No Simple Matter

Security and a better, more humane way of life as a crime prevention project

Björn Klarqvist

Translated from the Swedish by Linda Schenck

Ironically – and rightly or wrongly – Thoursie is regarded as the lead singer of the labour movement. The explanation may be that, as legend has it, that Social Democratic Prime Minister Olof Palme carried a line of Thoursie's around with him: "An open city, not a fortress, we shall build together".

>From a review of Ragnar Thoursie's *Elephantiasis* (*Elefantsjukan*, Stockholm, 2003) by Björn Gunnarsson published in *Göteborgs-Posten* on 28 March 2003.

Foreword

This report is part of a research project financed by the municipality of Göteborg, Sweden. The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention has provided matching funding. The subject of my report is the central organisation for crime prevention in Göteborg, known as "*Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure" (Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg).*I have concentrated on situational prevention from the point of view of urban design and planning.

Ylva Norén Bretzer[1] has made a parallel study with a focus on social prevention, primarily prevention from a social science point of view.

The original intention was that Ylva and I would write a report together, but after some time we decided that our different perspectives and working methods made it wiser for us to publish separate reports. There may be some overlap, as we began on the basis of the same outline. However, I believe that the reader will find these small overlapping elements tolerable. Our reports can be read independently, but together they should give an overarching picture of how crime prevention work at municipal level can be done.

I will continue with a study in which I compare Göteborg with three other municipalities in western Sweden in terms of how they implement their crime prevention work in practice.

Alingsås, Sweden
May 2003

Björn Klarqvist

A note to the readers of *No Simple Matter*, the English translation of a Swedish publication *Inga enkla grejer*. When works available in Swedish only are cited in the footnotes, an English equivalent title is given on the first occurrence, in parentheses and after the phrase "In Swedish only:" When there are further occurrences in the footnotes, only the Swedish title of the work is given.

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[1] *Brottsförebyggande och trygghetsarbte i Göteborg,* CEFOS, Göteborgs universitet 2003. (In Swedish only: *Crime Prevention and Security Efforts in Göteborg*).

Contents

Summary

Making Göteborg a more secure city that can offer a better, more humane way of life, the aim declared by the Göteborg council for crime prevention, is truly a high ambition. The ambition is also reflected in the council's name: *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure*, and can be interpreted as a project focused on changing society.

Chapters one through three of this report are the theoretical side, and discuss the objectives of the project, theories of crime prevention and security-promotion from a situational perspective, and views on how the good city can be planned. The ninth and final chapter refers back to these theoretical questions.

Chapters four through eight provide descriptions and analyses of some of the projects implemented by the Göteborg council for crime prevention. They cover research, research information, cultural projects, safety and security inspection tours and improvements in urban environments.

I find that the issues the council has tackled and the means it has chosen for working with them is quite unusual and, in many respects, pioneering in Sweden. I work with crime prevention in other contexts as well, and can affirm that the "Göteborg model" is considered by many to be exemplary and worthy of emulation. What is unique about it is the way it has focused on building up networks among various public authorities, academic disciplines and levels. Although networks cannot be copied, ways of seeing things and active strategies can be. The ambition of the council is to be "invisibly effective". The Göteborg manual for safety and security inspection tours that has been published (see p. ### below) can certainly be useful in other places as well, and can provide inspiration for similar working methods.

The Göteborg council works in an unusually concrete manner, paying particular attention to allowing for local influence while never losing sight of the overarching, long-term issues. If the aim is to change society, and surely crime prevention is a kind of social change, then this approach should be natural. Unfortunately, this is not always the case.

In the concluding chapter I discuss how crime prevention work can be used to build reciprocal trust and confidence. At the same time, I stress the importance of utilising the greater security and a more humane lifestyle as an instrument of competition with other cities. Can crime prevention and security-building entice companies and people to our city – and retain those who are already here? I think so.

The aim of this report is to capture and circulate the essence of what *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* stands for. At the same time, I have attempted to situate this work in relation to various theoretical discussions. In this respect, my report may be read as a volume of scholarly essays. Its intention is to bring an influence to bear on the way in which people perceive crime prevention work and security-building. What drives me, as an individual and as a researcher, is my desire to contribute to changing society.

I had the privilege of being in Brazil in the mid-1970s. You may recall that at the time it was predicted that Brazil would rise like a huge comet, with tremendous growth, and that the Brazilian automotive industry would develop at the speed of light. I believed that too – until I arrived there and went to visit at the home of a Swedish ball bearing company executive. He lived in a high-rise, surrounded by a tall wall topped with sharp bits of glass. There was a gatekeeper outside, whose job was to prevent unauthorized people from entering. I thought: "Who would want to move here – from a place where the children are safe and secure – to create the Brazilian miracle?" And there *was* no miracle. In anticipation of the UN conference on sustainable development being held in Rio, two years were spent cleaning up the city enough to dare to receive the delegates. This is one aspect of security and safety. We will never have growth, we will never be competitive with environments as horrible as they were in Brazil.

Göran Johansson, municipal councillor

What an objective can signify

Safety and security

The introductory epigraph to this chapter[2] indicates the view of Göran Johansson, director of *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* and chairman of the Göteborg municipal council, on the work of this council for crime prevention. The quotation is taken from his introductory address at the conference held on 6 December 2001, where the Göteborg council for crime prevention[3], which had begun its work earlier the same year, presented its position. Johansson never misses an opportunity to stress that safety and security are not synonymous. He has stressed in numerous contexts that he considers security and a humane lifestyle important factors in the competition among municipalities.

Another speaker at the same conference was Sven-Eric Liedman, Professor of the history of ideas at Göteborg University. His address was entitled: *"Safety or Security? We have to choose"*. Referring to the 2001 EU summit held in Göteborg, he pointed out that "The more safety we demand, the more anxiety we get." He went on to describe developments in Sweden during the past decades as "the route from security to safety":

This may seem paradoxical – "safety" and "security" seem closely related, and indeed, in the Random House dictionary safety is part of the first definition of security. Security also contains elements of confidence and trust. For instance, the social security system makes us able to have confidence in our future as pensioners. In unsafe environments, we trust in guards from Securitas. This etymological reminder of the word's Latin origins can also help us to recall that the word moved into its political meanings from initially religious ones.[4]

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[2] *Att förebygga brott och rädsla*, Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg, 2003, p. 11. (In Swedish only: *Preventing Crime and Fear*). The UN Conference on Sustainable Development in Rio was held in 1992.

[3] In this publication I distinguish between the government authority known as *BRÅ* (the National Council for Crime Prevention, municipal (or local) councils for crime prevention, and district councils for crime prevention within a city or municipality.

[4] *Att förebygga brott och rädsla*, p.42.

The ambition of putting the promotion of security and a humane lifestyle on the agenda may be interpreted as indicating that although the work of *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* should focus on crime prevention, it should always be done with a broader perspective in mind. This makes it particularly difficult to assess the work done by the council to achieve the objectives outlined for its programme.

Objectives for Göteborg

In April 2000 a working party was appointed to propose measures to be taken to improve security and safety in Göteborg (document 728/99). The working party consisted of one person from each political party represented in the local ¤¤¤ municipal? ¤¤¤council, and it put forward aims and an organogram for a central council for crime prevention, with the working name of "The Council for a Secure and Safe City". In January 2001, the local council adopted this proposal (document 698/99), where the overall aim was described as follows:

> Göteborg is to be a city with a good mental and physical environment. When Göteborg is secure and accessible, all the inhabitants and visitors will be able to utilise the city and its public meeting places often and with pleasure. Every woman and man in Göteborg, old or young, will be able to spend time anywhere in the city, and at any time of the day or night. The security of every citizen and the accessibility of the public spaces of city for all is a prerequisite for a just, democratic society.

This initial formulation shows clearly that the council for crime prevention in Göteborg intended to focus primarily on working with the public spaces of the city. When the details of the aims are described, the first priority is stated to be "the built environment". The proposal of the working group goes on the give priority to: *young people, protection of women, the elderly, crime,* and *research.* The action plan for the work of the council also begins with two points focusing clearly on public spaces:

> Göteborg is to be a city with a good mental and physical environment. The main mission of the council is to attract increasing attention to the weight, scope and gravity of questions relating to security and safety. The task of the council is to achieve a good, secure, clean and attractive city, and to pave the way, in a serious manner and applying some clout, for widespread commitment to a good urban environment, which is of great importance to the citizens as well as to city development.

When the actual council was established in February 2002, its name was almost immediately changed from *"A Secure and Safe City"* to the somewhat more awkward name of *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure.* This change of name was a very serious decision, with "better" used in English to correspond to the Swedish concept of "more humane (Sw:*mänskligare).* In an interview, Göran Johansson stated that the term "more humane" was already in use by the "marketing agency" of the municipality (*Göteborg & Co*), in advertisements promoting Göteborg as "a very humane little big city". What makes Göteborg different from other fairly large cities is precisely this, it is a humane place to be. This view has been corroborated in opinion polls made to determine how tourists and other visitors perceive the nature of this city.

 "More secure", "more humane", and "better" are all comparative expressions which may be interpreted as indicating that one of the ambitions of council is to strive to

improve the characteristics of the city relative to the basic forms of those somewhat overlapping positive attributes: *secure* and *humane*. This also implies that the basic terms are ideals that can never be fully achieved, but that provide a sense of direction.

This highly ambitious aim indicates that the mission of the council is to achieve a welfare society, or at least to try to do so. In this way, the aim also encompasses the vast majority of the ideas underpinning the general policies of the municipality of Göteborg. The formulations can also be read as proposing a mission focused on social planning in the broadest sense of the term. Although it may be something of an exaggeration, one might also use the expression "social engineering".

Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure as an organisation reports directly to the local (i.e. the municipal) council, and the two most important local councillors are also members of the council for crime prevention. The organisation is small, as are its secretariat and its budget. Its main working form is to be "invisibly effective". The original proposal states that the secretariat should serve in "a coordinating, supportive fashion for various networks, working groups and players in the field of security and safety."

Thus the ambition is for *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* to achieve great things with limited resources. The council and its secretariat are not to "own" any issues, but to work through the existing local government apparatus and various community bodies and organisations. As the author of this report, it is my task to describe and analyse how this is actually being done in practice.

Objectives for the national government

What is the relationship between *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* and the national programme for crime prevention? The national programme was presented by the government (Ministry of Justice) in 1996, and entitled *Our Common Responsibility (Allas vårt ansvar[5])*. In the national programme, the primary focus is on achieving crime prevention through measures implemented in the social services. However, it is only fair to say that considering the point in time when it was adopted, it does also feature the built environment as an aspect of crime prevention. It is also worth noting that the issue of insecurity, which has been so much highlighted in recent years, is hardly mentioned in the text. The same is true for the question of creating a more humane society, although it may of course be part of the implicit thinking.

The reason the national programme came into being was probably the need of the state to find new ways of coping with increasing criminality at the same time as the resources for funding the work of the police, the legal system and the correctional system were dwindling. Since 1950, registered crime in Sweden has increased by 500%, while the proportion of crimes solved has fallen dramatically. New kinds of

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[5] *Allas vårt ansvar*, p. 5. (In Swedish only: *Our Common Responsibility*). Ministry document 1996:59. The programme came into being as the result of two Swedish government commission reports put forward by a group known as the "Security Commission", reports SOU 1994:122 and 1995:146. This fact is not mentioned, however, in "*Our Common Responsibility*".

crime, difficult to handle, have appeared. In the text of the programme, developments in society are given as one of the explanatory factors. There is less social control, owing to urbanisation, immigration and changes in the prevailing system of norms. Old sources of authority are no longer relevant. In the mid-1990s, the direction of the political debate was towards the need for more police and tougher legal sanctions.

> During the post-war era, informal control of citizens by one another has largely come to be replaced by formal control. As a result, the distance between the problems caused by criminality, at local level, and the measures needed to combat these crimes has become too large.[6]

In such a situation, intervention by means of public policy on crime, *ex post facto*, does not suffice. Preventive work is therefore now in focus, and preventive efforts are mainly to be implemented at local level, in each municipality.

The national government thus became aware of its own shortcomings and considered the solution to lie in decentralisation of responsibility to the local level. Municipal governments, organisations and individuals were all to shoulder their respective portions of the burden previously shouldered by the state (and without being given any real additional resources). This could also be described as a democratisation of important issues touching on the lives of individual citizens at local level. No matter how we interpret them, however, it is clear that in *Our Common Responsibility* the Swedish government introduced new principles and new ways of seeing phenomena in society.

> The vast majority of crimes that affect the lives of individuals are committed in their local communities. That is where the causes of criminality are to be sought, and that is where the offenders of crimes live, or spend their time.[7]

The text published by the Ministry of Justice lists four points to be accomplished by each local council for crime prevention*:*

- Adoption of a programme for crime prevention, containing both long term and short term objectives and measures.
- Drawing up of concrete action plans with a view to reducing the number of "new recruits" into criminal lifestyles, reducing the number of "occasional" crimes committed, and reducing recidivism in hardened criminals.
- Taking responsibility for coordinating various measures and quickly circulating information to the relevant public agencies and bodies regarding the need for measures to be taken.
- Following up and assessment of the measures taken in crime prevention work.[8]

The Ministry text also makes it clear that final responsibility is to remain with the national level, with work to be done in the regular activities of the Swedish government, parliament and governmental authorities. Particularly responsibility is to

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[6] *Allas vårt ansvar*, p. 5.

[7] *Allas vårt ansvar*, p. 55.

[8] *Allas vårt ansvar*, p. 59.

lie with the national authority The National Council for Crime Prevention (in Swedish: *BRÅ*) in terms of following up and supporting activities organised at local level all over the country. This council is to serve as the link between the national and local levels.

Differences between the objectives

The national crime prevention programme was to have a decentralised organisation, and was based on activities at the local level, i.e. in the municipalities. This of course meant that the objectives for work at municipal level would be formulated differently from one municipality to the next. In Göteborg, the information folder presenting *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* describes the Göteborg council as a "Göteborg model" of the national crime prevention programme *Our Common Responsibility*. In what ways do the objectives differ? What characterises the "Göteborg model"?

A working document from the secretariat on the subject of "ideas as a community of values" provides some indication:

> The objective of our work is to strengthen the foundations of our society: justice, democracy, human rights and the equal value of all human beings irrespective of ethnicity, sex, age, religious affiliation, social position or origins. This means that crime prevention, too, is to be carried out in a way that contributes to reinforcing these overarching principles, and that all groups in society – including "vulnerable" ones – are to be treated with equal attention and equal respect in terms of their safety and security. Crime prevention includes both prophylactic efforts in the field of social services and measures taken in terms of the built environment, i.e.. situational prevention. The very name, *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure*, expresses the intention of having the shouldering of socio-political responsibility go hand in hand with changes in the physical environment. Large social gaps contribute to criminality and reduce the trust human beings have for each other, which is central to all crime prevention work.
> Our efforts will be focused on making the public spaces in our city accessible, and making them available to all.

As mentioned above, the objectives expressed for *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* are quite close to the ideas underpinning the general planning of the welfare state. The same may be said of the principles expressed in the national programme. There, in an analysis of "the holistic view of policies on crime and criminality", it is stated that such policies comprise more than the direct fight against crime:

> … the general welfare policy with its focus on social housing policies, an educational system open to all, preschools and after-school activities in which children from different backgrounds and environments meet rather than, as in many other countries, being focused only on risk groups, to give a few examples. Measures that contribute to reinforcing the safety net for children and young people in risk zones, or that contribute to preventing exclusion or marginalisation of large groups of people are at least as important as, if not more important than, work done by the judicial authorities to prevent crime.[9]

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[9] *Allas vårt ansvar*, pp. 8-9.

Although there are similarities in the view expressed, *Our Common Responsibility* emphasises and is basically restricted to social prevention. *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* includes more of what is known as situational prevention.[10] It is the clear arguments put forward in favour of working in terms of security and a humane lifestyle that make the model put forward particularly "Göteborgian".

This report primarily contains descriptions of the projects with which this municipal council for crime prevention, and particularly its secretariat, are working. A number of the chapters which follow discuss the extent to which this special Göteborg touch characterises not only the objectives but also their practical application.

Notes

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[10] The terms social and situational prevention are discussed in the next chapter.

"We've got nowhere to be!" The expression has become something of a joke, and only serves to illustrate how absurd it is to blame all kinds of problems in which young people are implicated on the fact that there are no longer local recreation centres. However, the social democrats in power in Stockholm seem to continue to believe that criminality can be done away with via leisure time activities subsidised by the taxpayers.

In 2003 the number of incidents involving graffiti for which charges were pressed ran to 26,100. This was an increase of 11 per cent in comparison with the previous year. The leftist majority in the Stockholm local government is drowning the problem in money, and has budgeted SEK 30 million for "new meeting places for young people" this year. Erik Nilsson, social democratic city councillor for cultural affairs has spoken out in support of legal walls on which graffiti artists can "ventilate their feelings as a cultural activity". Roger Mogert, social democratic city councillor for streets and property has expressed the view that the most important priority is to "create a well-functioning range of recreational activities in an effort to prevent recruitment of new graffiti vandals".

The local government is on the wrong track. Graffiti is not a result of restlessness or misguided creativity. This kind of vandalism is an expression of a destructive force, and should be treated accordingly.

Newspaper editorial in Svenska Dagbladet
1 March 2003

Theories on crime and insecurity

Crime prevention may be many things

The epigraph above provides a succinct summary of various theories of the aetiology of crime and its prevention. It is also a typical contribution to a topical debate about whether or not graffiti is to be considered a crime. This demonstrates the existence of dividing lines regarding how political parties perceive crime and its prevention.

Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure is, essentially, a council for crime prevention that came into being as a result of the national programme for crime prevention, *Our Common Responsibility*. The choice of this name for the Göteborg programme may be interpreted as indicating a desire on the part of Göteborg to take a small step away from the traditional view of what constitutes crime prevention and instead focus on security promotion (and possibly promotion of a humane way of life). Another possible interpretation of the name is as a statement that although the *means* are those of traditional crime prevention, the *end* is a secure, humane way of life.

In *Our Common Responsibility* the Swedish Ministry of Justice stressed that local crime prevention councils were to concentrate on social and situational crime prevention. Another type of prevention not explicitly mentioned but that can be read between the lines is "repressive" crime prevention.[11] Below, I provide a systematised description of what these different types of prevention imply. I then go on to make a brief analysis of the role of crime prevention in society, and conclude with a discussion of the terms security and a humane lifestyle.

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[11] In the national programme, the causes of insecurity are touched upon briefly on page 17.

In my presentation of the various theories of prevention below, I use the following descriptive model[12]:

- aims,
- general/long-term means,
- selective/short-term means,
- examples of measures,
- primary agents,
- effects.

The aim of **social crime prevention** is to *reduce the inclination of individuals* to commit crimes, by influencing their behaviour in various ways. General, long-term measures may include improving the welfare of the general public and creating equality of opportunity and living conditions. Short-term, selective measures focus on influencing certain groups, often young people, through information and group activities. Long-term prevention work is done by the social welfare authorities, the education system, and the public health agencies. Social workers, police and club organisers often work more selectively in relation to individuals or specific groups. Effects are seldom long-term because new individuals are continually appearing, and changes in society may also serve to defeat the prevention already achieved.

The aim of **situational crime prevention** is to *reduce the opportunity for individuals* to commit crimes, mainly by implementing measures in the physical environment. These measures are, obviously, seldom individual-focused. Situational prevention is thus often general and long-term by nature, and concentrates on how the streets of a city are laid out, where different types of buildings are located and how public and private services are distributed. Urban planning influences the way people are integrated in society and the extent to which open meetings between individuals coming from different social, cultural and economic backgrounds can take place. At a more local level situational prevention may be about lighting, locks, protection, closed circuit cameras, etc. and, to an even greater extent, about how buildings and their surrounding environments are constructed. The primary agents include city planners, architects, builders, property managers, security companies and the police. The effects are often long-term, especially when this kind of prevention takes places at a comprehensive level. When overly-strict measures are implemented, this may be provocative, and counteract efforts to achieve social prevention.

The aim of **repressive crime prevention** is to *prevent individuals* from committing crimes by the use of coercive measures or the threat of compulsory action, and it may be described as classic crime prevention. In a long-term, general sense it is also about disseminating information regarding the risk of breaking the law, about the punishments associated with doing so, and about how the legal and correctional systems work. In a short-term, selective way, it is about supervising both convicted and presumptive criminals. Its general prevention takes place when the authorities patrol and search. Its selective prevention lies in the incapacitation of criminals, for instance through prison, electronic tagging, prohibition of visitation, the death penalty, castration and medication. This is often associated with preventive measures to keep

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[12] The researcher whose work has had the most influence on this presentation is Ingrid Sahlin, *Brottsprevention som begrepp och samhällsfenomen* (2000). (In Swedish only: *Crime Prevention as a Concept and a Societal Phenomenon*).

criminals from returning to a life of crime. During their correctional sentences, they are to be compulsorily socialised and normalised. The primary agents are the police, the legal system and the correctional system. Although temporary exclusion of criminals from society does have short-term benefits, the long-term effects in relation to crime prevention are open to question.

As will be evident from the above, the boundaries between the three types of crime prevention are somewhat blurry, and they overlap. For example, legislation as repressive prevention is often more an important means of indicating to the general public what society deems to be right and wrong than it is a direct means of prevention to influence criminals. And an open society that succeeds in reducing segregation and the effects of class distinctions often has greater preventive effects than social prevention, no matter how well-intentioned and eloquently formulated it may be. There are also agents who work with two or more types of crime prevention, notably the police, who work with all three.

Theoretical problems

Theories of crime prevention contain major inherent problems. The **first** is related to views of human nature and society held by the agents, which are decisive in determining the type of prevention preferred and the means and agents recommended. There is also a strong correlation to political views in this respect. People whose political sympathies lie to the left tend to regard society as being to blame for criminality, and thus they consider changing society the best way of preventing crime. People whose political sympathies lie to the right tend to regard criminality as an individual problem, and may even claim that there are genetic factors involved. They tend to be in favour of focused, short-term, repressive and social prevention. In extreme cases they may see punishment (retribution) as the only effective means of reducing criminality.

The **second** problem is related to the educational background and knowledge level of the agents. It is common to overestimate the type of repression with which one works oneself, and to underestimate the others, but the problem is more serious than this. Social scientists and people in the humanities, for example, often find it difficult to imagine what situational prevention is and can be. Or else they believe that it is merely using technical aids to provide protection against violations of public and private property. Those who work with situational prevention, on the other hand, are not always able to appreciate the potential of social prevention.

The **third** problem is attributable to the common misapprehension that the public sector, society, and the national government are synonymous, and that they are also jointly opposed to private and individual enterprise. Another commonly held erroneous belief is that the national and municipal government levels are entirely independent units. Society is composed of each and every one of us, individuals. Groupings in society include the national government, organisations and enterprises. Municipal governments are subordinate to the national government, although they are geographically separate entities. Other problems arise when people fail to distinguish between organisations and the individuals who find themselves within the geographical domains over which the national (and local) governments have power. It is important to be aware, for example, that the municipal apparatus (political bodies

and public agencies) are not the same as the inhabitants of the municipality or any other associations in it.

Because these and other similar misapprehensions and misunderstandings, discussions about crime prevention sometimes go adrift.

Crime prevention in society

The point of departure for each branch of prevention theory is its conception of space. This is analogous, for example, to theories in medicine and health care. Researchers in the past saw crime as if it were a contagious disease, and thus the elimination of the source of the contagion and the decontamination of various aspects of society were important measures to be taken. This way of thinking can still be found today, but most commonly held theories are based on studies of the ecology of crime in urban areas. This perspective is known as "social disorganisation", and deals with how "socio-geographical variation in the residential situations of offenders is a key to the ability of a neighbourhood to maintain social rules and norms, to pursue informal social control."[13]

Social prevention may be seen as a theory of control. The self-control of individuals and their social ties to the surrounding society (such as schools and workplaces) are decisive in determining whether or not a person will develop a criminal lifestyle. Weak self-control also leads to a greater risk of social exclusion. In accordance with this perspective, the family and parents play a key role. They are probably the best crime prevention resources available in society, being the ones with the greatest influence over the social development of children. This theory, then, focuses on special measures to be taken in relation to children who display early problem behaviour, or who have parents with particular difficulties in fulfilling their roles in child raising.

The target reader of *Our Common Responsibility* is the citizen in civil society. Magnus Hörnqvist states in his analysis of the programme, that the measures put forward should be "interpreted as an example of productive rather than repressive exercising of power" on the part of the national government. Productive exercising of power implies the involvement of the members of the target group as active subjects in their own subordination. "The exercising of power does not strike the targets – or rather only strikes the targets indirectly – i.e. the deviant individuals on the outskirts of legal society. Instead, it hits the 'normal' citizen in mainstream society. Seen from that point of view, *Our Common Responsibility* is a normality project of extremely wide scope."[14]

Correspondingly, situational prevention has its own perspective on the ecology of crime. The *theory of routine activities* focuses on the crime situation itself – rather than primarily focusing on the criminal.[15] In situational prevention there must

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[13] Lars Dolmén, *Brottslighetens geografi* , p.1. (In Swedish only: *The Geography of Crime*).

[14] Magnus Hörnqvist, *Allas vårt ansvar – i pra*ktiken, 2001, p.38. (In Swedish only: *Our Common Responsibility -- in Practice*).

[15] Dolmén, p.1.

therefore be a) a motivated offender, b) a suitable victim/and or object of crime and c) the absence of capable guardians (Cohen and Felson 1979). Both the above-mentioned theories fall into the category of circumstantial theories and theories of rational choice, and authors including Clarke, Newman and Shoham have discussed the possibility of merging them into a common theory of situational crime prevention (Newman 1997). They both hold that the number of suitable occasions for crime is decisive in relation to the levels of criminality in society.

Crime prevention can be considered a set of measures to maintain "the social order: the continued existence of society in spite of deep inequalities of distribution of resources and the resulting multitude of conflicts."[16] *Our Common Responsibility* was a national initiative aimed at achieving local prevention, primarily via the municipal apparatus. Hörnqvist points out that crime prevention holds an ambivalent position between social policy and criminal policy. He might have added other areas such as cultural policy, educational policy, housing policy, social planning, urban policy, labour market policy and immigration policy. Hörnqvist also mentions that prevention is an interface between the national government, trade and industry, and the civil society. In his view, the link between the materiality of the exercise of power and the ideologies that are always part of the organisation of society must not be ignored.

> The exercise of power is irrevocably permeated by ideologies – through the way the mass media portray crime, the form taken by the intellectual debate on the civil society, academic theories of crime prevention, the Swedish government commission report on democracy with all that it implies, the way in which civil servants "scratch one another's backs", the way businesspeople talk about security and satisfaction, the way the Christian democrats discuss ethics and morals, the bridge-building mentality of "Fryshuset", a local NGO, and last but not least the text of "Our Common Responsibility".[17]

> It is my conclusion that the exercising of power in relation to mobilisation for crime prevention is focused not upon those who commit crimes but upon those who are expected to prevent crime. It is not about branding and excluding the deviant – although this will, of course, be one of the logical results – but about reconstructing a sense of the normal adapted to new conditions. This explains all the techniques and arguments aimed at active, security-conscious, law-abiding and co-operative citizens.[18]

Promoting security and a humane way of life

Being that this is a study of *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure*, the reader may wonder why I have devoted a large part of this chapter to crime prevention. I found it necessary, for the reasons listed below, to provide a description of traditional prevention.
- This is a report on the work of a council for crime prevention, much of the work of which is devoted to crime prevention as such.
- There is a given link between criminality and insecurity.

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[16] Hörnqvist, p.37.

[17] Hörnqvist, p.37.

[18] Hörnqvist, p.44.

- There are better-developed theories and terminology regarding crime prevention than regarding security and a humane way of life.

In addition, the following problems arise:
- Society is more inclined to display an interest in preventing asocial behaviour than in promoting social behaviour.
- There is greater media interest in covering crime than on covering crime prevention. It follows that there is even less media interest on covering the creation of security.

I have introduced the word "promotion" in relation to security and a humane way of life. Promotion, as used here, stands for the opposite of prevention. Of course I might instead have chosen to use the terms insecurity and the prevention of an inhumane way of life, but I found them awkward. More importantly, criminality is in a category of social issues of its own.

By definition, insecurity is a subjective emotion, and thus it is more difficult to measure its scope than it is to determine levels of criminality. In spite of the difficulty in measurement, however, insecurity does exist, and is an important emotion. The question is how it is to be described as a phenomenon, how it is related to other phenomena in society and, in the present case, how security is to be promoted. In the Swedish National Encyclopaedia, there is no entry for either "security" or "insecurity", although there is one for "safety". In the Swedish National Dictionary, the Swedish word for "trust" is given as a synonym for "security" Security is also used in definitions of the welfare society: "a society which strives to ensure all citizens material welfare as well as social and economic security."

In collaboration with other bodies, the police carry out security polls in most Swedish municipalities. The Göteborg institute SOM (which stands for "society, opinion, mass media") also carries out longitudinal studies of security all over Sweden. The emotion is real, but difficult to assess. Security is a feeling, and can basically only be studied using interviews or questionnaires. Some limited conclusions may be drawn from behaviour. Investigations indicate that young men tend only to feel insure about being out at night to a small extent, while older women experience a great deal of insecurity. Crime statistics show, however, that the main victims of violent crime are young men, while older women are seldom the objects of violent crimes. Some analysts take this paradox as evidence that there is no use in trying to use security as a variable in studies. Others claim that older women have a distorted picture of reality. In my view, the explanation is more likely to lie in the fact that, out of fear of being doubly violated, women refrain from exercising their self-evident right to use public space.

Extensive work is being done under the heading of "security assessments". The results of these analyses are studied in detail by the police authorities, in order to evaluate efforts made and as a basis for future strategies. They are also used by crime prevention consultants in marketing their services. However, the scientific value of security assessments is often low, and thus the value of the results may also be questioned.

Safety, in contrast, is more easily measured than security. Such measurements may investigate the number of reported crimes, or low long it takes to hack into a security system. Levels of safety, however, say very little about security, in spite of the link between actual crime and experienced insecurity. What the implementation of extensive safety-raising measures does is to draw a clear line of demarcation between insiders and outsiders. Such measures may provoke outsiders to greater criminality, and they may also raise levels of insecurity. Thus, to some extent, safety and security are in conflict.

Insecurity may be attributed both to actual criminality and to the structure of the built environment, including factors such as dark areas behind corners, poor lighting and confusion about how to find one's way. Insecurity is also cemented into place by the way in which the media portray criminality. Carina Listerborn has studied, described and analysed insecurity.[19]

It is difficult to find an unambiguous definition of security, which is a problematic concept in many ways. Listerborn interviewed one of the employees at the secretariat of *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure*, who said:

> … crime prevention is quite narrow, and what we are working with is more than just preventing crime, it is also how to live a good life […]. We have to put some limits on the scope of our work, because since it is about democracy, and citizens' rights it would otherwise overwhelm us, but I see it as being somewhat wider than the definition put forward by the National Council for Crime Prevention – their perspective is quite criminological […]. Trust is also an important factor. Empathy and confidence in crime prevention are also essential […]. Then there is also the tricky problem that the more we talk about safety and security, the more we talk about fear, the more frightened people may become […]. At the same time, I don't think we should shy away from the problems – I'm just pointing out some of the complications.[20]

If we contemplate the other side of the security coin, fear, we may see it as comprising three factors. The first is *mental*, i.e. based on rumour, previous experience, media images, stories and myths. The second factor is *social*, i.e. that fear is attributable to social class distinctions, gender and power. The third is situational, i.e. how the physical space is structured: lighting, dark areas, lines of sight, the ability to find one's way, deserted areas, etc. Thus it is clear that if one is aiming to increase people's security in a city, it is a matter of much more than crime prevention. Security is a composite phenomenon and is closely associated with a general, reasonable level of welfare. This is true to an even greater extent of the expression "a more humane way of life". Increased safety and security can, however, result in a less humane society, particularly if there is not a reasonably fair distribution of welfare.

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[19] Carina Listerborn, *Trygg stad, diskurser om kvinnors rädsla*(2002), Carina Listerborn, *Om rätten att slippa skyddas* (2000) och Carina Listerborn & Eva
Holm, *Tryggare stad* (2000). (In Swedish only, three works: *Secure City, discourses on women's fear; On the Right Not to Have to be Protected;* and *More Secure City* (with Eva Holm).

[20] Listerborn (2002), p.242.

Theories generate questions

The function of theories and perspectives is to elucidate causal mechanisms, in other words to clarify what is what in reality. One problem in relation to theories of prevention is that researchers often concentrate on one perspective at a time (social, situational or repressive), but seldom examine all three at once.[21] While one research group is entirely devoted to situational prevention, another may be fully focused on social prevention, etc., making it difficult to merge the three perspectives into a holistic one. Above, I have described the three perspectives to provide a point of departure for my evaluation. We must learn to see the various potential perspectives at the same time, rather than regarding the perspectives of others as "reprehensible paradigms".

There are major shortcomings in statistical follow up in terms of studying the effects of different approaches and the related actions taken. This is associated with the fact that it is in the nature of theories on crime prevention to cover complex social phenomena. Crime prevention, like many other fields of policy, tends to be approached with short-term measures of a project-related nature. A new approach appears on the horizon, funding is earmarked for it and people hired, but seldom are the perspectives and plans thought through in detail. The fact that such projects are seldom followed up and placed in a larger context is particularly grave. When crime prevention is "projectified", the result is often a focus on a certain area, a certain type of crime, or certain groups of individuals.

> Contemporary crime prevention projects seem to focus more and more on protecting and monitoring places: the right of ownership to the buildings and objects within the boundaries of those places, and the kind of order that is supposed to characterise public places.[22]

The problem becomes increasingly clear in discussions of projects focused on security and a humane lifestyle. According to Listerborn:

> The ideas and methods underpinning efforts to improve security cannot be referred to any public agency, such as the National Council for Crime Prevention as readily as can crime prevention work. From a crime prevention perspective, security is regarded as an effect of crime prevention work, making security and crime prevention virtually synonymous in this context. However, the word "security" has many uses, and there is even more competition to give the word content than there is about crime prevention. Security is not only about being securely protected against crime, there is also security, for example, in relation to public health, pensions, social welfare and education, as well as in relation to slippery pavement, etc.
> In urban planning, the word security often has to do with creating an environment in which people are comfortable and where they can spend time without feeling uncomfortable. This broad formulation results in the word being used in relation to many different things, such as street lighting, sidewalk cafés, and tenant influence.[23]

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[21] *Integrating Crime Prevention Strategies: Propensity and Opportunity* ,Wikström, Clarke, McCord, 1995 is an exception. Although the various essays discuss the types of prevention separately, they have been published together.

[22] Sahlin (2000), p.158.

[23] Listerborn (2002), pp.58-59.

This study is limited to a single project. My assignment was to describe and analyse the activities, not to measure the effects of the social or situational actions implemented in Göteborg. In order to measure the effects of actions, certainly an important research task, we often have to oversimplify, striving to measure something that will give us an indication of a correlation between an action and its effects.

Since measurements are not the primary aim of this report, I have taken the liberty of maintaining the wide angle on what crime prevention and security promotion are and can be. The complications have to be described so we know that what we are measuring is what we are meant to be measuring. This is true even when the measurement task is to observe and interpret the phenomenon (the project) *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure.*

For my study, the theories described above allow me to generate questions such as:

- How does the council deal with the different perspectives on crime prevention in its work?
- How is the council working with the perspective of promoting security and a more humane lifestyle?
- To what extent has the council succeeded in achieving its expressed ambition of merging the perspectives?
- Is any of the perspectives poorly represented?
- What ideas do the people involved have about the theoretical perspectives and their implications and effects?
- How is the cooperation among national agencies, between national and municipal authorities, between the national level, the municipal level and the district level? How is internal cooperation at each of these levels?
- Is the "exercise of power" primarily repressive or productive?
- To what extent are democracy and the ability of citizens to bring an influence to bear active in the process? What is the balance between top-down and bottom-up?
- How is the relationship between research and practice?
- Are there ideological, political and professional lines of demarcation in the work being done?

Some of these questions are discussed in subsequent chapters. I can only provide limited answers, but whether or not they are answered in this report, the questions pose challenges for further research, my own and that of others.

Notes

In the past, a move from a rural to an urban area meant moving towards freedom, enlightenment, dynamism and tolerance. In the early twentieth century, Freud held the view that it was only in a large city that a person could feel really free. A city was an invitation to an encounter with "the other". Although modern cities, as Freud saw them, were socially stratified and conflict-filled, it was still more melting pots than are our cities today. Crafts, offices, dwellings and shops, cafés and restaurants, old and new buildings, expensive and cheap accommodation were all mixed in relatively small areas.

The full wealth of variation in society met on the pavements where, in the best case, life was an ongoing lesson in civics, and an arena where teenagers were able to refract their images of themselves against the lifestyles and patterns of the older generation – and vice versa. […]

The people who had once acted out their conflicts face to face could no longer see each other. They were hiding behind their "functions" – jobs, flats, means of transport, purchases – instead of meeting and coming to an agreement about the meanings of cultural differences.

They denied their differences instead of allowing them to refract against one another in a dynamic sense of community before they became dangerous and exploded in the vacuums between the various functions: in pedestrian tunnels, on bike paths, in empty parking lots, on deserted streets and in empty city squares.

Thus, in the absence of social interplay, it fell to the police to intervene when various groups acted out in a still very explicit manner but without attaining the reactions they dreamt of and wished for, but instead became overwhelming and frightening.

Johan Öberg, research coordinator

Planning a society

The dream of "the good city"

The epigraph above, from a text by Johan Öberg[24], a member of the secretariat for *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure*, summarizes the ways in which the ideals of modernism altered the characteristics of traditional cities, and how we can begin to use hindsight today to find our way back to a "good" way of life in urban areas. The planning ideals of modernism (functionalism) solved many problems in society. For instance, they led to a reduction in the number of traffic accidents that were a result of mass automobilism. However, the organisation of the new cities also contributed to increased insecurity in public places, and possibly also to increased criminality – and thus also to greater job security for the police.

In the same text, Öberg concludes that the current buzz idea is: "to mix the functions in our cities once again, to decentralise planning, and to see to it that human diversity comes to be regarded as the greatest asset of our cities." This is often interpreted by city planners and people working with crime prevention to mean that if we simply mix functions, create meeting places and decentralise planning, everything will be fine. That the idea is readily implemented by applying the planning and building legislation we already have, with good intentions and a view to the past -- in other words, by

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[24] Johan Öberg, "Den goda, blandade staden", *Vårt Göteborg*, nr 8, December 2001. (In Swedish only: article in magazine *Our Göteborg* entitled "The good, mixed city").

using the very legislation and instruments which were drawn up to implement the ideas of modernism.

The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (*Boverket*) has portrayed its vision of "the good city", and the threats posed by crime and fear as follows:

> The factors of significance for security and for a feeling of being comfortable, and possibly also for the opportunity to commit crimes, include the structure and organisation of a city, where various activities take place in relation to each other, as well as what the street matrix and the public transport system look like. [...] It is possible to organise and structure an urban environment so as to promote the good life in that city, making it possible for people to experience a sense of community and of confidence. But cities often contain environments organised in ways that increase the risk of crime, such as desolate or poorly supervised areas which, by their very structure give rise to a sense of insecurity and fear in people. Fear of crime is a problem in itself. For large groups of people, not least women and the elderly, fear is a clearly restricting factor in relation to their everyday ability to utilise different public spaces in the city. The fear of being subject to violence or other forms of criminality makes people refrain from frequenting public places including streets, city squares, parks and public transportation, particularly after dark. This fear becomes an obstacle to participation in the public life of the city. If fewer people use the public spaces in a city, informal social control decreases and this becomes an impediment per se to good life in a city.[25]

Thus, at the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, functionalism and urbanisation are clearly considered the culprits. The ideals are the traditional straight matrix of city streets with a mix of functions: a small scale traffic system and neighbourhood commerce and housing. Every publication from this national agency in recent years has stressed the idea of moderation in city planning. In fact, there is also an entire text entitled *The Moderat*e City (In Swedish only: *Den måttfulla staden*,1995), highlighting the early twentieth century small town in Sweden as the ideal.

The Board's publication on criminality, building and planning was extremely important in putting situational prevention on the agenda in Sweden. Without it and the public attention it attracted the current normative document for Sweden *Live Securely 01* (*Bo Tryggt 01*[26]) could probably not have been written. Both these publications touch on the questions of how to build a secure, good city. That is a question of gigantic proportions, particularly in the Swedish metropolitan areas where there are so many huge housing complexes from the 1960s (known as the "million programme era" because the plan was to build one million new urban accommodations in a decade), as well as a huge system for automobile traffic, separate from pedestrian areas. The existing city structures and their problems, including deeply rooted segregation, cannot be made to vanish through the flick of any magic wand. Making *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* is, in fact, no simple matter.

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[25] *Brott, bebyggelse och planering,* Boverket 1998, p. 63. (In Swedish only: publication from the National Board of Planning Building and Housing: *Crime, the Built Environment and Planning*).

[26] Polismyndigheten i Stockholms län, (2001). (Downloaded document in Swedish only from the Stockholm police authority www.stockholm.police.se).

An open society

Urban sociology researchers have pointed out that one effect of making cities more secure may be that some groups are excluded. The current, already clear social segregation may be intensified as a result of crime prevention work. Cleaning up, tidying, renovating public spaces, and excluding everything and everyone that is not "normal" makes these areas less accessible to those who deviate from society's norms. The general increase in privatisation of public space, our common space, often takes place in the name of security and safety.

> The words we researchers use create reality, and the vocabulary we choose may be used in the battle for space – in the practices of the planners and in the arguments of the politicians. […] Terms such as insecurity, poverty, segregation, lower class and others are often used in the search for solutions to the problems they describe, but […] such analyses (may) increase the powerlessness of the groups they are intended to help.[27]

Thus, although it is the express intention of the authorities to create an open society, their actions sometimes belie their words. Increasing demands for security, safety and predictability may easily result in a closed society. Gated communities are an extreme example, but exclusion may take other, subtler forms.

What characterises an open society? When I was a child we hardly ever locked the door to our house. If we were going away for a long time, we might lock, but it never occurred to us not to leave the key hanging outside on its usual peg. When I was a young adult, if I wanted to visit a friend who lived in a flat, I would ring the downstairs bell to be let in. Now, in late middle age, I have to be able to key in a code or phone from my mobile so she can come down and let me in. This may serve as a telescopic illustration of the shift towards a more closed society in Sweden. When I visit my grandchildren in the US, they tell me it is impossible or at least not advisable to go out for a walk: I have to abstain from my "silly European habits".

The reason we are moving in this undesired, undreamt direction may be explained by the concept of "the social trap", an umbrella term for strategic situations in which we may find ourselves, and in which our behaviour is determined by how we appraise the future behaviour of others.

- It's a win-win situation if "everyone" chooses to cooperate.
- But – if we cannot count on everyone's cooperation then it is meaningless to be cooperative ourselves, since what we want to achieve can only be accomplished if at least almost everyone commits to cooperating in contingent self-commitment..
- Therefore the most reasonable thing to do may be not to cooperate if we cannot count on everyone else.
- Conclusion: effective cooperation for the common good can only be achieved if we can count on the development of durable institutions for cooperation..

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[27] Carina Listerborn, *Trygg stad* (2002), p. 56. (In Swedish only: *Secure City*).

- In the absence of reciprocal confidence the social trap is sure to snap shut, and we will find ourselves in a lose-lose situation in spite of the fact that it would be in everyone's interest to commit to cooperation.[28]

The subject of *Governing the Commons*[29] is closely related to the social trap. In this context, "commons" refers to common pool resources, i.e. air, water and unspoilt nature -- our common assets formally owned by no-one and more or less "ubiquitous". In Sweden, the "right of public access" allows everyone certain access to the countryside. It began as a "common law" customary right, and was only relatively recently put into words.

When it comes to air and water, there is legislation that restricts emission of pollutants to these common resources. These restrictions were put into place once it became clear that if each individual maximizes his or her own personal benefit, we will all be the losers. The same argument can be used to justify fisheries quotas, speed limits, congestion fees, etc.

In a city, streets, squares and parks correspond in the traditional sense to "commons". Although the public nature of these areas has long been quite strictly regulated by formal legislation,[30] it is constantly being whittled away at. It vanishes, for example, when restaurants, cafés, shops and advertisers are allowed to occupy commons space, even when this takes places under controlled conditions. Areas that were once streets are now shopping malls, and thus no longer commons. The police, too, have the right to restrict commons areas to some extent by refusing people who "disturb the peace" access to public places.

The right of access to "commons space" may also be limited by subtler means. One frequently-used method, for instance, is to give a street a style which means that not everyone feels at home there ("too posh for an alcoholic bum"). Another is to make the environment associated with a street so intimidating and discouraging that no one dares to use it. A third, very straightforward means is to simply refrain from setting up streetlights, or to neglect maintenance. As mentioned above, women are particularly vulnerable to this type of discrimination.

It is more than a matter of the private rights of individuals that streets should continue to possess the characteristics of commons areas. In a broader perspective, it is a matter of our opportunities to encounter strangers. Unexpected meetings, experiences of the "others" in society, are important ingredients of a democracy. And thus this is precisely the other side of the coin of segregation: spatial "sorting" of the people in a city becomes an obstacle to the development of reciprocal trust and confidence.

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[28] Bo Rothstein, *Sociala fällor och tillitens problem* (2003), p. 21-22. Metaforen "sociala fällan" är myntad av psykologen John Platt (1973). (In Swedish only: Rothstein, *Social Traps and the Problem of Trust*). The metaphor "the social trap" was coined by psychologist John Platt in 1973.

[29] Elinor Ostrom (1990) *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action.*

[30] Fields, forests, grazing land and city real estate were also once collective property. Privatisation of the commons primarily took place in the nineteenth century.

Many theorists of urbanisation have discussed our relationship to strangers in the city. For example:

> According to Lofland, the idea that when we are in a city we are surrounded by strangers is both frightening and exciting: "It is a magnet - a place of ambition and hope. It is a repellent - a place of inconvenience and fear. (…) Lofland gives a very clear definition of a stranger: 'a stranger is anyone personally unknown to the actor of reference, but visually available to him'.[31]

Strangeness is an aspect of urban life we must come to regard as a resource and an asset. The opportunity of encountering strangers in a city may be seen as potential to development of a virtual community. Such communities are based on the movement in a city and are a product of the way in which urban spaces are interlinked. A virtual community is an unrealised but potential latent community.

> ... movement is not simply the unintended by-product of spatial organisation but its very reason for existence. By its power to generate movement, spatial design creates a fundamental pattern of co-presence and co-awareness, and therefore potential encounter amongst people that is the most rudimentary form of our awareness of others. As we have shown, virtual communities have a certain density and structure, and are made up of probabilistic interfaces between many different types of person: inhabitants and strangers, relative inhabitants and relative strangers, men and women, old and young, adults and children, and so on.[32]

Let us return to the subject of a social trap that snaps shut when we do not trust "the other". Can mutual confidence be encouraged not only at individual level but also throughout society? Research results indicate that in some situations and in some societies people have been able to develop rules for exploitation of the shared capital a commons represents, and without the underpinning of legislation or contracts. These rules have then survived for centuries.

Although there is something innate about the trust we human beings have in each other, we are socialized to act in our own best interests. As a result, the collective tends to have poor experience of cooperation. Reciprocal confidence at societal level is an extremely vulnerable phenomenon. Corruption, golden handshakes, discrimination in the public health care system, and unfair treatment before the law are examples of phenomena that contribute to the undermining of individuals' confidence in the collective. By international comparisons, people in Sweden generally have quite a lot of confidence both in the authorities and in the rest of society, although it appears to be on the decline. One possible way of increasing trust is to encourage individuals to work together to achieve solutions that are fair to all, in other words to behave impartially and without consideration for one's own personal gain or that of other individuals.[33]

Another way of increasing trust is to strive to develop trust-based principles and methods for cooperation and conflict solution in theory and in practice, and to ensure that these have public support. The school system is one potential forum for such

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[31] Listerborn (2002), p. 123, as quoted from the original.

[32] Bill Hillier, *Space is the Machine* (1996), p. 213.

[33] This way of reasoning takes its inspiration from Rothstein (2003).

attempts to encourage people to think in new ways. However, the current trend toward increasing competitiveness in the education system is a countervailing force. Nor is the behaviour of the older generation such that schoolchildren would be likely to absorb and believe such a message.

The arguments and theories presented above lead me to the overarching conclusion that it is necessary – and possible, at least to some extent – to accumulate collective social capital in a city. The prerequisite is that we strive to maintain and develop an open city by various means. Some physical and human capital can be purchased, but social capital cannot. Nor is social capital a finite resource: "… the more dealings we have with people who prove to be trustworthy, the more the probability of further interaction increases, and the more our confidence in them grows."[34]

It is *no simple matter* to accumulate social capital, particularly when the spirit of the community, public opinion, and the reality of that community all conspire to undermine the social capital. Against this background, making *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* as well as a more humane society is a major challenge.

Assessment of building-related actions

Under this heading I assess, or at least describe, the quality of the crime prevention and security promotion work being carried out by the municipality of Göteborg, with an emphasis on the situational aspects, particularly those related to building and planning. What reports on the subject were available?

Our Common Responsibility, the national crime policy programme, mentions that there is a relatively large amount of information about how social prevention can be pursued, but less so regarding situational prevention. The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning was therefore commissioned to survey the existing literature on "how planning and organisation of built areas and individual buildings affect criminality". The resulting report: *Crime, Building and Planning* (1998) was the first major review in Sweden, and provided a comprehensive presentation of building-related actions. The text describes theories on the correlations between the built environment and criminality, and outlines principles for working at local level, in the municipalities. It is based on the results of discussions with researchers and users, as well as on practical examples. And it proved to be very important in terms of making manifest the significance of situational prevention to people working directly and indirectly with the relevant issues.

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention was commissioned by the government in 2001 to "continue the efforts to increase security and prevent crime via actions related to the built environment"[35]. They were instructed to work together with the Board of Housing, Building and Planning and the National Police Board and in consultation with the Association of Local Authorities. In their final report they stated that although knowledge in this area had increased in recent years, this was from a

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[34] Rothstein (2003), p. 113.

[35] Swedish government decision (in Swedish): 2001-02-01, Ju 001/688/KRIM.

relatively low point of departure[36], and further development work was definitely needed.

This report may be seen as a study of the impact of the literature survey mentioned above on work in the municipalities. Annex 1 of the report (pp 50-53), describes the findings of a questionnaire sent to all 289 city planning offices or their equivalents in Sweden. Approximately half of the respondents had read *Crime, Building and Planning* or a similar survey. These responses were submitted approximately three years after that report was sent to the municipalities along with information from Board of Housing, Building and Planning and others. The non-response rate to the questionnaire was quite high (35%), and in the worst case this can be interpreted as meaning that the impact was even lower, i.e. that only about one third of the municipalities in Sweden "were aware". The number of municipalities that responded positively to a question as to whether they had implemented the principles in the report was even lower. And only 12% had produced a policy statement on the crime prevention aspects of physical planning.

It must therefore be established that, in spite of the fact that most Swedish municipalities now have local councils for crime prevention, neither their work nor the efforts of the Board of Housing, Building and Planning appear to have persuaded local planners that situational prevention is as important as the government and the national authorities think. The same conclusion can be drawn from the responses to the question as to whether the urban planning offices believe that actions relating to the built environment can have a general impact on crime. Only 2% (3% if the non-respondents are disregarded) stated that they believed such actions had a "large" impact, or 19% (27%) if those who felt that it had a "fairly large" influence are included.

There are many possible explanations for the weak effects of the study, in spite of the great interest in crime prevention in society. The following hypotheses can be put forward:

- few offices find situational prevention influential,
- most of the public debate focuses on offenders and their backgrounds,
- local crime prevention councils traditionally devote their efforts to social prevention,
- urban planning offices find it discouraging to have to deal with an additional aspect in their planning work,
- architects, planners and technologists have not been schooled to see "the links between the physical and social aspects" (nor for that matter have social scientists or researchers in the humanities),
- situational prevention is of very little significance in reality.

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[36] *Bebyggelseinriktade åtgärder mot brott och otrygghet,* (BRÅ) Stockholm 2002. (In Swedish only, publication from the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention: *Building-related measures to combat crime and insecurity*).

The report may be regarded as an assessment of situational prevention in Sweden. My interpretation of the annex is somewhat less positive than the conclusions drawn about it in the report.

A few years have passed since the questionnaire survey mentioned above was carried out, and it is likely that awareness about these matters has increased. How is situational prevention being worked with in Göteborg today? The next chapters are my attempt to respond to that question.

Notes

Another possible impediment lies in conflicts of interest between the researchers and the representatives of the world of real action. The latter want research to result in concrete benefits for their practical work, while researchers see academic value as primary. The following comments from representatives of this project and other field workers illustrates the problem: "The distance between researchers and practitioners is vast. We do not speak the same language and we have insufficient understanding of each other's professional roles." "The papers the researchers write are often heavy and difficult for practitioners to understand." "Academia is not really interested in us, in spite of the fact that we send signals indicating that we are willing to cooperate."

Crime prevention committee

Forum for research

The preparatory work

The epigraph for this chapter is a quotation from the final report of the Committee for Crime Prevention Work[37], which was set up by the Swedish government to disburse funding for local activities in accordance with the national programme *"Our Common Responsibility"*. Its mandate was as follows:

> In order to achieve continuous growth of the knowledge base with regard to crime prevention actions, high quality pilot projects must be drawn up and run. This can only be done if local work has the support of research competence in the formulation, implementation and assessment of the projects [...] The implementation committee is to develop the forms for collaboration with Swedish universities and colleges in order to utilise their R&D competence in drawing up local projects. [38]

When the Committee reported on its discussions with the project managers from the local crime prevention councils, it became clear that there were no appropriate channels for contact with the institutes of higher education. The project mangers had no idea which researchers were interested in the relevant issues. One stated that: "Just getting hold of a Professor or a researcher is a major investment in time." In discussions with the researchers, it was clear that they possessed knowledge that was needed, but the problem was that there are very few criminologists and PhD students in the discipline in Sweden. Another problem for the local crime prevention councils all over Sweden was that the few existing experts were all in the Stockholm area. The researchers were in favour of the establishment of centres of excellence in other parts of the country, and felt that a good point of departure would be to sound

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[37] *Brottsförebyggande arbete i landets kommuner*, SOU 1999:61, p. 36-37.
36-37. (In Swedish only, Swedish government commission report SOU 1999:61 entitled *Crime Prevention Work in Swedish Municipalities*).

[38] *Allas vårt ansvar*, p. 72.

out the interest of the relevant departments at the various universities and colleges, and their researchers.[39]

Part of the preparatory work for *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* consisted of a survey of the research situation in Göteborg. When a general questionnaire survey had been made, the responses indicated that not much research was being done on crime prevention in the Göteborg region. However, interviews with individuals known to the authors of the questionnaire through their informal network and who were clearly working in relevant areas, primarily sociology, made it clear that there was more relevant material than had first appeared. The problem was that there was no mapping of research in the field. Not even the researchers themselves really knew what the research scope was. In the proposal for a crime prevention council for Göteborg adopted in January 2001 (document 698/99), research is one of the highlighted goals:

> Researchers and practitioners will learn from each other about security and safety. The latest research experience will be applied in further training for the representatives of the public authorities who are working with crime prevention, as well as making itself evident in the activities and physical appearance of the city. Practitioners will be given support so as to become better at transforming their experience into theory and disseminating their results. Research will be accessible to practitioners and to the general public. The role of the mass media as circulators of information and facts and new knowledge is an important aspect of the crime prevention process. (p.4)

The proposal also stipulates that one of the members of the council is to be "an expert from the world of research, appointed by Chalmers University of Technology and Göteborg University", as well as that the secretariat is to have one full-time researcher on staff. The job description reads:

> The researcher is to be responsible for coordination, networking and initiative-taking in relation to research in the field. He or she is to be affiliated with a university department, be involved in ongoing research, and have an interest in discovering new paths and forms for interdisciplinary research. He or she is to be good at making scientific experience comprehensible "making new scientific discoveries" easy for the general public to understand. (p.7)

Both the representative on the council and the member of the staff, it goes on to say, are to be experienced at compiling and expanding the knowledge base and at circulating information.

One academic forum …

Göteborg municipality contacted the Vice Chancellors of Chalmers and the University, requesting that they appoint a representative to the council of *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure*. They soon agreed that the representative should come from the University, where most of the research and knowledge in this area were gathered, and the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences was appointed. He then came up with the idea of trying to set up a sort of academy where researchers from different departments could meet to discuss ideas and develop their research.

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[39] SOU 1999:61, p. 36-38.

This proposal met with approval, and some twenty researchers at the level of assistant professor and above were invited to participate. The academy was given the name "Forum at Göteborg University and Chalmers for research on a safer, better and more secure city"[40]. However, the Forum never developed into the academy it was intended to become. One of the individuals interviewed put it this way:

> The main problem was that there was so much resistance among the researchers and in the university, and that there are so many departmental lines of demarcation. If such a forum is to come into being, there has to be a true driving force bringing together the people whose meeting place it is to be. These people need to be sure that the result will be a common research project, or that there is funding, which is not the case at the moment. Or that they share a scientific approach to underpin the interdisciplinary work, which is certainly not the case here. Or that they share a political stance, which is a common feature of research in the social sciences, but clearly not here.

This makes it sound like a major failure, but in reality that is certainly not true. The "academic debate" was simply organised in a different way. Moreover, the first major manifestation of the Forum was a complete success. The Forum was established in May 2001, and on 6-7 December 2001 the scientific conference: "Preventing crime and fear – perspectives, problems, policies" (see the next chapter) took place.

… became several

FORUM 1, THE SEMINAR SERIES. The main activities of the Forum have taken the form of a seminar series. The Forum steering group proposes themes, organises (modest) funding and discusses planning with the Forum chairperson, who also directs the Forum for Studies of Contemporary Culture (FSSK). FSSK is a "virtual"[41] postgraduate arm of the undergraduate Centre for Cultural Studies. Thus the seminar series is also a meeting place where students at FSSK and Cultural Studies encounter inspiring guest lecturers, as well as presenting and discussing the aspects of their own work of general interest. Others on the mailing list for the seminars include a large number of practitioners from, for example, the police and the municipal authorities. Although in most cases the seminars are lectures with one-way communication, they have still come to be an important way of circulating information to everyone involved in crime prevention work in Göteborg. The seminars often draw large crowds, and a sizeable network has formed, giving researchers and practitioners the opportunity to interact with others they might not otherwise have met.

FORUM 2, THE REFLECTION GROUP. Forum also set up ain informal group of practitioners and researchers known as the "reflection group", in order to stimulate research and collaboration more directly. The aim of the group is to create subgroupings to interpret and develop new tools for interpreting data on crime and

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[40] This name was established before the municipal council for crime prevention changed its name to "*Tryggare och Mänskligare*" ("More Secure and More Humane"). The Forum has kept its original name.

[41] "Virtual" means that the faculty remain employed by their respective university departments.

social conditions. The first encounter was between policemen and officials working at the city planning office. The police had the data and the city planning office had the maps and the know-how about geographical information systems. They trained the police in GIS, and now that they are using this knowledge, the collaboration has continued with a view to applying for funding to develop new GIS methods for analysis of social data, including data on crimes and insecurity.

As a result of this collaboration, a group at the city planning office known as the "City Planning Academy" invited the Stockholm county police to present their development work with the planning standard *Secure Living 01* (*Bo Tryggt 01)*. At the same meeting, a researcher and city planner from Denmark spoke from the point of departure of recent photographs from Göteborg. There were many participants from "both sides" and the outcome was a clearer picture of the most urgent issues.

FORUM 3, THE PAPER GROUP. The Forum group did not become an Academy as originally intended. Still, one step in that direction has been taken, with some purely academic seminars where researchers and PhD students meet to discuss their own papers. These seminars are open to others as well, but with an explicit view to the creation of an interdisciplinary climate for research in the specific field of crime prevention. The first seminar was held in late spring 2003 at the initiative of researchers at the Department of Sociology, where courses in criminology are held[42].

Representatives working in sociology felt that departments of criminology often see problems in too narrow a perspective owing to their being too closely aligned with the judicial system. The first theme of the "paper group" is inclusive — participants have been invited to attend a series of seminars on "exclusion and control".

Assessment

In terms of the content and quality of its contact with the research community, *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* is far and away the most outstanding municipal council for crime prevention. In less than two years, a centrally-drafted idea has developed into creative networks in the research community.

These networks have made it easier, for example to find speakers for conferences or courses on crime prevention[43] and to find researchers to evaluate crime prevention projects[44]. Students with ideas about research subjects have readily been referred to the relevant departments[45], and PhD students have been commissioned to do their theses on particular issues. Researchers have received help in formulating funding

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[42] In collaboration with the council secretariat, the Forum has also contributed to ensuring that courses in criminology are offered on a "commission" basis. A course corresponding to one semester of full time studies has been held, for example, as a commissioned course by the police authority.

[43] Examples include *Etik i rättsväsendet (Ethics in the judicial system), Inspirationsdagar (Inspiration days)* for the western Göteborg and Hisingen district crime prevention councils and *Kvinnofridsmässan* (an exhibition and conference to draw attention to men's violence against women).

[44] For example, Dan Bengtsson & Dennis Töllberg, *En riktig Mona Sahlinare!, 2002.* (In Swedish: *Typically Mona Sahlin*)*,* Girma Berhanu, *Evaluation of Quariceps School Programme*, 2002.

[45] For example, *Orons platser* (In Swedish: *Uncomfortable Places*) by Gabriella Standstig, 2003.

applications. Of course some of these things might have happened even without *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure*, but there is no doubt that the creation of networks has been a strong contributing factor to development. It is of interest to note that although the Forum did not turn into what it was originally planned to be, most of the original intentions are being pursued in other ways. It is my assessment that in the long run this more network-based, interdisciplinary academic form is preferable to a traditional academy. In Göteborg, perhaps owing to the conditions at hand, it has been possible to develop new, informal structures. Perhaps this ability to improvise and be receptive are the main characteristics of the "Göteborg model".

Notes

Researchers have come so far that trends can be extrapolated about children as young as one year. Who is supposed to help predicted problem children? The parents, one might think. But there is often a correlation between a child at risk and the situation of the parents. […] I believe that in the society in which we live today, where those who succeed do very well and those who fail have grave problems -- a society in which drugs are a serious problem despite our best efforts to keep them at bay – children and young people are in an even more vulnerable situation than ever before. That is why I think it is one of our main functions, jointly, to support the new research being done at Chalmers and the University – it is incredibly important. And another is to ask: what means and methods can we use to help a two-year-old in day care when we see that this child is heading for trouble, when the parents are not capable of giving their child the help (s)he needs?

Göran Johansson, municipal councillor

The Scientific Conference

Research has a strong position in the project *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure*. In the opening address cited from above, Göran Johansson, chairman of the council, stressed the importance of research for crime prevention[46]. On 6-7 December 2001, the council hosted a scientific conference called *Preventing crime and fear – perspectives, problems, policies*. The conference was a result of the cooperation between the council and the *Forum for research on a secure and safe city at Göteborg University and Chalmers Institute of Technology*, and it gathered some "450 professional practitioners, NGO enthusiasts, politicians and researchers"[47]. The idea of the conference had come into being at the Forum during spring 2001, just after the establishment of the council.

The idea and objective

During preliminary discussions as to who the members of the council were to be, it was decided that the research community should be represented. But who would that representative be? From what institute of higher education, and what discipline? The preparatory work for the establishment of the council had included a survey of the local knowledge base, from which it was clear that Göteborg University was the place where most research was being carried out on crime and security, and particularly the Social Science Faculty. Some work had been done at the section for architecture at Chalmers on situational prevention. After contacts with the Vice Chancellors, a decision was made to as the Dean of the Social Science Faculty, Professor Lennart Weibull, to join the council.

The results of the mapping of the knowledge base were a surprise even to the researchers themselves. There was a great deal of relevant research being done, but by researchers who were not acquainted with each other's work. The discovery of this internal absence of contacts in the research community led to the setting up of a new body at the University: *Forum for a secure and safe city.* This forum was to be a

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[46] *Att förebygga brott och rädsla*, p.145.

[47] Conference programme

contact interface between the university and the municipal r crime prevention. The members of the Forum are researchers in various disciplines, and the chair of the Forum steering group is also a member of the council.

And so the conference was born out of an idea that it would be good for "crime prevention research" in Göteborg if scholars from different disciplines had the opportunity to introduce themselves and to meet. The objective was to strengthen cohesion and to give the researchers a point of departure for interdisciplinary collaboration. The next thought to arise was that international names in crime prevention research should be invited, to make the conference more attractive to the local research community. And the next was that since the expertise was being gathered, it would be a good idea for everyone in the municipality who works with crime prevention in any way to be invited. The conference would then also be a point of contact between practitioners and researchers.

The conference was primarily financed by Göteborg municipality, which paid the conference charges for employees wishing to participate. The University's contributions were that local researchers spoke free of charge and that some SEK 60,000 was made available to pay for invited speakers, travel costs, etc. The university also paid for the facilities for one day. Chalmers also subsidised the cost of the facilities.

The newly-established council also used the conference to make itself known to the general public. Press releases were published, and a web site set up. This succeeded in making the event a way of attracting public and media attention to the council and its mission.

Organisation and implementation

The detailed planning of the conference was done in collaboration between the *Forum for a secure and safe city* and the crime prevention council *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure*. Johan Öberg, the secretariat liaison with the research community, was the conference coordinator. In one of the first documents about the conference, he summarized the objectives as follows:

- To initiate constructive debate on the key features of security and safety work. To establish the university as a forum for dialogue on issues relating to security and safety.
- To inventory and describe ongoing work on security and safety at Göteborg University and Chalmers.
- To present new research on criminality in Göteborg and the Göteborg region.
- To provide stimulus for new, deeper research in this field, based on dialogue with the surrounding community and its institutions. Speakers will be encouraged to consider possible network contacts not only with academic colleagues but also with colleagues working for public authorities, NGOs, etc.
- To establish new contacts with researchers from elsewhere in Sweden and abroad.
- To trigger new impulses for future criminology education.

- To trigger new impulses for interdisciplinary research projects at Göteborg University and Chalmers with security and safety as a theme. Such projects will be even better if researchers from other institutions and or countries are included.
- This conference will target academics and researchers as well as practitioners working actively or indirectly with the problems of security and safety in many contexts: teachers, social workers, police, crime prevention workers, politicians and lawyers, plus employees of county councils and municipalities, agencies working to combat white collar crime, customs authorities, etc.[48]

As early as spring 2001, the main lines of the conference had already been drawn up. In the late summer the detailed programme was worked out by a committee, who presented it at the beginning of September. The conference opened on 6 December with speeches by the council chairman, the Vice Chancellors of the respective universities and the Director General of the National Council for Crime Prevention. The first session included addresses by three British and three Swedish lecturers on perspectives and results in international and national perspectives. During the second session researchers gave their pictures, from their different points of view, on criminality and security in one Göteborg neighbourhood, *Majorna*. The idea was to make abstract arguments more concrete, as well as to show that more results are achieved if work is done collectively. It was hoped that this would provide inspiration for continued collaboration within the research community and between researchers and practitioners. Day 1 concluded with an impassioned address by Bror Rexed, former Director General of the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare.

On the morning of Day 2 there were two parallel seminar sessions with eight seminars in each, on a range of themes. At these seminars, researchers with different perspectives interacted and opened the floor to discussion with the participants, both researchers and practitioners. The afternoon was devoted to a concluding plenary session for conclusions, comments and debate.

Assessment

In his summary of the first conference day, Bror Rexed made the following evaluation:

> The last thing I would like to say is that this was a special, unique day in that it was the first time, to the best of my knowledge, that a university and a university of technology have collaborated with a municipality to discuss and perhaps to contribute to solving, direct, practical problems in society – the kind of problems that are not at the core of the work done by researchers. This is not what many of the researchers at Chalmers and Göteborg University are trying to accomplish, but it is about other, more basic facts that have their bearing elsewhere. Still, they were willing to take the planning initiative for this conference day, and to place their confidence in the task at hand. I find that admirable, because it proves that universities today are changing. Having been structured rigidly, with fixed subject disciplines and clearly designated activities, far from society, they are now prepared to have open activities, free discussions and to really attempt to find researchers wanting to tackle the problem complex underpinning crime.

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[48] Draft dated 17 May 2001.

> This is a great thing, and in fact a trend I hope will have begun today and gain in significance if it is followed up by other universities in our country[49].

Everyone on the council and in its secretariat whom we interviewed stressed that the conference was a successful project. They mainly indicated its benefits as being an interface between different worlds, and resulting in more open attitudes both among researchers and between researchers and practitioners. After the conference, it was easier for the secretariat to build up contacts and networks by referring to it. Mentioning the scientific conference has served as a door opener.

The entire first day was recorded on video. The lectures were subsequently edited, translated and published in book form in spring 2003. The participants filled out a conference evaluation form. Only a few of the questions were processed further, not least because only a small number of forms were returned. But it is clear from the responses that the conference was positively received. The breadth of perspectives and their confrontations were appreciated. Many respondents mentioned the session focusing on a particular neighbourhood as a positive feature, linking theory to everyday life. Most respondents benefited from the seminars on the second day. Below, comments from two respondents regarding what they found most rewarding at the conference:

"The distinction between security and safety (Liedman and Johansson).
The neighbourhood session -- important concrete, open. Building to avoid problems.
The seminars. Open discussions. Parts of the concluding debate."

"The following lectures/interventions:
Göran Johansson – good, and a strengthening contribution from the political leadership
Sven-Eric Liedman – clear, visionary perspectives
Sandra L Walklate – good to get the view from England
Bo Grönlund – dared to say what he thought very directly
Bror Rexed – wonderful to hear the reflections of a person with so much experience
Bo Rothstein – new, thought-provoking information".

However, although positive pictures were in the majority, they were not the only assessments. The evaluations and discussions with practitioners made it clear that for many people in the audience the heavily academic session on day one was not easy to digest. The English speakers posed some language problems, but above all the participants felt they had too little knowledge and background to fully follow the arguments. Practitioners do want new information, of course, but researchers tend to give too little input as to how their knowledge could be transformed into practice.

In conclusion, the conference meant a great deal of work for the secretariat at the end of the autumn 2001. They had to put a number of other things, including their administrative work, on the back burner, and this had a negative impact on everyone on staff in the long run.

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[49] *Att förebygga brott och rädsla*, p.145.

Recommendations

As Ylva Norén Bretzer's report states, since the first conference the secretariat has organised a number of smaller ones, none of which was as demanding of their resources as the first. On the whole, however, the scientific conference appears to have been a success. It was an ambitious attempt to bridge the gap, which will always be there, between research and practice. The problem is that no one has quite had the energy to pursue the positive reception and take the next steps. A larger conference would soon be in order.

It has taken much too long for the conference report to be written. Now that it is available, it should be used by the council and the secretariat to pick up and go on where the scientific conference left off. The book should provide a good point of departure for bringing researchers and practitioners together. The discussions have begun, the open atmosphere is in place, but we cannot see that the contacts achieved have resulted in any substantial common, focused research projects. The brunt of this criticism, of course, should rest with the research community.

The council and the secretariat, however, should also contribute to shaping and applying for funding for the research and development projects given priority by *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure.* Such projects should be primarily focused on the real world of action rather than on basic research. We would like to see more research-related development work carried on in the field, at public agencies. Researchers could run workshops, hold lectures and provide literature to spread information and, not least, use actual problems and situations, in common development work, as part of their "institutional learning processes" -- projects at the interface of action research, participant-observation and process analysis.

There are good reasons for the secretariat and the council to consider arranging a second major conference, the ambition of which should be to strive to bridge the gap between theory and practice to an even greater extent. My primary piece of advice is that the planning period would have to be longer. The next one is that although international contributions are of interest, these should be better prepared for, by making the issues to be addressed by the speakers and their perspectives available in advance. Thirdly, researchers and practitioners should meet more directly, at seminars and workshops, and the above-mentioned "institutional learning processes" should be a priority at the next conference.

Thanks to the Forum, the researchers on the council and the scientific conference, Göteborg has established a unique kind of cooperation between the crime prevention council and the universities. This is good for the city, but it needs to be extended and refined. Göteborg can use this cooperation, and turn it into a trademark. The 2001 scientific conference provides a good foundation to build on.

Notes

> Tonight is "Culture Night" in Göteborg, and one of the neighbourhood venues is the local square in Gamlestaden, which will be bright with music, dance and crowds. Consider it a protest! The target is the ugliest asphalted square in town, in spite of the fact that the tram and bus hub is used by just as many people as Korsvägen, which has had a facelift. The local government says they are willing to spend a skimpy million renovating Gamlestaden's square. Tight-fisted and dark as night.
>
> Editorial in *Göteborgs-Tidningen* 11 October 2002

"Culture Night" on the local square in *Gamlestaden*

Reception

This quotation from an editorial in *Göteborgs-Tidningen* gives a succinct summary of the problems to which the people around Gamlestaden[50] were trying to attract attention on the 2002 "Culture night"[51]. *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* participated in this action, which basically stole the media show on a night full of culture. The newspapers, radio and TV reported on it in competition with all the theatres, art galleries, museums, concert halls, alternative groups and funded ensembles that performed that night.

Although one obvious reason for all the attention is that media coverage tends to be devoted to events that are new and that stand out from the traditional, I believe there are deeper explanations in this case. Security is an important issue in the public eye, and I believe journalists are receptive to that fact. Many people are sceptical about "culture", and consider it an elite phenomenon with which they do not feel at home. The square at Gamlestaden[52] is more a matter of local, everyday community culture. "Culture Night" always offers a wide range of popular events, but this "protest" was even more a matter "for the people". It also appealed to people's feelings about class distinctions in society and unfair distribution of resources between the "entertainment district" in the centre of the city and the more peripheral squares that form the hub of many people's everyday lives.

The preparations

The initiative to the protest action around the square at Gamlestaden did not come from *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure*. The idea was born at the "Centre for the Built Environment in Western Sweden" (Chalmers University of Technology and Göteborg University), when it struck someone that architecture as a form of culture was not being represented at "Culture Night". At first, the thought was to arrange

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[50] Gamlestaden means "the old town", founded long before the foundation of Göteborg 1621, now part of the existing city of Göteborg.

[51] Culture Night (Kulturnatta) is held on a Friday night in October each year, with all kinds of cultural events taking place all over town, although mainly in the city centre.

[52] The square at Gamlestaden was once a lovely 19th century town square.. Today, it is nothing but an apparatus for automobiles, with a large number of viaducts. Under viaduct level there is a tram stop used by some 11,000 passengers every day. Security measurements in Gamlestaden indicate that in the evening and at night people experience the square as an extremely insecure place.

something in the city centre, such as a speakers' corner. Then someone who works both at the Centre for the Built Environment and the crime prevention secretariat happened to mention enthusiastically that, just the night before, property owners and crime prevention workers had made a joint "inspection tour by night" in the Gamlestaden neighbourhood under the guidance of an architect specialising in issues relating to light. Wouldn't it be important to attract attention to this neighbourhood in dire need of improvement, and point out its possibilities? Suddenly it seemed conceivable to solve two problems with this one, clear solution. All parties agreed that light, music and dance would be good ways of initiating an interesting debate on the significance of architecture (and planning) by "showing how awful the place is now and what potential it has".

When the director of the *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* secretariat heard about the proposal, she was all ears. In May 2002 the first joint meeting was held with the Centre for the Built Environment, the Gamlestaden property owners' association, and the district administration of Kortedala, the city district to which Gamlestaden belongs. In the autumn, a long, uncertain process followed, with most of the work being done by a trainee. Sponsors had to be found, lighting arranged for, electricity supplied, and portajohns, dustbins, a tent, a sound system, sound technicians, light installations, a stage, artists, refreshments, permits, advertisements, media contacts, a documentary filmmaker, exhibition stands, a cleanup crew, transports, safety aspects, all had to be organised. Permits from the local police, the environmental authorities, the rescue services and the local traffic and public transport authorities had to be arranged. The city museum had to be contacted to exhibit material displaying what the square looked like before it was "ruined by traffic", and the city planning office to show the plans for improvements in the area. The project was given a typically Göteborg working title[53]: "Gamlestadstorget – next stop! Cultural (ex)change".

Assessment of the project

Owing to the nature of the project, the arrangers devoted an enormous amount of time and effort to an event lasting only six hours. However, the direct costs were not enormous because so much of the work was done on a volunteer basis. Sponsors covered many of the expenses, which meant that the cost to the municipality/council secretariat was only about SEK 40,000. Still, the question is whether the project's ultimate value was proportional to the resources devoted to it.

In order to assess the economic side of the project, it is necessary to consider its aims. According to the report, the arrangers hoped:

- using culture as their instrument, that they could provoke discussion about the square at Gamlestaden, describe what an unaesthetic and insecure place it was as well as what great potential it had,
- to make a cultural event accessible to people who might not otherwise participate in "Culture night", trigger feelings and provide entertainment,

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[53] People in Göteborg are known for their propensity to play with words.

- to bring an influence to bear on some important players in order to achieve a change,
- to give people living in the area a chance to make themselves heard. [54]

In retrospect, the arrangers felt that:

> It had been a very successful event that attracted a lot of visitors, including precisely the target groups we had hoped to attract. There was fantastic media coverage, in fact it was probably the individual event at Culture Night 2002 that got the most attention. Lots of people took the opportunity to study the plans from the city planning office and put suggestions in the suggestion box, and many people came to hear their favourite artists perform. The entertainment was of high quality, and the whole event went off without a negative hitch.[55]

The general significance of the project for *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* is portrayed in the report and the film. The impact was probably to reinforce and speed up the planning that had begun on the part of the local government to make the area around the tram stop somewhat more secure and substantially more aesthetically pleasing. The basic problem, that no one "keeps an eye on" the square in the evenings, undoubtedly remains unsolved. When the secretariat staff were interviewed, they said that although this was a somewhat unusual event, it may have served as a prototype from which future events could be extrapolated – changing people's opinions about and attitudes towards a place using culture as the instrument. The people who use the square at Gamlestaden on a daily basis will hopefully remember the "night" with a smile, and have become aware that it would be possible to change the situation, and that they themselves could be influential.

Four years earlier. Göteborg municipality had adopted a cultural policy which is completely in line with the ambitions and organisation of "Culture Night". In Chapter 4, Cultural Planning, it says:

> We use the word culture in a broader sense than in the past. […] Cultural planning focuses on what characterises the public spaces and social life of the city, its identity and profile. […] The city is an artefact in which streets, buildings and public places come to life through human activity. A city becomes a living organism through the interplay with its inhabitants, a subject with an identity of its own, with networks, social dynamics, financial activities, trade relations and a cultural and political life. […] There are many possible applications of cultural planning, including:
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> - Taking stock of and identifying squares, meeting places and venues that can be used for cultural activities, including parks, waterways, parking lots, shopping malls, and disused buildings.
> - Using lighting to brighten up buildings, create a sense of space, and make walking paths safer and more secure.
> - Seeing the city and its spaces more from the point of view of pedestrians than of drivers.
> - Having frequent, secure and inexpensive means of public transportation even at night. […]Strengthening a local sense of identity
> - Using cultural events to augment social cohesion.

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[54] Anna Ödmann (2002), from an internal report about the project, p.5 Ödmann also directed the project and a video film.

[55] Ödmann, p.5.

- Increasing the awareness of the citizens of the cultural resources of their cities, and making the cultural heritage more obvious for all[56].

It is clear from the above that this project, "Culture Night at the square in Gamlestaden", perfectly satisfies all aspects of this policy. Thus it can be said to epitomize and embody the official cultural strategy of Göteborg. Although the link to crime prevention is not completely self-evident, from a broader municipal perspective it can clearly be assessed as a financially successful and forward-looking use of resources.

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[56] *Kulturpolitisk strategi för Göteborgs stad,* (In Swedish only: Arts policy strategy for Göteborg) adopted by the municipal council on 29 January 1998. See http://www.kultur.goteborg.se/strategi/.

I can recommend long walks around the neighbourhood at regular intervals to everyone working in Bergsjön[57], or working with Bergsjön in any way. You see and learn an incredible amount, get ideas about changes and improvements, meet the residents, and fresh air and exercise. I have taken such walks alone, with individuals and groups of people who live in Bergsjön, with representatives of the local parks and landscapes administration, with Kajsa Sperling, a lighting expert, and with the security expert from the city planning office, Eva Holm. We have all found these walks refreshing and gotten new ideas from them, and I have gained invaluable knowledge.

I think the teachers in Bergsjön should walk around the neighbourhood with their students. This might provide inspiration for projects on the natural surroundings, the buildings and how to keep a neighbourhood maintained. It might also inspire letters of complaint to the authorities about things that are not being kept up, and inspire people to take action on their own.

I think the politicians and local officials should be encouraged to walk around the different parts of the neighbourhood. I think the residents should be invited to participate in organised, guided Sunday walks to learn about the surroundings, the buildings, and the city plans.

I think the property owners should be encouraging their tenants to walk around the neighbourhood with checklists, to take stock of where streetlamps are broken, where there is rubbish, graffiti, etc, and return the checklists to the owners, who can do something about the problems. If every block had its group of "outdoor custodians" the tenants could also be organised to do projects outdoors such as cleaning up, planting bulbs, etc.

Gerd Cruse Sondén, architect

Safety and Security Inspection Tours

The inspection tour as a working method

Knowledge and understanding form the basis of the kind of action that takes into account both the people in any given place and the current situation there. Criminality and insecurity are complex phenomena, not to be oversimplified. They have correlations with everyday life and culture, and with how the local built environment is organised and has changed over time.

The epigraph above is from a report[58] by Gerd Cruse Sondén, now employed on the secretariat staff. Her report relates to a research tradition focused on studying things in their local contexts and then taking concrete, bottom-up actions, as opposed to more traditional concentration on the collection of data, decision-making and top-down control. Although bottom-up and top-down strategies can be complementary, a bottom-up perspective is often the most fruitful approach to crime prevention.

In the world of research, knowledge is collected in many different ways. In the natural sciences the main approach is experimental. A hypothesis (an educated guess) is put

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[57] Bergsjön is a neighbourhood unit with around 3,500 dwelling units built in the late 1960s. It is part of the Göteborg rather social and spatial segregated sector in the north-east.
[58] Gerd Cruse Sondén *Mellanrummen i Bergsjön. Tänkebok omtrygghet, skötsel m.m.* Opublicerad rapport 2000. (In Swedish only: *The Bergsjön Interstices: a reflection on security, maintenance, etc.* Unpublished report).

forward and then experiments performed to see whether or not it can be falsified. In the social sciences, including many aspects of crime prevention, experimental approaches are often misguided. Society is such a complex phenomenon that other methods are needed.

One important branch of social science theory is "action theory", understanding and gaining knowledge by acting in reality. The associated methods are known as "action research" and "participant observation", and the principle combines investigation and action in a learning process through which all the participants gain new experience. Investigation and research are carried out in collaboration between experts and laypeople, a method which could serve as a source of inspiration for many local crime prevention councils.

In recent years "inspection tours" or "group walks" have been used in various places as a tool in quality assessment of buildings and urban environments. There is also a PhD thesis by de Laval on the relationship between the ways in which experts (architects and city planners) and laypeople assess the built environment in which the method has been tested and analysed.

> A group consisting of representatives of the residents, building contractors, builders, architects, landscape architects, planners, administrators and property caretakers make a joint tour of a housing area. They begin by meeting at a venue in the area to go through the plan for the tour. Each person is given a map of the area with the route marked, along with 8-10 planned stops. At each stop, each person is supposed to note down the pros and cons of that place, and their reactions to it. After the tour everyone returns to the venue, and the notes are reviewed and compiled on, for example, a flip chart. So no misunderstandings can arise, a photo of each stop is displayed. The walking tour and the subsequent review take at least one hour each to complete.

> What makes this method special is that it gathers people from completely different backgrounds, all of whom play a role in and for the area in question. The residents can get immediate answers to their "hows" and "whys". For people who have been involved in forming an area, it is an exciting experience to walk around it in reality, think about it, and hear what the residents have to say about it, giving them some idea as to whether or not their ideas have worked in practice. If the method is to be successful, it must be prepared in great detail, all the participants booked in good time, a venue for the meeting arranged, a reconnaissance tour made, a route map prepared, photos of the stops taken, refreshments and other practical matters arranged, but it will be a rewarding event for all the participants.[59]

The Göteborg city planning office has been using this kind of guided walk regularly, both to evaluate whether or not a built area functions as it was intended and to see if older neighbourhoods need renovation. The office staff also use the walks as a form of further training. Recently they have also started using the method for night tours to assess insecurity, on the basis of a graduation project[60] in which checklists were drawn up. The people on the tour put pluses and minuses in the various columns to express their opinions on aspects of the area being toured. Of course the participants

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[59] Suzanne de Laval, *Planerare och boende i dialog.* KTH 1997 (diss.), p. 47. (In Swedish only: Planners and residents in dialogue).

[60] Ann-Sofi e Jeppson, *Hur bra blev det vi planerade?* Chalmers, examensarbete 2000. (In Swedish only: How did our planning work out? Graduation project).

can add further comments orally or in writing. The advantage of a structured list is that no important factors are neglected, but the disadvantage is that some points may be missed altogether.

Sometimes safety and security inspection tours are confused with night monitoring, when individuals in a neighbourhood walk the streets at night as part of the local crime prevention work. The idea underpinning night monitoring is to prevent vandalism and violence. "Moms and Dads in Town" is, for example, an organisation which monitors the city centre at night with a view to influencing the behaviour of young people.

Safety and security inspection tours, on the other hand, are a means of investigating various insecurity-related aspects of an urban area. These tours are generally made after dark, in groups, with representatives of the property owners, the parks and landscapes administration, the street authority, the social services, the police, associations for OAPs, women's groups, etc. All these people walk and talk together, note down shortcomings and problems they identify.

This kind of "guided tour with checklist" was used by the Göteborg city planning office to carry out safety and security inspection tours in various areas, including Övre Lövgärdet and Angereds Centrum in 2001. A second type of less structured inspection tour was also performed under the aegis of the city planning office during the same time period. One example of this type can be found in the report "*More secure outdoor environments in Högsbo*"[61] (in Swedish only, *Tryggare utemiljöer i Högsbo*).

Safety and security inspection tours in Tynnered

Below, as a more detailed example of how safety and security inspection tours can be used, I describe the work done in the Tynnered district[62] of Göteborg, which does not have its own district crime prevention council, but has integrated security issues into the work done under the heading of public health. The local public health council has a *"safe and secure"* working party, and Tynnered also participates in a joint crime prevention council for several districts on the west side of Göteborg[63]. The *"safe and secure"* working party consists of representatives of property owners, the social and family services, the parks and landscapes administration, and the environmental authority.

Opaltorget, the main public square in Tynnered, was an area where the district administration had noted a lot of difficulty with gangs, vandalism and break-ins, empty storefronts and other disused buildings. The residents experienced the square as inhospitable and, particularly after dark, it was quite desolate and unpleasant to

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[61] The Högsbo public health council and the Göteborg city planning office, November 2001.

[62] One of the south-western suburban districts of Göteborg, between Frölunda Torg and the coast. Approximately 27,500 inhabitants. See also: www.tynnered.goteborg.se.

[63] A general description of the situation and activities in Tynnered may be found in Swedish in Listerborn (2002), pp. 165-180 and in Ylva Norén Bretzer (2003), pp. 65-70.

cross, as had to be done to get to the tram stop. The *"safe and secure"* working party took stock of the area around the square by making a safety and security inspection tour with an architect guiding them. Her research area was suburban squares in Göteborg, and her expertise about Opaltorget provided a good point of departure.

Subsequently, a consultant was commissioned to propose strategies for solving the problems. Although there was a lot of enthusiasm about the solutions proposed, disagreements arose regarding who should pay for what, and who should take responsibility. The district administration had no resources to rebuild the square, and was dependent upon the other parties involved. Here the social trap (and the associated financial trap) snapped shut.

> Collaboration was to be the lodestar for renovation of the area around Opaltorget but, as is often the case, it proved to be difficult to achieve in practice. In the best case collaboration around a project can result in lower costs and better results. In the worst case, the participants may all expect someone else to do the financing, and a stalemate may ensue[64].

The *"safe and secure"* working party decided to go on and take stock of other areas in Tynnered. They requested that *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure"* help them to arrange safety and security inspection tours, because researcher who had helped them with their first tour had since joined the secretariat staff in Göteborg. Because it was actually beyond the scope of what *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* could do to implement a project for a whole suburban district, the safety and security inspection tours for Tynnered were centralised and became a collaborative project between the district administration and the council, with the aim of improving methods for such tours. Four safety and security inspection tours have since been carried out (in addition to the one around Opaltorget). Each tour has concentrated on one small part of the district. Because Tynnered was built as part of the "million-era programme", this meant that each tour was basically conducted around an area with a single property owner. The composition of the tour groups included representatives of the district administration, the municipal government, the police and local NGOs, and with this broad representation a large number of problems have been revealed including the need to take down bushes that make certain spots too secluded, repair and supplement lighting, remove graffiti and clean up, repair locks and doors, etc. Many of these problems are relatively easy to solve and can usually be managed within existing budget frameworks. Since the individuals responsible also took part in the tours, they became eminently aware of these problems. Thus the tours have served as a direct link between users and "suppliers of the build environment".

Other problems noted during the tours were direct results of how residential areas were planned in the 1960s and 70s. In those days, traffic safety was a priority issue. For this reason pedestrian and bike paths were often made to cross green areas, and to pass over or under heavily-trafficked roads. Tynnered has a number of long, dark pedestrian tunnels and bridges[65].

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[64] Carina Listerborn, *Trygg stad* (2002), p. 174.

[65] Residents of Tynnered have made a pun out of the name of their district, calling it Tunnelland (Tunnel-land). An even more appropriate Swedish pun might have been "Tunnelrädd" (Tunnel-noia).

As things were planned at that time, with individual safety as the main aim, the security situation was somewhat neglected. Today, individual "insecurity" has become a focal issue, as people's fear of being subjected to violence or other crimes has increased. It is *no simple matter* to change an existing dwelling pattern. The changes need to be made at a level above which the district administration or local relevant parties are in control. The next chapter pursues this discussion.

Safety and security inspection tours assessed

The results of the tours in Tynnered have been good. The main one is that a dialogue has been opened up between the residents and the people responsible for the built (physical) environment in the area. This includes its fair share of short-term, conflicts and problems, of course, but in the long run safety and security inspection tours will probably result in greater reciprocal trust in the community[66].

The composition of the group performing the tour is decisive to the results, and it is important that there be variation in the representation, with both local users and the parties who manage the built environment. It is important both to think through the representation carefully and to prepare the people participating in the tour with regard to the aims and ambitions of the organisers. One result of such tours is that different public authorities are more or less forced to collaborate in an interdisciplinary way, at the same time as they all become more aware of their own responsibilities. One of the important things that the tours highlighted was that there are certain pieces of property where it is unclear whose responsibility it is to look after the grounds, and therefore these "green areas" have become "grey areas". Who is supposed to see to it that the grass is cut, the place kept tidy, and the public space made a positive experience for the residents?

Before every tour in Tynnered, a detailed map is drawn up delineating the boundaries of ownership and thus, usually, of responsibility. During the tour, map in hand, problems are discussed, and it is easy to determine on site who is supposed to solve that problem. The map also serves as a good point of departure for planning the tour.

Documentation after each tour has proven to be fundamental to achieving results. A secretary must be appointed so that as the participants walk someone is sure to be noting down important points to discuss afterwards, and situating them on the map. Minutes from the meeting are written up as quickly as possible afterwards, and sent to all the participants to check. A record of the tour is then sent to each participating organisation, and can also be used to follow up if the necessary measures are not taken.

Photos, taken either during the tour or afterwards, provide good supplementary material, and can be used to clarify the situation for the district or local politicians.

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[66] The development of confidence and trust are dependent upon if and how problems are solved. It is important to involve all relevant parties in the area in security-improvement efforts. There is a risk that problems will be formulated and measures proposed on the basis of "Swedish normalcy", i.e. that the norm will be: well-organised, neat, quiet, tidy and non-disruptive. Security work may result in exclusion of groups that deviate from the norm. In some cases exclusion is a more or less explicit objective of security efforts. This is particularly often the case when it takes the form of "neighbourhood cooperation".

They also often serve as a point of departure for discussing issues relating to the environment and security in consultation with the residents and at meetings of local NGOs.

I have chosen to describe the tours in Tynnered in order to draw attention to a way in which the municipal and district crime prevention councils can cooperate, as represented in this case by *Göteborg -- safer,* better, and more secure" at municipal levels and the *"safe and secure"* working party at district level, the latter being part of both the Tynnered public health council and the crime prevention council for Western Göteborg. The tours were thus examples of network-building at district level, with the assistance and experience of the municipal representatives. In this way discussions were also initiated between levels where the doors had previously been either locked or shut tight.

In practice, the municipal crime prevention staff made a limited contribution to a district crime prevention project under the heading of "development work". This exchange of experience resulted in the drafting of a manual at municipal level for how to conduct safety and security inspection tours[67]. The manual was published and circulated widely, and it was also translated into English for international use. Tours are now being conducted used in other parts of Göteborg with the use of the manual. The Göteborg model for safety and security inspection tours has attracted attention elsewhere in Sweden, not least with several articles about the model in the journal of the National Council for Crime Prevention[68]. There have also been presentations in the newspapers and on the radio and television[69] about the work being done in Göteborg to reduce crime by changing the built environment. Crime prevention councils all over Sweden have ordered the manual. From this point of view, the project of developing safety and security inspection tours has been a great success, and the tours themselves have surely been far better in terms of promoting safety in Göteborg than the same amount of money spent on advertising would have been. Hopefully they have also increased the security and confidence of the residents of the city.

Two interrelated reflections

I would like to conclude this chapter with a couple of personal thoughts. Having examined the question of which the people working with security issues were, it has become clear that the people to whom I have referred and whom I have interviewed have exclusively been women. Security appears to be a women's issue[70]. Of course that is far from the case, security is an important community issue for us all. The

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[67] *Så här gör man en trygghetsvandring.* Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg, 2003. (Available in English as *Manual: Safety and Security Inspection Tours*) (Gerd Cruse Sondén and Eva Holm).

[68] *Apropå*, 1/2002, pp. 4-6 och 1/2003, p.23 ff. (In Swedish only, issue of a magazine entitled *À propos*".

[69] For example the evening paper *Göteborgstidningen* 11 September 2001, pp. 6-7.

[70] Upon further consideration, everyone I know who works with security matters (locks, alarms, etc) is male. Is security, correspondingly, a men's issue?

Det hela blir lite obegripligt eftersom du använder samma ord för säkerhet (non-risk) och trygghet (non-fear). Kolla igenom skriften så att det inte blir missförstånd.

question of whether or not we feel secure in our everyday movements around the place where we live is an important aspect of our confidence in society. Another item on which I would like to comment, although it is probably less important, is related to the layout of in the presentation of the manual. Instead of publishing the original non-professional photos used during the tours, a graphic artist was asked to illustrate the manual that was to be published and more widely circulated. The result was that the amateurish photos were replaced, and the published manual became an extremely aesthetically pleasing object, illustrated with wallpaper-patterned stylized figures. The subtlety of the design only strikes the reader after some time. Personally, I think a more amateurish layout would have made the manual more accessible to the users, and more direct in its appeal. My opinion is that the elegant typography is an impediment to the message. It might be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the graphic artist to use the layout to draw attention to his own skills, at the same time as he was undoubtedly just trying to do his job well. Still, one might link up these two reflections and wonder whether the final manual took on its form when the last link in a chain dominated by women was taken over by a man.

Notes

In every neighbourhood, it is desirable to have a mixture of different kinds of housing. The fact that so many rental accommodations in central Göteborg have been transformed to condominium housing has led to segregation of people from different income brackets. We want to see a combination of housing forms encouraged, so that one-storey dwellings are built in areas where high rises dominate, and blocks of flats are built where private homes dominate, so that there will be a better mix in the composition of the population. If people are able to move up the housing ladder but stay in the same neighbourhood, social stability and security will be increased. We plan to build additional, complementary housing and other facilities as a pilot project in the "million-era" neighbourhoods along stretches people experience as insecure and where lighting improvements are not sufficient security-raising measures. This would be a way of accomplishing several things at once, and an instrument for making the city more secure and humane at the same time as we counteract segregation.

The Göteborg municipal council[71]

A more secure, more attractive, more densely-built city

Return on investment

Safety and security inspection tours are good instruments for finding out how public spaces are functioning and what they look like, as well as how different people experience and feel about their environments. The residents/participants naturally expect some kind of return on the time they voluntarily invest in the tours. Having enjoyed themselves is not enough.

The first return they get is in the form of the written record of the tour and minutes of the subsequent meeting. The second return is seeing things repaired or rectified in their immediate environment as a result of the tour. One of the cornerstones on which the tours build is that the participants have confidence in their abilities to bring an influence to bear in the community. The results of the tour are living proof of this ability, and may comprise very simple matters such as that a certain spot gets cleaned up, a broken door repaired, a lamp that has long been out of order relit or an out-of-hand hedge trimmed. In short, that the people responsible for an area carry out the necessary maintenance. Not only is neglected maintenance an infraction of the rights and needs of the inhabitants of an area, but a lack of attention to the things pointed out by people who are involved in trying to bring about change is a serious insult.

Although people have no trouble understanding that measures that will be resource-demanding to implement cannot be put into effect at once, they find it more difficult to understand when changes are held up by red tape or because of conflicts between different authorities. When such problems do arise, people should still be kept updated. That kind of information is also a sort of return on their investment.

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[71] Quoted from the 2003 Göteborg budget document. The quotation was also appended to the instructions from the Property Management Committee to the Property Management Office regarding the inventory of the property owned by the municipality.

It is worth mentioning in this context that the district administration in Tynnered has also opened a "citizens' service" office at which there is a suggestion box for ideas about anything. Most of the suggestions people have submitted have been about the outdoor environment, spanning the spectrum from snow clearing and streetlights in disrepair to complaints about residents who let their cats use the playground sandboxes as litter bins. Every suggestion is taken seriously, and they are discussed at local government meetings and some referred on to the municipal government. The residents of Tynnered get a return on their suggestions when they see that someone pays attention to them.

A secure, attractive city

In 2000, a working party was appointed in Göteborg under the heading "A secure, attractive city", with the vision of making "Göteborg one of the safest, cleanest cities in Sweden". The municipal government had become attentive to the occurrence of serious shortcomings in the maintenance and basic design of many of the public spaces in the city. These shortcomings were often attributable to a lack of clarity about whose responsibility the problem areas were, or to overlapping responsibilities resulting in uncertainty about which authority was to bear the necessary expense. The working party began by formulating their vision for the city. In the past, priority had simply been given to urgent projects, without any overarching plan.

Göteborg was very successful in hosting the 1995 World Championship in Athletics and was being considered as host city for one of the EU summits during the Swedish presidency. All this was an incentive to beginning to work more seriously toward the aim of making the city secure and attractive. Extra pressure in this direction came from the municipal "public relations company Göteborg & Co, whose mission is to encourage both corporate localisation and events in Göteborg. Making the city secure and attractive is also important in terms of retaining both residents and enterprises.

The working party does not have the status of a standing committee in the local political hierarchy. It is simply a forum for collaboration amongst the various municipal authorities with responsibility for the public environment. The members are the directors of these authorities, and they meet about once every month except during the summer holidays. The original members of the working party were the directors of the parks and landscapes administration, the city planning office, the traffic and public transport authority, one representative of the various district administrations, and Göteborg & Co. Gradually, it has expanded, and now includes the directors of the environment authority, the public housing company (*Framtiden*), the arts authority and *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* [72]

This collaborative forum is not to be given orders from above, and has no budget of its own. If the municipality wishes to bring an influence to bear on it, it must do so via

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[72] The Property Management Office is notably not represented in the *Secure, attractive city* working party.

the various authorities involved. The aim of the group (originally surely an order from above) is for it to contribute to the feeling that the municipality is a "joint enterprise" by ensuring that all parties are aware of and do their part in relation to measures taken to improve the public environment. The directors use the group to circulate information and to work on joint projects, mainly relating to the urban environment. The main players in the "Urban environment project" are the parks and landscapes administration and the traffic and public transport authority. The municipal council increased their respective annual budgets by SEK 15 and 20 million to carry out this project. Each respective district administration is also making local contributions.

Renovation of the most frequently-used walkway areas in the city

The Göteborg property management office, not represented in the "secure, attractive city" working party, was instructed by its steering committee as part of the effort to create more densely-built residential areas, particularly in the suburbs, to make a close examination of all the land areas in the city that would be suitable for housing construction. They were to look for readily accessible property, preferably owned by the municipality, with good proximity to infrastructure connections (including water, wastewater disposal, electricity, public transport, and roads). The property management office then commissioned the city planning office to examine the properties found in even greater detail. The primary ambition was that the buildings constructed should be of different types – private homes would be built in areas where there were now mostly blocks of flats and vice versa. The secondary ambition was for the buildings to contribute to reducing insecurity along frequently-used walkways. Although the various authorities had collaborated around this idea of increasing the density of the built areas, this proposal made the city planning office sit up and shout "Stop!" Their view was that there were many other aspects that needed to be taken into account before new residential building projects were undertaken.

At the same point in time, the "secure, attractive city" working party had initiated a major project on environmental improvements. The parks and landscapes administration was commissioned to coordinate an inventory of the most frequently used (and/or essential) walkways there were in each district in Göteborg, assess the quality of lighting, the paving, the fixtures (benches, litter bins, etc.) and whether the vegetation needed cutting back, clearing out and thinning. In the districts where safety and security inspection tours had been carried out, some of this information had already been gathered. The walkways were then accounted for on GIS maps and made available to all relevant parties on the intranet.

The city planning office agreed to draft a common policy document for the three municipal authorities. Working in collaboration with the traffic and public transport authority, they specified what lighting was needed and where it should be put up. In collaboration with the parks and landscapes administration, they worked out what was needed and a policy for the "furnishing" of public space. Eventually, this work will result in an internet-based manual, which will be able to be used by the relevant authorities in conjunction with public tendering and in consultation with other public authorities. It will also be available to the general public, and make it easier for the citizens to understand what is being planned – and to be able to object if they are not in agreement with these plans.

The property management office and the city planning office have set up a working party for "greater density of the built environment" which will try to maintain a holistic view when studying supplementary building for the districts of Tynnered and Biskopsgården. For the first time, security issues will be in focus when new investments are planned, and they will be seen in conjunction with accessibility, traffic issues, available services, socio-economic distribution, etc.

Return on investment: Tynnered

As mentioned in a previous chapter, the square at Opaltorget served as the point of departure for the safety and security inspection tours in Tynnered. The residents of the area received return on their participation, first in the form of records from the tours and later as a renovation proposal from a firm of architects. The parks and landscapes administration put a lot of money into clearing up and improving the quality of the green areas. However, what never happened was the refurbishing and renovation of the square itself and the tram stop.

The buildings on the square are owned by a private company which refused to participate in funding the renovation. Although technical traffic changes were made in the tram stop, this work was done without any contact with the district administration. The stop and the square look worse than ever before. The residents appear to understand that the district administration has tried to be receptive to their wishes, but in the final analysis they really got virtually no return whatsoever on their investment.

One result of the safety and security inspection tours in Tynnered is that Tynnered has become a pilot project area for improving the security of a district in Göteborg. The main walkways have been defined, plans have been drawn up to improve lighting and maintenance of the green areas, a call for tenders has been issued for the lighting improvements, and the parks and landscape administration have completed what they undertook to do. The working party for "greater density of the built environment" have begun to draw up plans for supplementary housing construction and changes in the walkways (one of the main aims of which is to get rid of the pedestrian tunnels).

A security improvement project planned from the top-down

To the general public, the public spaces in a city are an indivisible whole. As a rule, we are not concerned about which public authority has responsibility for what. In most cases we are not even aware of the conflicts of territoriality, who is supposed to cut which lawn on what side of a property boundary that is invisible except on the authorities' maps.

The distance is great from people in a neighbourhood to the directors of our municipal authorities. But it is still definite progress that we now have a network at the very top, the "secure, attractive city" working party. At least it is now possible for the

picture of that indivisible whole that people at the grass roots in a neighbourhood have can also be reflected, if incompletely, at the top.

The property management office is not a formal part of the network, but has been an active partner in the cooperation, probably because there is a general sense that they were also to work for greater security in the city. Another reason it worked well is that *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* has been involved as an interface, since part of its explicit mission is to be a network builder. The crime prevention secretariat has worked close to the grass roots in developing the use of security and safety tours in Tynnered both at district and city levels, and has arranged mini-conferences on crime prevention and security-building for groups of district administrations. The secretariat has also provided support for officials at the city planning office who were interested in working with security, and has been an impetus to network building at various levels and to contacts among different networks.

One can, of course, wonder whether or not top-down network building qualifies as control. In any case, no network can function unless the various nodes have common interests. What the network builders can do is to highlight what the nodes have in common, serve as good examples, propose projects that might trigger action on latent ideas, etc. Certainly this could be defined as control, or even manipulation.

Unless networks come into being for the pleasure of contact, they will soon die out. A community often has potential enthusiasts and people with lots of good ideas who are either unable to find each other or who lack the confidence to reveal themselves. If the people involved in networks feel that they are getting a return on their investment, the result will be greater reciprocal confidence. Confidence grows if it is nurtured, and when it does so the effects are often multipliers. Even networks created (or enticed into creation) from above can be successful in this way.

Notes

> I would like to explain why we decided to work on making the lifestyle more humane in Göteborg. Security can be defined, and has to do with safety. Security policy can be applied to make the world a safer place – a bomb shelter is an incredibly safe place, for example. Yes, safe, but quite inhumane. Thus in talking about making Göteborg a place with a more humane lifestyle, we are trying to associate security not only with safety but to a humane community where people can come and go, and where they can be anyplace in town at any time of the day or night. Anyplace, anytime, without having to be worried, without having always to look over their shoulders. We are aiming to make our city safer, better, more secure and more humane.
>
> Göran Johansson, municipal councillor[73]

Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure

Events and everyday life

Let us consider some of the things that have happened in Göteborg from the point of view of the aspects we have been discussing: security and a better, more humane way of life. The things about which we are acutely aware, as individuals and as a collective, are the easiest to formulate questions about. One such thing was the disastrous fire in the discotheque on 20 October 1996 in which 63 young people lost their lives. "The fire affected the whole city. Almost 25% of the people in Göteborg said that they 'knew someone who was there' and more than 33% said that they had 'been to the site after the fire'.'[74]. We can ask ourselves questions like: Did shortcomings in the areas of security and humanity affect the process leading up to the fire and if so, how? How did the behaviour of the authorities influence the way our citizens see security in this community? How did the media affect the attitudes of individuals and of the general public to security and humanity in Göteborg?

The riots and the visit of US president Bush to Göteborg in conjunction with the EU summit in June 2001 also had a major impact on our preconceptions about our community. "The violence in Göteborg during the 2001 EU summit was more than simply an assault on individuals and on private property, it is also, ultimately, an attack on democracy."[75] One question is: How did the provocations on the part of the police affect the entire course of events? Others are: What was the role of the media in setting "the truth" in stone, whether it was true or false? How have vandalism, shooting, and stone throwing been situated in relation to demonstrations, seminars and international solidarity? Did the behaviour of the authorities contribute to raising or lowering the social capital in our community?

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[73] Quoted from the welcome address made by the chairman of the Göteborg municipal council, Göran Johansson, at the Scientific Conference. In: *Att förebygga brott och rädsla*, Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg, 2003, p. 12.

[74] Margareta Bäck-Wiklund and Torun Österberg, *Branden och staden*. As quoted in Lars Rönnmark (ed.)*"Att möta det man möter"*, FoU i Väst 2001 (In Swedish only. Article by Bäck-Wiklund and Österberg, *The fire and the city*).

[75] This quotation is from a letter written by Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson as cited in Mikael Löfgren & Masoud Vatakhah (eds.) *Vad hände med Sverige i Göteborg*, Stockholm 2002, p. 278. (In Swedish only: *What happened to Sweden in Göteborg*?) See also (in Swedish only, government commission report on Göteborg) *Göteborgskommitténs betänkande: Göteborg 2001*, SOU 2002:122. Further references (in Swedish only): http://www.folkrorelser.nu/gbg 2001 analys.html.

The list of examples could continue, and cover major events such as the world championships in athletics in 1995, the annual street festival "*Göteborgskalaset*", and the annual Hammarkullen *Mardi gras* carnivals. Events, however, are not really the decisive factor in determining our confidence and trust, which are more deeply affected by all the little everyday things that happen to us in the community. For instance, do we get the health and medical care to which we have a right, and do we get it in a non-discriminatory way? Have we or someone close to us experienced violence or burglary, and how was the matter dealt with by the police, the insurance company and the court? Of course we are also influenced by the way media portray fast-track service, golden parachutes, salary differences and prosecution waivers for environmental and white collar crimes. When push comes to shove, it is the concrete things, the things closest to our everyday lives that serve as the foundation for our experiences of security and a humane way of life. So how can a crime prevention council work so as to promote security and humane lifestyles in a community?

How crime prevention councils are structured

Chapter one contains a discussion of the objectives expressed in the national crime prevention programme *Our Common Responsibility*. Two government commission reports contain evaluations of this programme[76], as does Ylva Norén Bretzer's report[77]. The government commission reports may be considered the assessments by the powers that be of their own proposals and the effects of their implementation. Below, I concentrate on an independent study carried out at the Department of Criminology, Stockholm University, by Magnus Hörnqvist[78].

The Hörnqvist study is divided into two sections. The first describes "the methods used, the institutions created and the scope of work". The findings in this section are based both on a questionnaire submitted to all the municipal crime prevention councils (135, or 178 according to the National Council for Crime Prevention) and on interviews with 117 individuals in 14 municipalities all over Sweden, as well as on analysis of documents. The second section is an analytical discussion, written from the point of view of a social scientist, of "forms of address, activities, controlling mechanisms, organisational solutions and types of cooperation". This is a study of the "micro-physics of power" in relation to the ideological and hands-on mobilisation of the community in combating crime. (pages 5 and 60)

According to Hörnqvist, the actions undertaken by the government can be considered one gigantic project the aim of which is to involve civil society in crime prevention, to encourage cooperation between various players, and to increase citizens' sense of engagement, focusing on the local level. He describes the process by which the initiative took root at local level as follows:

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[76] *Steget före*, (SOU 1998:90) och slutrapporten *Brottsförebyggande arbete i landets kommuner*, (SOU 1999:61). (Two government commission reports, in Swedish only: *One Step Ahead* and *Crime Prevention Work in Swedish Municipalities)*.

[77] *Kommunens förebyggande av brott och otrygghet*. CEFOS, Göteborgs universitet 2003. (In Swedish only: *Prevention of Crime and Insecurity in Swedish Municipalities*).

[78] Magnus Hörnqvist, *Allas vårt ansvar – i praktiken.* En statligt organiserad folkrörelse mot brott. Kriminologi, Stockholms Universitet, Rapport 2001:2. ((In Swedish only: *Our Common Responsibility – in practice. A popular movement to combat crime organised by the government*).

Usually, a decision was adopted by the municipal council with the support of the majority of the parties. Then the work proper began. As a rule a working party was appointed with representatives of both politicians and officials, and was instructed to draw up plans for structuring a crime prevention council and determining its mandate. […]. In just under half of all the municipalities with local crime prevention councils, no efforts were made to involve civil society. In those cases, the council was structured as a traditional body for cooperation between politicians and officials from different public authorities. (p.8)

The first stage in the rooting process was the drawing up of the required crime prevention *programmes*. The second was the carrying out of "*security measurements*", which was done in most municipalities. Feedback on the programme and the measurements was gathered from civil society (NGOs and the general public) either at meetings or in writing. The final step was to hold a "*kick-off*", at which the council was on display to the general public. Kick-offs were held at community centres or similar venues, and were covered by the local press. It was clearly easier to help these ideas take root in communities where there were already networks or individual enthusiasts at work.

New structures for cooperation developed thanks to this rooting process. The compositions of the councils varied greatly: Hörnqvist describes three basic models:

- Only a small coordination or steering committee
- The above plus a reference group
- Both the above plus working parties appointed to deal with specific subjects and/or geographical areas. (p.16)

The public sector was usually represented by the police, the social services, schools, primary health and medical care, the recreational authorities, and politicians from the corresponding local boards. Only half the councils included representatives of the civil society (NGOs). When there were such representatives, they usually came from organisations for OAPs, support groups for victims of crimes, youth groups or sports clubs. Some 25% of the councils had representatives of trade and industry (the private sector) such as the local merchants' association, insurance companies and businesses.

Mainly two areas were in focus for the local crime prevention councils: local neighbourhood watch programmes and neighbourhood cooperation programmes (also known as security ombudsman programmes). Largely, then, it became about the citizens monitoring each other, a kind of citizen self-discipline. (p.23)

Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure consists of a small steering committee. In comparison with most of the other local crime prevention councils, it has no representatives of local government boards or authorities.

The many municipal crime prevention councils in Sweden are structured in very different ways, spanning the spectrum from consisting only of the whole local council to containing no politicians whatsoever. In Göteborg it was a very conscious choice to leave out the local authorities and boards. The council and its secretariat were not to become just another of the many local government units. Another way of preventing

this was to set up the secretariat and council as a time-limited project. They were to do most of their work through others – within the existing organisation.

The secretariat staff includes people with experience from and contact with many of the municipal boards. But in my assessment interviews, I found that two important areas had remained unrepresented: schools and the trade and industry sector. Today the secretariat is working hard to build up a contact interface with the business community, but it seems to be more difficult to find a way of cooperating successfully with the schools of the municipality.

Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure differs in many ways from the average local crime prevention council in Sweden. In my view, the council is working well, but needs to talk more about and work more in terms of theories and principles. Most importantly, the council needs to draw up guidelines for its continued work. I am not saying that the members have to be in perfect agreement – the political and institutional differences among them are far too great for that – but dialogue is an important aspect of the development of ideas for the work of the council. At the moment, the council is much too dependent on ideas and issues put forward by the secretariat.

The members of the secretariat serve the function of being what Hörnqvist calls enthusiasts, the people who make a local crime prevention council successful. I am tremendously impressed with the achievements of the secretariat during the roughly two years of its existence, particularly the way in which it has succeeded in fulfilling the intention of being "invisibly effective". They have built up a huge network with innumerable contact interfaces. The question is whether the staff can keep their energetic work up in the long run. Perhaps the kind of collaboration they have helped initiate among various players in the community will be able to continue on its own momentum.

Even when successful measures are taken, however, unless the problems have been dealt with at the root, criminality will rear its ugly head again and again. And even in Göteborg, where decisions have been made to start with the roots of the problem, there are not likely to be any measurable reductions in crime statistics in the short term. Or if there were, they would probably be coincidental.

Crime prevention councils mobilise their communities

In the second part of his study, Hörnqvist writes that although on the surface *Our Common Responsibility* may give the impression that the national government is withdrawing from crime prevention work, the truth may be precisely the contrary. Delegation of responsibilities to more subsidiary levels may be seen as a kind of outsourcing of less profit-generating (more cost-intensive) work. The new services required owing to increased crime rates and the dismantling of the welfare state are thus transferred, to some extent, to voluntary organisations (unpaid work).

This leaves the government free to concentrate on its core activities, including traditional policies on crime prevention as carried out by the police, the correctional services and the judicial system, referred to above as "repressive crime prevention".

When the state activates the citizens, local officials then have "free hands to explore their own solutions, adapted to the local conditions, at the same time as they are part of a division with responsibility for its own profitability, and accountable upwards in the hierarchy". This "responsibilisation strategy" gives the central government more power than before; its capacity for action and its influence are extended. (p.35) The strategy implies that rather than studying crime prevention in itself as a result of the situation in society, it serves as an indicator of how the social order is functioning. How is power distributed and consolidated at and between different levels in society; what is the materiality of the exercising of power?

> Inevitably, the exercising of power is permeated by ideology – from the way criminality is portrayed by the mass media to the intellectual debate on the civil society, to academic theories about crime prevention, throughout the government commission report on democracy, the cult of "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours" among public sector officials, the way security and the good life are used in the rhetoric of businesspeople, the bridge-building mentality of the NGOs, and not least in *Our Common Responsibility*. (p.37)

According to Hörnqvist, there is something ambivalent about the status of crime prevention: it is situated somewhere in between social policy and crime prevention policy, and at the crossroads of state (including local government), business community and civil society.

Hörnqvist goes on to say that the crime prevention programme aims to mobilise not only deviant individuals on the outskirts of legal society, but also the social mainstream. It is a kind of "productive exercising of power" which, contrary to the repressive kind, implies the involvement of the target group as active objects of their own subordination. (p38)

> This mobilisation stands and falls with its ability to trigger or link up with an interest. It does not have to be particularly remarkable. I have encountered people whose motivations to participate span a wide spectrum from wanting to make a contribution to wanting to protect their own property, to hoping for better contact with their neighbours or with other parents, to irritation with the incompetence of the police, to financial incentives such as bringing down their insurance premiums, to the need to feel secure where they live, or any combination of the above. […] In this context people are being addressed in their capacity of potential victims of crime, parents who should demonstrate their sense of responsibility, sports coaches, or simply the residents of a certain area. (p.40)

The question is whether Hörnqvist's description tallies with *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure*. It may fit at neighbourhood level, but not at municipal level. As previous chapters have clarified, the work of the council and its secretariat focuses mainly on bringing about change in society in other ways than through direct crime prevention activities. Such activities are also undertaken, but they are not the main focus. Rather, it is more overarching, and often makes use of situational prevention and promotion. I would interpret this as the work done in Göteborg concentrates more on what should be the main mission for a municipality – to create security and to offer its citizens a more humane, better way of life.

Building confidence

What, then, is the role of local crime prevention councils in terms of increasing security and contributing to a more humane, better way of life in their communities? The umbrella term "confidence" seems well suited here, and crime prevention could be said to consist of efforts to build up a high level of "civility", meaning:

> that the inhabitants feel a great deal of reciprocal trust and have a large number of horizontal networks. Low civility means that the inhabitants seldom cooperate, and are only integrated via directives from above. When the ties binding the community are primarily vertical, and the inhabitants distrust both horizontal connections and power from above. Confidence breeds cooperation which, in turn, breeds greater confidence. However, it is not personal confidence that is decisive but rather social confidence, which is more closely related to the structure of society than with the characteristics of the citizens. Where there is already civility, it tends to be reinforced, slowly. Where it is absent, distrust is born time and again, and it becomes increasingly difficult for any individual to break into this "vicious" circle.[79]
> .

If the objectives of *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* are taken seriously then the work of the council should differ to some extent from that of traditional crime prevention councils. As described in previous chapters, my case studies and analyses indicate that the work of the Göteborg council is moving in the right direction. I will conclude by addressing three questions:

- Are the activities and policies of other municipal and national bodies counterproductive to the objectives of the council?
- Is the relatively strong emphasis on situation promotion a good thing?
- Are the theories, problems and solutions clearly enough defined to be productive?

OVERLAPPING POLICY AREAS. As Hörnqvist points out, crime prevention is at the intersection of various policy areas, as well as being an overlapping matter for the national and local governments. The same applies to security promotion. Crime prevention has now been delegated from the national to local levels and to the citizens, without any corresponding resource allocation. At the same time, the national government earmarked special funding for some peripheral areas in the major urban municipalities to solve problems associated with the "rise" of segregation.[80] While measures taken in this respect are sometimes also confidence-promoting, many actions implemented to counteract segregation were and are counterproductive to security-promotion. This is even more true in the area of traffic policy. Enormous sums have been allocated to solving urban traffic problems and increase accessibility via the automobile (with some piddling sums set aside to achieve the same objective via public transport). The traffic investments not only counteract measures adopted to combat segregation, they also pose general impediments to greater openness in society, which is one of the prerequisites for confidence-building.

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[79] Lisbeth Birgersson, *Att bygga mening och rum – om processer för utveckling av verksamhetsmiljöer*. Industriplanering, Chalmers (diss.) 1996, p. 93. (PhD thesis in Swedish with English summary and title: *Creating Meaning and space - about processes for the development of workplace environment*).

[80] Although the issue is beyond the scope of this study, it is my opinion that this was consciously-planned segregation.

However the dilemma of the municipalities must be acknowledged. Municipal councillors often put it like this: "If we had not agreed to the national proposals right away, we would have lost millions. And what would the inhabitants of our municipality have thought about that?" I might express it differently: "How could presumptive future security possibly have competed for the attention of the general public with the media's choice of everyday problems?"

SITUATIONAL PROMOTION. In this report, my analysis has primarily been of how the council sees prevention and promotion via the built environment, i.e. the situational perspective. I have found that, in comparison with other local crime prevention councils, *Göteborg -- safer, better, and more secure* has emphasised the situational, and without losing the social perspective.

As discussed in Chapter 3, confidence-building is quite an overarching phenomenon. It is about openness of the public spaces. Not openness in the sense of wide open, desolate squares and green areas, but the kind of openness that means that the streets are filled with people who move about in a natural way. This requires a different kind of built environment than the road and street patterns that have been designed for the outskirts of Swedish metropolitan areas over the last fifty years.

> In his book: *An Essay on Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* (*Essä om Gemeinschaft och Gesellschaft*, 1991), sociologist Johan Asplund interpreted Jane Jacobs'[81] ideal city as implying that urban security a city does not necessarily have to be characterized by intimacy based on people being familiar with each other, or feeing a sense of community, because urban security is anonymous. He writes that this happened unintentionally, as a by-product of smoothly-functioning city life maintained by strangers. Although people do not monitor one another consciously, urban life is monitored life per se. People help each other, through what Asplund calls the urban reflex[82], to achieve order in apparent chaos (or why not diversity?) rather than out of some moral conviction. In a view not unlike that of Bill Hillier's on empty places[83], Asplund writes that in a dispersed city which is only sparsely-used there are neither people at hand nor an urban order to be maintained, which explains why these environments are experienced as less secure. Security is rooted in knowing that there are people out there, not in knowing who those people are.[84]

This urban reflex can thus be developed in a city if it is structured and organised accordingly. This is where I think the concept urbanity comes into the picture. It has very little to do with how densely-built an environment is, or how densely-populated. Instead, it is related to Hillier's concept of the "virtual community"[85], to which I referred in Chapter 3.

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[81] Referring to Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities, New York* 1961, which was extremely influential in the public debate on the open society.

[82] Probably referring to the arguments put forward in Johan Asplund, pp. 56-58.

[83] Probably referring to Bill Hillier, *Space is the Machine*, Cambridge 1996.

[84] Gabriella Sandstig, *Orons platser*, Journalistik och Masskommunikation, Göteborgs universitet, Working report no. 8, p. 6. (In Swedish only: Uncomfortable places: Journalism and mass communication).

[85] In my research I use the syntax measures *integration* and *legibility* as indicators of this latent sense of community. The measurability makes it possible to evaluate the degree of urbanity in a place and, more importantly, to assess the effects of proposed planning actions.

PRODUCTIVE THEORIES. In the chapter on theories above, I also referred to an ongoing debate amongst political scientists regarding how to restore or develop confidence in the community[86]. At the core of that discussion were "the social trap" (Platt), the existence of "social networks" in society (Putnam) and the possibility of "governing the commons" (Ostrom). However, this is a debate at an abstract, national level and, as I said in Chapter 3, I felt it needed to be brought down to the level of the commons areas of streets and city squares. The PhD student quoted above, from the department of political science discusses relevant issues, seeing a link between security and confidence at mass media level as well:

> There is interaction among the *built environment*, the *mass media* and people's *everyday experience* at structural level as well as at individual level in the way people experience discomfort, fear and insecurity in a city. This interaction builds on their ability to be enabling or impeding for each other, on the basis of their functions in the process of social communication and as mediators of symbolic values. This is defined as the ways in which the built environment, the mass media and everyday experience can contribute to shaping, mediating and maintaining values, ideals and ideas. The media can disseminate moral values directly or indirectly, including what is right and wrong, and good and bad, while urban space can consciously or unconsciously disseminate different concepts of who has the right to use it -- the automobile or the individual, people with high versus low economic status, or everyone.[87]

The author of this quotation is building on the idea that "the (symbolic) space created by the mass media may be regarded as an extension of the physical space" in which we live. The city, the built environment and the mass media are all, in one way or another "extensions or reflections of ourselves and our activities". The built environment is open to interpretation in the same way as are media texts. "Both create a kind of frame or set of conditions for the lives and ideas of the people, and both have consequences in terms of the way in which people experience discomfort, fear and insecurity in the city".

Confidence as a means of competition

As mentioned more than once above, the chairman of the Göteborg municipal council often repeats that crime prevention and security-building are both parts of a strategy for competing with other cities. In Bo Rothstein's book mentioned in Chapter 3 above, he questions some of Putnam's conclusions[88]. There is no doubt that the development of networks can be a contributing factor to a region's economic development. Putnam compares northern and southern Italy in this respect. His later studies show that in the United States the sense of good citizenship is on the decline. People nowadays bowl alone, according to Putnam, instead of using bowling as an excuse to be sociable.

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[86] Bo Rothstein, *Sociala fällor och tillitens problem*, SNS 2003. (In Swedish only: *Social Traps and the Problem of Trust**).

[87] Gabriella Sandstig, *Orons platser*, p. 3.

[88] Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy.* Princeton, N.J., 1992.
Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York, 2000.

Social networks are good in principle, but networks also mean that non-members, by definition, become outsiders. Thus networks may also have an excluding effect, depending on how open they are. If we compare the idea of networks with the planning concept of "gated communities" and with the neighbourhood as a unit, we can see that both gated communities and neighbourhoods may contribute to the development of internal networks. At the same time, the enclave naturally excludes others, strangers. Networks may eradicate the preconditions for open cities.

We must therefore ask ourselves whether perhaps confidence-building, and thus the competitive edge, requires other strategies. Richard Florida, Professor of Regional Economic Development, has studied the decisive factors to urban development and competitive power. His research indicates that qualities such as recreational facilities, beautiful surroundings, breadth of competence, availability of higher education, etc. are important. And these are the very factors we tend to mention when discussing the new docklands area, *Norra Älvstranden*, in Göteborg. We need to attract the companies that work with spearhead technologies. And municipalities tend to do this by offering them excellent locations and generous terms of localisation.

In his later works, Florida describes a PhD student who was working with measurements of urban development in relation to the numbers of gays and lesbians in a city. This factor turned out to correlate just as well as the number of university teachers and artists, which Florida had used in his research. Of course there may also be an internal correlation among these various factors. Which is the driving factor – the gay factor or the higher education factor – or is it both? Florida writes, in chapter 16, entitled "Building the creative community":

> The bottom line is that cities need a *people climate* even more than they need a business climate. This means supporting creativity across the board - in all of its various facets and dimensions - and building a community that is attractive to creative people, not just to high-tech companies. As former Seattle mayor Paul Schell once said, success lies in "creating a place where the creative experience can flourish." Instead of subsidizing companies, stadiums and retail centers, communities need to be open to diversity and invest in the kinds of lifestyle options and amenities people really want.[89]

It is my opinion that security and a better, more humane lifestyle certainly can serve as competitive factors. If they are to do so, then a fundamental sense of confidence must underpin the community. One means of achieving this is to make the built environment such that the public, everyday environment we all share is also tolerant of people who are deviant and of strangers. That is where the open city comes into the picture. It is a city with a mixture of activities, of residential possibilities and of socio-economic groups – quite simply a mixed city.

As mentioned above, it is not easy to transform our highly segregated cities into mixed cities, not even when we build new environments. We often lack both the necessary resources and legislation. But probably the main thing needed is a change of mentality among politicians and officials, architects and planners. Openness is about tolerance of strangers and people who are deviant. Urban construction and crime prevention can go hand in hand, but this is "no easy matter".

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[89] Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class.* New York 2002, p. 283.

Allow me to conclude by quoting former Swedish Prime Minister, later peace negotiator in Bosnia, Carl Bildt. In his view, urban development problems must also be seen in a global perspective:

> Ethnically and culturally based conflicts arise not only between societies in other parts of the world – we see more and more signs of them at the heart of both city centres and suburbs of our major European cities. Intolerance and the absence of understanding, economic misery and social marginalisation pose conflict risks in European society as it is today, in terms of efforts to build stable future structures in south-eastern Europe.
>
> If we are not able to deal with distant ethnic and cultural conflicts, this will influence our abilities to deal with ones closer at hand. And the time is most certainly past when we can shut ourselves into our respective national, cultural or religious shells and hope that the rest of the world will simply stay out. We are living in the era of internationalisation, individualisation and global information. *We must be able to see the creativity in cultural encounters, and not only the risk of conflicts.*[90]

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[90] Carl Bildt, *Uppdrag fred*, Stockholm 1997, p. 544. My italics. (In Swedish only: *Peace Mission*).

AB Göta Lejon Insurance is the city of Göteborg's wholly-owned insurance company. It was founded in 1991 and its work is carried out with a view to reducing the risk-associated expenses of the city through efficient, effective safety endeavours. The risk expenses include damage after deductibles, damage-restricting expenses and damage-prevention measures, and insurance premiums. Another ambition is to contribute to making Göteborg a safer, pleasanter city in which to live. Pursuant to the safety policy of the city, it is the remit of the company to coordinate and initiate safety work for the city. Emphasis is placed on dissemination of information and on training in matters relating to risk analyses and safety.

The company works actively to limit and prevent damage, with the key terms being early discovery and the right measure at the right time.

This work is based on cooperation. The Göta Lejon staff cooperate with a wide network of relevant parties including representatives of all their customers, not least the property management units of the municipality. They also cooperate closely with the rescue services and the police.

Göta Lejon is structured to be able to provide insurance solutions that are advantageous for the entire municipality. The assets of the company are managed as a fund, giving them sufficient economic leeway to be able to take the necessary risks.

The company's resources also enable them to provide active interventions and support to damage-prevention efforts. In close contact with their customers, and because they are active inin so many fields, they are able to act rapidly and efficiently in ensuring that resources go to areas where they can do the most good.

Knowledge of ongoing events, and of the causes and costs of incidents is decisive to their work. For this reason, the company works actively in following up of claims and incidents. Follow up is part of the security mind set, and of using knowledge to be able to break into negative vicious cycles.

Göta Lejon therefore works to improve knowledge in various ways, and to encourage active safety work. This is done, for example though information and training. Special information or tailor-made information packages are often needed for particular groups. Another example is providing support for ideas and projects aimed at preventing young people from committing acts of vandalism and other crimes at school and elsewhere. Sometimes the company also takes the risk of funding projects and ideas in unexplored territory, to give new things a chance to develop.

Another important aspect of the work of the company is efforts to influence building and maintenance work so that safety and security issues are taken into consideration as early as at the planning and construction stages of municipal buildings such as schools. The company has published a manual on this subject, with advice and guidelines for new buildings and renovation projects.

The company also gives support to efforts to prevent burglaries, vandalism, fires and damage by water, in order to minimise the risks of major damage.