

Finally, when it comes to quick kidnapping, the site with most records is the least integrated (BR 070). The most integrated is the second place with the most records (Plan's Bus Station), again coinciding with a greater number of passers-by, and parked cars. Therefore, places with more records vary from one characterised by wilderness to another which is very busy. Where there are many parked cars there occur many thefts of vehicles, in less integrated locations. Where there are many people circulating, with greater integration, there are more robberies of passers-by.

In summary:

- In the less integrated places, the crimes of theft *in* vehicles and *of* vehicles, including cargo ones, occur;
- In the most integrated places there occurs robbery to passers-by;
- Quick kidnappings showed random values, there was no detectable correlation.

High correlations

Socioeconomic variables

The numbers show that in the poorest RAs there are more homicides per capita than in the higher income RAs.

The correlation between income and schooling is high at 0.85, which is obvious: upper-income classes have more access to education. Correlations between income and homicides, and schooling and homicides are negative -0.39 and -0.29 respectively, indicating that study and income are inversely related to deaths; the higher the income and schooling, the lower the vulnerability to homicide. Not surprisingly, income and schooling go together. Other factors may be involved in the performance of homicides but are not the subject of this research (e.g. penetration of drug dealing in the lowest purchasing power has been pointed out by experts). RA-IX Ceilândia alone concentrates 19.1% of homicides and has one of the lowest average monthly family incomes in minimum wages: 3.7. As CODEPLAN considers the average of 4 persons per household, the average monthly income per capita is less than 1 minimum wage per month.

The highest positive socioeconomic correlation was between income and theft of and in vehicles. Most of these crimes occur in the Pilot Plan, where income is very high. The explanation for so many thefts is in the large parking lots in places with little circulation of people during the day, in the case of the Esplanade of the Ministries, or of the places in which big events occur with improvised parking lots, which is the case of the South Club Sector.

Land use

- The 10 addresses with the most records are of the crimes of robbery and vehicle; second, of the 10, 8 are in the Plano Piloto; third, outside the clubs, all other places

have a great movement of people. Consider the land use where more occurrences are recorded.

- SCES Tract 2: 1,279 occurrences. The South Sports Club Sector hosts clubs of public servants association, especially ASBAC and AABB, promote concerts with famous singers that attract large numbers of people. Due to the difficulty of being accessed by public transport and as there is no parking for everyone, most leave the cars on the sidewalks;
- University of Brasília: 983 occurrences. The largest university in the Federal District has around 27,602 students (2014³) and about 50,000 people circulating daily. The few bus lines and the high income of Brasília cause a great number of students and teachers to go to the place by means of their own vehicle, which provides a great number of potential targets;
- Esplanade of Ministries: 756 occurrences. It houses 17 buildings, of which 9 have outbuildings. The eastern end is contiguous to the Three Powers Plaza, formed by the National Congress, Planalto Palace (presidential) and Supreme Federal Court. Again, the lack of public transportation and the distance from the Pilot Plan bus station, where there is also a subway station, means that some people use individual transportation; then there is the ideal setting for criminals who steal cars;
- Setor Médico Hospitalar Sul: 729 occurrences. In this sector are the Central Hospital, the largest in the DF, and the Sarah Kubitschek Hospital, configuring points with large flow of people and parking of vehicles;
- Setor de Diversões Norte: 613 occurrences. Conceived by Lucio Costa to be the meeting and leisure point of the residents of Brasília. It currently houses a shopping centre called Conjunto Nacional. Being next to the Road Platform it has a great circulation of people, besides having a public parking of medium size and a private (paid) parking lot.
- City Park: 98 occurrences. It is a large urban park, 420 hectares, located in the South Wing, has several leisure facilities and 12 parking lots;
- Printing Industries Sector: 490 occurrences. The name defines the activities foreseen in the initial project of the city; with the passage of time began to include housing, bars, nightclubs, schools, and is still close to the Court of Justice and the Legislative Chamber;

³ Available at
http://unb2.unb.br/administracao/decanatos/deg/downloads/cil/numero_de_alunos.pdf.
Access at: 22 jun. 2017.

- Taguatinga Shopping: 463 occurrences. Hypermarket of Águas Claras, a neighborhood that previously belonged to Taguatinga, but today an autonomous RA. It only has private and paid parking. It attracts attendants of the closest RAs by reason of the size and easy access;
- Extra Hypermarket of Águas Claras: 14 occurrences. It is located in front of the Taguatinga Shopping Mall and has characteristics similar to it;
- SCES, Trecho 3: 336 occurrences. Next to SCES Tract 2, it has characteristics similar to this one;
- Pilot Plan Bus Station: 312 occurrences. About 700,000⁴ people circulate daily around the place. In the back there are public parking lots that are always full of vehicles.

From the point of view of the insertion in the city, characterized by the SST measures, the places vary a lot, there is no relationship between the incidence of crime and measures such as integration or choice of places. However, the reasons for occurrences, where they occur, seem to be clear: they are always places of large concentration of vehicles, of large dimensions, and of little movement of pedestrians at the crime sites themselves (the car park), although there would be a great flow of people in their immediate vicinity, as in the Bus Station. The characteristics of the sites are therefore more local (large dimensions, isolation of the movements of people that are peripheral to them etc.) than global ones (the way in which they are inserted in the urban system as a whole).

Complementary analysis - Distribution of occurrences by day and time

Occurrences were broken down by day of the week and daily hours. It was analysed the distribution of the records of the entire FD to see how the crimes occur during the week and at what time of day. It should be noted that this analysis were also done for all 10 RAs individually, but are not presented here because of the paper size limits. The conclusions of the research are based on the analysis of the whole sample.

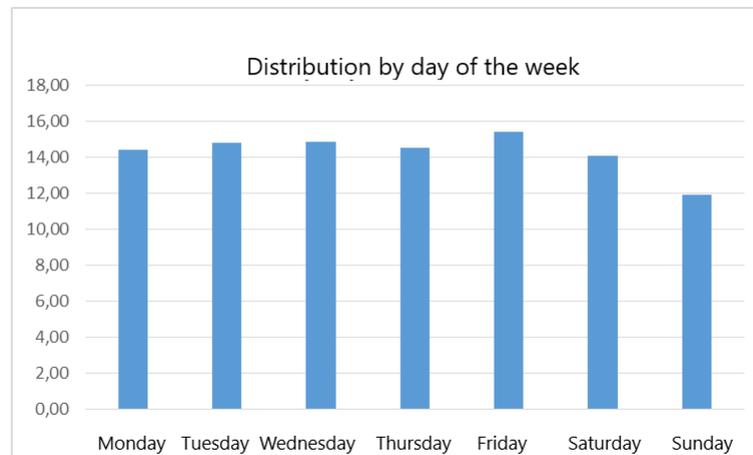
Graph 1 shows all occurrences, in all modalities, of the entire FD, by day of the week. The time distribution shows regularity on weekdays and Saturdays and a slight decrease on Sundays. Graph 2 shows the hourly distribution of the day.

The hourly range show dawns with minimum records, especially between 03:00 and 06:00, and progressive increase, with slight variations, from early morning to midnight. It cannot be said that the nights are safer because of this data, given the smaller number of people on the streets; to make an accurate analysis of the phenomenon we would have to have the information with the number of

⁴ Available at: <https://www.agenciabrasilia.df.gov.br/2013/11/26/acesibilidade-e-sinalizacao-na-rodoviaria-do-plano-piloto/>. Access at: 23 jun. 2017.

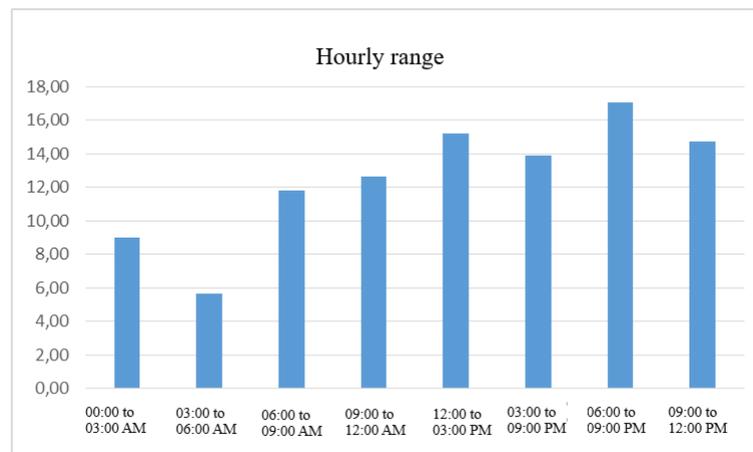
people in the streets during the 24 hours of the day, a data which has not been available within this research scope.

Graph 1. Distribution by day of the week, all DF



Source: The authors.

Graph 2. All occurrences with the percentage by hourly range.



Source: The authors.

Another comparison between sensation and real unsafety is the robbery of residence. In FD, it is common for single family dwellings to have high walls or fences, CCTV system and electric fences. The impression they convey is of places with high ratios of assaults to the homes. It happens that the numbers say the opposite. The RA-I Plano Piloto, for example, had between 2009 and 2013, 84 recorded robberies in a universe of 115,311 occurrences (0.073% of the total). Considering the number of households in the Plan (78,601 units), it is a robbery for every 4,678.63 households per year; the same in relation to houses (8,159 units): a robbery for every 485.65 house / year.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Space Syntax variables presented results with weak or moderate correlations, which suggests small or irrelevant influences of urban configuration attributes, on the global scale of the city, on the localisation of crimes.

When evaluating sites with more records, results indicate that land use is more closely related to the types of crime. Crimes against pedestrians occur in commercial or service places, characterized by the high circulation of people.

We found that sites with a large flow of people concentrate a greater number of occurrences of the crime of theft to passers-by. Such a result goes against established literature that presupposes that the surveillance of a large number of people inhibits crime.

The analysis reveals that criminals are drawn to the availability of victims or to crime objects in which they are specialized. If the criminal's specialty is robbery, the most sought after places are those with little movement, in the wilderness and with large numbers of objects; in the case of theft of vehicles, the large parking pockets. If the delinquency modality is the robbery to passers-by, the choice rests on places of great circulation of people; it is easy to choose the victim and to escape in the crowd.

Urbanistic theories of safe urban spaces over time were based on observations from the perspective of an ordinary person, a real or potential victim. What happens with the more integrated theories of locations is that the premise that criminals avoid busiest places and that people exercise natural surveillance over the environment and other people, has not been corroborated by our empirical research.

Jacobs, for example, states that her classic book is based on observations and inferences from the author's daily and professional experience. The look that grounded all her work was that of a middle-class person from the United States in the 1950s.

Newman was an architect and town planner working for New York City in the Housing Department. He developed his theory of defensible spaces based on computational processing data in the early days of the digital age. Newman himself reports that his great inspiration was Jacobs' work.

Shu and Huang (1999, 2003) concentrate their research on places, speculating on features that make some types most vulnerable or safest. The researchers' premise was that more integrated sites, with greater pedestrian movement and diversities of use were safer. This would mean features that from the citizen's point of view enhance the sense of security.

If the basis for explaining the decision to commit a crime is the Rational Decision on the part of the offender, it is to be assumed that his choices regarding the site of action are also based on logical conditions. The assailant does not choose isolated locations where no one passes or resides simply because the chances of finding a victim are minimal, so, irrational would be the choice.

In fact, the criminal chooses places according to the thing he wants to get, the object is what motivates the criminal's choice. We must keep in mind that the crowd is good for the criminal for two reasons: more victims and ease to mingle with the mass of people and quietly evade.

If the aim are objects left inside a car or components of the vehicle, the place should rather be a place with many cars and little movement of people, so that the action can be undertaken with minimum risk and without haste.

As for residences, families with higher income and places with little movement are preferred.

In order to kidnap someone and force him to make withdrawals and purchases, rather than occurring at the moment the victim enters his car, then the parking lots with a short stay are better, otherwise the assailant / hijacker would have to wait for hours a potential victim. If, for example, the chosen location is the Esplanade of the Ministries, the best times would be at the beginning and end of the day. The problem is that at these times the movement of people arriving to work and leaving is very large and may frustrate kidnapping.

We have arrived in Brazil - and in Brasilia - at such alarming levels of crime that a dictum as "natural surveillance" no longer apply: the most dangerous neighbourhoods are dominated by criminal factions that impose the "law of silence" - eyes that do not see, ears that do not hear, mouths that do not speak. In neighbourhoods with the greatest number of crimes, transparency and openness of homes to streets has disappeared: fortified enclaves cross social class borders. The "eyes of the street" have been long since blind.

Literature indicates high correlations, at the global level, between integration and occurrences. Here, yes, more integrated sites have higher correlations, but they are irrelevant.

Among those typologies that should be avoided are the large parking lots without other activities or people movement and the facades with little integration with the street. For example, the parking lots of the Esplanade of the Ministries: they are places without movement of pedestrians, without variety of uses, far from anywhere with offer of services.

This research relativizes, redefines and qualifies relations space vs. criminal occurrences. Our results suggest that the influence of urban design on the commission of crimes is not decisive, correlations are weak. Urban and urban infrastructure characteristics, for example, public lighting, are more important in the sense of fear (or otherwise) than in registered crime rates.

Finally, this research corroborates the refutation of traditional hypothesis, as was the case with other Brazilian studies as the ones by Vivan and Saboya, and Monteiro and Cavalcanti.

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