



COST Action TU1203:

Crime Prevention through Urban Design & Planning



BARCELONA

Bellvitge: Unexpected Success - Against all Odds

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Case Study Report

“Bellvitge: Unexpected Success - Against all Odds”

A case study on Crime Prevention by Urban Planning and Design

COST-Action TU1203

Funded by the European Commission

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Foreword

What is COST?

COST – European Cooperation in Science and Technology is an intergovernmental framework aimed at facilitating the collaboration and networking of scientists and researchers at European level. It was established in 1971 by 19 member countries and currently includes 35 member countries across Europe, and Israel as a cooperating state.

COST funds pan-European, bottom-up networks of scientists and researchers across all science and technology fields. These networks, called 'COST Actions', promote international coordination of nationally-funded research.

By fostering the networking of researchers at an international level, COST enables break-through scientific developments leading to new concepts and products, thereby contributing to strengthening Europe' s research and innovation capacities.

Cost' s mission focuses in particular on:

- ✚ Building capacity by connecting high quality scientific communities throughout Europe and worldwide;
- ✚ Providing networking opportunities for early career investigators;
- ✚ Increasing the impact of research on policy makers, regulatory bodies and national decision makers as well as the private sector

Through its inclusiveness, COST supports the integration of research communities, leverages national research investments and addresses issues of global relevance. Every year thousands of European scientists benefit from being involved in COST Actions, allowing the pooling of national research funding to achieve common goals.

COST's budget for networking activities has traditionally been provided by successive EU RTD Framework Programmes. COST is currently executed by the European Science Foundation (ESF) through the COST Office on a mandate by the European Commission, and the framework is governed by a Committee of Senior Officials (CSO) representing all its 35 member countries. More information about COST is available at www.cost.eu

About COST TU1203

The focus of COST Action TU1203 is Crime Prevention through Urban Design and Planning (CP-UDP). The Action is chaired by Professor Clara Cardia of the Polytechnic University of Milan, Italy, and comprises country representatives from European countries and some partnership countries.

The countries presently involved are: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, FYR of Macedonia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

Its objective is to make a substantial advancement towards the goal of building “safe cities” . Studies have proved that there is a correlation between the structure and organization of urban space and crime: new criminological theory supports this point of view. The Justice and Home Affairs Council of the EU have underlined that crime prevention through design and planning is a successful and effective strategy for crime prevention and needs to be supported. Despite this, new projects are being implemented all over Europe without considering safety criteria, creating urban areas where crime and fear of crime make life difficult.

The Action will develop new knowledge and innovative approaches putting together theoretical thinking and practical experience. Thus the scientific program forecasts to work simultaneously on one hand on the innovative approaches deriving from research and experts, on the other hand on the know-how acquired through best practical experience. It will bring together, value and disseminate the local research and experiences of participating countries, thus contributing to building a body of European expertise in the field of CP-UDP. It will also use its wide network to promote awareness, hoping that at the end of the Action more countries and decision bodies will be aware of the importance of incorporating crime prevention principles in planning decisions and projects.

NOTE: The term crime, in the view of this Action, covers a wide range of behaviours and feelings: proper crime, anti-social behaviours, conflicts, fear of crime and other harmful behaviours, but does not include terrorism.

From the Chair and the Core Group



- ✎ The activity of COST Action TU1203 is organised along two main courses: producing innovative thinking in CP-UDP on one hand; and consolidating and diffusing existing knowledge on the other.
- ✎ The Action intends to achieve the first course through working groups and invited experts which will develop new issues of environmental crime prevention, such as theories, private public partnerships, new technologies, new partnerships between police and planners, new implication of local authorities etc.

- ↘ It will approach the second course mainly through case studies located in different European cities. Each of the case studies will be focused on aspects that are of major importance for the Action, and will be organized by the hosting city with the support of the Action Core Group.
- ↘ The dissemination goal is considered of crucial importance and it will be achieved, starting from the first year, by building networks of communication at international as well as the national levels. These networks will be used for diffusing step by step the knowledge acquired by the Action.
- ↘ In order to make the results of the thematic working groups and the case studies immediately available to the Cost TU 1203 community and to the larger network it has been decided to produce a series of booklets, which develop the approached subject in short and synthetic form and are conceived so as to be easily readable to persons coming from different backgrounds.

In the first year of activity (2013 – 2014), six booklets have been produced:

1. Publications on CP-UDP: A European bibliographic overview across the language barriers – including some questions on terminology
2. Review of CEN 14383: The death and life of great European standards and manuals (Development and implementation of the CEN 14383 standards)
3. Cooperation between Police and Planners in Manchester, UK (case study)
4. Crime Prevention and Urban Design. Academic Research and Training in Cooperation with Local Authorities in Milan, IT (case study)
5. Bellvitge in Barcelona: An Unexpected Success – Against all Odds (case study)
6. High Rise in trouble: the Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam (case study including an appendix with a comparison Bijlmermeer – Bellvitge)

For information on the COST-Action TU 1203:

<http://costtu1203.eu/>

http://www.cost.eu/domains_actions/tud/Actions/TU1203

1. Introduction

Focus & Scope

The **scope** of this case is the study of one particular neighbourhood called Bellvitge in the town of L'Hospitalet de Llobregat near the city of Barcelona, Catalunya.

The **focus** of this case is to present an example of successful efforts for security management in a neighbourhood that was conceived as problematic from the outset due to its architectural design: An extremely high density of residential homes in high-rise slabs at the periphery of the city of Barcelona.



Pic. 1: Aerial view of Bellvitge (Source: ImagesShack)

In general, this kind of architecture in combination with the prevalence of working class residents has often been considered symptomatic for crime-prone neighbourhoods with high crime rates, vandalism, youth-gang activity and general physical and social disorder.

In this particular case of Bellvitge, however, we find low crime rates, a low level of conflicts, good maintenance and a strong community who take pride in their neighbourhood. How is this to be understood?

In this report we will elucidate the reasons for this rather surprising result. We will show that the situational context of urban security is a functional interaction of physical design, community policing and social support against the backdrop of historical development.

Case study methodology

- Walking tour and photographic documentation: Site-visits were conducted on 7th , 11th, 12th and 13th of January 2014
- Ad-hoc interviews with residents in public space were conducted during site-visits
- Interview and walking tour with police superintendent was conducted on 7th January 2014
- Analysis of socio-economic and demographic statistics (internet-research)
- Analysis of crime statistics

- Analysis of documents:
 - Internet research
 - “The history of Bellvitge” (in Spanish provided by police superintendent)
 - Research report and presentation from previous research study
- Interview with Laura Villaplana (co-author of previous research study), conducted on 12th January 2014

Key contextual factors relevant to case study

Key drivers:

The main factor for a positive development was the mastering of the economic crisis in the 1980s. High unemployment nourished violence and property crime. Also, illegal activities such as drug dealing had a negative effect in two ways: First, drug addiction – especially addiction to heroine - had severe medical consequences that brought despair to many families. Second, drug dealing fuelled other forms of crime such as burglary and robbery to get money for drugs. This vicious circle led to physical and social decline in Bellvitge.

An important key driver was the announcement of holding the Olympic Games 1992 in Barcelona. This meant a push for development of infrastructure also in Bellvitge, as the City of Hospitalet was selected as a co-host and the local sports grounds were used for some competitions.

Key enablers:

In 1987 the city council started an initiative for urban regeneration, including the extension of public transport facilities (connecting the metro), shopping malls and recreational areas for the general public.

In 1991 the police started, as one of the first in the country, the programme “Community Policing”. This not only meant more police in the streets, but also collaborating with stakeholders that operated in the area such as the Neighbourhood Association, cultural clubs and social services as well as the administration of Hospitalet. Police superintendent: “We learned to actively listen and act proactively, to work in groups towards solutions”.

Today, the location of the Administrative Offices of the district in Bellvitge as a unit separate from the central Town Hall of L’Hospitalet de Llobregat is an important institution for the community. It provides individual service and attracts local residents to manage their administrative issues such as tax declarations, registration for discount-cards (students, elderly), applications for social services and others. In the same building also a public library and the offices of a distance-learning university are located. The administrative and political institutions in the proximity of people act as *local identifiers* for the residents of Bellvitge.

Key stakeholders:

- The police: Guardia Urbana (local police)
- Neighbourhood Association “Associacio de Veins”
- Administration: Office for conflict management in Hospitalet

2. Timeline

19 th century	First population boom Textile factories
1964	Foundation of the estate First wave of immigration: 126.000 people from other regions in Spain Industrial development (SEAT, Telephone-company)
1980s	High unemployment, economic crisis Crime and conflicts: Drug-use (heroin), violence, vandalism
1987+	Development of public infrastructure: Schools, cultural and sports facilities, pedestrian zones, public transport, markets
1991+	Introduction of Community Policing in Guardia Urbana Foundation of Associacio de Veins
2000+	Second wave of immigration from Latin America, Africa etc. Social divide between elderly population and young immigrants
Present	Subtle social conflicts between autochthone population and migrants from Latin America. Challenge to turn social co-habitation into solidarity.

3. Action undertaken: The study of the “history of the present”

Bellvitge is a neighbourhood of 2,8 km² in district VI of the City of Hospitalet de Llobregat. Today 25.528 inhabitants live in Bellvitge (year 2012). The density figure of 9.117 inhabitants per km² may be misleading, as about 2/3 of the space of Bellvitge is dedicated as agricultural land or sports areas. The housing estate alone is considered as one of the highest density areas in Europe with 22.000 inhabitants per km².

Today’s social tranquillity in Bellvitge can only be understood after a concise study of its historical development.



Pic. 2: Historical view of Bellvitge

The foundation of Bellvitge

The first blocks of houses were built in 1964 as prefabricated high-rise concrete-slabs 15 floors high. During the 1960s approximately 400.000 people arrived in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, emigrating from other parts of Spain, mostly Andalusia, Galicia and Extremadura. Large housing estates had to be built in a very short time. These immigrants arrived at ESTACIÓ DE FRANÇA, the major railway station in Barcelona at that time, and were moved to settle in slum villages in Montjuïc and elsewhere around Barcelona. Soon many of them were relocated to new neighbourhoods like Bellvitge and Gornal nearby.

Bellvitge is located close to the Llobregat River, which in the early days caused regular flooding of the neighbourhood. Also at that time there was hardly any technical infrastructure provided such as water pipes or a proper drainage and sewage system, nor were there any services like public transportation, commercial or educational institutions.



Pic 3: The construction of Bellvitge

In default of appropriate infrastructure the residents had taken responsibility themselves to provide services and to develop the area. Many of them were employed at the car factory SEAT or at the telephone company in the neighbourhood nearby. The involvement in the development of the neighbourhood from the ground and the “struggle for a good life” in terms of social movement in society has led to a strong identification with the neighbourhood. Until today the early migrants share the memories of the early days when everything started.

The people of Bellvitge represented a healthy working class, proud of their community, and fighting to obtain more services from the city administration. Organised in trade unions, which were illegal at the time of the Franco regime, the people were fighting for their rights and services. In 1979 Juan Ignacio Pujana Fernández became the first democratically elected mayor of the City of Hospitalet. As a member of the Neighbourhood Association of Bellvitge he was very popular and got re-elected three times until 1994.

The crisis

The 1980s were a difficult time for Bellvitge and many other neighbourhoods in the metropolitan area of Barcelona with high unemployment and the spreading of heroin and other drugs. The crisis affected mainly young people, the second generation of Bellvitge. Many got involved in crime, especially drug dealing, but in retrospect they were victims themselves as heroin is a

deadly drug. It is reported that almost half of the young population of Bellvitge at that time were either arrested for drug dealing or died of the consequences of drug-addiction. It was a time of depression and despair. Crime rates and social disorder increased and the neighbourhood was on the brink of a social disaster.

Socio-economic upswing

Other than many other high-rise urban areas of this kind, Bellvitge managed to turn the crisis around and induced a time of prosperity and safety. In hindsight three factors can be identified as crucial components of change: The investment in infrastructure; the change in policing; the support from social services.

Development of infrastructure and layout of space

In 1987 it was announced that Barcelona would be the site of the Olympic Games in 1992. Located near the airport the City of Hospitalet had a strategic position for the Olympics and some competitions were also to be held in Hospitalet. Together, the central state of Spain, the Generalitat de Catalunya (Catalan government) and the Municipality of Hospitalet de Llobregat (local government) invested a lot of money in the development of infrastructure to improve the image of the city: Building companies were contracted with the improvement of the sewage system, the reconstruction of the drainage system to prevent floods, a new metro station was built, public space was developed and the public transport system was extended. With this development Bellvitge also experienced a renaissance of social cohesion and security.

It is important to note the high density of this estate (see pic. 1), providing relatively narrow space between high-rise buildings. This has a positive effect for the use of pedestrian traffic routes which are frequently used as footpaths to every house-entry. Other space was dedicated for sports and leisure activities (pic. 7 below) or as walkways which allow pedestrian to meet in a high-quality environment (pic. 8 below). Whereas in other high density housing estates buildings are often dispersed, in Bellvitge public and private space is well marked, favouring clear orientation and communicating the purpose of the space. In this case, high density is favouring surveillance and social vitality.

Community policing

The administrative reforms in the run-up to the Olympic Games were not limited to the development of schools, medical services, transportation and social services, but included also a reform in policing. In 1987, Dr. Manuel Martín became superintendent at the police of Hospitalet. Dr. Martín held a PhD in psychology and had studied criminology at Berkley, California, and New York in the USA, and thus he was responsible for the introduction of Community Policing in Bellvitge as one of the first municipalities in Spain. Community Policing became the general strategy of the Guardia Urbana – the local police - in Bellvitge. This meant more foot patrol and pro-active contact to the residents. Sometimes, police officers can only be spotted by their uniform, but otherwise act like the general public (see pic. 14 below).

With the administrative separation from the Mossos d'Esquadra (the police of Catalonia), the local police (Guardia Urbana) can fully concentrate on community policing activities. This mainly includes tasks for public order management in close cooperation with departments of the municipality, the social services, public services (e.g. rubbish collectors, repair services, public transport), and community associations. Reliability is one of the most important virtues that residents expect.

This particular form of policing, it is said, needs a lot of personnel. Since 1987 the number of police officers in Hospitalet has quadrupled, and with the majority of young mostly academic officers the reform could easily be accomplished.

Associacio de Veins (community association)

The local neighbourhood association of Bellvitge (*Associacio de Veins*) was founded at the time of depression in the 1980s as a formal association of residents. It has to be remembered that Bellvitge had a strong informal community from the beginning, but in the time of crisis a formal organisation was developed. Until today the *Associacio de Veins* plays a major role as a first contact point for resident concerns.

However, it was also reported that the formalisation of solidarity in the neighbourhood association entailed an increase in bureaucracy with a lot of formalities to get petitions through to political institutions. This is not approved of all residents.

Besides the formal *Associacio de Veins* there is also a high level of informal solidarity. For example, the parking situation is characterised by informal agreements between residents: In case of obstructive parking people leave a note with their contact number inside their cars so that they can be contacted to move the car. Also, people share parking spots at certain times.

In addition to these three factors for success it should be mentioned that dwelling in Bellvitge housing estate has always been dominated by ownership – not rent. This meant that apartments were often passed on from generation to generation, and this certainly contributed to the high local responsibility and identity with the neighbourhood that we find today.

Second wave of migration until today

During the late 1990s and early 2000s new migrants arrived mainly from Latin America (Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia). According to a recent research study conducted by the *Institut de Govern i Politiques Publiques* (Aramburu 2010) this has caused new conflicts with the autochthone population. These conflicts have not burst into open confrontation, but the authors of the study found a kind of co-habitation of residential groups who avoid contact with each other. In structured interviews residents were asked for walking routes, meeting places and places they deliberately avoid. This information was transferred onto maps (see below).

Clear walking routes could be identified. These routes are used so frequently as to function as meeting space where people have the opportunity to stop for a chat. This supports community even in this high-density area where anonymity is to be expected. Moreover, people (especially parents) not only meet along these transit-routes, but also at one of the many playgrounds and parks that have been designed in the space between the high-rise slabs.

In a democratic process of community consultation many walkways and places have been given new names that reflect the history of the neighbourhood or that relate to the appearance of the locality (“Paseo de la Baldosa”, “Paseo de los Pinos”, “de la Telefónica”, “las pipas”, etc.). This also supports territoriality and the identification of residents with “their” neighbourhood.

Moreover, the great number of small shops in the area, in contrast to large supermarkets provides another opportunity for personal encounter. Every Friday a public market is set up, which started informally but eventually has been officially accepted by the local authorities. The annual music festival which takes place in the neighbourhood also contributes to enforce the local identity of the area. Altogether, this kind of infrastructure can counterbalance the negative effects of living in a high-rise neighbourhood.

However, it was found that public space was divided between the autochthone and young migrant population: Meeting places of the one group were places avoided by the other. It was concluded that the satisfaction of the police with this kind of ignorant co-habitation does not match the aims of social services, who are confronted with subtle social conflicts and prejudice. The police tend to believe that the population is homogenous, but in fact it is diverse with different needs in different resident-groups. The young Latin migrants do not feel represented by the *Associacio de Veins* nor by the official administration (e.g. the office of management of conflicts of Hospitalet). There seems to be no channel for the transmission of their needs in the area and no link with the structure for participation. Today the group of young migrants feel that the *Associacio de Veins* is dominated by the autochthone population and serves the interests of

elderly people. This also affects the use of public space: The young people are asking for a playground open to the public, which is not linked to schools and which is open all day and night.

This situation results from a fundamental difference of police-work and social work: The police aims at peace-keeping and prevention of criminal activities. In contrast, and beyond that, the Social Services strive for social cohesion and a positive social climate among all residents. Their aim is to fulfil all expectations from different social groups in the neighbourhood. Finally, the authors recommend to improve communication and participation by involving younger people and immigrants in the Associacio de Veïns for a more integrated population in Bellvitge.

4. Conclusion and recommendation

Main findings

Bellvitge is a working class housing estate with pre-fabricated high-rise slabs built in the mid-1960s. Despite the bad reputation of this kind of architecture in general, Bellvitge has a low crime rate, a low degree of vandalism and low anonymity. Residents show a strong sense of community, high satisfaction and pride in the area. This unexpected result can be explained by a number of factors: the consciousness of historical development, investment into infrastructure, social support programmes and a combination of policing strategies (problem-oriented policing and community policing). The following success-factors were identified:

- The challenge for police and social services to pursue *community policing* is to provide the conditions for a respectful and peaceful interaction of resident groups with different social habits and convictions under certain conditions of the built environment. This can be supported by open-air design of (1) transit routes for walking to nodes of public transport or to the local shops, or (2) by the design of pedestrian zones such as malls with cafes to tempt people to linger. The example of Bellvitge shows the significance of outdoor public meeting places.
- The introduction of 'community policing' by the *Guardia Urbana* in the 1990s in Bellvitge was realised through a fundamental change in the self-conception of the police and their everyday work. This break-through was accompanied, first, by a leading officer who had taken special training abroad and who subsequently had the authority to introduce a new style of policing in the local force, and second by the support of a young generation of highly educated police officers who quickly adapted themselves to the new concept. Moreover, it was acknowledged that pro-active community policing generally requires a significantly higher number of personnel than re-active policing. Finally, the particular structure of the police force in Catalunya was advantageous for a successful implementation of community policing: The separation into Mossos d'Esquadra and Guardia Urbana and the distribution of investigation and reaction on the one hand and pro-active and preventive tasks on the other hand was considered helpful in practice.
- In terms of design it was important to pave the streets and walkways, to provide pedestrian zones as meeting places, to regenerate the natural areas with platanaceae trees, and to design several small playgrounds between the housing slabs. A mixed use of shops, cafes, food-market, car-parks and playgrounds generate vitality by day and by night. This also attracts people from other districts nearby. Moreover, main-streets are designed to reflect typical street patterns in the city of Barcelona ("ramblas") which helps people to identify with this district as part of the city.
- In the course of rejuvenation of the infrastructure a number of prestigious projects were developed: The local hospital, built in 1972, was extended by the Medical University and the

Centre for Medical Research; the local church dating from the 12th century was renovated; a local private high school (“Juan XXIII”) was established (Jesuit School); a public library was provided; the originally wooden stairways across the train-line was replaced by a solid steel staircase; there is good connection to the City of Barcelona after the restoration of the metro-station and improved integration into bus-routes. A highway was built to connect the town of Hospitalet to the airport and to the city of Barcelona.

- However, the area is stigmatised and the general image of Bellvitge is still negative. The architectural design together with the memories of the crisis during the 1980s (drugs and crime) and the low income of the working-class-residents has given the estate a notorious reputation which is very persistent. Today there seems to be a strong mismatch between the perception of the neighbourhood among residents and external perception.

Emerging issues

The plea for public meeting places in open space is of course a **matter of climate**, as in central European countries and in northern countries the cold season leads to different traditions in architectural planning, which again induce different behaviour in public: People walk faster, avoid riding bicycles and instead prefer the private car, they take the shortest way possible and avoid meeting in the open air. There, meeting places are transferred from outside to inside zones into so-called mass-private properties such as shopping centres, where specific rules of conduct may apply and public order may be controlled by different means of administrations. In southern Europe people prefer to spend most of their spare-time outdoors until late at night. Therefore it will be a challenge for architects and urban planners who want to consider security issues to design social places that follow the change of seasons.

A **reform in policing** needs to be accepted and supported by all employees in the police force. This reform refers to both the administration and the philosophy¹. Whereas the change in administration seems to be a political decision, the strategic transformation can be accomplished by a systematic adaptation of training programmes not only for high-ranking officials but also as part of basic training for police officers on the beat. Officers have to be prepared for the fact that they will be confronted with a range of new “problems” of disorder and incivilities. The experience shows that with the new role of the police the public becomes more demanding, as people want to see their social conflicts solved quickly, and this is where the police needs to cooperate with local social services and neighbourhood associations.

The **cooperation between police and social service** is not self-evident. Very often, especially in relation to the problem of drug offences, the police and social services confront each other with severe prejudice and a sort of predisposition: The police feel that social service protects criminals, whereas the social workers feel that the police tend to punish drug addicts. Here the two parties are confronted with a mix of legal issues and health issues.

A similar problem emerges in the **relationship between the residents and the neighbourhood association**: Not all residents feel equally represented. Here it is important to find the right balance between formal and informal ways of community building. Whereas elderly people are happy with a high degree of formalisation in associations and clubs (regular meetings, individual functions, etc.), young foreigners seem to reject these formalities. Nevertheless their demand for public sports-grounds and places to meet needs to be heard, despite their occasional confrontation with the police. It is therefore a challenge to guarantee all residents equal rights.

Local proximity of administrative offices is an important issue as this supports local identity for people with the neighbourhood. All political and bureaucratic matters are handled in one place at the centre of the neighbourhood, including public transport and social welfare issues. Also the public library, sports- and neighbourhood associations use the facilities as a community centre. This gives people a strong sense of belonging.

¹ For a detailed discussion see Goldstein (1990): Problem-Oriented Policing. McGraw-Hill Inc.

Lessons learned

This case shows that architectural design alone is not responsible for crime and disorder. In a criminological analysis of urban design it is important to consider the interplay of at least four factors:

- Architectural design
- Community policing
- Investment in the development of infrastructure
- Social services and community support

This case study contradicts two basic generally accepted findings in environmental crime prevention:

1. The first concerns community crime prevention, which always assumed that it is difficult to apply it in low income communities.
2. The second concerns the typology of buildings. Oscar Newman has repeatedly stated that the high-rise slabs are not appropriate for the lifestyle of low income groups because they generate crime and fear of crime.

Transferability

The example of Bellvitge shows that the consideration of the historical development of places - whether cities, districts, neighbourhoods or local places - is an important factor in the management of security. Security management has to consider and react very carefully to the local circumstances. The local situation is a very complex composition of the physical and social structure, which makes it essential to be very sensitive to the history of the local identity in the area. A concise study of the connotation of certain elements of the local infrastructure for the residents is essential for a better understanding of the success-factors for community safety.

Recommendations

A “criminological social area analysis” shall elaborate the historical, demographic, social, administrative and infrastructural distinctiveness of places. This includes not only the study of crime statistics, but also

- the particular implicit knowledge of police officers about everyday life in the neighbourhood in relation to policing strategies
- data about demographic statistics (e.g. movement of residents, ownership and rent, age distribution, ethnicity, employment, income)
- information about social and cultural capital (feeling of belonging, shared historical identity, neighbourhood contacts and solidarity)
- the morphological structure: architectural form, size and dimensions of buildings and places, public and private (semi-public) space, lighting, landscaping, etc.
- a description of land-use and function: e.g. housing, business, commerce, markets, education, tourism, industry, hospitals, railway stations, sports- and leisure facilities, farmland, forestry, parkland, transportation, etc.
- a summary of public management and service provision, e.g. rubbish collection, delivery of goods, taxi ranks, parking order, rules of conduct and house rules, etc.

- the quality of technical infrastructure: Water, electricity, gas, sewage system, air-quality, air-condition, internet, mobile phone reception, etc.
- control mechanisms and responsibilities: state, city council, local government, private businesses and civil society (public-private-partnerships)
- Vitality of places: frequency of public use, the duration of stay, the speed of moving, daily routines, forms of space appropriation by groups of people (e.g. youth, elderly, ethnic groups, etc.).
- History: Shared memories of change of the area over time contribute to collective consciousness (solidarity)

Methodology and material used in the case study:

- Population statistics 2012: http://www.l-h.cat/laciutat/265286_1.aspx?id=1
- Interview recordings with Angel Parraga, Guardia Urbana (Local Police)
- Interview with Laura Villaplana (co-author of research project)
- Research report of former project
- Historical documents about Bellvitge
- Photographs
- Ad-hoc interviews with pedestrians

Key contacts for further information

COST-Action TU1203: http://www.cost.eu/domains_actions/tud/Actions/TU1203



Pic. 4: Aerial view of Bellvitge



Pic. 5: The ground floor: Shops and benches



Pic 6: Cafes and bars for an orderly night-time economy.



Pic. 7: Dedicated sports-grounds within the area



Pic 8: Benches serve as meeting places



Pic. 9: Handcraft service is provided in the streets



Pic 10: A weekend-market (flee-market and food-market)



Pic. 11: Playground



Pic 12: Main road in the design of “la rambla”



Pic 13: Bus stop. Well-lighted public space at night



Pic 14: „Community Policing“