

THE PRODUCTION OF (IN)SECURITY IN SÃO PAULO: CHANGING PATTERNS OF DAILY ACTIONS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SOCIAL PRACTICES THEORY

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Summary: The growing research on public security policy in the context of urban crime and insecurity largely re-reflects a shifting paradigm towards a new culture of control. At the same time, research has rarely associated descriptive studies about the emergence of insecurities with discourses, policies and measures that aim at the production of greater urban security. This paper seeks to address this comparison through exploring the interwovenness of security practices and arrangements in everyday life. Drawing on the theory of social practices and the interaction of agencies and structures – institutions, policies and discourses at different scales – we argue that there is a mutual interrelation between public and private security policies on the one hand and the space-related everyday practices of urban middle-class residents on the other hand. Taking two districts located in the city of São Paulo as examples, the paper presents the results of 70 qualitative interviews with inhabitants concerning the nexus of doings and sayings in everyday practices in the context of different (in-)security production processes. We discuss how these security practices emerge as the grounding concept of shifting public security and neighbourhood at the local level. Thus, the main purpose of the paper is to theoretically overcome the conceptual dualism of reading sociality in public and private (in-)security by putting social practices theory empirically into practice.

Zusammenfassung: Die zunehmende Forschung über öffentliche Sicherheitspolitik im Zusammenhang mit städtischer Kriminalität und Unsicherheit spiegelt einen Paradigmenwechsel hin zu einer neuen Kontrollkultur wider. Gleichzeitig hat die Forschung nur selten deskriptive Studien über die Entstehung von Unsicherheit im Zusammenhang mit Diskursen, Politiken und Maßnahmen einbezogen, die auf die Produktion von größerer urbaner Sicherheit abzielen. Der vorliegende Artikel versucht, diese Verknüpfung herzustellen, indem die Verflechtung von Sicherheitspraktiken und -arrangements im Alltag untersucht werden. Ausgehend von der Theorie der sozialen Praktiken und der Interaktion von Handlungen und Strukturen – Institutionen, Politiken und Diskurse auf verschiedenen Ebenen – argumentieren wir, dass es eine wechselseitige Beziehung zwischen öffentlichen und privaten Sicherheitspolitiken einerseits und den raumbezogenen Alltagspraktiken von Bewohnerinnen und Bewohnern der städtischen Mittelschicht andererseits gibt. Am Beispiel von zwei Bezirken in der Stadt São Paulo präsentiert der Beitrag die Ergebnisse von 70 qualitativen Interviews mit Bewohnerinnen und Bewohnern zum Zusammenhang von *doings* and *sayings* in ihren Alltagspraktiken im Kontext unterschiedlicher (Un-)Sicherheitsproduktionsprozesse. Wir diskutieren dabei, wie sich diese Sicherheitspraktiken als grundlegendes Konzept der Verlagerung von öffentlicher Sicherheit und Nachbarschaft auf lokaler Ebene herausbilden. Das Hauptanliegen des Artikels besteht somit darin, den konzeptionellen Dualismus der Lesart von Sozialität in öffentlicher und privater (Un-)Sicherheit theoretisch zu überwinden, indem die Theorie der sozialen Praxis empirisch in die Praxis umgesetzt wird.

Keywords: social geography, urban security policy, social practices theory, urban middle class, Brazil, São Paulo

1 Introduction

When addressing security and insecurity in urban areas, one soon comes across concepts like fear of crime and perception of insecurity. Approaches to understanding both topics emphasise the use of measurable factors – whether individual and collective or physical-environmental – and relate these factors to crime rates, concern about incivilities, victimisation and a variety of socio-demographic factors to explain the emergence of insecurity. Scholars, especially those with experience in the field of psycholo-

gy, have tended to develop an in-depth view of what makes us fearful and feel insecure by boosting the quantity of variables involved in various multidimensional models to “confirm the complexity of explicative modelling on perceived insecurity” (VALERA and GUÀRDIA 2014, 202). However, we argue that they insufficiently consider the nexus of agency and materiality in order to delineate mutual characteristics in the production process of security and insecurity. Based upon a social-constructivist critique that considers the conceptual distinction between these two approaches, the emphasis here is on the social re-

production of fear and fear-related agency. Therefore we take into account the discussion of ‘manufactured insecurity’ (e.g. GIDDENS 1996), but without disregarding the meaning of emotions like fear, anxiety, worry and stress in experienced daily life (PILE 2009; BERCHT and WEHRHAHN 2010). In accordance with the concepts of affective atmospheres, urban geopolitics and atmospheric practices (FREGONESE 2017; BILLE and SIMONSEN 2019), the following debate on insecurity strives for the dissolution of discourse and experiences (e.g. PAIN and SMITH 2008). This dissolution is taken up by the current discussion about ‘practising emotions’ (e.g. EVERTS and WAGNER 2012; SCHURR and STRÜVER 2016; LAHR-KURTEN 2018, HOPPE-SEYLER et al. 2019) that seeks to enhance debate on the emergence, development and performance of emotions/affects with the social practices approach (e.g. SCHATZKI 1996, 2002; RECKWITZ 2002). By understanding fear as “a normal everyday condition of modern society” (JACKSON and EVERTS 2010, 2792), we emphasise that fear and anxiety, among other emotions/affects, are part of everyday doings and sayings and interwoven in the fabric of our everyday lives (DAVIDSON and SMITH 2009).

To understand its interwoven character, the reciprocal production of insecurity and security should not be seen as a disembedded social phenomenon, but rather requires contextualisation in the interaction of agencies and structures. This includes the discursive framing of the phenomenon in the light of Latin America’s ‘age of insecurity’ (DAVIS 2006). Therefore, our aim is to analyse the profound changes in public security policies, law enforcement and the broad commercial provision of security services, and to simultaneously relate them to urban insecurity concerns experienced in inhabitants’ everyday practices. Considering both the discussion of shifting public or private security provision and the alteration of neighbourhood life, we finally argue in favour of taking a praxeological perspective to grasp their mutual relations in the daily ordering process of the urban middle class. This raises the question of how to understand and interpret the (dis-)ordering process in daily life. To what extent does the local level help us understand the social phenomenon of violence, crime and insecurity? How is it possible to (re-)construct the mutual generative process of security and insecurity? In order to address these research questions we structure our argument as follows. In the first section, we systemise area-based urban and security studies. By clustering different bodies of literature heuristically, we try to broaden the perspective on (in)securities in urban areas by

utilising social practices theory as our research approach. The next section begins with a brief summary of transforming urban security governance in our case study São Paulo. Then, based on the analysis of qualitative interviews with inhabitants of the city of São Paulo and non-participant observations, we portray exemplarily the daily doings and sayings of urban middle-class residents. By considering the stabilisation and destabilisation of specific bundles of practices and arrangements – namely those based on exchange, avoidance and control – we are able to extend understanding of the mutual interrelation of social practices and security policies both theoretically and empirically. Thus, the paper is not intended to enrich discussion about the conceptual differentiation or compatibility of emotions and affects, or to enhance the distinction of concepts like fear, anxiety or worries. Rather, by focusing on everyday practices that produce emotions and the plural meaning of the arrangements involved, the paper aims to address the empirical and theoretical view of reproductive mechanisms of fear-related security and insecurity practices.

2 A relational perspective on (in)security

In recent years, the issue of security and insecurity in urban contexts has not only become a central topos in political and public debates, but has also occupied a central position in transcontextual discussions of area-based urban security studies (CALDEIRA 2000; NÉMETH 2010; GRAHAM 2010; ADEY 2014; NISHIYAMA 2018). The antagonistic conceptual pair is treated as a pressing challenge for urban societies (PAVONI and TULUMELLO 2020) and discussed in relation to recent transformations of criminal and security policies (GRAHAM and HEWITT 2012; PASQUETTI 2019). Security and insecurity have also been debated as the core of an ongoing commodification of public goods (GARMANY and GALDEANO 2018). Thus both the individual explanatory factors of insecurities and the structural process of securities’ production and materialisation in different urban realms of daily life form the starting point of scholars’ debates on the ‘shifting of contemporary security’ (ABRAHAMSEN and WILLIAMS 2007; PHILO 2012). Therein, human geography critiques of recent trends in government practices related to urban crime and violence highlight particular socio-political meanings so as to distinguish both subjective and objective insecurity (LAWSON 2007). Furthermore, scholars question criminological models that measure perceived and

experienced insecurity. By use of ‘objective’ crime data, environmental and social disorder, victimisation and socio-demographic variables, these approaches claim to model fear of crime and subjective perceptions of insecurity in multivariate analysis frameworks (FRANKLIN et al. 2008, CHADEE et al. 2019). While measurable factors have been used to estimate public security and order problems in urban contexts (SKOGAN 1993; FERGUSON and MINDEL 2007), critical readings of current policing and crime control paradigms are dissociated from the crime hypothesis provided by WILSON and KELLING (1982) and predominantly used by more naturalistic psychological approaches.

Therefore, we question approaches that (only) grasp numerically and factorially what makes us afraid, fearful and insecure and that try to statistically disassemble fear and anxiety into their cognitive, emotional-affective and conative characteristics without examining the particular interrelations between them. Leading scholars taking a reflexive modernisation perspective (e.g. BAUMAN 1991; BECK 1992) have emphasised that efforts to produce security by implementing various safety measures and behaviours actually contribute towards confirming feelings of insecurity. In this regard, according to BAUMAN (1999), a loss of ‘security’ constitutes an increasing ambivalence in contemporary society. By endeavouring to combat fear through the establishment of security measures like walls, cameras or the engagement of security services, people simultaneously contribute towards both confirming and generating such fear. Furthermore, according to BAUMAN (2007), since fear is already incorporated in everybody’s mental state and ubiquitously permeates daily organisation, it requires no external stimulus. By considering the qualitative spectrum of daily fear-related agency, we slip away from an *outside* perspective on insecurities and securities, as fear is continuously fed from the *inside*. Understanding securities and insecurities in their absolute sense must therefore be considered as a limited perspective (e.g. EVERS and NOWOTNY 1987; GLASAUER 2005). It is rather necessary to develop a relational understanding of humans’ search for security that considers the shift from a collective to a privatised contestation in an ambivalent social order (SCHIEL 2005; JUNGE 2014).

In order to grasp (in)security as social phenomena (re-)produced in ordinary agencies and structured as an everyday condition of modern society, we turn our epistemological view towards a relational understanding of socially negotiated ordering problems. In addition to the discourse analysis, which

has been predominant in dealing with questions of insecurity from a socio-constructivist perspective, a new field of human geography has developed in the past 15 years. This new social-practice-centred approach draws its ontological impulse from a renewed practice-theory paradigm in philosophy and sociology (SCHATZKI 2016; SCHÄFER and EVERTS 2019). The practice theory presented in the reading by SCHATZKI (1996) and RECKWITZ (2002) serves as a grounding framework to study sociality. Social order is understood as a “mesh of practices and orders” (SCHATZKI 2002, xii) that are continuously being stabilised and destabilised. However, based on a culturalist paradigm, social order is not only located in intersubjectivity and norms, but also in cognitive knowledge and repetitive patterns of agencies (SCHATZKI 1997; RECKWITZ 2002). When looking at ordinary doings and sayings, the flat ontology approach offers a specific taxonomy that allows the agency-related and organisational dimension that governs social practices to be recognised. Furthermore, by the use of the conceptual bodies, specific meanings of order elements are named through their practice-based constitution and, last but not least, the linkages of practices and arrangements are systematised. By understanding the *hanging-together* of structure and agency through the elements organising and systematising practices and arrangements, the ontological ordering of social phenomena can be (re)constructed circularly (SCHATZKI 2002).

Focusing on fear-related agency, we address the current debate in the reading of human geography that demonstrates understanding of emotional geography’s approaches by including a social practice perspective (EVERTS and JACKSON (2009), JACKSON and EVERTS (2010), EVERTS et al. (2011), HAUBRICH 2015, SCHURR and STRÜVER 2016, FREGONESE 2017; BILLE and SIMONSEN 2019). These theory-based and empirically dense research projects are especially helpful in demonstrating how to relate emotional-affective attunements (SCHATZKI 1996, 122) with a socio-geographical perspective on everyday doings and sayings in the sense of ‘practising emotions’ (EVERTS and WAGNER 2012). Since “emotions are inseparable from other aspects of subjectivity such as perceptions, speech/talk, gestures, practices and interpretations of the surrounding world” (SIMONSEN 2007, 176), they depict “intrinsic parts and particles of practices” (EVERTS and WAGNER 2012, 174). Meanwhile, the theory of social practice regards emotions/affects only as a subcategory of teleoaffective structures: a normative mechanism of practices which governs what ought to be done and said.

However, the ‘sub’ should not be misunderstood. Instead of focusing on the simple individual existence of emotions, e.g. being afraid in response to a threat, the doing emotions in routinised doings and sayings, e.g. driving in the neighbourhood generates fear, are the objects of research in practice theory. This allows a specific view on the dynamic character of mutual meanings and emotions while people take part in similar practice-arrangements-bundles. Since the social practices theory emphasises the nexus of bodily doings and sayings as well as practice-relevant order elements and reads it as being reproduced in space and time, it becomes possible to expand understanding of increasing insecurity without excluding a perspective on the materialisation of security. This approach enables us to reconstruct the mutual nature of the generative mechanism of security and insecurity.

3 Framing the historical context and study area

Violence, crime and insecurity have been dominant problems of Latin American societies and urban policies since the 1980s (DAVIS 2006; LIMA and PAULA 2008; PEDRAZZINI and DESROSIERS-LAUZON 2011; DENEULIN and SÁNCHEZ-ANCOCHEA 2017). Both the tension between various actors of civil society, the public and also the commercial sector, and their mechanisms of providing and producing security have been the subject of recent discussion and form – in our case – one of the principal discursive elements of (in-)security in urban areas. Issues such as efficiency, effectiveness and legitimacy as well as problems like state violence, abuse and corruption have been prominent in the Brazilian debate (ADORNO 1998; DESMOND and GOLDSTEIN 2010). In particular, analysis of the transition phase (1974–1988) – from dictatorship to democracy – from a political science perspective locates the debate of urban violence and crime in fields like accountability and responsiveness, also raising issues such as democratisation and human rights (e.g. AHNEN 2007; STONE 2007). Referring to São Paulo, CALDEIRA (2010, 20 ff) points out that:

“the populations’ mistrust of the police as well as the judicial system is justified. The rise of violence and mistrust [...] has not prevented the democratic consolidation or legitimisation of citizenship or human rights inherent in it, but certainly, it has marked them crucially.”

Furthermore, by taking into account the current debate about the redefinition and restructuring of public security policy on the local level, services and measures offered by the commercial security market are related to the discussion about (in-)security production (MESQUITA NETO 2011; SOUZA 2008). Not only are commercial security services involved in public order and security provision as non-public agents, but civil society demands their involvement due to a historical mistrust of public security provision and unfulfilled expectations related to this. Indeed, in the last two decades dynamic quantitative and qualitative changes in the commercial provision of security services have led to a restructuring of urban security governance (HAUBRICH and WEHRHAHN 2015). In Brazil, the ‘país dos vigilantes’ (security guards’ country), the increasing role played by private security services in public life is revealed as private agents supplement or replace public security agents in public and semi-public spaces (PAOLINELLI 2007). The ongoing privatisation of public security accompanied by the expansion of private properties like shopping centres or gated communities in urban areas (e.g. GLASZE et al. 2006) is demonstrated by a clear shift in the ratio of public and private security agents, both of which have also increased in terms of absolute numbers (MUSUMECI 1998; SOARES 2007). In addition to the dynamic growth of agents, both those employed in officially registered private security companies and those that work illegally (*bi-ous*), the changing quality of services and measures now available on the commercial security market must be emphasised. Until the 1990s this market focused on guards and building security in banks and commercial areas. However, particularly since the 2000s there has been a massive expansion in different forms of personal and technical security measures like electronic fences, 24-hour alarm systems, monitoring and security cameras, with such features being implemented in the quantitatively increasing private and privatised spaces such as shopping centres and gated communities and, indeed, later in non-gated neighbourhoods over broader urban spaces (COY 2006; ZANETIC 2010). Due to technical innovation, electronic security measures have become ever cheaper and therefore increasingly affordable for a consolidating and broader Brazilian middle class (HAUBRICH 2015). Meanwhile the rapid growth of electronic security measures and their expansion into different realms of everyday urban life find their expression in both the public and the political spaces of the ‘city of walls’ (CALDEIRA 2000; WILLIAMS 2010). Since discussion about an increasing

ambivalence of social order cannot be reduced to a subjectively coloured reconstruction, we contextualise the hanging-together of structure and agency in its historical and current meaning for various aspects of contemporary society. Together, they depict the situational fundament for understanding their ordering effect, both stabilising and destabilising the mesh of practices and arrangements.

4 Data and methods

Former studies of the authors concentrated on particular aspects of violence production and questions of social inequality and security practices in specific contexts, based on parts of the empirical sample of interviews (WEHRHAHN and HAUBRICH 2017a and 2017b). In addition, HAUBRICH and WEHRHAHN (2015) presented first results of security politics at different spatial levels, based on expert interviews and participant and non-participant observations in order to reveal the changing logics of security governance in the city of São Paulo. By focusing on security practice at the micro-level, in his dissertation thesis HAUBRICH (2015) demonstrated at a very detailed scale how fear-related agency is reproduced in daily life. In contrast to these publications and integrating the authors' findings with new scholarship, in this paper we argue on a conceptual level, trying to enrich the debate on how to put practice theory into empirical practice and how to connect the theoretical approaches of fear-related emotions and affects with security studies.

The present work is guided by an ethnographic and qualitative research design using a mix of methods including interviews and non-participant observations. Based on an oral inquiry, 70 interviews were conducted in two districts of the city of São Paulo by both authors between 2012 and 2013, namely in Jabaquara in the south and Butantã in the west of the municipality. Various neighbourhoods in both districts belong to the broad Brazilian middle-class residential area. The heterogeneous socio-economic structure of the districts corresponds to the spatial proximity of both squatter settlements and high-income housing developments. Central parts of both districts emerged as relatively homogenous units between 1940 and 1980 and are characterised by one- to three-floor detached and terraced houses as well as by a relatively low dynamic of vertical transformation (*condomínios*). None of the neighbourhoods in either district display planned or ex-post street closing, they are rather characterised by non-gated, public ac-

cess. However, in all the neighbourhoods there has been a massive expansion of personnel and technical security measures (alarm systems, video cameras, security guards, private security patrols, etc.).

To better understand the security-related agency, middle-class households in both districts were asked to talk generally about how they act in various realms of daily urban life like housing, leisure and work. Following an interpretative schema of qualitative research (DELYSER et al. 2010), the narratives were systematised by means of daily activities and various social, discursive and material elements of order. By codifying the organisation-related dimension of agency and the compensation of order, both conceptual bodies were deconstructed reciprocally. As such, the way in which interviewees are engaged in public security and in their neighbourhoods demonstrates a specific hanging-together of structure and agency. The empirical narratives and observation of the daily ordering process of the urban middle class has been systematised to three bodies of practice – namely those of *practices of exchange*, *avoidance* and *control*. Naturally, the given terms are mentioned as heuristic categorisations and could be substituted by other terms more familiar in common concepts like segregation, othering or social control. They thus – in our case – only serve as a trivial scheme facilitating understanding of the reciprocal production of insecurity and security

5 Results and discussion

5.1 Practices of exchange

A 62-year-old female resident of the Butantã district is far from satisfied with life in her neighbourhood, although she mentions the easy access to shopping and leisure facilities. Her dissatisfaction stems from the ambivalent way in which everyone in her neighbourhood interacts. A 29-year-old woman describes such neighbourly contact as follows:

“It has changed because today the people are more impersonal, so when the neighbours formerly used to ask for a cup of sugar, today it's pretty sticky. I used to live in an apartment house for many years, where I just didn't know the neighbours next door.”
(Woman, 29 years old).

However, interaction on the street scale has not always been limited to quick greetings between

neighbours while putting the garbage out. Rather, the way neighbours now interact is linked to shifts in daily routines. Alessandro (40 years) indicates that people are obliged to work significantly more today than in the past. The 'more' is accompanied by a decreasing propensity to talk to the residents next door. Individuals may meet in the apartment house's elevator or on the landing, but have neither the time nor the social proximity for a brief chat.

Everyday life has accelerated and the daytime rush has become characteristic of São Paulo. Dirce, a 62-year-old resident, sees herself only running from one place to another: calling, shopping, driving, she does everything at the same time. According to Carolina, a 28-year-old resident of Jabaquara, lack of time is the main reason for a lack of interest in sharing communal life. Whereas people used to sit in front of their houses at nightfall, chatting with neighbours and watching kids playing on the street – a bundle of agencies constituting the former practice of exchange that established performed emotional attunements like comfort, satisfaction and easiness –, nowadays, according to a 54-year-old woman, residents in middle-class neighbourhoods sit boarded up inside their houses watching TV, and it is surprising to see a child playing in public.

In searching for rationalities to explain why a bygone way of engaging with neighbours has disappeared, different elements are ascribed a central meaning in the interviewees' daily social practices. These elements comprise transforming public security, increasing individuality and, particularly, the difference between the city and rural areas (interior). The neighbourhood in the city of São Paulo is governed by routine behaviour vastly different to the cosy get-togethers or kids playing in public spaces experienced in the interior. Thus, the interviewees link the divide between these practices of exchange by means of their teleoaffective structures, expressing the impersonal nature of the city in contrast to the good and familiar nature of the interior:

“Here in São Paulo, every place has its own path. If you go to a small village up-county (interior), you leave your house open, you sleep in your open house, there's no gate, the walls are very low, and nothing happens. It's this silence, another rhythm. There you can let your kids run. There you go to a square at midnight, one o'clock at night. On a hot day, you sit there, small talking, and no one will disturb you.” (Man, 37 years).

According to many narratives, the city's neighbourhoods were thrown out of kilter during the 1980s, when the setup of public security changed significantly and various forms of self-protection and security measures were established. Rather than sleeping with an unlocked front door and chatting casually as had been common, living in São Paulo required, for example, Juarey (58 years) to assimilate specific rules of time and spatial distance. Correspondingly, the city-interior contrast is strengthened by his later experiences in second or holiday houses in rural areas. Switching the fabrics of daily life from anonymous workday to familiar weekend constantly upends not only the meaning of public security, but also that of social exchange. Thus, like many interviewees, Rodrigo (28 years) indicated that people feel more secure in the interior's setting – an effect of how people come together on a regular basis.

5.2 Practices of avoidance

As mentioned above, the interior is charged with exclusively positive meaning when interviewees describe the neighbourhood context. In this regard, a 55-year-old resident of Jabaquara pontificates about the open coffee-klatch culture without phone calls that used to exist in rural areas. However, when the discourse about crime, drugs and robberies is tackled, this image is seen to be rapidly transforming. Descriptions of how people have to lock doors and raise walls not only in the city but also in the interior (woman, 34 years) undermine the idea of being secure in rural areas at any time.

“But, nowadays, it's getting bigger, today in the interior. I see that on television, I see terrible things happening in these small cities. Things, 20 years ago, you never heard about, never, but today you do. There, you just realise that these things are expanding more and more. I don't know what is going to happen, the things are bad.” (Man, 37 years).

Many interviewees describe the lack of public security as a serious political problem both in the city and the interior. Antônio (52 years) perceives the disorder of public security as steadily increasing in his neighbourhood. Referring to the setup of public security in the past, Dirce (54 years) confirms this tendency and mentions violence and crime as something that used to be far away – known in big cities such as Rio de Janeiro or Salvador and in the distant city

centre of São Paulo or its peripheral neighbourhoods (*favelas*). So, what has changed? Juarez, a 58-year-old resident of Butantã, is one of those who emphasises that with time, violence and crime have moved closer. What specifies the closeness and how is it expressed in daily social practices? According to him, everyone encounters it on TV and radio and in conversations with neighbours or colleagues. When we observe in our empirical data people watching the news, driving to work and doing sports, discursive and material elements like crime statistics, police work, or the local security guard on the street scale become ordering elements with specific meaning that is connected to emotional status expressed in individuals' performed practices. For example, whereas Ana Carolina (29 years) is afraid when she arrives at her workplace to find a police car in front of the company building, Svely (49 years) and Heloisa (57 years) praise the police work that stops them worrying on their daily walks around the neighbourhood. At the same time, the rise of robbery and violent attacks committed by dangerous youth gangs does not impact on Benedito's (68 years) comfort zone in the neighbourhood's green space at all. In contrast, broken car windows, stolen bikes and growing homicide rates, a predominant discursive order element in the news on public television, affect Vagner's (31 years) daily life to the extent that he is fearful whenever he leaves his apartment house. Although it is notable that crime issues have gradually expanded over time and space, it is worth mentioning that interviewees do not always distinguish between whether they have fallen victim to crime themselves or whether they have noticed the changes from hearsay. Hence, since the state of public order and security has been transformed gradually and almost imperceptibly, ways of being alert and protection and observation measures have been successively established. These are discussed below as practices of control.

Alongside general complaints about actual policing practice, injustice seems to hold central meaning for the interviewees as they constitute the discursive element of public security by performing their everyday practices. According to Rodolfo, a 62-year-old resident in Jabaquara, *he*, like the general 'honest citizens' (*pessoa de bem*), is confined to his own house whereas the *others*, such as criminals and other marginal social groups, are allowed to continue to walk the streets. Although the possession of firearms is forbidden by law, armed petty criminals frequent the streets. Assuming that the police act disciplinarily and repressively towards the others and thus fulfil expectations by imprisoning the transgressors, interviewees

like Daniela (35 years), Ínes (45 years) and Rodrigo (28 years) locate the lack of public security in the judiciary, which liberates the *bandidos* (bandit) immediately: "The police arrest, but the judiciary discharge" (see MARTINS et al. 2011). Hence, as Rafael (30 years) repeatedly mentions, the overcrowded prisons and the human rights organisations, who consistently defend only the *marginais* (marginal groups), seem to obstruct justice, or at least to obstruct 'honest citizens'. Nevertheless, the various interviewees point out that injustice has not always been the central characteristic of public security. Sumie (71 years) remembers that, particularly in the days of authoritarian regimes and the course of transition, police work was not restricted by democratic government, human rights' conventions and law enforcement. Thus public policing was more effective in its combat of violence and crime.

Such expressions of strong normative general understanding of current public police practices and law enforcement policy indicate a re-classification whereby public security is seen to totter. The narratives express demands for exclusion, punishment or social sorting that characterise repressive elements of a shifting culture of control (for a more detailed discussion see HAUBRICH and WEHRHAHN 2015). Interviewees rebuke public actors such as lawmakers (penal code) and public security forces (police) for not assuming their responsibilities. Both ought to engage in an iron-hand type of policing practice. Similarly to many others, Nilson (65 years) points out that the deficit of public security is considered to be a political problem which has to be countered by raising investment in policing and its equipment, extending the police presence in public areas and tightening the penal code. By staying at home, retreating from public space, spending time in shopping centres or not attracting attention – as examples of agencies constituting practices of avoidance that are organised by emotions of fear and worry – interviewees continuously establish a specific meaning of security issues and artefacts.

"This is how everybody behaves: for example, at a certain time we follow a protocol to leave the house. And you think well what you take along. I leave everything at home. The only objects are an insurance card and mobile phone. So you see, I have absolutely nothing in my pocket, I don't call my wife or my family outside and I just wear my work clothing. Nothing striking or that attracts attentions for those that are going to mug." (Man, 37 years).

Like various other interviewees, Geraldo, a 65-year-old resident, emphasises the ‘problem’ that impunity is enjoyed by various realms of society. Meanwhile, practices of avoidance are based on feelings like powerlessness and fear (woman, 28 years). They are established by a wide range of actions like hiding, protecting and closing up that make up the new context of a deficient and unjust public security that interviewees experience constantly on the neighbourhood level.

5.3 Practices of control

Like many others, a 30-year-old man living in a detached house discusses participation in public space as the ideal concept of public security. A 28-year-old resident next door endorses this idea by calling it ‘freedom’. She must be able to be in the street at any given moment and be safe from assault. Since the idea of being unafraid in public is understood as representing public security among the interviewees, it continues to be desirable even if non-existent nowadays. For instance, a 49-year-old woman describes her lived reality in public:

“The people are no longer at peace to stay on the street. There is no more safety to go shopping or to go to work, because they can’t trust, and they shouldn’t because all the time someone is being assaulted.” (Woman, 49 years).

The loss of security comes along with a breach of trust in actors of public and private security provision: “I trust [in the police] and at the same time I mistrust them” (woman, 62 years). Since there is widespread doubt about the practices of public and private security provision among the urban middle class, a specific bundle of security-related practices and arrangements like self-protection, barricading and weaponry has been constituted. Most of the interviewees are extensively engaged in such practices. They constantly emphasise that, nowadays, security without payment no longer exists. Discussions about whether the car is armour-plated or the apartment houses possess an individual security scheme are typical of daily urban life and indicate that (in-)security has become a business. It is a business for everyone, as Delza (63 years) mentions, for the bandit, for the insurer and for the stakeholder of a private security service. Nonetheless, the necessity of paying for private se-

curity provision is considered ridiculous (woman, 52 years). The vast majority of the narratives constantly claim that people already pay enough taxes. People expect to receive public security provision, however, referring to the Brazilian reality that interviewees experience in daily life, it seems necessary for everybody to provide their own private security and to pay extra, regardless of whether a personal consensus exists or not. Such practices of control involve a nexus of security-related doings and sayings or materials and arrangements such as the implementation of video surveillance and alarm devices at home or in the car, as well as the resident assembly’s decision to establish security systems in the apartment houses.

Particularly, for Carolina (28 years) getting home ‘safely’ depends on whether she spends money on security or not: “Those who have money pay the BR Vargas [local private security company] and those who don’t end up going home alone and being assaulted”. At the same time, the activity of going home safely is related to a general belief in the uselessness of the security guard: “There’s a gate [of the security company], but he opens the door to everyone” (woman, 57 years). The bundles of practices of control involving the use of private security services and measures are again linked to unjust and ineffective public security. However, this time the shift of responsibility for public security provision towards private security or even informal security arrangements on the street level is criticised among the interviewees. For Carolina (28 years), paying for personal security by using surveillance measures or security guards does not make sense at all. She further legitimates this by referring to the unresolved issues of state accountability and responsiveness and the constituting of her practices of control as inappropriate or even illegal.

“We have to have everything behind bars. We have to have gates. We have to have CCTV, or other alarm systems, family codes in case of kidnapping. We have to have our own communication system in everyday life.” (Man, 65 years old)

The basic understanding of the aforementioned practices of control is “the more security the better” (woman, 49 years). By formalising social control on the basis of technical security systems or the establishment of security-related neighbourhood networks, a specific spatial relation is created in contrast to the inefficient public security policy.

The practices of control are thereby governed both by a common practical understanding of do-it-yourself and teleoaffective elements of worry and fear.

“While we’re sleeping we always pay attention. Is there any strange noise in the backyard? My house possesses an electric fence with integrated alarm systems. Thus, at home, there are always those moments of tension: when you get in, when you leave the house, or this strange noise at night. Immediately, I wake up, switch off the television and listen whether anybody is leaping over the backyard wall.” (Man, 36 years old)

The doings and sayings demonstrate that everybody knows how to install and handle a security camera, is able to call the pick-up service to the metro offered by the local security company, knows how to detour around the block before parking their car in the garage, and knows how to handle the CCTV-app on a Smartphone in order to observe the entrance area of the house while at work. Meanwhile, the practices of control express a specific spectrum of switching emotions and affects. While interviewees enjoy surveying the entrance of their houses during lunchtime, they are afraid while looking out for unwanted guests via the CCTV channel in their bedrooms. The safe and comfortable route home ends in the usual detour around the neighbourhood in order to check the entrance, which is accompanied by an uncomfortable tension about finding something unexpected in front of the entry gate.

6 Practice-arrangement bundles of public security and neighbourhood

In order to understand the generative process of the practices and arrangements, we can consider the example of a theft committed in a house court in Jabaquara. Previously, the neighbourhood arrangement was said to be harmonious and linked to practices of exchange performed through cosy get-togethers, respecting one another, and help and favours. However, after the occurrence of a crime the neighbourhood arrangement was immediately transformed and it became necessary to negotiate a new set of rules in order to re-establish the neighbourhood’s social order. We can observe two procedures that constituted the operation of social order in the neighbourhood setting afterwards. On the one hand, the neighbours held a planned meeting to

discuss the communal problem and mutually agreed to lock the common entrance gate henceforth, thus explicitly establishing a practice of control that complied with what the neighbours decided together. On the other hand, the arrangement of a locked entrance gate was established implicitly. While the residents locked the gate due to transformations in the teleoaffective structures related to living in the housing group – based on worry about the theft in the neighbourhood – a new understanding concerning how to replace the former social control emerged. Furthermore, observing the neighbourhood’s square, locking the gate or even ordering the pick-up service are activities that qualify as practices of control that constitute the new set of integrated social orders, discourses and material elements in the neighbourhood. Accordingly, the bundles of practices and arrangements of a locked neighbourhood are linked by explicit agreements that the neighbours reach or by an understanding implicitly expressed by their practices of control. They establish a new way of understanding neighbourhood and a new view of what public security is about.

By putting social practices theory into practice, its conceptual taxonomy helps us to summarise the innumerable patterns of daily action mentioned in the narratives, and to reconstruct the integrated organisation and constitution of practices and arrangements (Tab. 1). It becomes apparent that practices of exchange, avoidance and control consist of different hierarchically ordered groups of activities, tasks and projects (left column in Tab. 1). The activities include exchanging phone numbers, taking care of the neighbourhoods, leaving the city, not exhibiting valuable items, keeping the windows closed, installing or using CCTV and frequenting private spaces. The constituted spectrum of practices is governed by different teleoaffectivities like understanding the need to detour around the block, rules of silence between neighbours and normative teleologies involving the frequenting of only respectable and enclosed restaurants. By considering the subcategory of emotional attunements in particular (column centre-left), it may be seen how practices of exchange, avoidance and control express a plural variety of emotions like being comfortable or uncomfortable, calm or restless, worry-free or afraid in everyday life. Furthermore, it is demonstrated that daily action is not reduced to only an agency-related and organisational dimension of social practices. Rather, diverse social, discursive and material elements of order are constituted by the social practices performed (column centre-right). Elements like the acceleration of daily life or aspects

PRACTICES		ARRANGEMENTS		
	activities, tasks, projects	emotional attunement (teleaffectivity)	attributes of meaning	social, discursive and material elements of order
practices of exchange	tipping the neighbours off, exchanging phone numbers, helping each other meeting at home, hanging about and sitting together in the neighbourhood, kids playing in public, conversing in public, swapping ideas on children taking care of the neighbour's house, communicating security advice, establishing a security network among neighbours		Brazil/abroad city/interior here/there	social environment & social exchange (neighbours, friends, ...) acceleration of daily life educational, medical and security systems (poverty, unemployment, social justice)
	reporting the lack of public security, making contact with local politicians, claiming the right for policing spending time in public, jogging in the neighbourhood, walking the dog, approaching neighbours and strangers, not worrying, coexisting with criminals	comfortable/uncomfortable satisfied/disatisfied convinced/angry	former times/nowadays often/seldom present/absent	public security (policing, security and criminal policies, penal code)
practices of avoidance	avoiding certain places and time frames, preventing contact, not leaving the house anymore			violence, crime, victimisation (narratives, statistics, media discourse)
	changing to/out of the apartment block, moving away from the neighbourhood, quitting the city avoiding daily activities (driving, going out for a meal, going for a walk), staying at home at night not leaving the door open, locking up (<i>a lei da boca fechada</i>), jumping red lights, taking a detour, extra driving around the block not catching others' attention, programming the TV timer, swapping the new car for an old one, taking a taxi home, being in company, not exhibiting valuable items	calm/restless relaxed/tense easy/uneasy	helpful/useless tidy/untidy good/mean appropriate/inappropriate legal/illegal blameless/corrupt	impunity, civilian impotence, discourse of injustice public order (favela, homelessness, drugs, others)
practices of control	locking the door, keeping the windows closed, barring the garage gate paying attention & being attentive (<i>ficar de olho</i>), not opening the door to strangers, coordinating with others at certain places, keeping an eye on others	worry-free/afraid unconcerned/concerned anxiety-free/anxious	familiar/strange opened/closed not affected/affected poor/rich private/public protected/unprotected known/unknown	walls, garage gate, electric fences, security cameras, CCTV apartment block (<i>prédio</i>), shopping centre, gym office tower street guard, commercial security service
	demanding and paying a security guard, switching from an informal guard to security service, organising insurance installing and using CCTV, door opener, interphone or alarm systems, lighting the house entrance, establishing a roadblock, staying in the locked house frequenting private spaces, parking in access-controlled car parks, residing in guarded apartment blocks (<i>condomínio</i>), residing in greater house communities			

Tab. 1: Practice-arrangement bundles of public security and neighbourhood

like *favelas*, homelessness, drugs and others that constitute the arrangement of public order are included. The spectrum of arrangements also embraces narratives, statistics and media discourse about violence, crime and victimisation (right column) – discussed in Section 3 – that are established in practices of exchange or avoidance.

By interweaving activities and relevant social, discursive and material orders to abstract the praxeological figure of practice and arrangement bundles, the ambivalent nature of a social ordering process in daily life is emphasised. Thus the same groups of activities can lead to different practices which perform at a variety of emotional attunements. At the same time, different practices are governed by varying attributes of spatial, temporal, rational and personal meaning, for instance by the city or interior, the helpful or useless, the familiar or strange, and the legal or illegal. Finally, to grasp the mutual production process of (in)security, our attention is directed to the plurality of interwoven practices and arrangements that are continuously stabilised and destabilised and that establish the ambivalent mesh of the daily social order. It becomes apparent that not only do different activities transpire in the same practice, but different practices specify the same arrangements with varying meanings.

In order to illustrate the conceptual relation of practices and arrangements, we use the idea of weaving (Fig. 1). Technically, a fabric consists of individual threads. Different threads are organised as knots or even whole balls of wool to prepare the handicraft activity. Finally, single threads from different knots are interwoven as warps and wefts and thus pattern the fabric (see HAUBRICH 2015 for further discussion of modelling the interwovenness of practice and arrangements in social practice theory by use of HOMER's (1996) figure of Penelope's weaving ruse). To translate the technical figure of the weaving practice, we emphasise the mutual meanings and emotions that emerged when residents took part in similar security-related practice-arrangement bundles in our empirical research. For example, a street guard is familiar and helpful since he is part of activities like communicating security advice or establishing a security network, activities that perform the practices of exchange organised with satisfied and relaxed knots of emotional attunements. On the other hand, the discursive figure of the corrupt, illegal Brazilian street guard holds a central position as long as it is established in activities like frequenting private spaces, using alarm systems or programming the TV timer, activities that govern the emotionally tense prac-

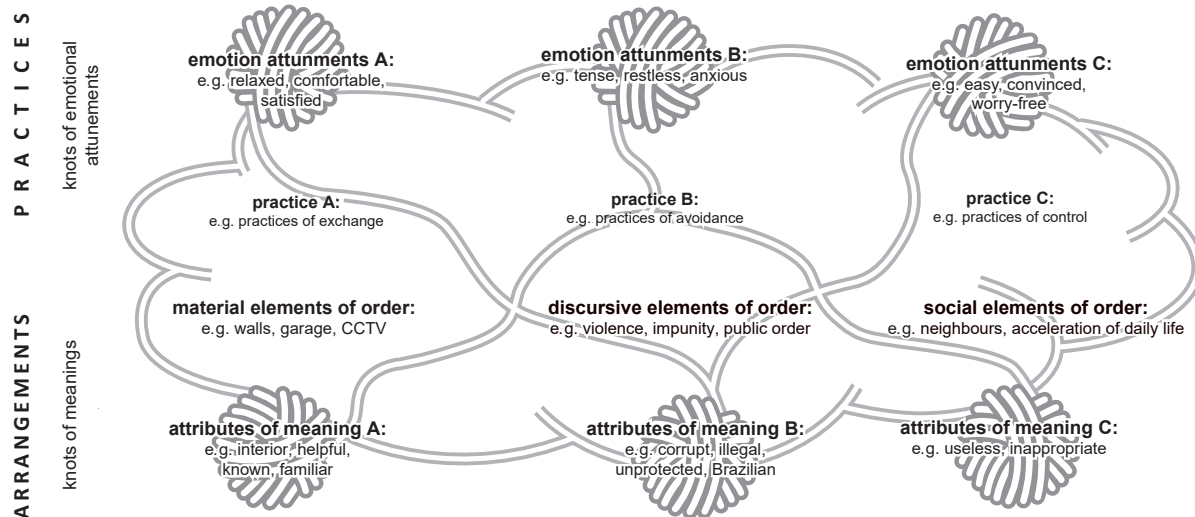


Fig. 1: The ambivalent nature of a social ordering process

tices of avoidance and control. As a consequence, e.g. practices of exchange may be related to a set of positively connoted emotions, and they may at the same time produce fearful emotions and negatively connoted meanings of arrangements. Finally, the switching meaning of social, discursive and material arrangements results from the varying stabilisation and destabilisation of such order elements in different practices, which in turn are governed by differing security-related emotions.

7 Conclusion

Considering both the discussion of shifting public or private security provision and the alteration of neighbourhood life, we present a praxeological perspective in order to grasp their mutual relations in the daily ordering process of the urban middle class. Following social-constructivist critiques of modelling fear and insecurities by the use of criminological concepts like fear of crime or threat of victimisation, we emphasise the widening of the perspective on (in-)security to include the relational question of what makes people afraid in urban areas when they are more and more protected in daily life. Therefore, considering the discussion of contemporary insecurity through the lens of reflexive modernisation, it becomes necessary to understand anxiety and fear as social phenomena (re-)produced in the fabrics of agencies and structures. Furthermore, we draw on the debate about (in-)security by including the conceptual perspec-

tive of social practices in the sense of 'practising emotions'. Using a specific taxonomy of social practices approaches, we demonstrate how emotional attunements may be related to socio-geographical observation of everyday doings and sayings. Hence, practice theory is understood as an extended analysis framework that successfully approaches an understanding of sociality through practices and arrangements.

By contextualising the hanging-together of structures and agencies both historically and in terms of current characteristics in the different realms of contemporary society, the politics of fear are simultaneously related to Brazilians' debate on violence, crime and insecurity. In order to grasp the social phenomena of growing insecurity on the local level, we (intentionally) only touched upon the predominant structuralist discursive framing that scholars usually use to qualify the recent qualitative and quantitative transformation of a new culture of control and that – as we argued – leaves the generative mechanism of (in-)security production unconsidered. Rather, our analysis pointed out the central relational role urban security governance possesses in the interviewees' daily ordering process of neighbourhood and public security on a local level – understood as a bundle of arrangements and practices of exchange, avoidance and control. The transformation of both local order bundles is related to relevant discursive elements, persons and material artefacts that are being constituted in the composition of specific practices. By accompanying interviewees in their daily activities and learning

about the teleologies and emotional attunements that organise the innumerable patterns of actions, we thus directed our analytical focus towards the ambivalences that are expressed in the varieties of both meanings and emotions. More specifically, the constituted spectrum of practices is governed by continuously shifting teleoaffectivities, whereas social, discursive and material arrangements are constituted by relevant social practices and possess verifying attributes of meanings.

By interweaving structures and agency in order to abstract the praxeological figure of practice and arrangement bundles, the ambivalent nature of a social ordering process in daily life has become evident. We illustrated how the same groups of activities perform different practices at the same time, as they are governed by varying attributes of spatial, temporal, rational and personal meaning. To grasp the mutual production process of (in-)security, attention was directed to the plurality of interwoven practices and arrangements. It becomes apparent that not only do different activities transpire in the same practice, but different practices specify the same arrangements with varying meaning. Finally, we showed that the switching meaning of social, discursive and material arrangements results from the varying stabilisation and destabilisation of such order elements in different practices, which in turn are governed by differing security-related emotions. These switching meanings form the ambivalent character of daily social order that results in a continuous (re-)production of insecurity in space and time.

Summarising, we can state that the criticised conceptual dualism found in treatments of public and private security has been overcome. By assuming a relational perspective on the generative characteristic of (in-)securities, our argumentation enables the social and political relevance of violence, crime and insecurity to be related to its discursive framing on the one hand, and the reconstruction of the ordering process of structure and agency within the empirical observations and interviews on the other hand. By putting social practices empirically into practice to encompass the increasing emergence of (in-)security, it becomes possible to emphasise the nexus of bodily doings and sayings as well as relevant social, discursive and material arrangements in order to understand their mutual (re-)production processes in space and time. In this sense, this paper could also enrich current debates on the usefulness of practical theoretical approaches in human geography (e.g. GEISELHART et al. 2019, EVERTS and SCHÄFER 2019).

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