-middle class residents within Rocinha and eighteen upper-high class residents within Leblon and Ipanema. As I planned beforehand to have two groups, the most striking was the third group that appeared. This third group, which is originally a part of my upper-high class informants, was conspicuous because of the deviating conversations and answers, as compared with the rest of the upper-

high class group. However, I choose not to mention this group as a new third group during my research, as they are originally part of the upper-high class informants. Nonetheless, I decided to mention them separately to show the difference between the groups. This third group includes seven informants between 27 and 32 years old. They all have a university degree, speak fluently English and all participated in the protests of 2013. I choose to call them “the new generation of Rio”, as they have a different mind-set then the other upper-high class informants, and they are very well politically and economically informed. This group will be discussed in chapter 4 and 5.

Figure 6 and 7 show the basic information about my informants. As explained before, I replaced the original name of the informants to an imaginary name. All the other information is correct.

	Name	Gender	Age	Number of children	Occupation	Life career
1.	Andre	Male	80	6	Worker	Andre was born in a small favela 30 minutes from Rocinha. He moved to Rocinha in the age of 20 for work possibilities.
2.	Eric	Male	27	Unknown	Mechanic	Eric has been born in Rocinha and never lived somewhere else.
3.	Clara	Female	31	1	Cleaning lady	Clara was born in Rocinha and lives her total life in Rocinha.
4.	Roderigo	Male	57	8	Worker	Roderigo was born in Rocinha, when Rocinha was a small favela. He never moved away, but works outside the favela.
5.	Julia	Female	72	7	Retired	Julia was born in a smaller favela near by Cidade de Deus. She moved to Rocinha when she was 30, because of the work distance.
6.	Gabi	Female	65	4	Seller	Gabi moved to Rocinha with her family in the age of 15. She grew up with her family and lives still with her family.
7.	Flavia	Female	30	1	Cleaning lady	Flavia lives with her daughter in Rocinha.
8.	Sheila	Female	37	Unknown	Seller	Sheila lives her total live with her mother in Rocinha.
9.	Felipe	Male	25	Unknown	Hair dresser	Felipe was born in Rocinha and lives with his mother and three brothers.
10.	Fernando	Male	33	Unknown	Deliveryman	Fernando works in Rocinha but lives out of this neighbourhood.
11.	Theo	Male	40	Unknown	Motor taxi driver	Theo lives in Rocinha his total life.
12.	Maria	Female	72	Unknown	Housewife	Maria was born in another favela but lives in Rocinha for 50 years.
13.	Pedro	Male	27	Unknown	Unknown	Pedro lives in Rocinha with his family.
14.	Carlos	Male	25	Unknown	Unknown	Carlos lives in Rocinha with his mother, stepfather and two stepbrothers.
15.	Daniela	Female	31	Unknown	Unknown	Daniela was born in Rocinha and lives together with her sister in Rocinha.
16.	Andrea	Female	29	1	Unknown	Andrea lives with her daughter and her family in Rocinha.
17.	Ana	Female	28	Unknown	Seller	Ana was born in Sao Paulo en moved at the age of 23 to Rocinha for her family.

Figure 6. Low-middle class informant's characteristics

	Name	Gender	Age	Number of children	Occupation	Life career
1.	Marianna	Female	32	2	Teacher	Marianna grew up out of town and moved to Ipanema in the age of 16 with her family.
2.	Marcos	Male	60	3	Retired	Marcos was born in Salvador en moved to Rio de Janeiro for business.
3.	Margaretta	Female	57	3	Housewife	Margaretta was born and bred in Leblon.
4.	Joao	Male	29	0	Teacher	Joao was born and bred in Leblon.
5.	Paula	Female	26	0	Student	Paula is born and bred in Leblon. She lives with her parents.
6.	Christian	Male	29	0	Student	Chistian lives by himself in an apartment his parents bought for him in Leblon.
7.	Isabel	Female	35	1	Teacher	Isabel was born in Gavea (another neighbourhood) and lives since the age of 9 in Leblon.
8.	Livia	Female	27	0	Artist	Livia lives in Ipanema.
9.	Julio	Male	29	0	Teacher	Julio was born in Sao Paulo and lives nowadays in Ipanema.
10.	Marcelo	Male	33	0	Banker	Marcelo was born and bred in Ipanema.
11.	Jose	Male	37	2	Economist	Jose was born in another state and moved to Rio de Janeiro in the age of 27 and lives in Leblon.
12.	Beatriz	Female	28	0	Student	Beatriz lives with her mother and sister in Leblon.
13.	Tauana	Female	25	0	Student	Tauana lives with her parents in Ipanema.
14.	Rafael	Male	28	0	Online journalist	Rafael was born in Leblon and lives nowadays with friends in Leblon.
15.	Renata	Female	29	0	Psychologist	Renata lives with her mother in Leblon.
16.	Guilherme	Male	30	0	Adviser	Guilherme lives by himself in Ipanema.
17.	Gabriela	Female	28	0	Film producer	Gabriela was born in Leblon and lives in an apartment that her parents bought her.
18.	Chyntia	Female	28	0	Film producer	Chyntia lives with two friends in Leblon.

Figure 7. Upper-high class informant's characteristics

4. Perceiving safety

This research focuses on two safety measures taken by the Federal Government. First, the increasing numbers of police officers in Rio de Janeiro and second, the increasing numbers of surveillance and monitoring devices. Through this research, I investigated to what extent these two specific safety measures, which are set up to create a safer city for the upcoming mega-events, will affect the subjective safety perception of low-middle class residents and upper-high class residents. Given that Rio de Janeiro knows a huge inequality of income, I speculate on large differences in subjective safety perception. As discussed in chapter 3, both social classes are questioned about this subject, either through an interview or informal conversation.

Before answering the question to what extent these two safety measures effect the subjective safety perception in the next chapter, this chapter will start focussing on the concept of safety and the different association between the two social classes. Firstly, it is necessary to know and to understand the objective safety of Rio de Janeiro. As already mentioned in Chapter 1, Rio de Janeiro has a history with unsafety which can have its influences on the subjective safety of the inhabitants. Thereafter, the concept of safety will be discussed. The way both low-middle class residents and upper-high class residents define safety is important to understand their safety perception later on. During the conversations and interviews I filtered a several themes which will be explained through a thick description approach. Through the comparison between the two social classes, I will explain the differences and similarities of both classes and connect them to the theory discussed in chapter 2. Furthermore, this chapter will consider the geographical safety perception of both classes. Someone's subjective safety can be influenced by his or her geographical location. Every section will be subdivided in two subparagraphs to discuss the different perceptions of both classes. Finally, this chapter will end with a short concluding section discussing the differences between the two classes.

As discussed in chapter 2, Maslow's (1954) Hierarchy of Needs Theory explains that every individual fulfils five needs in life. It starts with the basic physiological needs, such as nutrition, sleep, basic education and health. Maslow emphasized that whenever it comes to a lack of one of these needs, it is not possible to satisfy the other needs. Every person should start with the basic physiological needs, and if these needs are fulfilled, the person can fulfil the next need, namely safety. Subjective safety is a part of these needs. The perception of safety is something created by someone's personal experience and feeling. According to De Hart (2002), feeling unsafe is

dependent on what someone defines as unsafe and is influenced with which elements. During my research I had formal and informal conversations with my informants.

4.1 Rocinha

I entered the bus in Leblon in the direction of 'Barra', the area where the Olympic Village is coming. I asked the bus driver if he passes Rocinha and he nodded. So, I entered the crowded bus, whereby I had to stand and hold on to a back of a seat. Everything was being shaken up because of the zigzagging beach road and the driving ability of the bus driver. After twenty minutes the bus stopped and the bus driver called: "Rocinha", and two third of the travellers got off the bus, including myself.

When I entered Rocinha, I bumped to a group of children, probably between six and nine years old, wearing a uniform of their school. I guess these children were playing on the streets after school. One child was making loud noises with his mouth and it seemed like an imitation of gunshots. I tried to ignore what I heard and walked through the main street. I was looking for an address, as I had an appointment with a lady who works for a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) within Rocinha. I stepped up to a lady who was sitting on a doorstep to ask her for my direction. As I started to ask her my direction, she directly started telling me that she was waiting for her daughter to pick her up after her class. I told her that I am a foreigner and like to practice my Portuguese, whereupon she laughed and answered: *"your Portuguese is very good, how long do live in Rio de Janeiro?"* I thanked her and introduced myself and explained what I was doing in Rocinha. She responded interested and introduced herself to me. Her name was Clara and she was 31 years old. She asked me about my job, but as soon as I answered that I was a student, she seized the opportunity directly to tell me about her occupation, and expressed: *"I just cleaned this building behind me, but I would love to study something."* At that moment her daughter came running happily out of school. Suddenly Clara told me: *"Sorry, I have to go, because I want to help my daughter with school and honestly, teach myself also."* I saw and felt how important education was for Clara. Clara belongs to the majority of my informants who emphasized the lack and need of education. Ana, a 28 years old woman, told me why she moved from a favela in Sao Paulo to Rocinha in Rio de Janeiro. It was not only because of her family, but she moved also because she hopes for some education possibilities. She finished the primary school but from then on she never had the opportunity to study. She commented with the following: *"I hope I can be an educated woman one day."* The hope and need of education was told through different ways. My informants expressed themselves through naming 'women rights', 'equality between men and women', 'be a part of the economy', and 'to know how to bring up my

children'. During my conversation with Ana, I asked her why she hopes to be an educated woman one day, and she responded with: *"it is not only about reading books and learn some facts. It is about having the same rights as others. That is the same with our health system. I feel more comfortable and safe if I have the same opportunities. I want to assert myself."* Ana explained me in this way her general perception of safety. However, the use of the word 'health' did not directly occur to me at that moment, but it did after all my interviews and conversations.

As I walked around in Rocinha with Rafael, my friend and translator, I told Rafael how integrated I was with the old man sitting on a bench at one of these street bakeries, drinking a beer. He was looking at Rafael and me, probably because I radiated being a foreigner. Rafael and I went sitting next to him and asked if he did mind. As soon as he smiled and made space in the bench, I introduced Rafael and myself to the old man. He also introduced himself. His name is Andre, 80 years old, and lives in Rocinha for 60 years. He has six children and all of them also have children by themselves. He has been a worker until the age of 70 and told me that he thinks he is too old to work now. I talked for twenty minutes about his living in Rocinha. He told me how much he loves Rocinha, he also started to talk about the situation in Rocinha. When he mentioned the subject 'safety', he explained the following: *"querida [sweety], nothing has changed. The safety is exactly the same as 50 years ago. It is important to be sure about the health system and education for our children. Whenever my children or grandchildren get ill I am afraid, because of the long waiting list and the travel distance. We cannot trust the system. Fifty years ago, I travelled one hour to bring my children to the hospital, nowadays my son also travels one hour to the hospital."* When I kept on asking about the health system he called Eric. Eric is a 27 year-old mechanic who works on the other side of the street at a car service point, in front of the bakery. Andre explained Eric who Rafael and I were and started a conversation about safety in Rocinha. Eric expressed that: *"living in Rocinha needs a way of life. If you do so, it is safe. The biggest lack of safety here is our health system. Nobody cares about us, so they do not build hospitals for us, especially when you compare us with Barra or Leblon."* After talking to Andre and Eric, and all my other informants in Rocinha, I realized that the concept of safety has another dimension in this neighbourhood. The lack of a proper health system is a serious safety issue and people really concern about it as well as with education. After my conversations with all of my low-middle class residents, I realized that people who live in Rocinha built their own way of life. Most of my informants live in Rocinha their whole life and are well informed about the situation of their neighbourhood. They created a way of life since they were able to do so.

Until November 2011, Rocinha was ruled, controlled and protected by several drug gangs. The drug gangs built a basis of trust with the residents within the neighbourhood and helped the

residents whenever needed (Arias, 2006). Talking about pacification during the conversations with my informants automatically created a comparison between before and after the pacification. Almost all of my informants felt the need to explain how it was before the pacification and what has changed with the arrival of the UPP. Roderigo is a good example of this. I met him at a square in Rocinha. He was sitting on a platform with two women named Julia and Gabi. Rafael told me that they were talking about the square and we could join the conversation if we wanted. So Rafael and I introduced us and were brought into the conversation. Roderigo, 57 years old, has eight children and has lived his whole life in Rocinha. Roderigo told me about the conversation they were having. He told me how happy he and the two women are with the square and expressed himself as following: *"I am happy we can use this square now. A few years ago this square was the main place for the traffickers. They had a table on the beginning of that dark alley with a lot of cocaine and Kalashnikovs. I had to pass this square with my children all the time and I am so sad about that, because now they got used to the image of weapons and drugs."* Whereas Roderigo was still talking about the square, Gabi the 65-year old woman, interrupted the conversation by saying: *"But Roderigo, you have to tell her [the researcher] that passing the drug traffickers was less scary then passing the police nowadays. Have you forget the enormous machine guns these policemen are carrying?"* Nevertheless Julia, a 72-year old woman started nodding and interrupted Gabi to tell me: *"querida, Rocinha needs its own way of life."* Roderigo and Gabi affirmed and started a conversation by themselves. As I listened to their conversation, I understood that they always think how to move and how to behave within Rocinha. My informants expressed themselves by explaining their different behaviours through day and night. Most of my informants are much more careful at night, since some parts of Rocinha have a lack of streetlights. My informants also explained me how they try to avoid police cars, motors and officers, since it is difficult to estimate the situation. I have the feeling that the behaviour of the Rocinha's residents is based on fear. Fear controls the choices of the residents. As Roderigo said: *"if you live you life carefully, you will not get hurt."* However, during their conversation I noticed that some things have changed with the UPP within the neighbourhood. For instance, Gabi argued: *"Because of the presence of the police, we do not see drug trafficking on every street's corner anymore, but we know trafficking is not gone. It is still here, but not in my face anymore."* Then Roderigo argued on his turn: *"But the street parties changed! Before, we had two times a week funk parties, with a lot of food, drinks and good music on the streets. But nowadays the government has forbidden our music. So we can not party as we want to."* I understood that however the situation of the neighbourhood has changed comparing before the UPP, they still have to know how to live their life in Rocinha in spite of drug traffickers who are out of sight nowadays. I recognized the changes within Rocinha, comparing it with the situation before the pacification. After many conversations with low-middle class

residents of Rocinha, I noticed that it is not the fact that drug gangs are not obviously present in the streets anymore, but that police took over their role and is clearly present in the neighbourhood. According to Cano (2013), these drug gangs were not only the bad guys in the neighbourhood. They helped the residents whenever they needed help, especially physical help. In this way, the residents could count on the help of the drug gangs, but not on the police.

During the formal and informal conversations in Rocinha with my low-middle class residents I understand their life experience within their neighbourhood. They explained me the need of education and health systems within Rocinha. I noticed that low-middle class residents define safety in a specific way. When talking about safety with the residents of Rocinha and continuing with asking about this subject, I got faced with a definition of safety as a basic physiological need time after time. During these conversations I felt how much these residents concern about their basic needs and almost did not mention crime or violence. This confirms Maslow's (1954) Hierarchy of Needs Theory. Maslow argues that people need to fulfil their physiological needs before they can fulfil their other needs. In Maslow's theory, safety is one of the physiological needs of an individual. According to De Hart (2002) the feeling of safety depends on how the individual interprets the concept of safety. However, I prepared myself for the two subjects crime and violence and went there with the expectance that people would correlate safety with crime, violence and death rates, but surprisingly they did not mention these three subjects in the first place, but they mentioned the need of health and education. However, it does not mean that crime and violence do not count as safety factors, but it is not the first association. My informants also expressed their feeling about the way they live within their own neighbourhood. Living in Rocinha asks for a certain way of life, but at the same time my informants also emphasized, that because they have the knowledge of 'the' way of life, they feel comfortable. My informants avoid some situations, because they fear to become a victim. This fear is not only based in direct victimization but also through indirect victimization. According to Herrewegen (2011), avoidance is a way of fearing crime and thus victimization. Whenever I broached the subject of how they felt in Leblon or Ipanema, my informants were very like-minded. All of my informants expressed to feel intimidated, uncomfortable, unaccepted and different whenever they visit Leblon or Ipanema.

The importance of, and association of safety with the health system and education got emphasized during the period of protests in June 2013. As described in chapter 1, the protests were a way of arguing against the governmental expenses and were held during the Confederation Cup. More than ten thousand protesters went day after day to the streets asking the authorities to invest more in health and education instead of stadiums and other facilities

which are only used during the two mega-events. The protesters were holding signs written: “*Morte da educacao*” - ‘education is dying’, “*Por favor, educacao e saude, Padrao FIFA*” - ‘education and health please, Papa FIFA’, and “*luto pela educacao*” - ‘the fight for education’.

4.2 Leblon/Ipanema

I rang the bell outside the fence. Through the microphone the doorman asked me my full name, who I am visiting and why I am visiting these residents. As soon as I gave him the information he hang up. After a few minutes he opened the fence. I walked to the main door and rang another bell. The doorman asked again for my name and told me to check in at the desk. I went to the desk, checked in through showing my ID and waited while the doorman called the house I had an appointment with to tell them I was coming upstairs. After the phone call he gave me the permission to use the elevator. As I was standing in the elevator I realized people live literally between fences.

As I wanted to learn Portuguese to communicate with my informants I went to a language school and started classes. At the school, I met Marianna, a Brazilian woman, living in Ipanema and teaching Portuguese. Marianna is 32 years old and has two little children. I asked her if it was possible to talk to her about my research and she was fine with that, but only at her workplace and not at her house. The fact that she did not want me to go to her house made me think. Thus, I asked her carefully why she prefers to talk to me at her workspace. She told me one of her experiences, namely that someone rang the bell and the doorman was not attending, resulting in a robbery at her neighbour’s apartment. So she feels unsafe whenever a stranger enters her house. I reassured her that I did not want to go to her house, and talked further about the news of that day which was about the protests. Marianna expressed as following: “*the situation in Brazil is tiring. Poor people ask for education and health, but it is ‘basta’ [enough]. It would be better if they spend more time raising their children instead of protesting on the streets. Their children are not children anymore, they kill us with a gun, just for a wallet or my Iphone*”. I guess I reacted surprised and asked her if she was able to explain me who these poor people are and why she thinks that poor people do not raise their children. She explained: “*I mean favelados, they are too much thinking about robbing and making money out of illegality*”. Marianna provoked my curiosity and I asked her why she thought these parents make money out of illegality. Whereupon she answered: “*these people think living in poverty gives you a ‘carte blanche’ for everything*”. I understood that Marianna associates the concept of unsafety with poverty. She has the feeling that living in poverty creates illegal actions. Beatriz, a student of a private university in Rio de Janeiro, confirmed Marianna’s mind-set. While she was telling me that she travels from

Leblon to her university by car, I asked her why she does not go by bus, since it is a five-minute ride. She expressed as following: *“oh no. Do you think I will sit next to all these people in the bus? The bus I have to take to my university has the direction Rocinha. You never know what kind of people will enter the bus, I do not want to be a victim of these people”*. During my conversation with Beatriz I realized that she avoids the bus because her association of low-middle class residents with a fear of becoming a victim. During the conversations with my upper-high class residents I noticed the association of fear with low-middle class residents, whereas my upper-high class residents call the low-middle class residents ‘the poor’. Both cases of Marianna and Beatriz and the majority of my informants, confirm that poverty is associated with crime. Pantazis (2000) explained that crime occurs more often amongst people with a social lack, such as education or when they face crime and violence on a daily routine. This creates a self-protection system within the high social classes, such as with upper-high class residents. These residents want to protect themselves as much as they can. As the cases of Marianna and Beatriz show, they avoid behaviour such as inviting people at their houses or travelling by bus to protect themselves.

The street view of Leblon and Ipanema shows the amount of self-protection. All buildings are surrounded by fences, however some are thicker and higher than other ones, and provided with a doorman, and all these buildings are provided with camera surveillance, attended by the doorman. These facilities create a demarcation for the residents. My upper-high class informants have the feeling that they can only move through buildings and places where this high level of protection is present. According to Marcos, a 60-year old informant within my research, explained me as following: *“I protect myself in several ways, just to be sure I took all the measures to protect myself and my family. Still I know I am not protected for 100% and so not safe.”*

The concept of safety for my upper-high class informants means to live without safety facilities. At the same time, they cannot imagine a life without self-protection. My informants explained to me that the safety protection of their houses is not just to protect them, but also to protect their material properties. One of my informants explained me how she and her husband protect themselves. Margareta, 57 years old, lives together with her husband and son in a penthouse in Leblon. At the moment that I entered their house, the view of the Two Brother Mountains and the sea flabbergasted me. So I started the conversation about the view. After we talked about the view for a while, she told me: *“but we cannot open the windows, unfortunately.”* That surprised me with this amazing view, the smell of the sea and the sun. She looked at me and I guess she saw my questioning look and expressed the following: *“a few years ago, there was a shooting from Vidigal [a favela on the Two Brother Mountains] to our neighbourhood. The bullets hit some*

neighbouring penthouses, so my husband decided to purchase bulletproof windows." When I asked how she thinks about the concept of safety after the purchase of the bulletproof windows, she argued: *"me and my husband already had bulletproof cars, given our experience with shootings at the highway. But this does not mean that I like the way we live. I cannot go somewhere without protecting myself. Even in the supermarket I am aware of my bag."* Margareta and my other upper-class informants are living a life with protecting themselves every minute of the day. The informants expressed that they are not able to live the life they want and blame the 'poor' and poverty.

My discussions about the concept of safety with upper-high class residents were a bit different than I expected them to be. I expected that the upper-high class residents would protect themselves from unsafety and associate unsafety with poverty, crime and violence. The majority of my upper-class informants 'dreams' about moving around the city without protection, because they constantly have the feeling to be in need of protection. Almost all of these informants connected the need of protection with poverty. This group sees poverty as the main reason of unsafety. As Reis (1999) argues elite's perception of poverty in Brazil (in this case, elite is similar to upper-high class residents), he confirms the idea that Brazil's biggest issue of safety is based on social problems of poverty. The majority of my informants confirmed Reis' research, as *poverty* was the main theme during my conversations about the concept of safety.

However, a smaller group of my upper-class informants did not confirm Reis' idea of elite. This group of seven informants is between 27 and 32 years old, all have a university degree, speak English fluently and participated in the protests of June 2013. As mentioned in chapter 3, I call them the intellectual informants.

4.3 'The new generation of Rio'

The conversations with the intellectual upper-high class informants were unexpected to me. A main theme, which obviously existed during the conversations, was the equality between both low-middle class residents and upper-high class residents. Rafael, my translator, explained me the concept of safety from his own opinion as follows: *"safety is knowing that everybody around me have the same rights and same opportunities as me. You will never feel 100% safe, but at least you will not bother because of material stuff."* This perception of the concept of safety totally differs from the way the upper-high class residents understand safety. As the upper-high class residents linked safety with poverty, the intellectual informants joined the protests in June 2013 to stand up for the inequality of Rio de Janeiro and the rest of Brazil by letting their voice be

heard for unlimited education and health for everybody, irrespective of their social class. According to Reis' (1999) research, upper-high class residents do not stand up for the 'poor', no matter what. Through my conversations and research I realized that the average upper-high class resident still associate unsafety with poverty. However, the studied and young generation who have the ability to discover, fight for equality. It is interesting to have this information on the background of this research to understand the difference between these two classes and the 'new intellectual informants' I met.

5. Do people feel safe with the two new measures to built a safe city?

As objective safety is based on factual data of a location, subjective safety is based on the safety perception of individuals. This makes these two concepts incomparable with each other. Decreasing the numbers of crime and violence does not mean that the unsafe and insecure perception of an individual will decrease as well. The subjective safety perception in this research is mainly focused on the concept of fear. In other words, decreasing the feeling of fear can create a better safety perception. However, for the two upcoming mega-events the Federal Government solely focused on the objective safety and created several measures to diminish the crime and violence rates of Rio de Janeiro. In other words, they are reducing the chance of victimization during these mega-events, since Rio de Janeiro has the experience with violence. Rio de Janeiro cannot permit any crime or violence during these mega-events, simply because of the safety agreements with FIFA and IOC. The Federal Government signed the agreement to deliver 100% safe events in 2014 and 2016. Therefore, the safety budget is more than ever involved in the history of these two mega-events. The main measures to create a 'safer' city are *increasing the number of police officers until 2016* and *the use of surveillance and monitoring technologies*. These two measures are applied differently in several locations within the city.

This research will focus on two neighbourhoods, namely Rocinha and Leblon/Ipanema. Rocinha is known as the biggest favela of Brazil, and Leblon/Ipanema is known as the wealthiest area of Rio de Janeiro. Both safety measures are differently applied in both neighbourhoods. These two safety measures are separated within this chapter. Each measure will be elucidated from the two social classes, namely the low-middle class residents of Rocinha and the upper-high class residents of Leblon/Ipanema. During my formal and informal conversations with both classes I mentioned some main themes which will be discussed in this chapter. This chapter will start with the first safety measure, *increasing the numbers of police officers till 2016* and will be followed by the second measure, namely *the use of surveillance and monitoring technologies*. It is important to keep in mind that this research makes use of the thick description approach and will describe the setting and information of the informants as much as possible.

5.1 Increasing number of police officers until 2016

As mentioned above, the increasing amount of police officers is the main measure taken by the Federal Government to control and regulate the crime and violence in Rio de Janeiro for the two upcoming mega-events. Chapter 1 explained the origin of crime through drug trafficking as a

footing. Sixty out of the 763 favelas in Rio de Janeiro will be pacified to reduce the crime numbers and to prepare a 'safe' city for the events. Through the high mega-event budgets the Federal and City Government are able to engage more police officers until 2016 then they could before the announcements of the winning bids and the number of police officers will be limited again after the 2016 Olympic Games.

During the formal and informal conversations with my low-middle class and upper-high class informants about the increasing numbers of police officers, I filtered a few themes which were widely discussed, namely the unexpectedness of the invasion, the fear of becoming a victim of the police, the corruption within the politics, the diversion of the measures, and the temporariness of the measures. These themes are the most important factors of the subjective safety perceptions of the residents on this measure. On one hand, when talking about the increasing numbers of police officers with low-middle class residents in Rocinha, the main focus is on the *pacification* of this neighbourhood. According to the Federal Military Police the neighbourhood should get safer through the pacification, because of the reducing crime and violence numbers created by the UPP. On the other hand, the main focus during my conversations on this measure with upper-high class informants was also the pacification of favelas, but also the increasing numbers of police officers in their own neighbourhood Leblon and Ipanema.

5.1.1 Rocinha

The heart of Rocinha; a small surfaced two way street, with at both sides commercial shops, supermarkets, a bakery, beauty salons, car service stations and bars and restaurants. The street is crowded with pedestrians, bicycles and motorbikes crossing each other, noisy cars passing and heavily armed police officers. This main street is both on the left and right side squared with narrow alleys. These alleys are too small to pass through with a car, have no pavement and look dark because of the surrounding buildings. After 300 meters the main street goes uphill with a wide bend. The bend is covered with a UPP station with more than ten police motorbikes and police officers. As I was walking the street uphill with Rafael, I told him I felt the police was staring at me at the point we passed them. He agreed and suggested to walk back to the main area of the neighbourhood. I did not ask him why, because I knew his answer would worry me. As we walked back to the main street I focussed on the messy electricity and lamp standards looking like a jungle strangled by its own branches. However, through this system that seemed chaos to me, huge amounts of information is transported every day and at some of these standards, between many leads, huge CCTVs are installed.

Rocinha is one of the forty favelas, which is already pacified by the UPP. The other twenty will get pacified in the upcoming two years. As the city has to be 'safe' before June 2014 for the World Cup, the pacification of Rocinha started in November 2011 (Cano, 2013). Rocinha got pacified because the neighbourhood was controlled and ruled by diverse drug gangs (Arias,

2006). The drug gangs did not only control the residents of Rocinha to be able to continue on with their drug business. They also facilitated the neighbourhood with basic needs, such as electricity, sanitation and health systems, for more than twenty years, since the authorities did not count Rocinha as a part of their city, and therefore did not care about the residents.

The first step of the pacification was taken in November 2013, with an intense invasion by Rio de Janeiro's elite battalion BOPE. The BOPE took over the neighbourhood through a heavily armed elite battalion to get the neighbourhood 'crime and violence clean'. Scruggs (2011) calls the pacification's invasion 'a hurricane of BOPE'. As the invasion was shown live on TV GLOBO, he wrote the day after the invasion "*while the rest of Brazil will watch breathless coverage on TV Globo starting live at 5am, residents of Rocinha will only have the sounds of helicopters, tanks, armoured trucks, and maybe a radio broadcast, along with furtive peeks out the window*" (Scruggs, 2011). Scruggs explanation shows how Rocinha got invaded. The day after the invasion, the newspaper of O Globo filled its cover with "*Rocinha e nossa*" - Rocinha is ours (2011), which explains how BOPE invade Rocinha. During the invasion BOPE found drugs and weapons, and they arrested some traffickers. After the invasion, the BOPE left the neighbourhood and made place for the UPP who occupied the neighbourhood continuous for 24 hours a day, which is the third step of the pacification. Rocinha is situated in this third step. After this period, there is a fourth step called post-occupation, which is still not there.

'It was an invasion'

Living Rocinha still needs a special way of life, also after the pacification. However, the invasion was unexpected. When I met Sheila at a restaurant, a 37-year old woman with two children, she asked me what I was doing in Rocinha. As I told her about my conversations with residents about Rocinha and the pacification, she carefully expressed the following: "*I knew they would come to invade Rocinha, but did not know when, even not 24 hours before. But a few hours before the invasion people on the streets told me to stay at home with my children. As we had seen and heard how other favelas were invaded, I knew what to expect and suddenly I noticed the huge amount of helicopters above our houses. I was scared and only focused on protecting my two little daughters.*" Sheila wanted to share with me she did not know when the BOPE would invade her neighbourhood and she had no time to prepare herself and her children for the invasion. No one of my informants knew when they would invade Rocinha. Some of my informants expected BOPE because of the many helicopters above the neighbourhood, or friends who heard about it informed others, and some of my informants had absolutely no idea. Felipe was one of my informants who had no idea when Rocinha would get invaded. I met him while he was working in a hairdressing salon. Felipe is 25 years old and lives whole his life in Rocinha with his mother and three brothers. The salon he works in is in the beginning of Rocinha, in front of the highway

and the bus stop. This was also one of the places BOPE entered the neighbourhood. When Felipe and I were talking about the invasion he expressed the following: *"I was in shock! BOPE came in the neighbourhood totally black-dressed and wearing machineguns with many 'caveiros' and other armed vehicles. And when I heard the song I knew it was the invasion."* So he asked me if I knew the song, but I did not. So he followed: *"It is a song of BOPE when they invade a neighbourhood. The song sings something like: 'hey favelados, prepare yourself because the BOPE is coming and will leave some bodies on the ground'. I was in shock, really"*. During our conversation I felt his shock of unexpectedness. I could imagine how awful this moment was. My informants confirmed with Sol (2011), as he argued that favelados have known that the pacification was a priority for the city due to its physical importance and location between the exclusive neighbourhoods Leblon among others, but no favelado knew when the pacification would take place. The uncertainty of the situation created a high level of fear. According to Hale (1996), the experienced daily risks of the residents is something which creates a high level of fear. However, Herrewegen (2011) describes a comparable situation as an *irregular safety perception*, since an individual is prepared and knows the pacification will come but is unpredictable for the daily life.

Fear of becoming a victim of the police

When I found out that the woman who cleaned my house in Rio de Janeiro lived in Rocinha, I was willing to arrange an appointment with her. Her name is Flavia, 30 years old and has a daughter of twelve years old. Flavia is a cleaning lady and travels seven days a week around the city for work. Usually, she leaves her house around six o'clock in the morning because of the traffic jam and arrives around nine o'clock in the evening back home. One day she came over, I asked her if it was possible to talk with her about Rocinha and I offered to come over to her neighbourhood if she felt more comfortable there. Whereupon she answered: *"no, do not come to Rocinha. I live in a dangerous part, very up hill. That is why it takes me at least 2 hours to come to your house."* After saying this, she began to organize her work in my house and started cleaning the kitchen. As I felt uncomfortable, I also started cleaning while she told me the following story: *"every day when I leave my house I have palpitations of fear, because of my daughter. I have a bad experience with my sister's daughter, Lily, who was also twelve in that time. The police invaded my sister's house when Lily was home alone. The invasion was because the police thought that Lily was involved with drug trafficking and worked as an escort lady for the traffickers. Anyway, the story is complicated, but the result of the invasion was awful. The police came into my sister's house, broke everything and Lily got assaulted sexually by the group of policemen."* As she was telling the story, I noticed that Flavia and I were actually quivered with emotion, but she did not look at me. She continued her story with: *"I am afraid this will happen to my daughter too. Lily has always been a*

good girl. Never did something like that, neither my daughter." I told her she could stop cleaning and have something to drink and to eat, as I felt sorry for the emotional story she was telling me. She answered me with a laugh and said: *"do not worry, this is how I feel every day."* After the conversation I understood that Flavia perceived her own neighbourhood as *'dangerous'* on a daily basis, because of her experience before. The victimization of her family created a fear of becoming a victim of the police. Flavia was not the only informant who argued the concept of *fear* of becoming a victim of police. During my formal and informal conversations with my low-middle class informants the concept of *fear*, which includes *anxiety, nervousness, powerless, afraid* and *panic*, was the thread. My informants tried to express their general subjective perception about their neighbourhood and the presence of the police. The majority of my informants, including Flavia feared of becoming a victim of the police. This corresponds with Hale's (1996) model of victimization. Hale explained that indirect confrontation with crime also creates a fear of victimization. However, Herrewegen (2011) criticized Hale's model and argued that the victimization model should not be seen as an individual model, but should be combined with the three other models of Hale, namely the Vulnerability Model, Environment Model and Uncertainty model through the Social Constructionist Perspective. The Social Constructionist Perspective explained the human interaction with these four models and stands for the combination of these four factors. As Flavia explained, the uncertain factor about her daughter created fear among others of becoming a victim. However, the fact that her daughter is a girl and thus belongs to a more vulnerable gender group, creates again a higher fear. The example of Flavia shows how these four elements are combined, instead of seeing these apart from each other.

'They think they can buy off everything'

Corruption was a word that I have never heard that many times as the time I lived in Rio de Janeiro. Not only during the conversation with my informants, but everywhere and every day. The concept of corruption has been explained to me as the way the authorities treat Rio de Janeiro's citizens. Fernando is a 33-year old deliveryman who I met during my stroll in Rocinha. As we stand next to his motorbike in the middle of the street he suggested to park his motorbike and to sit on the curb to talk, so we did. Fernando started to explain me how he feels about the police within Rocinha by expressing the following: *"Police is fake. They pretend they are different but they are corrupted traffickers of Rocinha. They are the one who sell weapons to the traffickers. It is all in the plan of the government."* Fernando confirmed exactly the fact Arias (2006) argues: the police in Rio de Janeiro is involved within drug trafficking. During the conversation, Fernando also argued the fact he could not trust the police. Before the pacification he went to the drug lord in case he needed help. Nowadays he has nobody to ask help to. When I asked

Fernando why he could not ask help of the police he argued: *"querida, nobody trusts the police. Never ask the police for help. They will screw you."* Fernando showed me through his lack of trust in the police that he considers the police to be corrupt. Fernando and all my other informants agreed with each other about the corruption of the police. Cano (2010) confirms the corruption within the Brazilian Government and police and argues that corruption creates the lack of trustworthiness among its residents. The lack of trust affirms the feeling of fear and creates a negative subjective perception about safety. According to Herrewegen (2010), a lack of trust creates a higher fear.

During the protests in June 2013, which were at the same time as the Confederation Cup, many protesters pointed to Cabral as the leader of corruption within Rio the Janeiro. Cabral has been caught many times for abusing his authority, maintaining private interests and making promises he never accomplished. The protesters carried signs written: *"chega de corrupção o gigante acordou"* – enough corruption, Brazilians wake up, *"dia do basta a corrupção"* – the finishing day of corruption, and *"copa da corrupção"* – the world cup of the corruption. These protests confirmed the voice of my informants. I realized that the voice of my informants was similar to the voice of the protesters of Rio de Janeiro.

'It is all a diversion'

The pacification was brought into favelas to create a safer city for the mega-events. It is important to show the world that Rio de Janeiro is a safe city. The majority of my informants are conscious on the economic importance of these two mega-events for both Rio de Janeiro and Brazil as a whole. When I talked about the pacification with my informants, it got clear to me how sceptical my informants are about the pacification. One of my informants, the 40-year old Theo, a motor taxi-driver in Rocinha, explained me as following: *"This government only thinks about their selves and how to become richer. They do not care about us; if they did they would not spend so much money on the World Cup and the Olympics."* Theo explained me that they have the feeling this pacification is not only about protecting them from the drug traffickers or make Rocinha a safer neighbourhood. Theo is one of my informants who expressed it in this way. Another symbolic fact of the pacification is shown through the current (June 2013) violence within Rocinha. The UPP occupied Rocinha with the promise to create a safer neighbourhood without gang fights. Despite this fact, violence and crime are still the daily order. June 2013, O Globo published *'Turista baleado teria feito fotos de criminosos armados na Rocinha'* – Tourist has been shot while photographing criminals in Rocinha. The fact that a tourist spots criminals, tries to photograph them and is not protected by the police shows the limit of capacity. Another

common story is the one of the disappearance of Amarildo de Souza; a 43-year old bricklayer, that shocked Rio de Janeiro.

“Onde esta Amarildo de Souza?” – Where is Amarilod de Souza?

“Ten police in Rio de Janeiro have been charged with the torture and killing of a resident of the city's biggest favela in a case that has highlighted anger about extrajudicial killings. For more than two months, Amarildo de Souza was simply classified as “missing”, but the suspicious circumstances of his disappearance and the notorious record of Rio's police sparked demonstrations that forced the authorities to respond.”

The guardian October 3th 2013

As talking to 72-year old Maria, she expressed herself as following: *“Sweety, this is my home. I still love it. I know police tries to kill us. They do not want us to exist anymore. We do not bring money for the economics. But (woman laughs), you think they will win this fight? (woman laughs again). This is my neighbourhood. Nobody is able to destroy it. But I have to tell you; they are killing us step-by-step. You know the story of Amarildo? He was such a good man. During these demonstrations in the city centre, you know against the Wold Cup, he was protesting too. And somehow he got arrested; the police took him to the office and he never came back. We do not know where he is.* The story of Theo and Maria confirmed the other stories of my informants. The majority of my informants expressed their feeling about the symbolic meaning of the pacification. A national Brazilian newspaper *Jornal do Brasil* confirmed this: *“governo diz que pacificação segue apesar do aumento da violência” - Government says pacification will continue despite increase in violence.*

‘What happens with us after 2016?’

I talked with Andre and Eric about the health system of Rocinha, which is mentioned in chapter 5. Andre and Eric defined safety with their basic needs in life. To them, violence and crime are factors in Rocinha that ask for a certain way of life. However, when we talked about the near future and the period until 2016, Andre expressed as following: *“maybe I am dead by that time, I am already 80 years old! But I do not think the situation will get better. After the Olympics the government has no money, and everything will get worse. They do not care about us.”* Suddenly I noticed Andre was looking at me with a pervasive gaze and said: *“querida, this is a theatre, and we are the actors.”* I noticed that the fear of temporariness exists within Rocinha. My informants are insecure about the future and do not have the trust in the government because of their idea of corruption within the government. This is homonymous with the idea of a ‘safety utopia’ by Boutellier (2002).

5.1.2 Leblon/Ipanema

The boulevard. In the front the impressive Two Brother Mountains, at the left side the wide beachside with divers facilities, such as sport nets, portable bars, and fenced sanitary facilities for the visitors. At the right side, modern, Miami look-a-like white apartment complexes with huge balconies and terraces. In between the beachside and the apartments the two-way roadways, separated with a flowerbed and palm trees, and at both sides facilitated with pavement and cycle ways. People are walking down the street wearing bikinis, flip-flops, tailor-made suits or haute couture dresses. There are two policemen standing at one of the fenced facility points, wearing shorts, t-shirts, sunglasses and each a truncheon. Two helicopters fly low above the beach; with each two armed military policemen looking out of the helicopter door. There is also a small drone flying above the beach. Cars and busses pass by laboriously, because of the queue. Street sellers stand at the beach side, selling bikinis and other souvenirs, but I notice some sellers pack their bags and run away.

The history of crime and violence also goes back to the wealthy neighbourhoods in Rio de Janeiro. Before the pacification in 2008 and the new safety strategies of the authorities, neighbourhoods like Leblon and Ipanema struggled with criminal activities such as armed robberies and theft. The most common place was the beach side of Copacabana, Ipanema and Leblon. Armed robbers came to the beach and robbed visitors, usually tourists, under threat. Residents of these neighbourhoods usually avoided visiting these neighbourhoods. As the pacification of favelas started to control and decrease crime, the wealthy neighbourhoods got more policemen on the beach at their neighbourhoods. Small police stations were built to be present 24 hours a day both at the beach side and the street sides.

Leblon and Ipanema were neighbourhoods I visited often, given that my language school was based there. As I walked around in both neighbourhoods I did not mention much difference between them, but what I did mention was the high content of protection, namely police and self-protection. During my conversations with my upper-high class residents of Leblon and Ipanema I talked about these two different protection systems. This section will only discuss the increasing numbers of police officers until 2016. Through the conversations with my informants I noticed some themes, such as the trust of police, self-protection and corruption, were obviously more present than others. The upper-high class residents mentioned to have the feeling the *police trusts them*. However, all my informants pointed to the *corruption* of the police, and

therefore, they feel more comfortable by *self-protection*. Nonetheless, these informants are somehow satisfied, although it is still *not perfect*. The next subsections will discuss the before-mentioned themes.

Police trusts us

Whenever I walked around in Leblon or Ipanema and I bumped into police officers I noticed the difference in the amount of arms carried by police officers in Leblon and Ipanema, and the amount of arms carried by police officers in Rocinha. Joao, a 29-year old man I met through Marianna, lives his whole life in Leblon. He also noticed the difference of the amount of arms. As we were talking about the situation in Rio de Janeiro and the presence of police officers in Leblon, he expressed as following: *“the relationship between the residents of Leblon or Ipanema is different, for example, Cabral lives in my street, that explains the level of wealth in this neighbourhood. Let's be honest, money can make relationships and so trust.”* Although it was difficult for me to understand the relation between wealth and trust directly, it got clear to me when I spoke to my informants. My upper-class informants explained me the relationship between politics, money and trust. I understood that it makes sense to live in the same street as a governor or another politician, because it means that you support the political idea of these politicians. Whenever these politicians feel supported by the neighbourhood, they will trust you and thereupon the authorities train the police to trust the upper-class residents who support the same authorities. The concept of trust is something that influences the feeling and experience of *fear*. As explained by Hale (1996), the interpersonal trust affects the safety perception in a positive way. Thereupon, the political power also influences the safety perception of residence. Hale's model of Uncertainty makes clear that fear is impressionable by political power and interpersonal trust.

Self-protection

When I talked with my informants about the increasing number of police officers, the majority of my informants seemed to care less about the police than I expected. I had the assumption that the residents of Leblon and Ipanema would care about the presence of police on the streets. I talked to Paula, a 26-year old woman who was born and raised in Leblon, at one of the private universities of Rio de Janeiro. Paula explained to me that she does not have a special feeling about the presence of police in her neighbourhood because of the amount of self-protection. She expressed: *“we diminish the chance to become a victim of crime.”* So I asked her how she diminishes the chance, whereupon she answered: *“for example, I go to the university by car or taxi, my house has fences and a doorman. And whenever I walk outside, I try not to carry valuable stuff with me.”* Paula introduced me to other fellow students at the university where I could talk

to. I introduced myself to Christian, a 29-year old student who lives in Leblon. Christian told me that he lives by himself in an apartment that his parents have bought for him. When we started to talk about his house he explained: *"my parents bought me the house for my 23th birthday. My mom wanted me to live in the neighbourhood because she thinks Leblon is the safest place, and this house was for sale in that time. So, they bought it."* I understood that the fear of crime of Christian's mother created a 'safe' haven for him, according to his mother's perception. The street-scape of Leblon and Ipanema demonstrate the high level of self-protection systems through the buildings. The main residents of Leblon and Ipanema live in gated condominiums or other form of gated communities. However, during my conversation with Christian and other informants I understood that self-protection and private protection is the standard in Leblon or Ipanema. Everybody in this neighbourhood is protecting themselves. Without hesitation, all my informants confirmed the fact that self-protection was high. The self-protection of my upper-high informants from Leblon and Ipanema is a variety of living in gated communities, gated condominiums, travel by car all the time, visit shopping malls and protected leisure facilities, such as cinemas or indoor activities. The vicarious fear of Christian's mother fits into Hale's Model of Vulnerability. Herrewegen (2011) explains that vicarious fear creates more fear. However, the Social Constructionist Perspective shows that the combination of different elements can create a fear as well. Also the opportunity to protect yourself on a high level creates more awareness of fear, and therefore, more fear.

Corruption

As mentioned in the previous section, corruption is the expression I heard most in Rio de Janeiro. Corruption and (political) power often go hand in hand. As described in the section of *police trusts us*, political power and wealth have an important role in Rio de Janeiro. The interesting difference between my low-middle class informants and my upper-high class informants about corruption is that where the low-middle class informants feel corruption against 'them', the upper-high class informants feel the corruption backing them up. My upper-high class informants explained me that because of their financial position they already feel power of police. Margereta, the 57-year old woman who already expressed herself about *moving freely* in the previous chapter, gave me an example by expressing the following: *"usually police select by the appearance of people and see who has money and who has not. Whenever they think you are wealthy, they are much softer. For example, years ago I got robbed at the beachside and went to the police to report the crime. The police was so nice to me and was willing to help me with everything. But I know they are not like this when some favelado goes to the police office to report a crime. They do not care about them."* After talking to all my upper-class informants I understood that they have the idea that police chooses a side, namely the side of the wealthy people. My

informants used the words *'we can buy police'* and *'I can use my power'*. This creates less fear for upper-high class residents of Leblon and Ipanema. They use their power of wealth to be 'safe'. According to the Explanation Model of Hale, the Uncertainty Model fits this situation, namely because of the political power which is used. However, this does not mean that the upper-high class informants have a general safe perception about their environment. This demonstrates the incompetency of this Model. One element can fit the model, but it is not the decision maker about the actual safety perception.

'Not perfect'

As I talked to my upper-high class informants I noticed that the majority of my informants sound optimistic about the increasing number of police officers. Overall, my informants express their safety perception in a positive way. They compared the situation before the notable presence of police in the streets with nowadays and used words like: *safer, pleasant* and *less fear*. A striking fact mentioned by the upper-high class residents is that they determined *'less favelados in the neighbourhood'* as a *pleasant* factor. A significant part of my informants explained me how the presence of the police chase the favelados away. They indicated that with less favelados in their neighbourhood, there would be less crime and thereupon less fear. However, as they describe favelados as a factor of fear, and chasing favelados away as a *'positive incidental circumstance'* of the police, they are still *suspicious* about the police and repeat the element of corruption within the Brazilian political system. Isabel, a 35-year old teacher at a private university in Rio de Janeiro explained me the following: *"I notice whenever there are more police officers on the street and less favelados, people are more relaxed. They walk more and travel less by car. So in that way it's a good sign that the street gets safer. But from the other side, it does not mean that the crime which happened before, does not happen anymore. I think crime relocates and I guess other neighbourhoods have the problem Ipanema and Leblon had before. So it is not perfect, but we go to the right direction of safety."*

'The new generation of Rio'

'Yes, I will join' was my answer when Rafael asked me if I wanted to come to a protest in front of the Maracanã stadium. I met him at the metro station and we walked to the stadium, where the opening ceremony of the Confederation Cup happened. At one side, I noticed around two hundred dancing protesters with the Brazilian flag and singing songs against the decisions of the government. At the other side, I noticed hundreds of armed police officers wearing black bullet-free uniforms, including helmets and other attributes. It felt unfair. The protesters were just singing. I wondered, why so many police officers? As soon as the opening ceremony started and all the guests were inside the stadium, a conflict

between protesters and police started. Rafael took my hand and told to walk to the metro station. But soon enough I noticed that walking was not enough and we started running, given that the tear gas bombs and bullets whizzed past our ears. As we ran away, Rafael looked behind us to assess the situation and told me 'run, run'.

As the 'regular' upper-high class residents of Leblon and Ipanema used the themes 'police trusts us', 'self-protection', 'corruption' and 'not perfect' during my formal and informal conversations, my intellectual informants dissociate themselves from these 'regular' upper-high class residents. As I spoke to Gabriela, a 28-year old film producer, who lives in Leblon for eight years, I understood the ins and out of that matter. When discussing the subject of the increasing numbers of police officers in Rio de Janeiro, she expressed as following: *"In Brazil the presence of the police can mean safety if they are in a small number and just walking around and not really doing anything. Whenever they start acting it is always a problem, since they are extremely violent, even with minors. It is known that they torture people and beat them up, so their presence is always a weird feeling. Whenever you are in a dark street in Rio de Janeiro and you see the police car, you are never sure if that is a good sign or a bad sign. You will most probably walk as far from it as possible. However, I do not feel safer with more police around. Especially their presence brings consequences for the people demonstrating. People demonstrate to show that they are not happy with the decisions of the government. So the police is not on the streets to protect the protesters but to make them fear the streets, and fear speaking their minds because they might be treated like police have been treating the poor black young men in the favelas since ever."* Talking to my intellectual informants, I realized that their perception of police is totally different from the perception of the 'regular' upper-high class residents of Leblon and Ipanema. This group feels threatened by the police and believes that the high amount of present police officers creates an *unsafe, dangerous and threatening* feeling. As Rafael explained me: *"In Brazil right now police has been the answer to violence, protests and social disparities. Everything is resolved with police, so the corrupt politician will not have to face dialogue. The increasing number of police officers cannot be seen as an advance in any society. If we were really moving forward, we would lessen police officers every day."*

5.2 Surveillance and monitoring devices

During the preparatory stage of both 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games the Federal Government of Brazil accentuated the need of surveillance and monitoring technology, through several new technology systems. According to the City Government, the new technologies, as described in chapter one, should increase the objective safety, but also the subjective safety of

Rio de Janeiro. SENASP, the security secretary of the state of Rio de Janeiro preserves public order and safety for citizens and property. Monitoring vehicles are purchased to control the public safety in order to create a safer city. However, monitoring *unsafety* is not only done publicly, but also privately. As O Globo described: “*Rio é monitorado por 700 mil câmeras de vigilância privadas*” – ‘Rio is monitored by 700,000 private surveillance cameras’ (Alencar, 2013). The next subsections will describe how the low-middle class residents of Rocinha and the upper-high class residents of Leblon and Ipanema perceive their safety related to the increasing numbers of surveillance and monitoring devices.

5.2.1 Rocinha

Rocinha has more CCTV cameras than London and is the best monitored neighbourhood in the world’ (BBC News, 2013).

The situation of Rocinha has been changed since the city won the bid of the 2016 Olympic Games. Until 2011, the neighbourhood was ruled and controlled by drug gangs, but nowadays the pacification police UPP has control (Cano, 2013). As described in chapter one, the UPP should take territorial control over the neighbourhood to lessen the violence and crime to create a safe environment. Besides increasing the numbers of military police officers within Rocinha, military police also purchased technological devices for surveillance and monitoring the citizens. Through CCTVs, helicopters and drones the police controls the citizens in a monitoring room. According to the authorities and BBC (2013) Rocinha is nowadays the best monitored neighbourhood in the world with eighty CCTVs in the streets and three helicopters non-stop flying above the neighbourhood.

‘To care about the cameras or not to care about the cameras?’

As I was looking up to the huge, white CCTV between the messy electricity standards, a woman asked me: “querida, *what are you looking at?*” I greeted her and explained that I was interested in cameras and visiting Rocinha to understand how the citizens feel about these cameras. Her reaction was: “*which camera?*” I looked up and pointed to the camera and asked her if she knew about these cameras in her neighbourhood, whereupon she expressed as following: “*why do we have a camera here? Nobody told me about it. Can you tell me why it is there?*” As surprised as I was I asked her if nobody told her that these cameras were installed, whereupon she answered: “*no*”. I felt uncomfortable, as I felt the police in my back, and invited the woman to sit somewhere on a bench to continue our conversation. As soon as we took a sit, I introduced Rafael and myself to her and explained my interests. Her name is Maria and she is 72 years old, as I already introduced her in the previous section. Maria was surprised about the ability of these cameras

and she was just shaking her head. I understood how much she was surprised and how little she knew about what goes on in her neighbourhood. Suddenly she called Daniela to come. Daniela was working at a kiosk a few meters from the bench. As soon as she arrived I introduced Rafael and myself again. Daniela asked Maria why she called her, whereupon Maria asked Rafael and me to tell the story of the cameras. Daniela indicated to know about the cameras and expressed as following: *"yes, I heard about the cameras"* whereupon Maria said: *"Who told you about these cameras?"* and Maria answered that a shopper at the kiosk told her once. I realised that the installation of the CCTVs was not announced. During my other conversations with low-middle class residents I noticed that almost everybody knew about the cameras, and Maria was an exception. The majority of my informants knew about the cameras, but did not care. They do not fear anything and thus do not avoid these cameras during their daily life. My informants explained me that the cameras do not change their behaviour and that they use the public space as they did before. However, Roderigo the 57-year old man that I introduced before, explained me the following about public spaces: *"from the moment that we have cameras in public space, we see less drug traffickers, by which more people are having there social life on the streets."* As I was not able to talk to a drug trafficker to understand their behaviour about the cameras, I accept what my informants say about the traffickers' behaviour. The traffickers probably avoid the cameras, which corresponds with Welsh and Farrington (2007). They demonstrated that camera supervision only has a preventive effect on offenders who know the risk of the criminal activity which they plan for, whereas rational offenders hardly bear the presence of the CCTVs.

'Better than police'

When Flavia told me that she fears victimization of her daughter, I asked her how she feels now the cameras are installed. She explained me that the cameras are only installed in the main streets and not uphill where she lives. However, she sounded optimistic about the cameras and told me: *"to me, everything is better than police on the streets. These cameras capture what we do, but do not rape or kill us."* Flavia's words were coloured through her experience, but it was an eye opener to me. I realised that the fear about police is that high, that everything was better than police on the streets. The difference between fearing police and fearing CCTV was obviously present during my conversations. The majority of my informants explained me that cameras do not create violence within the neighbourhood, whereas the police does. Felipe, who expressed his feeling about the invasion of BOPE, expressed himself as following when talking about cameras: *"cameras are different than the police. The police do not know who is a criminal or not, so they shoot randomly till they find the real criminal. So it is difficult to rely on the police, and easier to rely on these cameras."* Despite I understood Felipe's point, I was curious if he realised that these cameras are captured by police also, thus I asked him if he knows by whom these camera

recordings are captured. His answer was: *"I actually do not know, but at least it is not the police."* The lack of knowledge about these cameras is clearly reflected in the above-mentioned. However, according to literature, one of the main objectives of CCTV installation is creating a better safety perception. After my conversations I noticed that my low-middle class residents are positive about the presence of CCTVs, especially when they compare it to police officers. The armed actions and corruption through the police affected the trustworthiness in the police.

'I trust my neighbours'

"The police has installed a camera in front of my house, I guess it captures my whole house and rooftop, but I do not care being recorded, I do not change my behaviour anyway." Those were Carlos' words when we talked about the role of these CCTVs in Rocinha. I met Carlos when I was waiting for the bus to go back home. He was together with his colleagues waiting for passengers to bring them uphill and asked me if I needed a ride. As I explained that I was waiting for the bus, he asked me what I was doing in Rocinha as a foreigner. I explained him about my research and he was very encouraging and started to tell about his perception. He expressed his fear about the police, but also about the cameras. Carlos told me that the only persons he trusts are his neighbours and family, and explained me why, as following: *"in Rocinha, it is not only the police who has cameras. Drug traffickers also have their own cameras, but also hack the cameras of the UPP. You can call it a civil war between police and drug traffickers. Cameras will not solve any problem, it is just a marketing tool."* The story about the installation of drug traffickers' cameras was not new to me, but it was new to me that this guy was aware about the difference and abilities of these devices. I continued asking Carlos about his safety perception related to these cameras, whereupon he answered: *"Rocinha is safe for its own people. We protect each other and people who live here know how to live."* Carlos explained me he protects his neighbours by keeping an eye on the streets, to talk to the children and guard whenever necessary. Carlos' words were similar to Theo's words. However, Theo also mentioned that crime did not reduce with cameras, it only reduced crime and violence on the CCTV location. According to Theo, crime is just displaced. He expressed as following: *"I do not live here around the main streets but uphill, where the facilities are worse. The crime still happens there because we do not have police or cameras, we only have each other."* Theo explained me that there are no facilities or diversity around his house. Even the physical elements, such as light and pavement are in bad condition. The majority of my informants confirmed this fact. They told me that the facilities of Rocinha are not comparable with the *'asphalt'*, and the lack of facilities uphill are worrisome. According to Herrewegen (2011) the environmental model of Hale includes both physical as well as social elements. The social elements are based in Jacobs' view (1961) on social cohesion with Jacobs arguing that the building environment is essential for the safety perception of the citizens.

5.2.2 Leblon/Ipanema

Leblon and Ipanema are provided with public surveillance devices which are controlled by the same public authorities, but besides these public devices, these neighbourhoods also know a different dimension of surveillance, namely the private surveillance. Surveillance is used as a self-protection method within Leblon and Ipanema. These surveillance devices are used within gated-communities. Upper-high class residents try to escape from reality in this way and leave the unpleasant or threatening environment behind them (de Souza, 2005). The next sections of this section will explain what the safety perception of upper-high class residents is related to the surveillance and monitoring devices.

'feeling protected'

A friend of mine introduced me to one of her fellow students Tauana at the private university of Rio de Janeiro. I met her at the university and introduced myself to her. As soon as I explained my interest in surveillance and CCTVs she started telling me about her condominium. Tauana, a 25-year old woman, lives with her parents in one of the gated condominiums of Ipanema. She explained me her daily routine around her apartment as following: *"actually I am continuously captured by CCTVs. As soon as I leave the door to the elevator, the camera in the corridor and the two cameras in the elevator capture me, however as soon as I enter my building and whenever I leave my building either by car or not, I am captured by the CCTVs installed on the fences."* Tauana's routine around her apartment is commonplace for residents of these condominiums. According to the majority of my informants, being captured creates a feeling of safety. My informants indicated that in this way they are sure they are safe and no robbers or thieves will enter their houses. My informants explained me their feeling of safety through explaining me their intimate relation with the doorman, the ability to park the car guarded and the feeling of being carefree. Christian also confirmed this. As explained before Christian lives in an apartment bought by his parents to keep him safe. Christian also mentioned that his apartment is provided with 25 CCTVs in and around the building. He explained me that the administrator of his condominium just bought another ten CCTVs to protect the building. Christian expressed as following: *"when I just moved to this apartment seven years ago, there were a few robberies because of little CCTVs. Not all the corners of the building were captured by which a robber could find a way to get in."* He explained that since then, the number of CCTVs increased enormously in his neighbourhood. As I asked my informants how they feel about being captured, the majority explained that they think it is strange to know someone is watching through a camera, but that they never think about it during the day. They also mentioned that if these cameras are installed

to increase the public security, then it should be fine. My informants confirmed De Souza's view (2005), that condominiums and gated communities are seen as absolute secure, and therefore provide a solution to urban crime and violence. In this way people try to escape the reality and leave the unpleasant or threatening environment behind them (de Souza, 2005).

'I never thought about my privacy'

When I visited a university, I talked with a group of four students, Paula, Christian, Tauana and Beatriz, about my research. I explained the aim and my interest. We were sitting at a table, talking about surveillance and monitoring. The students shared the opinion that Rio de Janeiro does not have that much surveillance devices. At that time I pointed to eight CCTVs around the table we were sitting. These CCTVs were installed at the university complex. When I mentioned these CCTVs, Paula expressed as following: *"but these cameras are just to keep away criminals."* As the other three students agreed with Paula, I asked them how these cameras kept criminals away. The four students started an enthusiastic discussion about my question. The subjects of protection, safety, and discourage were being discussed. However, the main mentioned subject was the ability of detection. The students agreed that, as these CCTVs capture images, they are able to find the offender. According to Artimage (2002), the ability of detection is one of the assumptions of CCTVs. However, I asked the students what kind of safety perception they create by knowing that CCTVs can be used to detect a person. This seemed to be a difficult question, whereupon I asked the question who of these students fears privacy. Surprisingly, none of these four students, neither my other informants fear their privacy. Beatriz even emphasized that *"its just the doorman who watches"*. However, as previously mentioned the authorities of Rio de Janeiro have the permission to use the captured images of the private CCTVs but also to monitor these CCTVs during mega-events. I noticed that my upper-high class informants do not realise the effects on privacy.

Visiting similar places

During the conversations with my upper-high class informants the avoidance of CCTVs came up. I asked my informants if they ever avoid CCTVs, although I already knew that avoiding CCTV while living in a gated condominium would not be an option. Nonetheless, I noticed during my conversations that most of my informants visit places provided with CCTVs, such as shopping malls, restaurants and other leisure facilities. Marianna, the teacher I met at the language school, expressed as following: *"it is a reassurance to know that you can go shopping carefree. I feel safe in these shopping malls as there is a high level of surveillance"*. These shopping malls are provided with many CCTVs, surveillance officers and alarm systems. Margareta expressed that she mainly visits places provided with surveillance because of her car. According to Artimage

(2002), parking spaces which are provided with CCTVs, show a decreasing number of car theft or damage. In this case my upper-class informants show their fear about victimization through their properties. According to Herrewegen (2011), victimization develops through the experience and feelings during time. Within these locations with a high surveillance level, the developers try to create a safety utopia. According to Boutellier (2007) a safety utopia is the creation of an idea that a place can be safe through measures and in the same time the individual wants to have hundred percent of freedom.

'The new generation of Rio'

'While walking through one million other people during a protest in Rio de Janeiro, Gabriela looked with her head up, pointed to the huge portable cameras in the middle of the street and said "they know everything about me, but they keep their own secrets. I want honesty".'

During my conversations and participations with 'the new generation' I noticed that this group really differs from the rest of the upper-high class informants, which was affirmed by Chyntia. I met Chyntia during a protest. She is a 28 years old woman who lives in Leblon. As we walked through the crowd, I noticed that Chyntia covered her total face with her scarf. As soon as I tried to talk to her, she expressed as following: *"I do not know you, so please do not talk to me"*. As I noticed her perfect English I started a conversation carefully, and told her why I participated in the protests and the reason of my stay in Rio de Janeiro. During the talk Chyntia got more amenable and explained me why she covered her face as following: *"I read many things about Brazilian government. I know how they capture our faces and use them for other purposes. It is ironic. They use our face and behaviour for everything, but take their own actions secret"*. I understood the irony of the cameras. The new generation points to the fact that the governments keeps all their actions secret, but in the same time tries to know everything about their citizens.

Conclusion

The mega-events, and in particular, the Olympic Games shifted from having social value to having an economic value for the hosting city. Originally, the Olympic Games are aiming the concept of Olympism. The economic value for Rio de Janeiro is demonstrated through the investments to create a safe city to attract international visitors and international relations to upgrade their economic status on global level. As the city of Rio de Janeiro deals with high crime and violence rates, the city is forced to solve these issues before the arrival of the two mega-events. Transforming Rio de Janeiro to a safer city happens through two main safety measures, namely increasing the numbers of police officers and increasing surveillance and monitoring devices. Through my research I aimed at investigating to what extent these safety measures affect the subjective safety perception of low-middle class residents and the upper-high class residents. I will answer this question through the difference between the social classes per each measure. However, firstly, I want to explain the difference between the two social classes by interpreting the concept of safety.

During my conversations I realized that the meaning of safety is not the same for everyone as the interpretation is dependent on the several circumstances in which one lives, such as the environment, the needs and the personal experience. My research showed that the meaning of safety of my low-middle class residents, who live within less developed areas, which can also be declared as 'poor', are influenced by their basic physical needs. This social class is in need of education and health systems. Their society presents a lack of providing the basic needs, whereas the wealthy society of my upper-high class informants does not show this lack, whereby the meaning of safety changes for the upper-high class residents. During my conversations I realised that where my low-middle class informants are in need of basics, my upper-high class informants associate safety with the low-middle class residents and the poverty they live in. They relate their crime and violence experience directly with low-middle class residents, to the extent that they need to protect themselves 'against poverty'. This association of the concept of safety can be related to the subjective safety perception of the low-middle class residents and upper-high class residents as presented within the increasing numbers of police.

Whereas the low-middle class residents struggle with the pacification of their neighbourhood with violent shootings, deaths and the presence of heavily-armed vehicles, the upper-high class resident explain their situation as being 'not perfect'. The low-middle class residents explain their safety perception through a fear of crime. Although they have created their own way of life, they still fear to become a victim, especially a victim of police and thus the pacification. As Rocinha is pacified for the upcoming mega-events, it is clear that the pacification

will continue until 2016. However, my low-middle class informants fear the temporariness of this measure, as they are aware of the economic values for the authorities during these mega-events until 2016. This is also the reason that my low-middle class informants describe the pacification as a symbolic act of the authorities. My informants are worried about the future and that is why these informants do not feel or experience an increasing safety perception since they have no trust in this measure. Nonetheless, the upper-high class informants feel back-upped by this measure. This class has the feeling to be trusted by the police, because of their financial and political power. Even though they are aware about the corruption within the government, they have the feeling that the situation improved compared to the one before the pacification. They feel much more protected and their subjective safety perception has increased, although it is still not perfect for them. However, they try to bring their lives close to perfection through the private surveillance and monitoring systems.

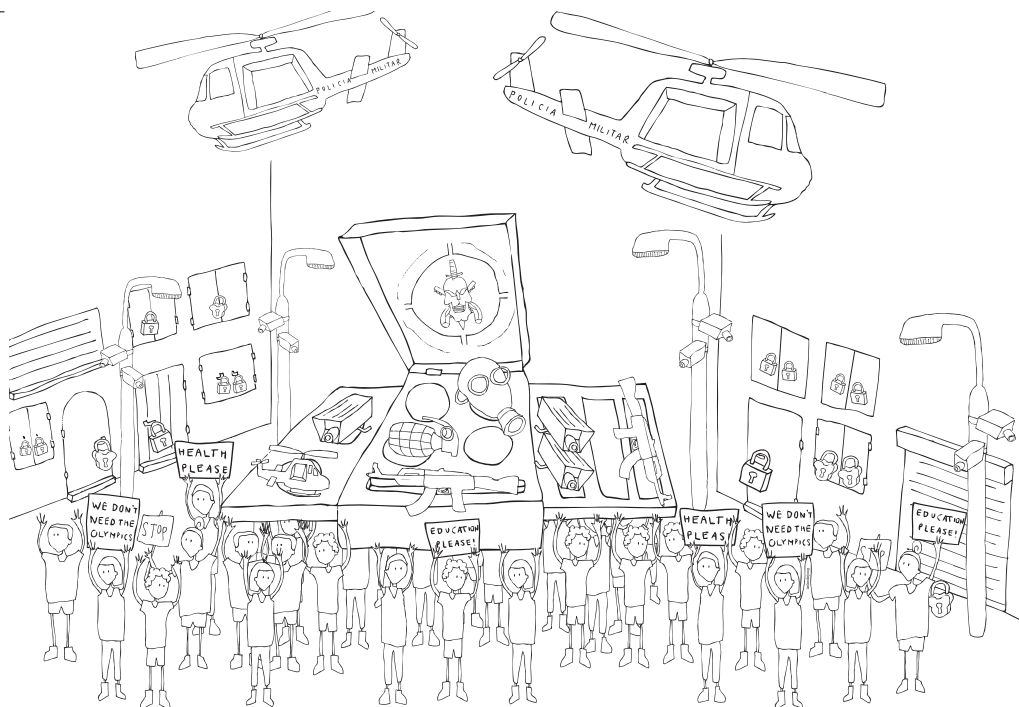
Surveillance and monitoring devices are the second main measure of the authorities to create a safer city for the upcoming mega-events. The low-middle class residents have less knowledge about these devices and do not know the abilities, but however, they feel better protected by CCTVs than by police, as they do not have to fear violence and crime through CCTVs, as they do with the police. Nevertheless, the low-middle class residents also explain that these cameras do not replace their social cohesion as the trustworthiness of the low-middle class residents about their environment is high. In this light, these residents have also explained that they would not change their behaviour because of the presence of CCTVs, which not differs with the upper-high class residents, as they do not avoid cameras, and even choose to be in places which have surveillance devices. Through these devices, the upper-high class residents' subjective safety perception increases. The feeling of protecting tipped the privacy issue of the upper-high class residents, as they do not think about the consequences of being watched all the time.

It can be said that these four elements, namely victimization, uncertainty, environment and vulnerability, effect the safety perception of both classes. This corresponds with Hale's (1996) Explanation Model, but as Hale argues every model separately, this research showed that these elements should be seen as a combination of all four, which is in line with Herrewegen (2011). Looking at Herrewegen's (2011) theory of Social Constructionist Perspective, low-middle class residents within favelas have in general a *routinely safety perception*, as they are always prepared for crime and violence and created a way of life to deal with the circumstances of their neighbourhood. The upper-high class have a combination of *unforeseen safety perception* and *irregular safety perception*, as they do not live in the circumstances of daily crime, but they fear crime in their city. However, they try to create a *manageable safety perception* through self-

protection, as they want to control the crime and violence within their living environment. Nonetheless, the third group 'the new generation of Rio' shows to have the same *routinely safety perception* as the low-middle class as they are aware of the risks and as they see themselves as equal humans with the low-middle class.

As Brazil is known as a democracy, and so, every citizen should have the right to feel safe and secured and trust the authorities in their daily life (Glebbeek, 2003), it is wondering whether it is correct to call Brazil a democracy, since the low-middle class residents of this research have negative safety perception, little trust and a feeling of insecurity. The pacification of favelas did not change the safety perception in a positive way of low-middle class since the lack of trust and communication with police, whereas the upper-high class feels better protected due to their trust and communication with police. Nonetheless, the installation of CCTVs seems to create a better safety perception comparing with police, as low-middle class argues that CCTVs are not able to create violence. The upper-high class got used to the presents of CCTVs as they already use these devices in their private live.

So, it seems that these measures to create a safer city till 2016 are just as deceptive as make-up. The government tries to 'clear' the unevenness of the Rio de Janeiro, pretending how willing they are to transform Rio de Janeiro into a safe city, through a layer of 'make-up'. However, it is reasonable that this make-up will disappear after 2016, and the true face of Rio de Janeiro will pup up again. It can be questioned what will happen after 2016. What the safety perception of both classes will affect and how these perceptions will develop.



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