

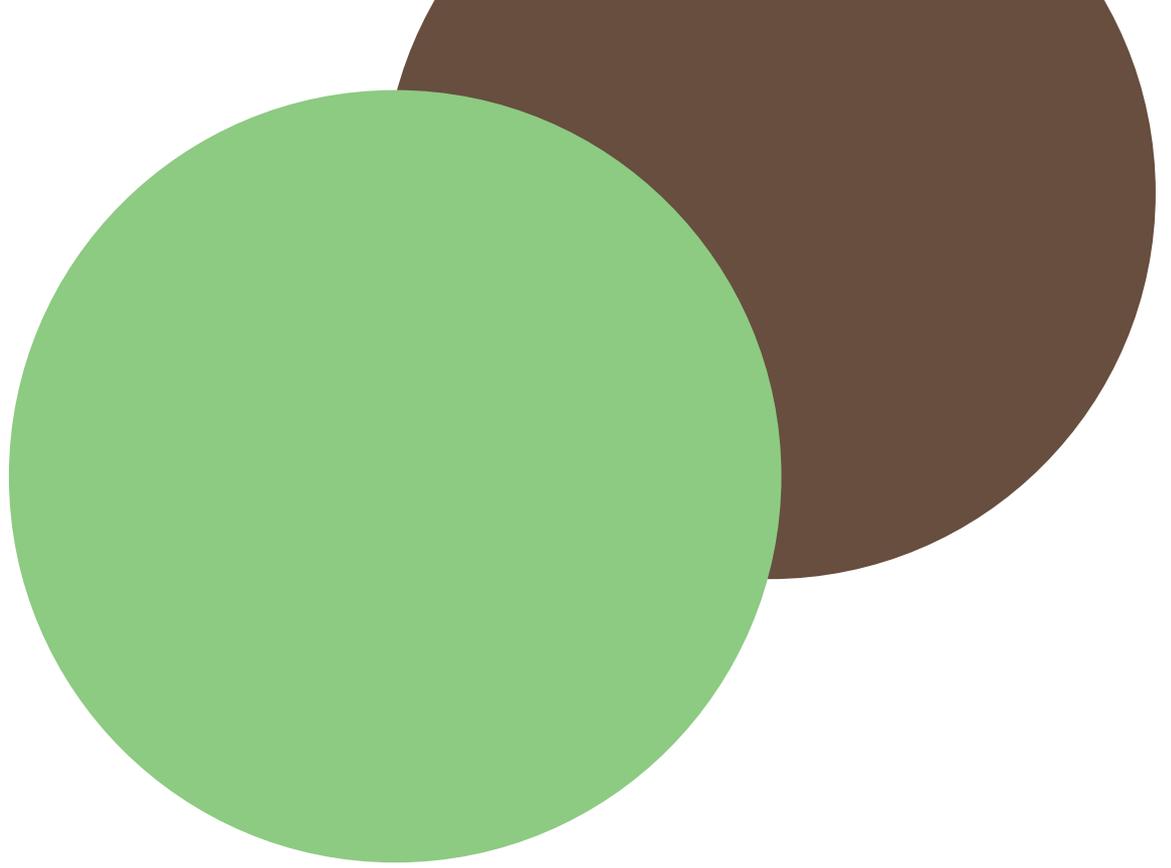


TRYGGARE OCH MÄNSKLIGARE GÖTEBORG

- an innovative approach to urban
crime prevention and safety promotion



**Tryggare
och Mänskligare
Göteborg**



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Thomas Jordan

**TRYGGARE
OCH MÄNSKLIQARE
GÖTEBORG**

TO THE READER

When Dr Thomas Jordan from the Department of Work Science at Göteborg University was invited to analyse the work of *Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg*, one of the reasons was that we ran activities which went beyond what is usually regarded as crime prevention and safety and security work. We had a very wide field of operations, and needed to analyse our structure, to see the important relationships between different parts of our work.

Thomas Jordan had then just published *Är den inre säkerheten hållbar?* (Is internal security sustainable?) a study of attitudes on safety and security and dialogues among Swedish decision-makers, a monograph which, with its starting point

a “vision-logical” way of looking at things, was entirely appropriate for understanding both achievements and challenges in the internal dialogue and the conversation between the social actors in Göteborg.

The council *Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg* and its secretariat have of course also worked to a great extent with questions which, in a wider sense than that of pure crime prevention, affect people’s feelings of participation in family life, school, working life and social life.

We have, for example, attempted to understand why the dialogue between the authorities and workplaces to do with the welfare of children and young people or elderly people is so difficult, and we have supported projects to do with dialogues cutting across normal boundaries in order to emphasise the power of good example.

Another question which has been something of a profile issue for *Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg* has been the urban environment and issues of city planning. Here operations which are in many cases innovative have been developed and have attracted attention both nationally and internationally.

There has been no shortage therefore of breadth or enthusiasm in the work, but how has it fitted together? Has it become too disparate? Or does an operation that deals with crime prevention have to be this broad in order to engender trust and a genuine interest in the issues on the part of the citizens?

The result of Thomas Jordan's work is – we hope – an insight into the fact that our activities do actually fit together, and it is our hope that this publication – just like our work – will also provide grea-

ter insight into the nature of the insecurity that people experience in our time, wherein lie the problems of achieving cooperation, consensus and dialogue, and the demands placed by situations that arise on a democratic process of crime prevention and safety and security work providing long term results and not felt to be a one-sided reinforcement of society's different control apparatuses.

Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg,
(Göteborg - safer and more human)
autumn 2006.



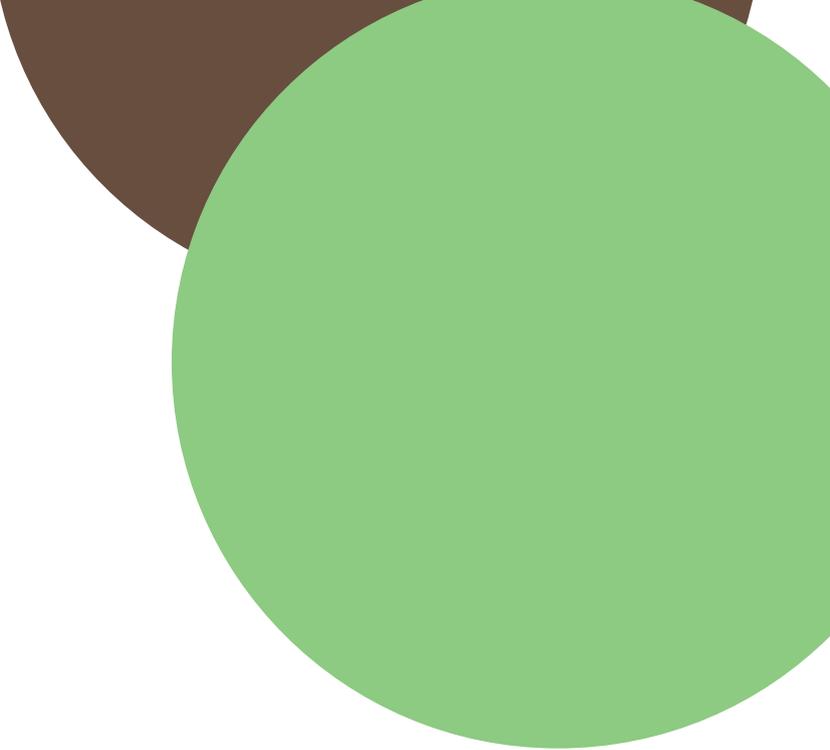
INNEHÅLL

To the reader	6
1. A safer and more human Göteborg	10
The task: safety and security in everyday life	12
The drainpipe principle: solves and creates problems	13
Crime prevention councils	16
Preventing crime and promoting safety	17
2. What should be done? Sources of differences of opinion	20
One question and several different answers	21
Jerzy Sarnecki's map of the tasks of crime prevention	22
Different notions about causal connections provide different views of the need for measures	25
How complex is our thinking about the causes underlying people's behaviour?	27
Four explanations for people's behaviour: four approaches to achieving change	32
Fields of operations for the prevention of crime and promotion of safety	37
Frustrations and tensions among the actors	40

Monologues, dialogues and vision-logic	43
Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg' s approach	44
3. What does the secretariat of Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg do?	46
The roles of the secretariat	48
The method of the secretariat	58
4. Changes for Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's endeavours	60
Five challenges	61
Trust as the central prerequisite	64
What competences are desirable in order to work with Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's endeavours?	65
How can we assess Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's effectiveness?	67
5. Summary	68
References	71
Summary of facts	73



**1. A SAFER
AND MORE HUMAN
GÖTEBORG**



Göteborg's crime prevention council, *Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg*, has developed an - in some respects - unique method of working on crime prevention and safety promotion at a local level. The aims of this monograph are to describe how Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg works, primarily as regards the work of the secretariat; to explain why it works in these ways; and to discuss the challenges facing the work of crime prevention and safety promotion. The aim is to contribute to a greater understanding of how we can view local strategies for the work of crime prevention and safety promotion.

THE TASK: SAFETY AND SECURITY IN EVERYDAY LIFE

What can be done to create and maintain a local community in which people to a reasonable degree can feel safe and secure in their everyday lives? This is one of the really major challenges facing politicians, authorities and civil society. The issue is of course enormous and difficult to demarcate in a manageable format. Not even the most tangible form of safety, not needing to be afraid of being subjected to physical violence, can be treated in isolation from the wider issues of social safety in society, people's feeling of belonging and what happens in schools, on the labour market and in residential areas. We all know that crime has many and complex causes, and that crime prevention in the wider sense is therefore a question touching on parenting, childcare, school, care, town planning, employment policy, leisure time activities and many other social sectors.

In recent years efforts have been made to develop the ability of society to prevent crime. The

major tangible work is carried out by many different actors: parents, teachers, or services, youth leaders, police, prison officers, etc. There are many different sub-areas, and within each sub-area specialised competences are required as well as an appropriate organisation and special rules. The division of the work into specialised administrations and other organisations means that everyone can develop expertise within their own field. As with all really complex social problems it is, however, not enough to delegate responsibility for crime prevention to specialised actors such as the police, schools and social services. Complex problems cannot be solved in an optimal way by specialised actors each taking on their small part of the problem and trying to solve it with their own efforts. Often for different reasons one has to coordinate the effort.

THE DRAINPIPE PRINCIPLE: SOLVES AND CREATES PROBLEMS

Presumably anyone who has worked in a leading and strategic role in municipal and national administrations has personal experience of the problems arising as a result of the so-called “drainpipes.” The image of the drainpipe refers to sealed pipes where items of business flow through one’s own organisation to be solved, but without any contact with other organisations. As long as this is a question of well-defined tasks, then the drainpipe works well, but when society has to deal with very complex problems, inefficiencies arise as a result of lack of communication, difficulties in communicating as a result of different approaches, rivalry about roles and resources and ignorance of how other areas than one’s own work. In the worst cases different actors develop strategies regarded as actually damaging by other actors, because they differ in their views of the best method of solving problems. Less visible problems are that a low level of co-operation means that the prerequisites

for developing integrated programmes of measures for complex social problems are lacking, and that people miss out on the opportunities for specialised actors to learn from each other’s specialist competence, and in this way actually become more skilful problem-solvers in their own field.

The drainpipe problem can be broken down into different components. For the sake of simplicity we can talk about “hard” and “soft” factors. The “hard” factors have to do with external prerequisites, for example the organisational structures and formal rules and regulations of the municipal administration. There are laws and regulations which direct individuals exercising authority as to what they are allowed to do and what they are not. Information and decisions have to follow certain paths and procedures. People are always working with limited resources, which means that individual administrations are often exposed to severe pressure to focus on their core activity and to pare

away those tasks that are not absolutely central. The “soft” factors have to do with the approach, lingo, working methods, assessments and identities that have developed over time within each specialist area. It is, therefore, in this case a question of very different mental patterns pervading different parts of the administration and other organisations. We all have experiences of attitudes, methods of work, assessments and use of language which is “part of the furniture.” These very local cultures can create problems for cooperation, as we all know.

Here society has a problem which is still seeking a solution. If we do not find productive forms to bridge the gaps between expert organisations we will be ineffectual in dealing with the complex problems and challenges faced by society. Individual authorities and administrations will work with their expert perspectives, which sometimes are blind to the negative consequences of

their own actions, and blind to the possibilities of better solutions to problems which would be provided by cooperation between different actors. If different administrations, professions, ideologies and other groups cannot communicate well, learn from each other and cooperate, we run the risk of losing out on, amongst other things, the following opportunities:

- **Better decisions.** Greater insight into complex causal connections and complex consequences of different types of measure, and in this way measures and decisions which have better chances of being successful.
- **Synergy effects** of co-operation between the skills of different experts.
- **Quality development within fields of activity.** Productive exchanges of view and knowledge so that methods for solving one’s own tasks are enriched and developed.

– **Realisation.** Opportunities to see good ideas realised in practice by deriving benefit from contacts, resources, powers of decision-making and competences on the part of the other actors who one does not have regular contact with on a daily basis.

– **Dissemination** of information on methods, resources, projects, competence, individuals who are outside one's own core area.

There is information and prioritisation that is only developed by one actor who has the task of (1) developing a holistic view of, for example, prevention of crime/promotion of safety, (2) developing a long-term view and (3) being experimental within the field. Other actors focus on the tasks and perspectives which appear to be central within their own area of expertise. City planners do not automatically think about aspects of safety and security. The police do not have the resources or

mandate to work with the causes of youth crime. Researchers focus primarily on developing knowledge about cause and effect. Schoolteachers and head teachers are fully occupied with carrying out their pedagogic tasks.

CRIME PREVENTION COUNCILS

There has long been insight into the fact that the prevention of crime and the promotion of safety are such complex tasks that different actors need to coordinate their efforts. One strategy for solving those problems described in the previous section is to form crime prevention councils where representatives of different authorities and administrations meet on a regular basis. Crime prevention councils are to be found in many of Sweden's municipalities. They are usually tasked with preventing crime by improving co-operation between different actors, such as the police, social services on municipal administrations, schools and the interest groups of civil society (e.g. business associations, property managers, tenants associations).

Göteborg also has a crime prevention council, the council known as Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg (A safer and more human Göteborg). The council was formed in 2001 and has eight members, see Summary of Facts on page 73. One

important motive for establishing Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg was that people could see a human and safe society as a central pre-requisite for favourable economic development and in this way for an improvement on welfare. A secretariat has been attached to the council which is responsible for its daily work. It is primarily the work of the secretariat which is discussed in this study.¹

The name Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg is an indication that the task of the council is not merely to deal with the tangible business of preventing crime. If one has crime prevention as one lodestar, then the focus on formulating problems and strategies for action will be partly different than if one sees the promotion of safety as one's central task. The tension between these partly different perspectives can be confusing and even irritating. Before we continue we need, therefore, to clarify the relationship between crime prevention and safety promotion.

1. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has been the object of two previous studies or evaluations, see Klarqvist, 2004 and Norén Bretzer, 2004.

PREVENTING CRIME AND PROMOTING SAFETY

Preventing crime and promoting safety do not of course stand in opposition to each other. Success in preventing crime leads to increased safety, and greater safety in its turn prevents crime. How we formulate the task we are to work with naturally has consequences for how we work. The formulation of the problem itself brings with it a certain logic. Preventing crime is a task that means that we focus on undesirable events and how these can be reduced, while promoting safety means that we focus on how we can consolidate people's experience of being safe. In certain circumstances the differences in focus can lead to communication problems and tensions.

If we choose the task of preventing crime, it might sound like this:

Criminality is one of the most important problems in society. Particularly in the role of elected politician a central task is to ensure that the citizens can feel secure in their everyday

lives. Crime such as assault, robbery, burglary, vandalism and threat involves real suffering and loss on the part of the individuals affected. In a wider perspective criminality may also become a threat to social order: this widespread crime restricts safety, undermines law and order, curtails people's freedom to move around and act freely, and can even threaten democracy and a properly functioning economy, in particular if the citizens lose faith in the ability of the legal system to see that justice is done. We therefore have to make a real effort to reduce crime. It is important to make citizens, decision-makers and officials aware of the seriousness of the problem, so that crime prevention can be prioritised by social services, schools, municipal administrations and other actors. We have to find ways to make it less attractive to commit crime, by making it more difficult to commit crime successfully, increase the risk of being caught, and make the consequences more severe for those committing crime.

If we focus on the task of promoting safety, it might sound like this:

A social life characterised by a feeling of belonging, trust and confidence is the most important factor in creating a safe and human society. Preventing crime is an important part of a strategy of promoting safety, but safety is promoted not primarily by the absence of crime, but through trusting relations with people around us. The media's focus on violence, threats and insecurity is not in any reasonable proportion to the real risks of crime to which the individual citizen is exposed. The feeling of threat and unsafeness arising as a result of the images of the spread of crime presented by the mass media and other actors creates fear, insecurity and an increased tendency to adopt a tough response. We have, therefore, to concentrate on developing trust, safety and belonging both among the general public and among those in groups at-risk of developing criminal lifestyles.

The crime prevention perspective is represented most strongly among actors working within the field. It might, therefore, be appropriate to indicate

some central features of the work of promoting safety. If the primary task is formulated in terms of promoting safety rather than preventing crime, then a number of different fields of activity appear to be central that would not be regarded as relevant if the task merely had to do with crime prevention. The central question becomes: How do we create safety? One component is to avoid personal experiences of being exposed to crime, as e.g. robbery, assault, threats, break-ins, theft, vandalism. But the absence of crime in one's own everyday life does not of course cause one to feel safe in one's everyday life. If we take on the task of promoting citizens' safety, we must also ask ourselves what it is that enhances the experience of feeling safe.

Focusing on safety, questions are formulated dealing with how safety arises and how unsafeness arises. Then it is clear that a strategy based on addressing crime and criminal gangs, vandalism,

bullying, etc is in itself creating unsafeness and is in this way counter-productive as regards the aim of promoting safety.

From a safety perspective one can see safety in itself as preventing crime in the sense that safety arises when we have relationships with people around us. Unsafeness linked to isolation, a lack of contacts, uncertainty creates an environment in which criminality can more easily develop. If instead one formulates the main task in terms of preventing crime then the focus falls on crime and criminals. It is important to draw attention to those problems that exist and develop efficient measures to reduce the number of crimes and the seriousness of the crimes.

In the next section we will look more closely at different ways of reasoning on both the promotion of safety and the prevention of crime, focusing especially on the tensions that can arise between these different ways of formulating the task.



**2. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?
SOURCES OF
DIFFERENCES OF OPINION**

ONE QUESTION AND SEVERAL DIFFERENT ANSWERS

When we – with limited resources – have to deal with complex social problems to which it is not possible to reach rapid and radical solutions, we are faced with a number of dilemmas. How can we, with the limited resources we have at our disposal, work efficiently on very complex social problems? What can we – in a meaningful way – invest our resources in; what is not meaningful? Whatever strategy we choose, someone will be frustrated because resources are not being used efficiently, because new problems are created by the strategies chosen, because symptoms are being addressed but not the real causes, because the results are so meagre, etc.

What should a crime prevention council deal with? Should it act to get more people committing crime punished? Should it promote neighbourhood watch schemes? Should it invest money in research into criminality? Should it build up a geographical information system in order to acquire better information about where crimes take

place? In order to really assess the value of the work that is done by Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg we need a clearer understanding of the ideas that underlie individual projects and strategies. Is Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg doing a valuable job, or could the funds invested in Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg be used more efficiently elsewhere?

There are different ways of reasoning about what one should concentrate on in crime prevention and safety promotion work. Different approaches lead sometimes to differences of opinion and even to tensions on what one should be concentrating and how one should be going about it. In order to take sensible decisions about which measures and methods of working should be prioritised one has to have a good understanding of the underlying reasons for the approaches that exist. In a later section I will take up several angles of approach providing us with an oppor-

tunity to better distinguish the characteristics of the perspectives that Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg and other actors employ in describing and interpreting the problems.

The starting point of this report is that these issues are addressed in different ways by different actors. The different views that exist about how we should work with crime prevention and safety promotion have their roots in quite diverse ideologies on the part of politicians, officials in different administrations and representatives of different sectors of society. By “ideologies” here we mean e.g. which problems and causal connections appear important, and what opportunities for influence one believes to lie within the bounds of possible. In the following sections we will look more closely at how these ideologies can differ from each other, and what consequences these differences have for how one views crime prevention and safety promotion work.

PREVENTION LEVELS	PRIMARY PREVENTION
Increase supply of watchmen/increase the capacity of watchmen	Increase the individual’s links to established society • parenting training • police patrols • neighbourhood watch • concierges • informal control exercised by “ordinary citizens”
Reducing the propensity to commit crime	General prevention • structural measures to reduce social divisions and social exclusion • measures against discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity and religion • child rearing - to reinforce self-control • measures reducing alcohol consumption • measures against bullying at school • measures preventing violence in the family
Reducing access to suitable objects	General reduction of the opportunities for crime through technical measures e.g. locks, alarms, protection against unlawful access and the like on cars, flats and workplaces.
Reduce damage caused by crime	Insurance against damage caused by crime.
Reducing the fear of crime	Relevant general information about risks • changing the environment such as renovation and cleaning up graffiti • involvement by the residents • technical crime prevention • increased surveillance

FIGURE 1 JERZY SARNECKI’S TYPOLOGY OF CRIME PREVENTION MEASURES

SECONDARY PREVENTION	TERTIARY PREVENTION
<p>Surveillance by the police, security companies or other authority/ organisations of people/objects/activities exposed to crime • community workers, visitors • “semiformal social controls” such as Lugna Gatan’s school and underground train hosts, parental security tours and similar initiatives • measures increasing social control and reducing social disorganisation in socially segregated city districts</p>	<p>Measures reducing the risk of new crime against previously crime-hit objects, like those mentioned on the left • police patrols of hotspots • “one-to-one marking” of known criminally active individuals • incapacitation</p>
<p>Screening of at-risk groups/individuals • treatment of children/families in the at-risk zone • intervention to break up antisocial networks and counteract neutralisation of deviant behaviour • drug prevention • general measures opening up opportunities for entry to established society to individuals from minority groups and the underclass</p>	<p>Prevention of recidivism through individual deterrence and treatment • avoidance of conspiracies.</p>
<p>Technical protection of goods liable to be stolen and of individuals at high risk of being exposed to crime • local screening of places/businesses at high risk of being exposed to crime</p>	<p>Advice to the victims of crime about what preventative measures they should take in the future to avoid a repetition</p>
<p>Insurance aimed at high risk groups • measures to help exposed individuals to fend off an attack or to receive rapid help e.g. in the form of self-defence courses, alarms or the arming e.g. of personnel in risk occupations or women exposed to crime by relatives • camera surveillance recording exposed places • marking of goods liable to be stolen</p>	<p>Reactions of the judicial system to crime including measures to solve crimes • suitable attention to victims through initiatives within the judicial system, health care, social services and voluntary organisations such as e.g. on-call victim support, women on-call or the like</p>
<p>Information and support aimed at groups at particular risk, such a certain professional groups as well as women, pensioners, individuals living in crime-prone areas and certain minority and immigrant groups.</p>	<p>Therapeutic measures for victims of crime e.g. support centers for victims of crime • some projects within on-call victim support</p>

Source: Sarnecki, J. (2004) Kunskapsbaserad brottsprevention. Teoretiska utgångspunkter för brottsförebyggande arbete i Stockholms stad, page 15, Stockholms stad. Reproduced by permission of the author.

In a previous section we showed how the perspectives differ to some extent if we place crime prevention or safety promotion at the centre. The criminologist Jerzy Sarnecki has developed a table which provides a good overview of the complex of problems that makes up crime prevention measures (see Figure 1).

Sarnecki's model combines five different types of measures with three different target groups for the measures.

The types of measures Sarnecki has selected are to reduce the propensity for crime, to reduce access to suitable objects, to increase the access to capable watchmen, to minimise damage and to reduce the fear of crime. The target groups are taken from the discussion on prevention within the health sector, where they talk about primary, secondary and tertiary prevention.

Primary prevention is about measures directed at the entire population, secondary prevention

about measures aimed at at-risk groups, and tertiary prevention deals with measures aimed at those who have already been affected, translated into crime prevention therefore measures to prevent a relapse into criminality on the part of those who have already committed criminal acts.

The table can be used to clarify the relationship between different types of measures and to identify problem areas. It is a valuable step in the direction of an integrated view of crime prevention. For several reasons it is however less well suited to describing the perspective of safety promotion.

Sarnecki's table focuses on the crimes themselves, and how they can be prevented. The model comprises primarily the tangible circumstances, actions and events which are relevant to the prevention of crime. This means the table does not describe those factors which are located "further away" from the crimes themselves, such as, for example, the ability of those actors who are to

carry out the measures described in the matrix. Measures aimed at reinforcing the ability of the authorities and other actors to pursue effective crime prevention work can therefore not be described with the help of this typology, and Sarnecki's valuable model needs consequently to be supplemented by other perspectives (see further the discussion of Figure 5 below).

DIFFERENT NOTIONS ABOUT CAUSAL CONNECTIONS PROVIDE DIFFERENT VIEWS OF THE NEED FOR MEASURES

In academic circles the word “pre-understanding” is often used. By pre-understanding is meant all of those thought patterns that are already in place before we begin to wrestle with a problem. Pre-understanding consists of notions of relevant causal connections, assessments of what is important and less important, concepts we use to describe the world around us and notions of how one should best act in order to solve problems efficiently. One of the points of the concept of pre-understanding is that we all have some kind of pre-understanding, but we are not always conscious of the special qualities of our pre-understanding. When people with very different pre-understandings have to collaborate, a great deal of irritation and tension can result, in particular if all of those involved are unaware of the communication problems arising when one does not speak the same language or see the problem in the same terms. A fire engineer, a social worker and an aesthetically interested

architect can have very different ways of viewing how a school should be designed, for example. All pre-understanding is partial, i.e. it allows us to see just a small part of a complex reality which is why it is a great asset to involve different types of pre-understanding when we are shaping strategies to deal with complex social problems. It is, however, a great challenge actually to be able to realise those possibilities for deeper insight, cross-fertilisation, and well thought-out strategies which arise in the meeting between different pre-understandings.

One of the most important parts of pre-understanding is the notion that we carry with us about causality. We are used to thinking about causality in certain ways, but our thought patterns can be very different. How we think about causality to a high degree governs how we think about what measures should be introduced to deal with certain problems. In the sections that follow we will familiarise ourselves with two simple models sho-

wing common differences in pre-understanding of causality.

For the sake of simplicity we can take as our starting point our desire to influence people's behaviour. On the one hand we want to prevent or reduce certain types of conduct which we think have damaging consequences in different ways. On the other hand we want to promote that conduct which creates security and safety. The two simple models described below can be used as maps for how we think about why people behave as they do, and further how we think about how we may be able to influence people's behaviour. One model describes differences in how we think about causal connections, whilst the other deals with where we look for the causes of people's behaviour.

HOW COMPLEX IS OUR THINKING ABOUT THE CAUSES UNDERLYING PEOPLE'S BEHAVIOUR?

Figure 2 is a highly schematic image to stimulate reflection on how we function in situations of problem solving. The basic idea is that our pre-understanding of causality pre-programmes our way of thinking about how we should manage and prevent different types of problems, for example crime.

The first line represents those situations where long-term planning and reflection is lacking. No time has been set aside to think through what might happen, which causal connections can lead to undesirable incidents. When something suddenly happens, we are taken by surprise and say “Oh dear!” and ask ourselves “What do we do now?” The result is ad hoc strategies, i.e. when something unexpected happens, we improvise at the time as well as we can. In many areas this is the normal situation, for different reasons. Our work situation is often such that we do not have time to reflect and plan ahead, think back and forth in time, identify trends and so on. We are forced to react instantly

neously. This is not generally where we want to be; we want to have time to plan ahead and be well prepared for what might happen. The result is that there is no kind of strategy at all, either to prevent undesirable incidents or to create a readiness to deal with what sometimes happens.

The second line represents when we think in terms of possible events: What might happen? If we think in this way, it is natural to revise what undesirable incidents we need to be able to manage, and what resources and routines we have to have in order to manage these in an acceptable way. Perhaps we will try to take measures that will make it impossible for these undesirable incidents to occur, for example, shell protection, sprinkler systems, alarms, fencing, etc. We are focusing on the events themselves and those circumstances immediately connected with these. As in the first case it is here primarily a matter of a reactive attitude, even if there is a certain anticipation. What is lacking is a strategy to prevent

and influence those processes leading up to the undesirable incidents at an early stage, long before they are about to occur. Some authorities and other organisations have a task which is primarily to prepare, i.e. they are not commissioned to work in prevention, nor do they have the knowledge and resources to do this. Actors of this kind are needed, but if prevention strategies are entirely lacking the task becomes an unrewarding one.

The third line describes a pre-understanding in which the attention is on the chains of cause and effect leading to undesirable incidents. Those causes of events or causal connections contributing for example to the commission of a crime are analysed. The underlying causal connections can, as we can see them in greater detail in the next section, be sought in many different places. The most important factor here is however that, when one is used to thinking of problems in terms of the underlying causal connections, then it also becomes natural to think in

terms of prevention. If we understand why things happen, we can also reflect on the different ways of intervening in the course of events that underlies undesirable incidents. We can e.g. try to make the planning and commission of crime more difficult. We can identify which elements in the physical environment it is that cause people to feel unsafe and then change these. We can try at an early stage to find those young people who have a family situation that means that they belong to the at-risk group for future crime, and then put in supportive measures of different kinds (see Figure 2).

The fourth line describes an approach which widens the perspective further. There we have a systematic approach to causal relationships which implies that we do not merely focus on isolated incidents or chains of cause and effect, but also look at the properties of the system in which the incidents occur. What values and norms pervade society? What character do the relationships between adults

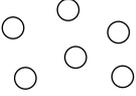
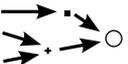
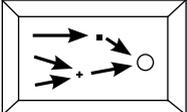
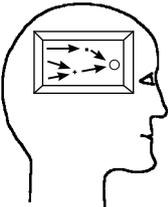
IMAGES OF INCIDENTS	TYPE OF THINKING	TYPICAL QUESTIONS	EXAMPLES OF STRATEGIES
	<p>“Oh dear . . .”</p>	<p>“What do we do now?”</p>	<p>No strategy</p>
	<p>Possible incidents</p>	<p>“How do we prevent undesirable incidents?” “What can happen and how are we prepared for it?”</p>	<p>Preparedness Shell protection Alarm Surveillance</p>
	<p>Chains of cause and effect underlying events</p>	<p>“How can we prevent undesirable incidents, and respectively ameliorate negative effects if they nevertheless happen?”</p>	<p>Prevention Early warning Fostering positive alternatives</p>
	<p>Entire systems as frameworks for incidents</p>	<p>“How can we change the properties of the entire system so that prerequisites for incidents are altered?”</p>	<p>Boost relationships Build good physical environments Reduce injustice Foster trust Disseminate information</p>
	<p>People’s ideologies has an active factor in courses of events and frameworks</p>	<p>“How can we get people to develop their way of interpreting the world around them and prioritising?”</p>	<p>Transformation Creative dialogues</p>

FIGURE 2 COMPLEXITY IN HOW WE THINK ABOUT CAUSAL CONNECTIONS

and pupils in school have? What mechanisms create alienation? What is the nature of the competence, awareness and resource allocation within the social services, police, schools and municipal administrations? Is there a social order that prepares the ground for social exclusion by not allowing young immigrants into paid work, for example? With a systematic approach it becomes natural not merely to investigate actual cause-effect contexts, but generally to scrutinise the properties of the existing system. We can then argue about how the entire system needs to be changed, so that people to a greater extent can develop benign ways of life.

I shall take an example from a completely different scale level in order to illustrate what system thinking might be about. We have had a very tangible, complex and serious problem with which to struggle in European history, namely war. For a long period the ideas of military preparedness dominated: there may be war. Questions are then asked about what attack

scenarios are probable and what resources we need in order to deter the opponent or to deal with these scenarios. We developed a defence force which was to have the capacity of deterring attackers and defenders if war were to be imminent. If we turn our attention to cause and effect relationships, we try to understand and influence those processes that result in war. We develop diplomacy, international agreements and alliances in order to prevent conflicts escalating to the use of violence. This did not, however, suffice in Europe in the first half of the 20th century. After the Second World War people began to think about the problem more from a system perspective, asking the question how we could change the political, economic, cultural and social systems in Europe and in the world so that there was no longer any one who could see anything to gain by starting a war. As a result of different measures, conditions of mutual dependency and cooperative relationships were created between, for example, the previous enemies Germany, France and the UK so

that the chains of events which in earlier times led to war became more or less impossible. After the end of the Cold War strategic thinking was about how we could involve Russia in such a community of interests and in such structures so that not even the most primitive hawks in Russia would ever think of starting a war against Western Europe, simply because it is against their own interest to do so. So people attempt to act to change the properties of the system. In a similar way one might discuss what could be done in the suburbs, in schools, in working life and in other contexts in order to change the very pre-requisites for destructive processes. It might be about involving individuals and groups in strong mutual relationships, so that the motivation to act destructively does not arise.

The fifth line describes a way of reasoning in which we turn our attention to those perspectives people use in order to interpret the world around them. These perspectives can be seen in their own right as important causes for individuals

and groups to act as they do. With an approach of this kind it becomes natural to try to achieve changes by influencing how people think through education and dialogue.

This model is about the scope of our field of vision. It is not about merely thinking in system terms. This figure tells us that it is good if all of these kinds of thinking are on our radar screen, so that we do not forget that these different levels exist. We need to be prepared for those events we cannot predict, and which occur even if we make great efforts at prevention. But we also need to work at prevention. The preventative measures do not have an immediate effect, but they are important for what happens in the future. We also need to have people working on what the totality looks like, what properties systems have. In organisations it is about how the organisation functions as a system, how relationships between different groups function, the content of the work, how the physical environment functions, etc.

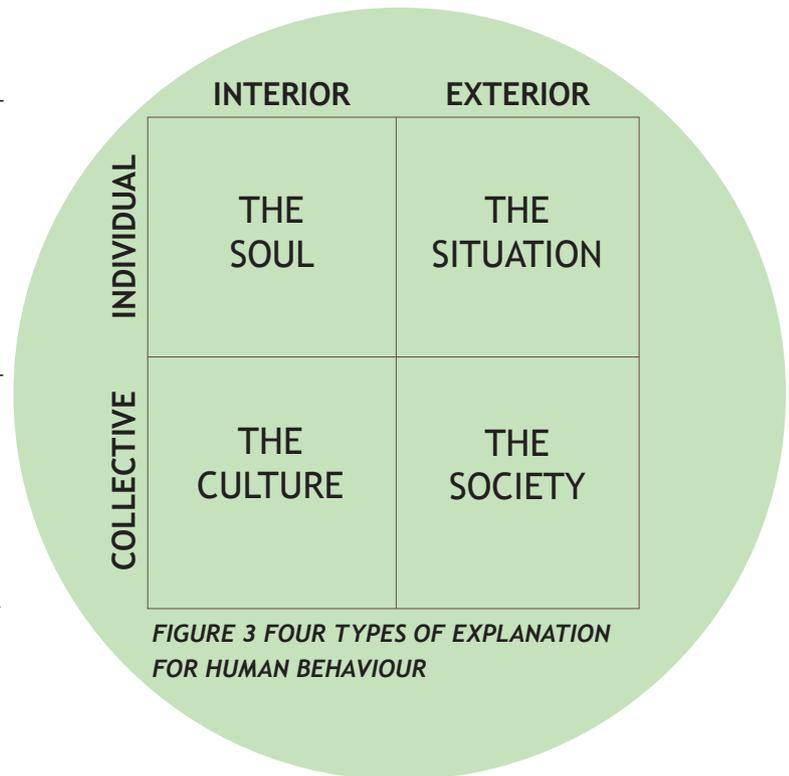
FOUR EXPLANATIONS FOR PEOPLE’S BEHAVIOUR: Four approaches to achieving change

In the previous section a model was presented distinguishing different degrees of complexity as regards the view of causal connections. In this section a different model is discussed, which attempts to capture another type of difference in the pre-understanding of causality, namely where we look for causes of people’s behaviour.

Figure 3 combines two aspects. The first has to do with whether we focus above all on the causal factors that are to be found within people (the left-hand side of the figure), or on the causal factors that are to be found externally (the right-hand side). The second aspect deals with whether one devotes one’s attention primarily to the individual (top half) or to the collective (the bottom half). For the sake of simplicity I have called the four fields the soul, the situation, the culture and the society.²

There are those who primarily turn their attention to the situation, therefore to the properties

2. The word “soul” has no religious significance, but is just a generic term for the individual’s mind, psyche.



in that situation which the individual encounters in their everyday life. Here we explain people's behaviour through those alternatives and consequences facing individuals if they choose to act in one way or another.

“It is opportunity that makes the thief” is a saying that is typical of this kind of perspective. An individual's behaviour is influenced by the size of the risk of getting caught, the degree of social control that exists, the rewards that exist for desirable behaviour. What do the individual's opportunities for choice and cost-benefit estimates look like in a situation where he or she finds themselves. If one looks at causes of behaving in this light, it is natural to try to influence people's behaviour by influencing the situation facing the individual. At top left the focus is also on the individual, but we draw attention to what is happening within individuals, and see internal processes as causes for individual behaviour. It is what is going on in

the soul that is important. It is the individual's thoughts, feelings, interpretations and reactions that explain their behaviour, and it is therefore these internal processes that are the key to altering behaviour. Typical explanations in this work have to do with what kind of childhood people have had, what their family environment was like, what norms they have internalised, the nature of their self-esteem and safety, what resources they have as regards their ability to communicate and solve conflicts. If we think in this way, it becomes natural that we also align our measures in that direction: How can we support the individual? How can we support the individual to develop their internal resources in the form of norms, skills, safety, stable identity and the like which mean that individuals govern themselves as responsible citizens within society?

At lower right in the figure, in the society box, we have those who primarily view society as a

whole. Destructive behaviour is explained in this perspective by things such as unemployment, housing segregation, the structure of the education system, how laws and the legal system function, those questions which have to do with how our society functions. If we turn our attention mostly in that direction, then we think more in terms of how we create employment, how we change the education system, how we reduce segregation and discrimination, etc.

Finally, if we look at the bottom left-hand corner, the culture, then it also has to do with inner life, i.e. how people create meaning in identity, but here more with a collective perspective. We seek explanations for behaviour in those norms that apply in subcultures or in society as a whole. We look at those group identities that are formed, and what the collective identities mean to the individuals. If we think primarily in this way, it becomes natural to develop measures around work with

norms, notions of identity and forms of cultural expression. How can we find ways of involving and influencing the common identities, values and attitudes of groups?

If we use this map, we can take some examples of how we think about creating safety and security. We can talk about interior strategies and exterior strategies, which can both be aimed at individuals or collectives.

With exterior strategies in relation to individuals, in the top right-hand corner, we are thinking in terms of increasing the risk of getting caught, using different kinds of security technologies in order to reduce the opportunities of behaving unsuitably; perhaps we have to create more police resources; we may have to make punishments more severe. But we can also think positively: how do we create the incentives for desirable behaviour; how do we change the cost-benefit estimates facing individuals? Here are also things such as

	INTERIOR	EXTERIOR
INDIVIDUAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide individual support - Promote trusting relationships - Induce hope of a better future - Create positive role models - Mentors - Parenting training - Training in communication skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase the risk of getting caught - Security technologies - More police resources - Stiffer penalties and other sanctions - Rewards for desirable behaviour - Changes in physical planning
COLLECTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote a climate of respect - Information campaigns on values and norms - Work on basic values at school - Support for youth activities promoting norm formation and group relationships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Design training for young people in the at-risk zone - Create employment - Counteract discrimination on the labour market på arbetsmarknaden - Reduce housing segregation - Reduce the access to drugs

FIGURE 4 EXAMPLES OF CRIME PREVENTION AND SAFETY PROMOTION MEASURES

physical planning; what can we do about that in order to change the prerequisites for different places where people move about?

The top left-hand corner's interior strategies as regards individuals can mean that we work to create contacts and relationships, to reinforce the self-confidence of young people, to inspire hope in the individual that it is meaningful to educate oneself and to take one's place in society. Can we create positive role-models? Can we work with mentor schemes and the like? The bottom right-hand corner's exterior strategies at the collective level draw attention to what we can do about our social systems, institutions, political fields in order to change conditions and in this way influence some of the problems that exist.

In the bottom left-hand corner, where we are working with culture, we are trying to influence norms, climate, assessments made in the mass media. We are trying to find ways of working with

group identities, the value systems and belief systems, norms and ethics of subcultures. We may try to ensure that there are sensible adults who can provide good role models in young people's local neighbourhoods; we find out what young people themselves are interested in, and try to invite them to dialogues and activities dealing with values, norms and identities.

All four approaches can be used both to prevent crime and to create greater safety. In practice however, the practical work of crime prevention has to a great extent come to deal with measures in the top right-hand corner, partly because the strategies in the three other quadrants are less focused on actually reducing the commission of crime in the short-term and more on promoting constructive social and individual relations.

FIELDS OF OPERATIONS FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRIME AND PROMOTION OF SAFETY

The three models that have been presented make it easier for us on the one hand to gain an overview of the different fields of activity that exist as regards crime prevention and safety promotion, on the other to be able to describe and compare the different perspectives employed by various actors. Jerzy Sarnecki's matrix (see Figure 1) describes different possible measures for preventing crime. On the last line there is also the alternative perspective of promoting the safety of the citizens. With the help of the two other models we can supplement Sarnecki's overview on one or two points. Sarnecki's model is not very suitable for describing one of the most important fields of activities of Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's secretariat, namely helping improve the ability of networks of actors tasked with preventing crime and promoting safety.

With the help of the arguments adduced in the previous section we can now identify a number of different fields of activity in crime prevention

and safety promotion. Figure 5 below can be seen as complementary to Sarnecki's model. If we see crime prevention and safety promotion in terms of measures aimed at altering people's behaviour and experience, it can identify three target groups: The problem-bearers, the problem-solvers and the general public.

1. The problem-bearers are those individuals and groups behaving in such a way as to curtail others' security and safety. This target group includes those who have not yet developed such behaviour patterns, but are to be found in the at-risk zone to do so, like those who have previously been criminals and risk recidivism (compare secondary and tertiary prevention in Sarnecki's model). For this target group it is a question of preventing them from committing damaging acts, curbing their inclination to criminality, increasing their internal resources to become upright members of society, etc. This

is where the quadrant model, presented earlier, fits in well as a map of different types of endeavours: interior and exterior strategies on the individual and collective level, what in Figure 3 is called the Soul, the Situation, the Culture and Society.

2. The problem-solvers are those actors who directly or indirectly work in crime prevention and safety promotion. They may be individuals or organisations in the public sector, in business or in the non-profit sector. For this target group the measures have to do with increasing their ability to be more effective in their endeavours through greater knowledge, better functioning networks, better methods, greater motivation, better organisation, etc. The measures can be aimed at both the “soft” aspects such as, for example, influencing prioritisation and ideology in different actors, fostering in-service training, contacts and relations, as at “hard” aspects, such as e.g. routines, resource allocation, organisation and the like.

3. The general public, the individual private citizens and civil society in general. Here the measures have to do with developing trust, reducing unsafeness, improving security generally, boosting motivation, influencing attitudes, etc, through information, better physical planning, greater opportunities for meaningful solidarity, etc. In that the general public acquires better knowledge of what is being done in order to create a more secure and safer society, trust and hope is bolstered that a better future is possible.

The vertical dimension in the figure has to do with how we act when we attempt to achieve changes in relation to the three target groups. Here we use the quadrant model presented earlier (see figures 3 and 4) depicting four different perspectives of how one can influence people’s behaviour. In relation to each of the three target groups one can use interior or exterior strategies, or focus on individuals or the collective respectively.

	WHO?	THE PROBLEM CARRIERS	THE PROBLEM SOLVERS	THE GENERAL PUBLIC
HOW?	THE SITUATION	<p>Increased surveillance</p> <p>Increased social control</p> <p>Rapid sanctions</p> <p>Rewards for positive behaviour</p> <p>Reduce opportunities for crime</p> <p>Shell protection</p>	<p>Facilitate good initiatives</p> <p>Identify and remove obstacles to flexible problem-solving</p> <p>Forms of feedback, both confirmation and criticism</p> <p>Increase access to information about individuals, knowledge and possibilities</p>	<p>Safety measures in physical environment</p> <p>Increased presence of police, security personnel and others providing security</p>
	THE SOUL	<p>Individual support/social prevention</p> <p>Provide respect, engender hope, promote a positive self-image</p> <p>Build trusting relationships making possible dialogue about norms, problem solution etc.</p> <p>Rehabilitation programs</p> <p>Offer arbitration in crimes</p>	<p>In-service training Promote insight and awareness</p> <p>Encouragement, confirmation</p> <p>Build relationships between people in different roles</p>	<p>Advice</p> <p>Create a contact for a contact forum (e.g. safety and security inspection tours)</p> <p>Support for the victims of crime Facilitate information to individuals</p>
	THE CULTURE	<p>Promote alternative positive group identities</p> <p>Group activities that affect norms, values, ideologies</p> <p>Work on negative images through common activities</p>	<p>Promote contact networks and trust-based relations</p> <p>Emphasise good role models</p> <p>Dialogue-based work on basic values</p> <p>Create platforms for the exchange of experiences and knowledge</p>	<p>Opinion forming</p> <p>Increase safety through greater knowledge</p> <p>Promote a feeling of belonging</p>
	THE SOCIETY	<p>Institute tailor-made training</p> <p>Reduce access to drugs</p> <p>Improve the judicial system</p> <p>More resources for the police</p> <p>Support for societies</p>	<p>Resource allocation</p> <p>Develop better work routines and methodology Develop regulations and laws</p> <p>Improve the education system</p>	<p>Promote the opportunities for feeling trust and confidence in society's way of functioning</p> <p>Reduce welfare gaps</p> <p>Increase integration/reduce discrimination</p> <p>Stimulate employment</p>

FIGUR 5 FIELDS OF ACTIVITY FOR CRIME PREVENTION AND SAFETY PROMOTION MEASURES

FRUSTRATIONS AND TENSIONS AMONG THE ACTORS

Those concepts and models presented above show that we can act on the basis of different ideologies when taking on complex social issues. With any luck the different approaches complement each other. In practice, and in particular when circumstances are such that there is no scope for reflection or strategic thinking, the differences in approach often lead to tensions. We are mostly living with a shortage of resources, and have to prioritise between different proposals and ideas. Those measures which seem meaningful depend upon properties in the ideology of the respective individual or group.

Below we summarise some common sources of tension among the actors working in crime prevention and safety promotion.

1. Different approaches as regards that it is from-without and from within

This tension relationship has to do with deeply

held convictions about efficient ways of influencing other people's behaviour. Does one achieve results by putting pressure on people or by creating relationships, insights and developing inner resources? Those who advocate exterior strategies see people's minds as difficult to change, and therefore emphasise measures influencing people from-without. Sometimes this is associated with moral ideas such as, for example, the idea that one has the right to demand of people that they take responsibility for acting socially, and that it is not right to reward antisocial behaviour with attention and support. Those who advocate interior strategies have a greater trust in changes of heart on the part of people. They often have strongly moral ideas about the importance of building on free will, and not using repressive measures which lead to infringements.

Many of us see combinations of interior and exterior strategies as the most effective, but there

are also people who almost exclusively keep to one side of the tension relationship. They often have a critical attitude to “the other side.”

Those who regard exterior strategies as the only realistic approach often regard interior strategies as ineffectual, i.e. as measures not leading to tangible results within a reasonable time frame, which are therefore a waste of resources. They may also be critical of providing, for example, difficult young people with support, because they consider that they are sending the wrong signals – it is rewarding them and therefore reinforcing destructive behaviour.

Those who see interior strategies as the only opportunity for durable solutions are often critical of exterior strategies because they can lead to stigmatisation, amplify a feeling of alienation or lead to infringements and enmity. They consider that exterior strategies do not lead to an increased ability on the part of the problem-bearers to deve-

lop constructive ways of dealing with their lives. They think that those who primarily trust in exterior strategies are underestimating the resistance provoked when people are exposed to pressure and coercive measures.

2. Different scale levels and time horizons

This polarity has to do with whether one should focus on tangible problems and develop measures directly in association with these problems, or work with the complex conditions in society, childhood and social processes which are the underlying causes of both problematic and destructive behaviour. In the former case it might for example be about identifying tangible problems, such as muggings by young people in a certain city district, breaking into cars in certain multi-storey car parks, graffiti, poorly lit pedestrian underpasses and developing measures which can provide direct effects on these problems. At the other end

of the spectrum we find those people who want to work to promote well-functioning systems, relationships, knowledge, perspectives, trust in society and in the administrations.

Those people who want to focus on tangible problems are keen to see tangible results and use their resources efficiently. Those people who want to work with the system see dangers in merely actioning symptoms and not the underlying causes.

In theory there is no disparity between these perspectives, but in practice it is often a matter of how we dispense limited resources. The different approaches can lead to strong tensions between those advocating tangible measures which can provide quick tangible results as opposed to those who think that we have to have the courage to deal with the fundamental structural problems.

3. Helping or overturning the system

This tension relation is classic: it is about whether

we should help the prevailing system to function better or whether one should adopt a critical attitude to the system as a whole and push for its replacement with a better system. If one thinks that those problems that exist are the result of the prevailing system having inbuilt failings, one can be critical of strategies which have to do with downplaying or covering up deficiencies and getting the system to work more efficiently than it does. One would then rather expose the fundamental problems one sees and in this way expedite a more radical transformation of the administration or the formation of society.

MONOLOGUES, DIALOGUES AND VISION-LOGIC

In the previous section we have taken up various ways of describing those differences between perspectives that we find in the debate and in the different actors in society. The point is, of course, that it is not a question of choosing between these perspectives, nor that everybody has to use all of the perspectives at the same time. It is a question of those people who are experts in each perspective are working on what they are good at, but avoiding putting a spoke in the wheel of those working with a different approach. If one is aware that there are several different approaches, each of which has its own strengths and weaknesses, one tends to be more aware of other people's viewpoints. How do those safety technologies which appear to be good solutions to problems according to the upper right-hand corner approach influence the sense of trust and confidence in the world around us? But inversely too, if we go in for providing social support for

young people who are going astray, are we then taking seriously the acute situation of problems of vandalism, violence and other crime?

Are we really capable of conducting dialogues in which we allow other people's perspectives to influence our own approach, or will they mostly be monologues in which everyone continues talking merely from their own perspective? How well do we succeed as a whole in building in an ability for vision-logic among society's problem-solvers, i.e. an ability to profit from many different interpretive perspectives where these can enrich each other and lead to more efficient and durable strategies for problem-solving?

TRYGGARE OCH MÄNSKLIGARE GÖTEBORG' S APPROACH

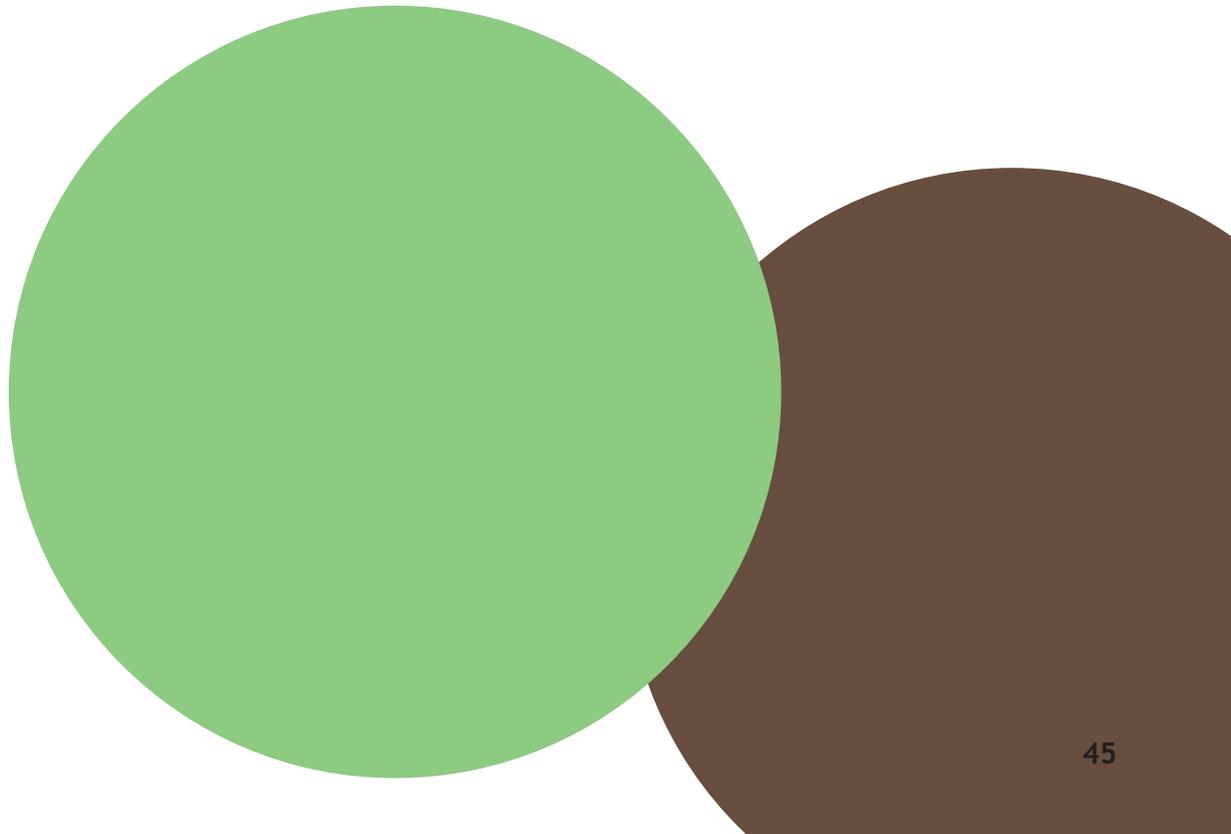
With the aid of the dimensions discussed above, the perspective of the secretariat can be described in a more distinct way. The secretariat:

- **Mostly uses interior strategies**, i.e. works by creating contact, initiating dialogues, communicating information and perspectives and building networks between different actors. Only exceptionally does the secretariat use directives to induce other actors to change their practice. The interior strategy's stress on the importance of creating contact and trusting relationships is not merely a means of influencing the actors, it is also seen as one of the prime factors in creating a safer, better and more human Göteborg.
- **Has a systemic approach**, i.e. holistic perspective of how different functions and areas work together. It is about helping the system as a whole to function better and become more efficient. "The

system" is here, on the one hand, municipal administration, the authorities and other problem-solvers, on the other, society at large with its physical planning, social relation, cultural patterns and economic, political and social conditions.

- **Proceeds from a strong awareness of perspective**, i.e. seeing people's perspectives as one of the most important reasons for both social problems and for choosing those measures and approaches that one uses. One of the most important ingredients in the work of crime prevention and safety promotion is in this way influencing people's ideologies, not by contrasting one with another, but by promoting a great ability to work with complex causality. It is the task of the secretariat to ensure that society does not become "monological", but benefits from many different perspectives. To work for respect, to compensate for existing bias in approaches and to create a forum in which

constructive and creative dialogue is possible are among the most important tasks of the secretariat.





**3. WHAT DOES THE
SECRETARIAT OF
TRYGGARE OCH MÄNSKLIQARE
GÖTEBORG DO?**

In the first section we describe a missing link in society's capacity to work for crime prevention and safety promotion. In that the problems are so complex, an actor is needed with an overview, responsibility to pursue issues, and a mandate to initiate projects and establish contacts between other actors. The overarching task of the secretariat can be described as:

- On the basis of a global perspective on crime prevention and safety promotion to identify blind spots, the need for measures and opportunities. This applies, for example, to problems falling between two stools because no established actor considers himself or herself responsible for the matter.
- To be a “roving catalyst” initiating problem-solving through mediating contacts, creating forums for meetings, and providing encouragement, dis-

seminating information about good ideas. The secretariat should not normally run or administer regular work, but prompt other actors to take note of, prioritise and develop safety promotion and crime prevention.

The secretariat does not possess, and should not possess, the power to give directives to other actors. The lack of power on the part of the secretariat means that its staff have to work through interior strategies, i.e. arousing interest, creating trust, disseminating the information leading to altered priorities and decisions.

THE ROLES OF THE SECRETARIAT³

1. To have a strategic overview

The secretariat has responsibility for the existence of efficient work in crime prevention and safety promotion in Göteborg. In order to be able to shoulder this responsibility the secretariat has to possess a good ability to survey the entire wide field which can be encompassed by crime prevention and safety promotion, which includes the different angles and perspectives one might have on this area. Among the most important tasks is the identification of blind spots, i.e. problems no one currently is taking responsibility for managing, and opportunities for effective measures which for different reasons are not being employed. The more complex society is, the more specialised the individual actors usually become. This incurs the risk that certain problems are concealed, because no one is responsible for the totality. Normally there is no actor who has the prerequisites for

3. In this section the secretariat has provided formulations on actual examples of how they worked with the different roles.

1. TO HAVE A STRATEGIC OVERVIEW

- To identify blind spots
- To initiate solutions by involving other actors
- Critical reflections on existing practice

2. TO BE A KNOWLEDGE-CARRIER AND TO DISSEMINATE INFORMATION AND IDEAS

- To develop, gather and disseminate knowledge about crime and safety
- To document to disseminate good ideas, initiatives and methods
- To make available information about resources, competence and individuals
- To develop methods
- To develop perspectives and initiate competence development

3. TO PROMOTE CONTACTS AND INITIATE NETWORKS

- To mediate contacts
- To create networks, interfaces, forums for dialogue, problem-solving and learning
- To promote trust-based relationships between actors
- To act as a mediator and process facilitator in critical situations

4. TO INSPIRE, ENCOURAGE AND CREATE COMMITMENT

- To overcome resistance to involvement in crime prevention and safety promotion
- To encourage and support people with good ideas

FIGURE 6 OUTLINE OF THE SECRETARIAT'S FUNCTIONS

taking responsibility for the strategic overview, as it requires knowledge, a clearly defined task and organisational prerequisites in order to be able to survey the totality.

When the secretariat has identified unsolved problems or unexploited potential, it is the task of the group to initiate the development of solutions, primarily by ensuring that the issue is placed and prioritised among the active actors. Often it is a question of bringing different actors in the city into contact with each other.

“Strategic overview” implies possessing knowledge of, and seeing the context in, the city’s very complex network of administrations, authorities, associations and committed individuals and being able to see the opportunities for how they can get on with each other.

It is also a question of the ability to undertake constructive critical reflection, i.e. on the basis of its value in the public interest being able to see

how the existing way of doing things could be developed and changed.

One example of the result of this part of the task of the secretariat is the establishment of the Support Centre for Young Crime Victims. Another is the work of methods of development being carried out around “Structural walks.” This is a method for producing an inventory of problems and development opportunities within a city district, focusing particularly on the strategic ability of the administration to deal with those problems and opportunities facing the city district. The secretariat has made an inventory of those issues that youth workers in Göteborg regard as urgently in need of attention. They have also actively pursued the issue of creating a structure for developing a method for youth service sanctions. This was occasioned by an identified need, a “lacuna”, in combination with new legislation.

2. To be a knowledge carrier and to disseminate knowledge and ideas

The secretariat is tasked with developing a knowledge base within the field of crime prevention and safety promotion, and ensuring that this knowledge is available to those who can benefit from it. It is a question of several different kinds of knowledge and competence, for example:

– **Factual knowledge about crime and risks**, so that the efforts that are being made are not based on unfounded myths or misunderstanding. A balanced and detailed basis in fact provides better prerequisites for being able to prioritise properly, as some of the mass media have a tendency to attract readers, listeners and viewers by means of emphasising threats and risks, the general public easily acquires a picture of reality which over stresses the negative and dangerous. Here the secretariat play a compensatory role by gathering and

disseminating information providing a realistic picture of trends and the real risks. The secretariat has, for example, helped to establish a scientific study of crime trends in Göteborg.

– **Knowledge of positive developments** occurring in the field. This might be about being able to inform the general public that the police and judicial system in some respect is successful in fighting crime. It may also be about directing people's attentions to the positive phenomena which the mass media do not see as interesting enough to report. The general public's knowledge of the positive efforts being made lead to greater hope for the future, better confidence in the opportunities of society to manage joint problems and in this way greater trust and a better social climate in general. The secretariat has helped make visible a number of good examples in the media. They make regular use of the Göteborg city newspaper

Vårt Göteborg and not least its Internet edition. The Internet newspaper has proved to be a successful way of disseminating information. The media take a lot of their material from it.

– **Knowledge of the city's actors**, e.g. in the city administration, the authorities, in business, in associations, the university and colleges and among individuals and informal groups.

A city of the size of Göteborg has a myriad of operations and individuals of which many are highly specialised. Its size alone means that it is difficult to know who is working on what. Then it is difficult for actors to find others who may have information, the authority to make decisions, and the resources necessary to be able to solve problems and realise good ideas.

The secretariat has over time built up an extensive knowledge and network of contacts both within the administration and in civil society.

This means that many individuals both inside and outside the administration turn to the secretariat for knowledge of how one can take good ideas further.

In each city district there is now a structure for safety promotion and crime prevention work. It might be called a public health council, health council, safety group or crime prevention council. The secretariat has a contact in each city district. A large part of the everyday work of the secretariat has to do with support for the city districts. In cooperation with the contact persons they have been able to contribute inspiration and competence. The secretariat also disseminates good examples of crime prevention work by publishing so-called Idea sheets.

- **The development of knowledge and competence** within the field. By virtue of its strategic overview the secretariat can identify problem areas

as where there is a need for new working methods and knowledge. One task that the secretariat has is therefore either themselves or through other actors to develop and disseminate methods for crime prevention and safety promotion. A prominent example of this is the safety and security inspection tours, where Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has played an important role in developing and spreading the method of working. The task is also about making available knowledge to, for example, the City Building Office and architects planning new residential areas and public environments.

The secretariat has helped in bringing about several assessments. Local crime prevention work in Tuve-Säve and Kortedala have been evaluated, as has comprehensive youth work/ neighbourhood work in Majorna with an initiative taken by the voluntary sector. Two youth recreation centres have been studied using different methodologies in or-

der to understand the role of the use of recreation centres in local communities with different prerequisites. They have also supported and taken the initiative in development work occurring in areas of correctional care and the police authority.

The secretariat has in this case been able to contribute competence through its extensive network within the world of research. They have been able to inspire administrations and authorities to carry out assessments and have provided the research community with several interfaces.

The secretariat arranges lectures, working breakfasts, seminars and conferences, sometimes as sole arranger and other times together with other people. They also work on documentation which is then sent out to further actors.

Right from the outset it has been a priority task to co-operate with the University of Göteborg and Chalmers University of Technology. Several seminars and conferences have been arranged jointly.

There has been collaboration on training, and this in its turn led to an extended masters course in Criminology at the Department of Sociology.

– The development of perspectives. The secretariat is also responsible for a specialist competence, which is less closely tied to tangible knowledge and more to the ability of reasoning and acting strategically in relation to a very complex reality. A particular part of this competence is the ability to manage different perspectives, approaches and ideologies without oneself becoming identified with any particular perspective. This competence means that the co-workers in the secretariat do not find themselves in opposition to the different approaches and methods of working that are represented, but rather can assist other actors in seeing how the different approaches can be brought to complement or develop each other. In concrete terms this means that, for example, the secretariat

can support local actors in thinking strategically around those problems and opportunities they are working with. They can also promote an attitude, which means that one reflects on and discusses those tensions surrounding different perspectives, rather than ending up in fruitless battles between perspectives. An example of this is the question of graffiti. Here the positions have remained locked for a time. By negotiation, and by turning the problem over in different constellations and contexts the secretariat has helped bring about the cooperative project *Ung Kultur 116* (Young Culture 116). Eight city districts and a number of public administration units joined together and are now running a two-year development project with two trained social workers who actively seek out teenagers and young adults. This means they have contact with parents, the authorities, the voluntary sector, etc. The secretariat was the motor for this to come about.

In the joint action group *Trygg, vacker stad* (Safe, beautiful city) the secretariat has been able to reinforce the work from a safety focus. Examples are the issue of graffiti, rubbish and illegal bill posting, and the need for notice boards in the city, where a strategy is now being developed, involving the cooperation of many different actors.

3. To promote contacts and initiate networks

As has been described earlier, it is difficult for individuals and organisations to find each other and co-operate smoothly in as large a context as the City of Göteborg. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has therefore as one of its most important tasks to form a link between actors who do not have natural interfaces with each other. This applies not only to actors within municipal administrations, but all conceivable actors in business, state authorities, universities and colleges,

associations and not least committed individuals with ideas and vision. In order to be able to fulfil its function Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has to develop both knowledge of different actors and contacts in the community. The safety and security inspection tours mentioned earlier have had great importance in bringing together people with differing perspectives. They have led to many safety promoting ventures, sometimes simply through an exchange of experiences and sometimes through constructive conflicts.

One example is that the secretariat has contributed to a cooperative project dealing with art as a part of work in society, *Konstens Plats* (the Place of Art) in Bergsjön. By involving an internationally famous artist, new networks have been created. Today, the city district administration in Bergsjön, Familjebostäder, a couple of local cultural associations, the city cultural section, *Göteborgs Konsthall* (Art Gallery), Valand School of Fine Arts and

Architecture at Chalmers University of Technology are all cooperating. This process is ongoing and seems to be leading to the *Konsthall* having a role in Bergsjön, that the cultural associations become visible in the city centre and the students become interested in living in and perhaps having studios at Bergsjön.

The task of the secretariat in creating new meeting points has also led to a focus on culture and sport. On the one hand, existing cultural institutions are inspired to become more interested in society, and on the other attempts are made to interest those who traditionally do not work with culture to use culture as a tool to reach out in a different way. The secretariat took the initiative, amongst other things to instigate *Kulturnatta* (Culture Night) at an insecure place where a lot of people are about, namely Gamlestadstorget Square. This helped *Kulturnatta* in new constellations to be held at more locations in the suburbs.

Cooperation with *Göteborgs Fotbollförbund* (football association) has resulted in them, when they establish new artificial football pitches, holding start-up meetings with local actors in order to involve residents and local recreational activities from the outset. In this case the secretariat has been able to contribute with its network so that the football association “finds its way.” This is an example of the secretariat “taking the opportunity” when something is happening in the area, which can be enhanced to be given added value from a safety-promoting perspective.

A further example of “taking the opportunity” is when the Union of Teachers wanted to emphasise the problems of threats and violence in schools. The secretariat could in this case, help them find a methodology to work with which they are now developing.

The secretariat is taking the initiative in organising meetings between elderly people and young

people, which have become something of a model. With the prospect of changes to, amongst others, Frölunda Torg Square, elderly and young people together have discussed what a good physical environment for all ages should look like.

The task, however, goes beyond merely acting as an intermediary in making contacts; it is also about creating meeting places, where relationships can be developed between actors, who previously had no contact with each other. It is, therefore, a question of opening up channels between the drainpipes, so that ideas can be placed where they might best grow, so that joint strategies on problem-solving can be developed, and so that the actors can learn from their respective specialist knowledge. The personal dimension in this network creation is very important, as people who meet and talk to one other, and therefore have a relationship built on trust have much lower thresholds in getting in touch when problems and ideas arise.

One of Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's most important resources is those relationships and contacts that have been developed with many different actors, and in particular the confidence that Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has developed in its role and competence. This network of relationships and competence means that the communication thresholds are low, and that there is readiness to act in unexpected situations. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg is over time developing a role as the on-duty mediator and intermediary, in particular when tensions, conflicts and crises arise involving municipal actors.

The role as mediator, and contact-creator should not be underestimated, as in big cities a culture easily develops without contacts across the administrative boundaries. The psychological threshold involved in picking up a telephone and conducting an informal conversation about a certain issue can be high. In this way adroit solutions to problems

are impeded. In the worst-case antagonisms develop because interpretations have not been agreed, and people have not listened to each other's viewpoints. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg is here responsible for a social competence in getting in touch, creating trust and communicating in a spirit of problem-solving.

4. To inspire, encourage and create involvement

Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg must foster crime prevention and safety promotion work, primarily by boosting other, more active actors. An important part of this is to arouse interest, boost commitment, confirm and encourage. The hard part of this task is to promote interest and commitment on the part of people and organisations fully occupied by other commitments and therefore uninterested or even resist needing to spend time and energy to include crime prevention and

safety promotion in their own core activities. These may well be actors who have power, resources or opportunities that need to be mobilised, but where there is an indirect or direct resistance.

The easier part of the task is about supporting, confirming and encouraging individuals and organisations already doing meaningful things in this area. By supporting them they can become more effective and have greater opportunities of reaching out to wider circles with their initiatives. This applies in particular, in the start-up phase of different initiatives, where a person or group has an idea and needs confirmation that it is an interesting, valuable idea in order to mobilise forces to take it further.

THE METHOD OF THE SECRETARIAT

Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's function implies the work of change. The organisation does not possess (and does not wish to possess) the opportunity of working by exercising power over other actors. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg cannot issue directives, give instructions, establish rules, etc. At the same time the organisation must identify blind spots and be able to adopt a critical perspective on how, for example, the municipal administration should work and be a catalyst that reaches out. This means that the organisation can only achieve success through dialogue leading to shifts in the prioritisation, plans, working methods knowledge of other actors. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg therefore relies on its ability to invite other actors to reflect, and this reflection leads to these actors themselves choosing to develop strategies and solutions on safety and security issues ("interior strategies").

In any process of change one encounters iner-

tia and even active resistance. In the introduction "hard" and "soft" factors in the drainpipe problem were discussed. This can be translated into speaking about "hard" and "soft" inertia. The examples of "hard" inertia are the formal organisation of the different parts of society, municipal administration, state authorities and private business. Public administration is divided into different organisational parts which have as their task to look after certain defined areas. The task has to be carried out with limited resources, which means that each administration is pressurised to concentrate its resources on its own core area. This means that the secretariat at Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg is not always met with enthusiasm when they get in touch with different administrations with the aim of influencing them to prioritise work which has crime prevention and safety promotion as its aim.

The cases of "soft" inertia include those approaches, patterns of thinking, value systems and

patterns of behaviour developed in individuals and collectively in the form of organisational cultures (“it is part of the furniture”). Even if it is possible to find solutions to how one should overcome the examples of “hard” inertia, it is not certain that those people working in different fields catch on, because they see their work in terms of their own perspective.

A considerable part of the practical work carried out by Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg for this reason consists in finding the right way to reduce or circumvent the resistance arising in contact with different actors. This requires a considerable social skill, a sound ability to think strategically, and the solid ethical basis for how one deals with processes of influence.

It is worth pointing out that as Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg is tasked with influencing the approach and prioritisation of other actors through what has been previously called “from-

within strategies”, then talk is the organisation’s most important tool.

It is in conversations with individuals in different functions and at meetings where it is possible to invite people to reflect and re-evaluate interpretations and prioritisation.

This in its turn means that a good ability to create contacts, to invite people to take part in constructive dialogue and to talk in such a way as to build bridges between different approaches is of decisive importance to the opportunities of Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg of being successful in its work.

Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has developed into being a representative of interior strategies, i.e. approaches aiming at creating contacts and relationships of trust. This is a natural consequence of the fact that the relation perspective is at present under-represented as an approach to a more safe, better and more human society.



4. CHALLENGES FOR TRYGGARE OCH MÄNSKЛИGARE GÖTEBORG'S ENDEAVOURS

FIVE CHALLENGES

In the last section the functions and working methods of Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg were described. In this section we will look more closely at those challenges and dilemmas that are more or less built into Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's efforts, bearing in mind the different perspectives and angles of approach discussed in section 2. Five different challenges are taken up below. What they have in common is that it is not in the final analysis possible to decide what is right or wrong, as there are advantages and disadvantages to both sides of the polarities described there.

1. Alarm bells or calming words?

To what extent should one try to inspire motivation and commitment in politicians, officials and the general public by stressing the seriousness of the problems that exist, e.g. by warning of the dangers and risks? Should one rather strive to

increase confidence on the part of the general public by disseminating knowledge showing that the situation is much positive than many people believe? Both policies have advantages and disadvantages. Warning of the dangers can help create greater fear and uncertainty, which can lead to rash oppressive solutions, increased suspicion and a harder social climate which forces more people into antisocial lifestyles. The desire to calm troubled citizens too much by stressing the positive in social development can in the worst-case lead to making light of the serious problems that really exist. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has in this case, according to my interpretation, found itself in a compensatory position. As the media and some actors in the field of crime prevention stress and dramatise threatening and negative aspects, Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg considers it important to disseminate information about positive tendencies, low risks and the constructive

work many actors are carrying on in order to deal with problems and promote acceptable solutions.

2. Work systematically or be prepared to take advantage of unforeseen opportunities?

Should one take a systematic approach, identify the most serious problems and opportunities and work efficiently and single-mindedly on those issues that are at the top of the list of priorities? Or should one be well-prepared to react to opportunities occurring unexpectedly through contacts and incidents? In the latter case one might perhaps achieve very good results because there is a favourable situation, with interest on the part of the key actors, but at the same time those questions one is then working with in a broader perspective are not always the weightiest and most urgent. The experience of Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg over the period of years when the secretariat has existed is that now and then situations arise where

one can play an important part in promoting good ideas or can act as an intermediary in crises and conflicts. The pre-requisite for being able to fulfil a function as an “on call mediator” is that one is not too tied up in projects planned in detail, but has a certain flexibility. It is therefore a matter of finding a balance between developing plans of action (doing what from a long-term holistic perspective should be done) vis-à-vis having spare resources to be able to act in unexpected situations (do what is easy to do, because favourable circumstances arise).

3. Should one keep strictly to the role as catalyst or should one take responsibility for running certain projects?

Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg’s role means that it should not be operative, i.e. not itself run ongoing projects. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg should initiate projects which others take

further. It is, however, sometimes difficult to keep to this principle, in particular if other actors do not possess the specialist competence, the mandate or the will to commit themselves to urgent projects.

4. Should one act behind the scenes or appear as a very visible actor?

The idea of the secretariat at Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg is to act but not to be visible, to promote projects which other actors are responsible for and can be given credit for.

Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has greater opportunities of gaining trust and the possibilities for influence if other actors do not see the organisation as a rival to their own agenda. At the same time the invisibility strategy implies a considerable risk that the efforts of the secretariat remain invisible even to their principals, and that sooner or later someone will question whether the resour-

ces committed to the organisation could not be used better elsewhere. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's current strategy of acting but not being seen is based on a strong faith in the secretariat on the part of municipal leaders.

5. How can one prioritise when the field of activity is so broad?

To promote a safer, better and more human society is a huge task. It is therefore difficult to prioritise among the myriad of ideas and projects that are in some way relevant and urgent. What can be done that is actually relevant? Is there a risk that the work comprises projects chosen at random and more reflect the interests of the staff than any well thought-out prioritisation?

TRUST AS THE CENTRAL PREREQUISITE

In order to fulfil its function Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has on the one hand to enjoy trust in its role and results and recreate that trust, on the other possess a number of competences. In a later section we will look more closely at the competences that have to exist within Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's secretariat if a unit of this kind is to function in a robust and productive manner.

Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has to create legitimacy for its role vis-à-vis administrations which regard themselves as competent and as the legitimate actors within their area of responsibility. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg wants different administrations to change their own priorities, so that they devote time, energy and sometimes money to work on security and safety issues.

Attempts are made to solve this strategic dilemma primarily through a dialogue interesting different actors in collaboration. In isolated cases

top decision-makers have been enlisted to instruct some administrations to cooperate with Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg. This is something one wishes to avoid, as one is dependent on the goodwill of the actors.

In order to work efficiently with small resources Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has to develop relationships with other actors in which these other actors see the relationship as valuable. If Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's presumptive collaborative partners are provoked by Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's actions or goals, then it is impossible to get them to want to integrate safety and security perspectives in their own work.

Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's strategic dilemma means that it is not certain that it is possible to establish a working collaborative relationship with those administrations and other actors want really wants to work together with.

Not uncommonly personality issues are important, i.e. whether the individuals in decision-making positions in different organisations have a positive attitude to safety work in those forms that Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg represents. In those cases where strategically placed individuals are uninterested or even have an actively negative attitude to collaboration with Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg inertia results or resistance which cannot be dealt with with the help of decrees. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has then by means of dialogue and lobbying to try to explain and create an interest in collaboration. If this does not succeed they may be forced to seek other actors where the opportunities are more favourable for establishing a functioning working relationship.

WHAT COMPETENCES ARE DESIRABLE IN ORDER TO WORK WITH TRYGGARE OCH MÄNSKLIKARE GÖTEBORG'S ENDEAVOURS?

Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's tasks are described above under four headings: 1. To have a strategic overview; 2. To be a knowledge bearer; 3. To promote contacts; and 4. To inspire, encourage and create commitment. As this is a question of a strategic role without any authority, the tasks make great demands on the competence of the individuals working in Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's secretariat. In order to be able to fulfil the function the organisation has, members of the secretariat must have a very high level of ability to be able to see how the individual parts fit together as a whole and have a good ability to liberate themselves from current circumstances and imagine what might be possible.

What is more it is a huge asset in the work to have what is called a vision logic ability, i.e. a well-developed skill in perceiving qualities in those perspectives used by different parties in order to be able to interpret their world and make priori-

ties. This ability makes it possible to build bridges between different approaches. It also means that there is less risk of oneself getting stuck in a certain limited perspective. Among Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's tasks is to ensure that the administration and other actors are not too biased in their approaches, but derive benefits from different outlooks and ideologies. A good social competence is therefore also entirely necessary for the method of working. This implies an ability to create contact and trust by adapting one's means of communicating to the different styles and ideologies of other actors, and to be as free as possible from one's own needs for status, recognition and attention.

Possessing the skills described above is, however, not enough. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's method of working also presupposes that, as an individual, one is working on the basis of a certain set of values. It is not possible to function in the

role if one does not believe that it is meaningful to work for society to function better by supporting other actors in administration, business and associations. The critical attitude necessary to be able to work for change must, therefore, not go so far that one becomes entirely devoted to revealing deficiencies and fighting the current system. One has to be able to see reality as it is, but believe that positive change is possible.

HOW CAN WE ASSESS TRYGGARE OCH MÄNSKLIGARE GÖTEBORG'S EFFECTIVENESS?

It was not the aim of this report to carry out an evaluation of Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's work, but to describe the method of working which has developed over time. Only when we have a clear picture of the function of Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg will it be meaningful to begin to assess whether the goals have been reached. We have established that Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's primary task is to promote an increased ability on the part of other actors, rather than themselves to direct the work on crime prevention measures. Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's effectiveness can for this reason not be measured in any meaningful way by analysing crime statistics. Issues regarding an evaluation should rather have to do with the following and similar questions:

- Has Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg succeeded well in identifying problems and opportunities for which other actors have not taken responsibility?
- Have they been able to help fill the gaps in crime

prevention and safety promotion work?

- Has Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg helped disseminate knowledge, change people's views, influence priorities on the part of other relevant actors?
- Has Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg developed methods for crime prevention and safety promotion used by other actors in their current work?
- Has Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg been regarded as an import source of stimulation, commitment and increased opportunities to action via other actors in the city?

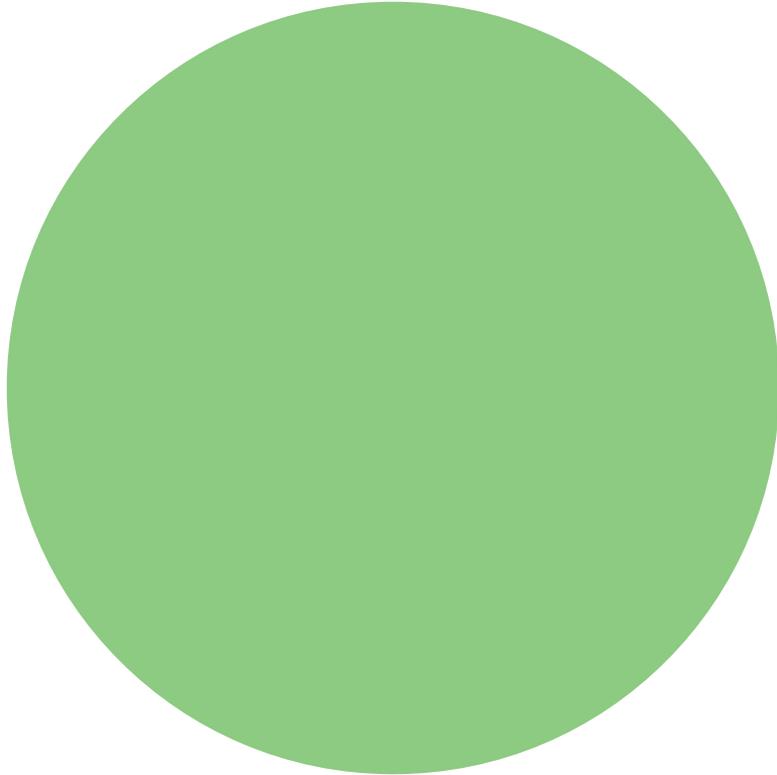
The information about Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg's work which I have acquired during my preparation of this study provides a picture of great success. Well supported answers to the questions of above presuppose however an evaluation based on evaluations on the part of the actors who have been the target groups of Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg.

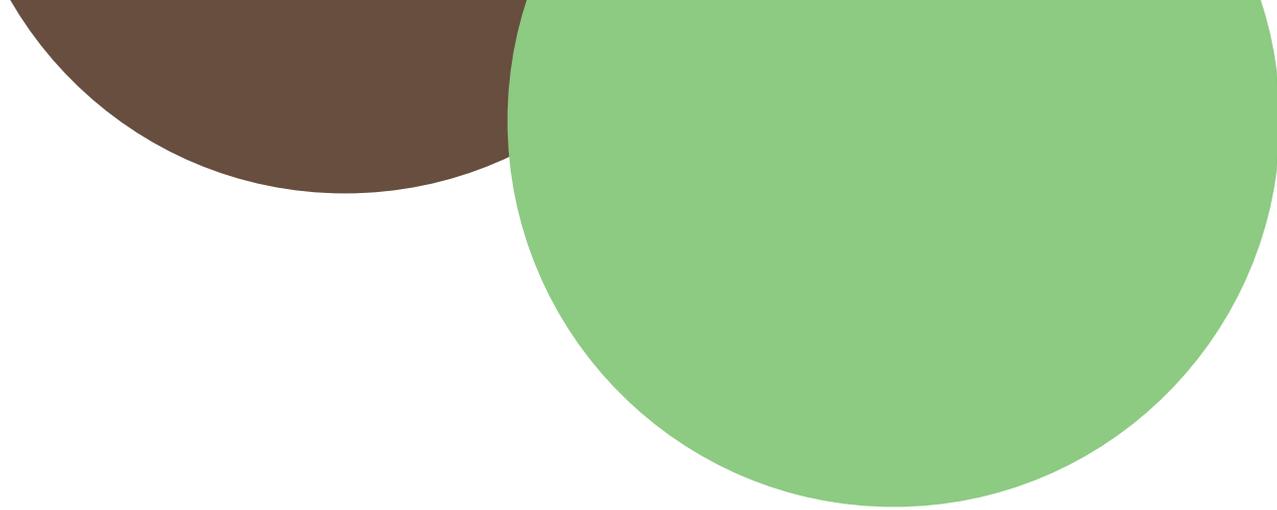


5. SUMMARY

Göteborg Municipality has in Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg developed an innovative approach to working with crime prevention and safety promotion. The secretariat has been given the mandate to develop new approaches in an atmosphere of considerable freedom. The working methods they have chosen mean that, on the basis of a strategic overview of the city's actors and businesses both within the municipal administration and associations, state authorities, businesses and civil society, they have identified these that are not "owned" by any established actor. By creating contacts and mediating ideas, information and inspiration, the secretariat initiates projects and methods of working which would otherwise not come about. The most central task in this work consists in boosting the ability of "problem solvers" to work efficiently on crime prevention and safety promotion measures. The secretariat sees the measures promoting contact, the deve-

lopment of relationships, trust and belonging as key factors for a more human community where the driving forces to act in an antisocial manner are small, and the will and ability to behave in a social manner are great.

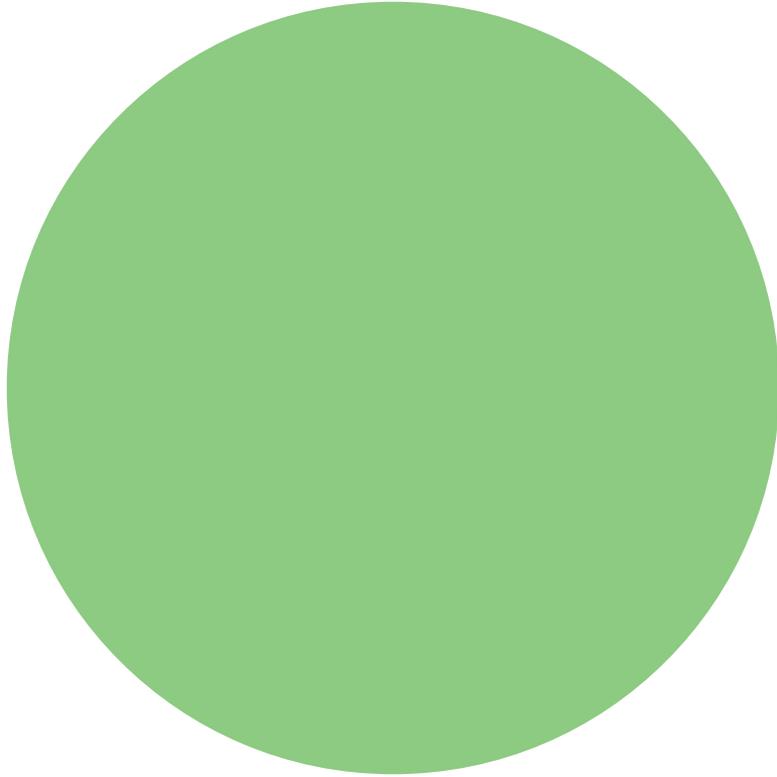




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SUMMARY OF FACTS

The Council Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg has four overarching aims:

- All residents of Göteborg should feel safe to move about when they want and where they want in the city.
- Residents of Göteborg work together on common security and safety aims.
- Greater trust and confidence — the most important thing for well-being and safety.
- Everyone's responsibility – rapid reaction and support when problems arise.

The council works within the following areas:

Children and young people, physical environment, cultures in dialogue, mediating information and research and opinion forming.

The Council was established in 2001 and the secretariat employed at that time. The secretariat has 6.5 full-time posts and comprises the following occupational groups: social workers, architect, journalist, cultural worker, research coordinator and administrator.

Members of the board of the council:

Göran Johansson, Chair of the City Executive Board

Jan Hallberg, Vice-chair of the City Executive Board

Krister Jacobsson, Chief Commissioner of the County Police Department

Lennart Palmgren, director of the correctional administration region

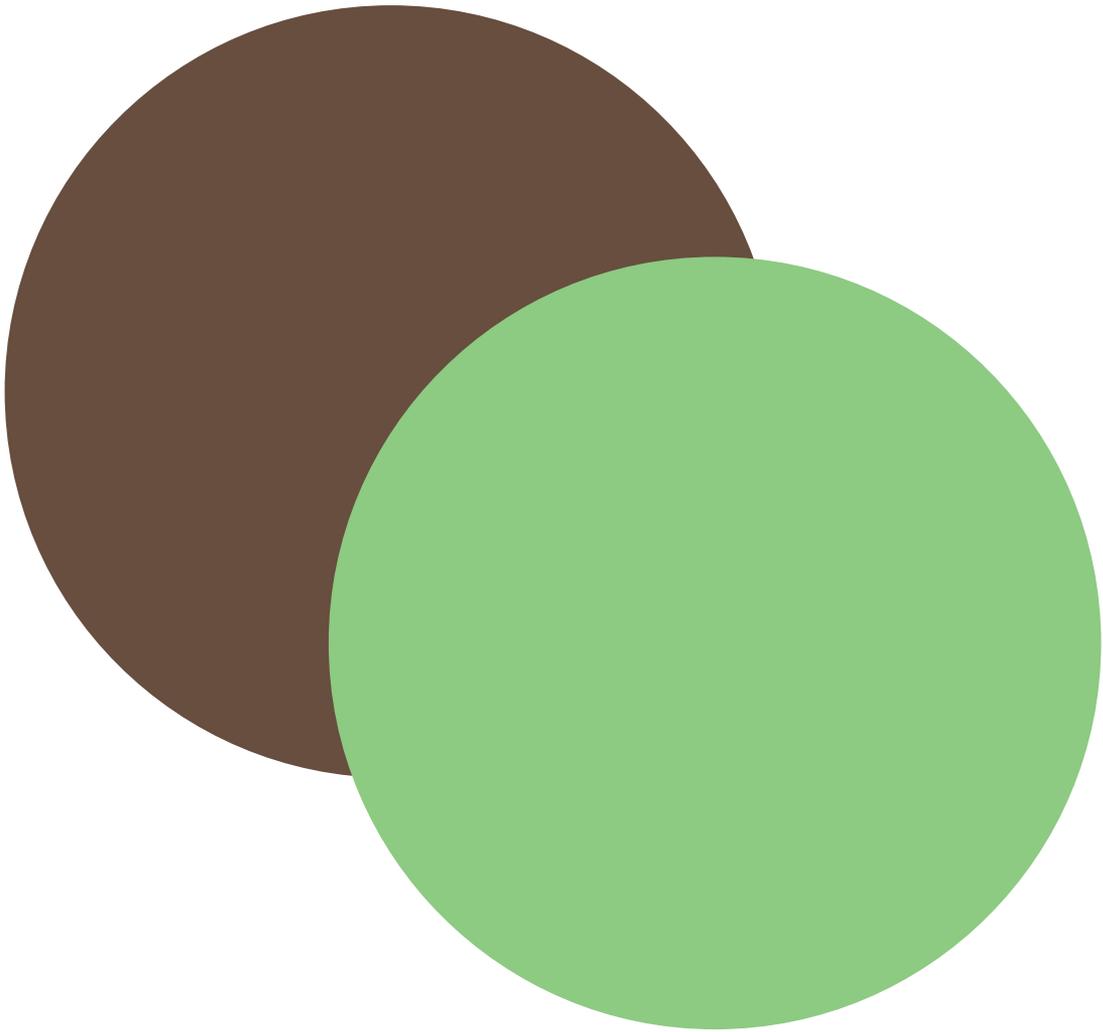
Kerstin Sjöbratt, regional head of BRIS Väst (Society for the Protection of Children's Rights in the Community, West)

Lars Lilled, Head of the Department for Diversity Issues

Lennart Weibull, Professor at the University of Göteborg, representing the university and Chalmers University of Technology.

Lennart Alexandersson, MD of Swedish Property Federation, representing property owners in collaboration, including Förvaltnings AB Framtiden, HSB and Riksbyggen (the Cooperative Housing Organization of the Swedish Trades' Unions)

www.tryggaremanskligare.goteborg.se





This document describes the aims and working methods of Tryggare och Mänskligare Göteborg.

The author is Thomas Jordan, associate professor at the the Department of Work Science at Göteborg University.



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