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COST Action TU1203

Crime Prevention through Urban Design and Planning (CP-UDP)

Gothenburg Case Study:

Processes and Partnerships for Safety and Security in Urban Places

December 2017

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Editors:
Michael Landzelius
Charlotta Thodelius

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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 national-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. As a precursor of advanced multidisciplinary research, COST anticipates and complements the activities of EU Framework Programs, constituting a 'bridge' also towards the scientific communities of emerging countries.

In particular, COST Actions are also open to participation by non-European scientists coming from neighbor countries (for example Albania, Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Montenegro, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Russia, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine) and from a number of international partner countries. COST's budget for networking activities has traditionally been provided by successive EU RTD Framework Programs. 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.

COST Action TU1203

The focus of COST Action TU1203 is Crime Prevention through Urban Design and Planning (CP-UDP). The Action was initially chaired by Professor Clara Cardia of the Polytechnic University of Milan, Italy. Clara Cardia unexpectedly passed away on April 30th 2015, and from then on Dr. Umberto Nicolini of Laboratorio Qualità Urbana e Sicurezza (LABQUS), Milan, chaired the COST action.

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

From the Chair and the Core Group

The activity of COST Action TU1203 has two main objectives: the production of innovative thinking in CP-UDP; and, consolidation and diffusion of existing knowledge.

• The Action achieves the first objective – innovative thinking – through working groups and invited experts, through which new approaches will be developed on environmental crime prevention, such as theories, private public partnerships, new technologies, new partnerships between police and planners, new forms of interventions by local authorities, etc.
• The Action approaches the second objective mainly through case studies located in different European cities. Each of the case studies focuses on aspects that are of major importance for the Action, and are organized by local Action-members and the hosting city with support from the Action Core Group.
• The dissemination goal is considered to be of crucial importance and is achieved, starting from the first year, through the building of networks of communication at international as well as national levels. These networks are used for step-by-step diffusion of knowledge acquired within 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 as well as to the larger network, the Action has decided to produce a series of booklets which will develop the approached subject in short and synthetic form. The booklets are conceived to be easily readable to persons coming from a variety of backgrounds.

This booklet on the Gothenburg case study in September 2015 is thus one in a series. For access to other booklets published by the COST Action TU1203, and for the most recent information on the Action, see: http://www.cost.eu/domains_actions/tud/Actions/TU1203, and; http://costtu1203.eu.

Executive Summary

In September 2015, the COST Action TU1203, Crime Prevention through Urban Design and Planning (CP-UDP), visited Gothenburg, Sweden. The theme for the visit to Gothenburg was "processes and partnerships for safety and security in urban places". The specific focus for the visit was to what extent and how CP-UDP and CPTED approaches were implemented in various forms of collaborative endeavours, with particular focus on Gothenburg.

The report starts with an overview of the Swedish context which shows that many of the means necessary to be able to implement CP-UDP and CPTED have for quite a long time been in place in the Swedish system – both in terms of legal preconditions for collaborative processes and partnerships, and in terms of ongoing collaboration between relevant stakeholders in the processes of planning, building, and maintaining the urban environment. However, while many of the preconditions are in place and while planning in Sweden has addressed and continues to address issues highlighted in CP-UDP discourse, the study also shows that: there has been a lack of concerted efforts with regard to those parties that need to be involved in the development of a clearly articulated national approach to CP-UDP; actual local implementation has been geographically uneven and temporally irregular; and long-term continuity in implementation has been wanting.

The report presents the national Swedish context and walks through the legislation that has a special bearing on issues of CP-UDP: the Police Act, The Social Services Act; and the Planning and Building Act. The Swedish reception of CP-UDP and CPTED in relation to developments in crime prevention theory and criminology is then addressed; e.g. with regard to different public actors' translations of key texts and funding of projects and research; and in terms of Swedish engagement in international work in the area. The report also accounts for the most recent developments: the Swedish Crime Prevention Council's renewed interest in situational crime prevention; the new national crime prevention program presented to the parliament in March 2017 in which situational crime prevention through urban planning and management is given pronounced attention; and the related creation in 2017 of both a national network for information-sharing and educational activities called Safeplaces, hosted by the Department of Urban Planning and Environment, School of Architecture and the Built Environment, at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm, and a node called Safeplaces West, hosted by the Urban Safety and Societal Security Research Center (URBSEC) of University of Gothenburg and Chalmers University of Technology. Both receive financial support from the Swedish Crime Prevention Council.

With regard to the case study example and the local Gothenburg context, the report accounts for statistics of crime in relation to place and how such data relates to the model for policing presently employed. The report describes the model for collaboration developed by the Police and the Social Resources Administration as well as the local neighbourhood councils. The report further addresses the relative lack of attention to proactive crime prevention planning

within the City Planning Authority and how a focus on public urban space instead is the responsibility of the collaborative platform Safe Beautiful City. While this platform is also headed by the City, it does not engage in planning but works with improvements through public-private partnerships. The report then proceeds with an account of such a public-private partnership intervention, the Rosenlund Area, which was presented to and visited by the COST Action TU1203 in 2015.

The conclusion accounts for recent developments, challenges, policy consequences, and issues of social sustainability and justice. The Swedish parliament in 2017 adopted a new national crime prevention program: *Together against Crime*. While the program initially notes that general welfare policies form a basis for reducing various root causes of crime, the main focus is on directed crime prevention measures, including a shift in relation to earlier Swedish policy with regard to the importance given to situational crime prevention. While the new program does not suggest new legal measures that would make implementation mandatory, the Swedish Crime Prevention Council is now engaged with questions of situational crime prevention as part of effectuating the intentions of the program. This has already resulted, as mentioned above, in the support of the establishment of the Safeplaces network.

In a section addressing challenges for CP-UDP in Gothenburg, the report notes that while there no legal requirement to specifically consider safety/security in urban planning practice, there are expectations on administrative bodies to collaborate on issues of shared responsibility. This question is illustrated by contrasting a recent local strategy document on urban planning with the new national crime prevention program. The major challenge in Gothenburg is to build a dedicated interest among all actors that need to be involved, and the Safeplaces West network with its strong representation of actors corresponds to the request for collaboration made in the new crime prevention program, as well as to essentials actors identified in the work on a CEN standard for CP-UDP. This gives reason for optimism with regard to possibilities to build awareness and practical engagement with CPTED and CP-UDP in Gothenburg.

The final two sections of the conclusion addresses, first, local private-public collaboration, and, second, local Swedish urban challenges and policy issues in relation to global questions of social sustainability and justice. The first section concerns a case of public-private collaboration in urban governance that has emerged in Gothenburg as a result of the global trend towards government without governance. While CPTED and CP-UDP are based upon and requires collaboration, the format of collaboration needs to be assessed in relation to local questions of democratic accountability, legitimacy, and involvement. The second section addresses social sustainability and discusses this as an amalgamation of the three values security, development, and justice. Referring to the two cities of Gothenburg and Malmö, the section notes that urban design and planning is one essential aspect of how local governments handle ongoing global transformations, and that crime prevention through such measures needs to look at overarching issues of urban segregation and learn from experiences of violent social conflicts. In order to make local spaces more safe, secure, and accessible for all of a city's inhabitants, a transformative-oriented method of dialogue is required that creates space for dissenting voices and a capacity to deal with asymmetric power relations.

Acknowledgments

Authorship

Michael Landzelius is the main author of this report. Landzelius is Associate Professor and Director of the Urban Safety and Societal Security Research Center (URBSEC), jointly operated by the University of Gothenburg and Chalmers University of Technology. He has written all parts of the report except for section 4.4., which is authored by Hans Abrahamsson, Associate Professor, Department of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg; and sections 3.2., 3.3., and 3.5., which are written by Charlotta Thodelius. Thodelius has an MA in Criminology from the University of Gothenburg and is Doctoral Student in Architecture, Chalmers University of Technology, where she also holds a Licentiate Degree. In addition, the Foreword is on behalf of the Chair and the Core Group written by Paul van Soomeren, Member of the Action Core Group.

The report is based on the presentations made by the contributors to the case study program presented in September 2015. However, to complete the report, and in order to make it more useful also for those who are unfamiliar with the Swedish and local Gothenburg context, the text has been expanded with much new material based on additional research as well as updated in relation to developments up until December 2017.

Editors of the report are Michael Landzelius and Charlotta Thodelius. Michael Landzelius was one of two Swedish delegates to the COST Action TU1203, and member of the Management Committee. Correspondence should be addressed to: michael.landzelius@gu.se.

Contributors to Case Study Program

The program for the Gothenburg case study was organized by Michael Landzelius with support from Agneta Essén, Strategic Development Leader, Social Resources Administration, City of Gothenburg, and Coordinator of safety/security promotion and crime prevention in the city. We wish to extend our warm thanks to all the participants in the program:

Hans Abrahamsson, Associate Professor, Department of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg; Ingela Andersson, Development Leader, Social Resources Administration, City of Gothenburg; Ulrika Barkman, Planning Officer, Safe Beautiful City, City of Gothenburg; Vania Ceccato, Associate Professor, School of Architecture and the Built Environment, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, and Swedish delegate to the COST Action TU1203; Agneta Essén, Strategic Development Leader; Social Resources Administration, City of Gothenburg; Daniel Hjerpe, Coordinator, The Swedish Police, Greater Gothenburg; Sven-Åke Lindgren, Professor of Sociology/Criminology, Department of Sociology, University of Gothenburg; Lars Marcus, Professor, Urban Planning, Chalmers University of Technology, Gothenburg, and SpaceScape Consultants, Stockholm; Mats Paulsson, Chief Inspector, Human Trafficking Unit, The Swedish Police, Region West; Gunnar Persson, City Planning Director, City Planning Authority, City of Gothenburg; Anders Petersson, Chief Inspector, The Swedish Police, Greater Gothenburg; Thomas Pettersson, Chief Inspector, Analyst, The Swedish Police, Region West; Björn Siesjö,

City Architect, City Planning Authority, City of Gothenburg; Peder Wahlgren, Business Area Manager: Commercial Properties, Wallenstam Real Estate.

Please note that the above information was correct when the case study visit to Gothenburg took place in September 2015. When this report is being finalized in December 2017, some of the above mentioned individuals have moved on to new positions. Should you need updated information on any of the above, please make contact through michael.landzelius@gu.se.

For contributing to the Gothenburg program with presentations of the Action and of CP-UDP, we also wish to thank: Action Chair Umberto Nicolini, Dr., Architect, Politechnico di Milano, and Studio Nicolini Architecture and Planning Consultants; Action Vice Chair François Wellhoff, Civil Engineer, Economist, and Urban Planner, Paris; and Dutch Delegate and member of the Action Core Group, Paul van Soomeren, Director of the Board of the International CPTED Association, CEO of the DSP Groep, Amsterdam, and Former Chair of the WG on the European CP-UDP standard CEN/TR14383-2.

1. Introduction

1.1. General Introduction

In September 2015, the COST Action TU1203: Crime Prevention through Urban Design and Planning (CP-UDP) visited Gothenburg, Sweden. Gothenburg is Sweden's second largest city and has a population of approximately 560,000 people. This figure does not include adjacent municipalities. The Gothenburg Metropolitan Area has approximately one million inhabitants.

The theme for the visit was Processes and Partnerships[1]. In this report, we will show that many of the means to address the complex issue of CP-UDP are and have for quite a long time been in place in the Swedish system – both in terms of legal preconditions for collaborative processes and partnerships, and in terms of ongoing collaboration between relevant stakeholders in the processes of planning, building, and maintaining the urban environment. Yet, while many of the preconditions are in place and while planning in Sweden has addressed and continues to address issues highlighted in CP-UDP discourse, this report will also show that concerted efforts of involved parties to develop a comprehensive understanding and clearly articulated approach to CP-UDP have been wanting, and so has long-term continuity in implementation.

The COST Action TU1203, Crime Prevention through Urban Design and Planning, was preceded by the European Commission funded action SAFEPOLIS. This action was a direct forerunner of COST Action TU1203. Among other useful things, SAFEPOLIS resulted in a handbook with guidelines and examples for the implementation of CP-UDP. The COST Action TU1203 has focused on providing a state-of-the-art assessment of European CP-UDP as well as on building preconditions for future productive collaboration and implementation by mutual learning from examples of applied CP-UDP in a range of cities visited by the members of the action.

In this context of the Action's visit to Gothenburg and the theme Processes and Partnerships, we wish to start with quoting from the SAFEPOLIS handbook *Planning Urban Design and Management for Crime Prevention*. The very first lines from the first chapter capture much of what we will address in this report: "As is the case with many urban problems, prevention of crime through urban planning and design in our cities may seem a complex issue because: it asks for different know-hows; it affects at the same time different services (planning offices, social services, police, maintenance services etc.); [and] it implies the coordination of several decision makers (public authorities, private investors, etc.)". With this quote, the theme of the Gothenburg program is situated in relation to needs identified in essential previous European work in the field, and in the context of COST Action TU1203, with its intentions to build upon this previous work in order to further develop capacities to implement knowledge and policy principles in order to spread the employment of CP-UDP in the European community. We hope that this report will be an informative contribution to this process.

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[1] The full program for the Gothenburg visit with all presentations is attached – see Appendices with links.

1.2. Case Study Scope and Focus

The Gothenburg case study took place on September 29, 2015, with two additional lectures on September 28 and 30 that addressed the Swedish context. In advance of the visit, the COST Action TU1203 Management Committee had decided upon the theme "processes and partnerships" for the Gothenburg case. This decision was made based on discussions of what topic would be particularly relevant for the Action's only visit to a city in Scandinavia. The case study program was prepared by the local organizers through discussions and meetings with all scheduled participants. Given the limited time of the visit, the program scope had to be narrowed down and concentrated. To give an as broad and informative picture as possible of the Swedish situation as reflected in Gothenburg, the program emphasized stakeholder presentations aimed to address the theme of "processes and partnerships" from different angles. In addition, the program included one exemplifying on-site visit to an inner-city urban area that had undergone change through a characteristic and institutionalised form of partnership process.

While the COST Action visit to Gothenburg took place in September 2015, this report was not finalized until December 2017. To complete the report, and in order to make it more useful also for those who are unfamiliar with the Swedish and local Gothenburg context, the authors have added material and made additional research. The report thus complements and expands upon the program of the COST Action visit. In being finalized December 2017, the report also gives added value by including the most recent information about both Swedish and local Gothenburg developments (see 4.1. and 4.2.).

2. The National Swedish Context

2.1. Processes and Partnerships – Legal Preconditions

The Swedish legislation most closely related to CP-UDP (Crime Prevention through Urban Design and Planning) is found in the Police Act (Polislagen, SFS 1984:387 with revisions until SFS 2015:447), in the Social Services Act (Socialtjänstlagen, SFS 2001:453), and in the Planning and Building Act (Plan- och bygglagen, SFS 2010:900)[2]. These three laws not only mandates governmental authorities to work in collaboration with one another, but requires that they do so with regard to certain issues and areas. However, while the overarching objectives are laid down in the first paragraphs of each law in terms such as 'justice', 'safety/security' [trygghet[3]], 'equality', 'sustainability', and even 'solidarity', none of these terms is to be found in all three laws. And while one of the main objectives of the police is to "prevent crime" (Police Act, General Provisions, 2§), 'crime prevention' as a concept, method, or set of tasks, is nowhere mentioned in the Police Act. The same counts also for the Social Services Act and the Planning and Building Act: crime prevention is mentioned once in the former, in the context of legal conditions for the Social Services to share information with the police, but not at all in the latter. One might here mention, with regard to the latter act, that this is in contrast to Sweden's neighbour Norway where the Planning and Building Act requires that plans should "contribute to the prevention of crime" (Planning and Building Act, Norway, General Provisions, Ch. 3, 1§).

Looking more closely at the three most important Swedish laws in the context of crime prevention, policing, and societal and urban planning, one might note that the Police Act in the introductory General Provisions uses the key Swedish term 'trygghet'. The objective is stated as "to promote justice and to further safety/security" [trygghet] (General Provisions, 1§). To achieve this, the Police Act also states that the Police should collaborate not only with other authorities within the justice system and with the Social Services, but "also collaborate with other governmental authorities and with organisations whose activities concern police activities" (Police Act, General provisions, 6§).

Turning to the Social Services Act, the objectives, "based on democracy and solidarity", are "to promote economic and social safety/security [trygghet], equality in living conditions, and active participation in societal life" (Ch. 1: Objectives, 1§). In working towards this, the Social Services are to "participate in the planning of society, and in collaboration with other societal bodies, organisations, associations, and individuals, promote good environments in the municipality" (Ch. 3: Specific Duties, 1§). In relation to prevention, the law stipulates that the Social Services should engage in preventing and protecting children and youth from abuse, drug abuse, and addiction, etc., but also "together with societal bodies, organisations, and other affected, take notice, flag, and prevent children and youth from being in environments

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[2] Translations from legal documents are by Michael Landzelius.
[3] In this report we have translated the Swedish term 'trygghet' as 'safety/security', and the related core term 'trygghetsskapande' as 'safety/security promotion'. We will return to the concept of 'trygghet' and related terms in Section 2.3.

that are harmful to them" (Ch. 5: Provisions for Specific Groups: Children and Youth, 1§). Some such expressions can be interpreted as possible support for someone within the Social Services who would wish to bring in CP-UDP-perspectives.

Moving on to the Planning and Building Act, the main objective stated is "to promote societal development for equal and good social conditions of living, and to promote a good and long-term sustainable living environment" (Ch. 1: Objectives and Definitions, 1§). With regard to collaborative processes, municipal proposals for new plans are to be negotiated through a process of consultations with multiple stakeholders. The objective is "to provide transparency and opportunity for influence, and to arrive at a thoroughly considered basis for decision-making" (Ch. 3: Comprehensive Plan, 9§). This consultation-procedure is mandatory in the development of both a so-called Comprehensive Plan [Översiktsplan] and a Detailed Development Plan [Detaljplan]. In preparing a proposal for a Detailed Development Plan, a municipality is through its planning department thus legally obliged to consult relevant governmental authorities, affected other municipalities, business community stakeholders, homeowners, tenants, and tenants associations, as well as "those governmental authorities, organisations and associations, and other private interests that are substantially affected by the proposal" (Ch. 4: Regulation by Detailed Development Plan and Area Provisions, 11§). Again, one can see that the law with its general formulations makes space for thinking its objectives in CP-UDP-terms, but that an initiative to include such a perspective has to come from inside the municipal organization, and is thus dependent on internal conditions and traditions, as well as to processes of learning and policy-development.

While the three laws requires collaboration only on specific issues in specific areas, and while neither crime prevention nor CP-UDP is identified as such areas, the fact that the laws mandate authorities to collaborate based on their own judgments with regard to which other parties that are affected or concerned, opens up possibilities that are in various ways reflected also with regard to CP-UDP in national as well as local contexts. The new national crime prevention program (see below: 2.4., 2.7., 4.1.) gives pronounced attention to situational prevention through multi-stakeholder involvement in urban planning and management, but no changes with regard to the legislation here discussed has been suggested. In the following, we will look more closely at the Swedish context, with regard to, first, Sweden as a whole, and then, the specific situation in the city of Gothenburg.

2.2. Introduction to CP-UDP in Sweden

While there are numerous examples across Sweden of the application of CPTED and CP-UDP ideas and principles, they continue to have a relatively marginal position in Swedish planning and crime prevention. Sweden did participate in the development of the CEN standard on CPTED (Grönlund et al. 2014: 11-17), but the standard has not been widely adopted. The Technical Committee CEN/TC325, entitled Prevention of Crime by Urban Planning and Building Design, was launched in 1995. The 'standard' was published only as a pre-standard (ENV) in 2002/3. A decision was then made in 2005 not to seek to make it a legally binding standard (EN) for all EU member states, but to rather change it into a so-called Technical Report (TR). Approved as such by the European Committee for Standardization (CEN), the report

CEN/TR14383 consists of eight parts, approved part by part from 2006 until 2010[4]. The English title is *Prevention of Crime – Urban Planning and Building Design*. While "a TR has no impact on national standards whatsoever" (Grönlund et al. 2014: 19), the decision not to push towards an overarching binding European standard was made based on the insight that such a path would prove too politically difficult.

The Swedish participation in this process resulted in the creation of a "mirror committee" to TC325. This was established in 1998 by the Swedish Standards Institute and was called "Brottsförebyggande genom stadsplanering och byggnadsutformning", a direct translation of the English name (the committee was first designated TK97, then, from 2002, TK208). The purpose was to gather concerned Swedish parties with the aim to review and seek to influence the work so that the contents of a standard would reflect Swedish positions in the field. The Swedish group apparently also discussed whether a standard for urban planning would be appropriate or not (Boverket, BRÅ, Rikspolisstyrelsen, 2002: 98-99). The participants in the Swedish group were, in addition to the Standards Institute: the Swedish Crime Prevention Council; the National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning; the Swedish Police; the Theft Prevention Association; Chalmers University of Technology, Gothenburg; Örebro University; Lund University of Technology; the Stockholm Urban Planning Office; and the City of Stockholm. One outcome was that the Swedish Standards Institute (SIS) did indeed offer translations of two parts: Part 1: Definition of Specific Terms (2006); and Part 2: Urban Planning (2008). This second part on urban planning is obviously the core document in the context of CPTED and CPUDP (other parts are concerned with other aspects and particular kinds of objects, parts 4 and 5, for example, with shops and offices, and petrol stations). As we will mention below, Swedish participation in this standardization process is also noted in CPTED-related publications from this period by both the Swedish Crime Prevention Council and the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning, as well as in a joint publication between these two and the Swedish Police.

2.3. The Swedish Notion of 'Trygghet'

The question of crime prevention takes on some particular aspects in a Swedish context. There is indeed a straightforward translation of the English expression 'crime prevention' as 'brottsförebyggande', and scholarly criminological discourse employs this term in direct correspondence to English. Also, the Swedish Crime Prevention Council [Brottsförebyggande rådet] is called just that, and you do find crime prevention councils [brottsförebyggande råd] named as such also on local municipal level. Yet, the term is rarely used by itself in the context of how governmental authorities work with questions of preventing crime. Instead, you most often find that local authorities work with questions of 'trygghet' and the related core term 'trygghetsskapande'. (Here translated as 'safety/security', and 'safety/security promotion', as foot-noted above.) This usage of terms is, as we will show, clearly reflected in the Gothenburg case. To make the Swedish approach more comprehensible, we need to expand some on the Swedish notion of 'trygghet'.

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[4] https://standards.cen.eu/dyn/www/f?p=204:7:0::::FSP_ORG_ID:6306&cs=133518429ECB0D4DDB06C8583A7A5CD0D

The concept 'trygghet' has many connotations and refer to both objective and subjective dimensions. To be 'trygg' or to feel 'trygg' are different from one another, yet 'trygghet' would often in Swedish usage compound the two and refer to both dimensions simultaneously. For the individual, 'trygghet' would thus refer to both *being* and *feeling* safe and secure. With such a rather wide semantic spectrum, it seems clear that crime prevention as a specific set of activities is only one of many means through which 'trygghet' can be increased and brought about. Accordingly, the Swedish term 'trygghetsskapande' refers to much more than crime prevention alone. This is also why Swedish discourse on these topics often use either only the term 'trygghetsskapande', or the combined phrase 'crime prevention and safety/security promotion'. Yet, there is in Sweden also an overarching societal context which for many makes a use only of the term 'crime prevention' appear to be very restricted and narrow. The concept 'trygghet' is on the social and collective level connected to the building of the modern Swedish welfare state. While terms such as 'social trygghet' and 'ekonomisk trygghet' are possible to translate into English as 'social security' and 'economic security', they have in the Swedish context wider societal connotations and refer to a particular relationship between state and citizens, implying core welfare state values of e.g. equality, mutual accountability, social trust, and inclusion. The growing realisation of such values has also been seen as directly contributing to 'trygghet' as a both individual and collective good, with effects also on those aspects of 'trygghet' that can be related to crime prevention. While both cultural semantics and causal relations can be discussed, and while the Swedish welfare state is under change, it is very clear that this semantic universe is still characterizing public discourse in Sweden.

2.4. The Department of Justice

In 1996, the Department of Justice published *Our Shared Responsibility – A National Program on Crime Prevention*[5] (Justitiedepartementet, 1996). The program includes the concept of creating local crime prevention councils on the municipal level. The central idea was based on the fact that crimes are always local and that crime prevention thus should be based on knowledge of local circumstances; be performed in collaboration between law enforcement agencies and municipal bodies (such as the social services and the school system); as well as with citizens and local civil society organizations. The program makes use of terms from Felson's routine activity approach as well as Jacob's notion of eyes on the street, and quite extensively discusses the distinctive roles of social prevention and situational prevention. With regard to the latter, the program explicitly mentions urban planning in the context of asking for crime prevention "measures with a structural impact" (1996: 10), and a need for "a goal-oriented design of individual properties and buildings, their relationships to one another as well as the environment as a whole" (1996: 15). The program further states that: "Crime prevention and safety/security promotion should be given higher importance then hitherto has been the case in the planning of new housing areas as well as in renewal projects", and continues: "Planning for proximity, visibility, and participation in the local environment, increases the possibilities to reduce crime and improve safety/security" (1996: 15). In relation to the history of the TC325 standardization work, it is interesting to note that the program mentions: "An interesting project in this context which is presently discussed in the EU is a

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[5] Translations of Swedish titles in the following are by Michael Landzelius.

possible future agreement between market parties to introduce a 'safety/security marking' of housing areas, buildings, and dwellings. This work in the EU aims to create a common European standard on these issues" (1996: 15; see also Grönlund et al., 2014: 11-12). The program also mentioned that the government was to assign to the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning (Boverket) the task of making municipalities integrate crime prevention aspects in urban planning and design (1996: 16). Yet, while most Swedish municipalities within a couple of years had created local crime prevention councils, and the largest cities such councils also at the level of urban districts, the program did not have much of an impact with regard to making urban planning authorities engage with CPTED.

In March 2017, a new national crime prevention program developed within the Department of Justice was presented to the parliament under the title *Together against Crime – A National Crime Prevention Program* (Regeringen 2017). This program represents a clear shift with regard to the importance given to situational crime prevention and CPTED-issues. We will return to this program and the effects that have followed from this policy change in the Conclusion (see Section 4.1.).

2.5. The Swedish Crime Prevention Council

The Swedish Crime Prevention Council (Brottsförebyggande rådet, BRÅ) was created in 1974. The Council provides yearly crime statistics and includes staff that also engage in deeper analysis of crime and crime prevention, and produce knowledge overviews. The Council has published numerous reports, in general intended to support other governmental bodies' evidence-based crime prevention. While some of these reports have been on CPTED-related issues, and while situational crime prevention has been given more attention in recent years, the Council has not published any comprehensive CPTED guidelines.

In 1983, the Council published a report entitled *Vandalism in Housing Areas - What We Know and What We Can Do*. This report is a quite early effort and does include a few pages about CPTED ideas. In 1992, the then Research Manager at the Council, Per-Olof Wikström, contributed the chapter "Opportunity Structures, Social Control, and Crime" (Wikström, 1992) to an edited volume entitled *Make Space for the Future*, published by the Swedish Building Research Council (Byggforskningsrådet). In the early 1990s, Wikström – who left the Council in the 1990s and has by now been professor of Criminology at University of Cambridge, UK, for twenty years – explained to Bo Grönlund that the reason why the Swedish Crime Prevention Council at that time did not publish any CPTED guidelines was the lack of consistent research that could support such interventions.

In 2000, the Council published the report *Crime on Maps: Local Crime Prevention Work*. This exemplifies how the Council continued to publish CPTED-related reports, but did not seek to develop an overarching approach or standpoint. The report *Crime on Maps* wanted to show how crime prevention work could make use of GIS-based mapping techniques to describe the distribution of local crime events in both space and time. The report clearly makes a distinction between social and situational approaches, stating that "the maps are not intended to be the basis for social measures to reduce individuals' tendency to develop criminal careers … the information of the maps is more suited for measures of a situational kind" (BRÅ, 2000: 9).

Examples in the report are maps of pub-related violence in the city center of Örebro, and crime in the Skarpnäck district in Stockholm, a district from the 1980s planned in line with the ideals of New Urbanism. The report includes references to then recent texts by, among others, Keith Harries, David Weisburd and Tom McEwen.

In 2007, another Council report on outdoor lighting in relation to crime prevention touched upon CPTED-principles. The report was entitled *Improved Outdoor Lighting and Crime Prevention: A Systematic Research Overview*, and was commissioned by the Council. The authors were David Farrington at University of Cambridge, UK, and Brandon Welsh at University of Massachusetts Lowell, USA. The report came about as a result of a pronounced will on part of the Council to focus on evidence-based crime prevention.

In 2010, David Weisburd received the Stockholm Prize in Criminology for his research on hot spots and place-based policing. The Swedish Crime Prevention Council continued to focus on evidence-based crime prevention, and in 2010 published the report *The Role of Place in Police Work: Empirical Evidence and Policy Recommendations* (BRÅ, 2010), with David Weisburd, Cody Telep, and Anthony Braga, as main authors.

In 2011, the Council published a report entitled *Hot Spots for Crime in Six Swedish Cities: A Study of the Preconditions for Place-based Policing in Sweden* (BRÅ, 2011). The cities studied were Stockholm, Gothenburg, Helsingborg, Eskilstuna, Umeå, and Luleå. The aim of the report was to establish the potential of reducing crime by focusing particularly on hot spot crime prevention measures. The report focused on five types of crime – assaults, robbery, burglary (divided between entry into residences and storage spaces), and car thefts – in order to assess the potential for preventing them through place-oriented measures. The final chapter is an evaluation in which possibilities to draw conclusions about effects are discussed with regard to case study design and (randomized control groups, proximity and spill-over issues, number of hot spots, etc.) and possibilities to measure (number of and constancy of crimes in terms of types and frequency, etc.). While the study finds that there are indeed hot spots in Swedish cities, the major conclusion is that the efficacy of place-based policing is impossible to assess due to the small size of most Swedish cities. Positive evidence for the effects of place-based measures most clearly concerns assaults and car thefts, yet the study concludes that this should not be taken to mean that the police should not include considerations of place in their crime prevention work.

In 2015, the Stockholm Prize in Criminology was awarded to Ronald V. Clarke and Patricia Mayhew for their research on "the importance of physical and spatial design in preventing crime" and what later became known as "situational crime prevention". In connection with this, the Swedish Crime Prevention Council's webpage introduced a page devoted to Situational Prevention, including a sub-heading for Crime Prevention through Environmental Design. The latter focused on a brief presentation of the six principles 'territoriality', 'access control', 'natural surveillance', 'image/maintenance', 'activity support', and 'target hardening'. To this was added a note on additional aspects of second generation CPTED.

In 2016, the Council decided to act as official sponsor of a new national network called Safeplaces (SäkraPlatser). The key aim of the new network is to engage academics, safety

experts, police officers, and other practitioners in the exchange of experiences, and the diffusion of knowledge by providing a hub for situational crime prevention in Sweden. The network is interdisciplinary and based at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm, and has the ambition to link local needs of knowledge in situational crime prevention to a national and international network of experts and institutions. Coordinator is Vania Ceccato, Associate Professor, School of Architecture and the Built Environment, KTH, and Swedish delegate to the COST Action TU1203.

In March 2017, the yearly conference Advice for the Future (Råd för framtiden), organized by the Swedish Crime Prevention Council, addressed the question of how local crime prevention work can be developed and strengthened. The conference, as the invitation informed, "will have a certain focus on situational crime prevention". Participating in the program was COST Action TU1203 member Bo Grönlund from Denmark, who performed a Safety Walk in one of Malmö's new housing areas.

2.6. The Swedish Police

From around 1994, the Swedish Police started on a national level to work with problem-oriented policing. This approach was also prioritized by the government. In 1999, the National Police Board (Rikspolisstyrelsen) published an easily accessible 60-page guide entitled *Problem Oriented Police Work*, based on a model applied in the county of Värmland. The focus on problem oriented policing continued and was in 2006 followed up by a translation of Ronald V. Clarke's and John Eck's *Become a Problem Solving Crime Analyst in 55 Small Steps*, published by the Swedish Police University College (Clarke and Eck, 2006).

The Stockholm Police started to work on CPTED guidelines in the 1990s, partly inspired by Denmark. They became involved with practical CPTED in a test area, the new housing district Ärvinge in Stockholm. The test area was evaluated, and the CPTED-design was found to reduce crime in comparison with the neighbouring area where no CPTED-principles had been applied. The study also concluded that it was possible to separate the CPTED-effect from social factors (Lind 2001).

In 2001, the Stockholm County Police Authority wrote their own guidelines for safe/secure housing, called *Bo Tryggt 01*. The title "Bo Tryggt" literally means "dwell in safety/security". When published in 2001, these were the main Swedish CPTED-guidelines. In 2005, they were thoroughly revised together with researchers from Chalmers University of Technology in Gothenburg and The Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm. The new version was published as *Bo Tryggt 05* (Stockholm Police, 2005). These guidelines are by many considered 'state of the art' in Sweden and have been referred to e.g. in the later City of Stockholm official crime prevention programs. The Steering Committee in the production of these guidelines was headed by Anders Rudberg at the Research and Development Unit of the Stockholm County Police Authority. Project Leader was Professor of Urban Planning Björn Klarqvist at Chalmers in Gothenburg. The revised edition is quite extensive (approximately 250 pages) and includes three sections: Contextual Guidelines (principles, crimes, methods, actors, etc.); Built Environment (planning, design, etc.); and Checklists (program, control, management, etc.). The guidelines focus both on the process and the product aspects, but go further into product

issues than the European standardization work that resulted in the Technical Report TR14383. While these are still the most developed CPTED guidelines in Sweden, and are still available to download from the Bo Tryggt-webpage www.botryggt.se, it is not easy to determine to which extent the guidelines actually gained professional attention. In 2016, the foundation and NGO Safer Sweden (Tryggare Sverige) announced that it had taken over the management of the Bo Tryggt 05 concept from the Stockholm Police, and that a process of up-dating had started (more on this in 2.8.)

The police in Sweden is a unified national force and there has not been any local police under municipal command anywhere in Sweden for a long time. The Swedish Police have experienced a number of reorganizations over the last decades. The most recent one in 2015. The Stockholm County Police Authority, which managed the Bo Tryggt-webpage and guidelines, has been replaced by Police Region Stockholm. Since 2015 the Police are organized in 7 Regions, 25 Police Areas, and approximately 90 Local Police Areas. In addition, there is one national operative department, one national forensics department, and six shared administrative departments, plus two special branches under the Head of Police in Stockholm. While policies, such as a present focus on Local Police Areas and community policing, are nationally decided upon, the ways in which policies are implemented may differ between Regions and Police Areas depending on local needs and collaboration agreements locally negotiated with other both central and local branches of government. The section below on policing in Gothenburg is an example of one local context.

2.7. The National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning

In 1998, the National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning (Boverket) published a report entitled *Crime, Built Environment, Planning* – a 162 pages long knowledge-overview taking an international comparative perspective and addressing criminological as well as planning, design, and management issues (Boverket, 1998). In the preface, the then Director-General Gustaf von Platen refers to "the European standardization committee Prevention of Crime by Urban Planning and Building Design" (in which the Board participated from Sweden), and notes that "in Sweden, to focus on preventing crime through measures in the built environment is a rather new phenomenon". Close to 20 years after the publication of this report, we might still want to note von Platen's words that: "Crime and fear of crime interests more and more people, in Sweden and elsewhere. It is therefore urgent that crime prevention measures become a highly prioritized question for municipal councils and urban planning authorities. Politicians and planners have a responsibility for making these aspects part of the urban planning process" (Boverket, 1998: 3). Again, the impact in practice was small and piecemeal.

In 2001, the Swedish government gave the Crime Prevention Council a special task to engage in developing built environment-oriented measures to increase safety/security and prevent crime. The task was to be performed in collaboration with the Swedish Police and the National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning. The task was directly related to the national crime prevention program from 1996 (in which an approach to crime prevention was delineated that included several kinds of measures), and also built upon the just mentioned 1998 report. In

2002, the work resulted in a publication entitled (in a rather literal translation) *Built Environment-oriented Measures against Crime and Unsafety/Insecurity*. While the main focus of the document is on how Swedish municipalities work with such measures in order to increase safety/security and prevent crime, there are summaries of earlier national reports in the field, as well as a section with comparative reports about crime prevention in Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Denmark. The latter section also describes the at the time ongoing standardization work of TC325 (cf. above 2.2.) and comments on the possibilities and appropriateness of implementing such a standard in Sweden. The conclusion is that: "Neither the Crime Prevention Council, nor the National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning, or the Swedish Police, consider themselves to be suitable or to have the mandate to be the responsible authority for a certification system. Instead, it is important that resources are allocated to the development of competence, and of information directed to those actors that can have an impact on urban planning and building measures that can prevent crime, and that this is done within existing frames of organization". The final added comment is that this should be done voluntarily by affected parties, and that voluntary collaboration is preferable to standardization (Boverket, BRÅ, Rikspolisstyrelsen, 2002: 36). Nonetheless, in its extensive coverage of what was going on in Swedish municipalities at the time, the document shows that quite an amount of initiatives were ongoing, CPTED-related measures were being implemented, and goals on safety/security were beginning to enter planning documents.

In 2008, as part of a Swedish government action plan for combating men's violence against women, honour-based violence, and oppression and violence in same-sex relationships, the government also initiated a large, 4 million Euros initiative called "Strengthening Security in Urban Environments from a Gender Equality Perspective" (the short Swedish name was "Tryggt och jämnt"). The mandate went to the National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning, which administered funding and was responsible for overarching organization of the approved 127 different projects in 80 municipalities and regions. In addition to all the resulting citizen dialogues, safety walks, and physical interventions that resulted, numerous reports as well as other kinds of documentation came out of the initiative. Three reports are available in English: *Gender Equality on the Agenda* (Boverket 2011a), which is directed to higher management officers and concerned with the integration of gender equality in all operations of public bodies; *Broaden Your Outlook - Planning Methods for Security and Gender Equality* (Boverket 2011b), which gives examples of planning methods that can be used to include security and gender-equality aspects in plans and programs for the built environment; and *Places to Feel Secure in* (Boverket 2011c), which focuses on how to improve security in public places through measures in the physical environment. While CPTED-issues are important in these publications, it is quite interesting to note that there are no references to international CPTED-discourse, and not much to CPTED-work in Sweden. Given the initiative's focus on gender equality, the approach is much guided by a feminist research tradition and CPTED-work seems to be unknown or neglected.

The general role of the National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning (Boverket) is mentioned in the new national crime prevention program *Together against Crime* in the context of how the program agenda can be realized. The Program mentions the Board as one of a "number of governmental authorities that have great importance for the development of

effective crime prevention but without as clearly defined responsibilities [as the above mentioned]" (Regeringen 2017: 20). The Program notes the importance of the Board with regard to "situational prevention with a focus on the place, the opportunity, or the context where the crime is committed", but then states rather vaguely that "the Board works in different ways to raise the question of security/safety in physical planning … and distributes funding for improvement of outdoor areas in housing districts with socio-economic challenges…" (2017: 20). Lacking formal powers, it remains to be seen if the National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning will be able to make any real difference with regard to Swedish municipalities' engagement with and implementation of CPTED-related principles and practices in urban planning.

2.8. The NGO Safer Sweden

In 2008, the Safer Sweden Foundation [Stiftelsen Tryggare Sverige] was formed. The main objective of Safer Sweden is to raise awareness and increase the focus on and support for victims of crime, but the organization has also shown an interest in CPTED-issues, and engages on a project-basis as a consulting business in crime prevention. In 2010 the foundation published the report *Safety/Security in Dwelling* (Eriksson, 2010), and in 2012 the report *Safety/Security in Public Transport* (Eklund and Eriksson, 2012) appeared. Eriksson is presented as an "expert" on safety/security working for the foundation, while Eklund is a security engineer at the private company Securitas. In 2015, Safer Sweden organized a one-day conference in Stockholm called Safe and Secure City, with the City of Stockholm and some housing companies and security businesses as co-organizers.

With regard to increased awareness of CPTED, it should be noted that, as mentioned above (see 2.6.), Safer Sweden in 2016 announced that it had taken over the management of the Bo Tryggt-concept from the Stockholm Police, and that they would update and develop the *Bo Tryggt 05* guidelines[6]. Safer Sweden has now published a folder under the heading "Bo Tryggt 2030", in which the foundation informs that "together with researchers, real estate and security companies, and others, we are now reviewing, modernizing, and developing all the material – in handbooks, check-lists, and on the webpage". Safer Sweden aims to develop Bo Tryggt 2030 into a tool for building safer cities with a coverage of not only housing but also neighborhoods, public spaces, commercial places, and more, in order to respond to today's holistic approach in urban planning. The aim is to make Bo Tryggt 2030 a natural tool to use by all involved in urban planning and the shaping of safe future city environments, as well as the national standard; with checklists and recommendations that give practitioners arguments throughout the decision-making process. The development of Bo Tryggt 2030 is based on research related to situational crime prevention and CPTED, as well as on practical examples from national and international experiences.

The project runs throughout the coming three years until 2020, when it is planned to finish with a robust, national concept and tool in urban planning. The work progresses through tight collaboration with partner organizations, including construction companies, municipal and

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[6] The following text about the development of the Bo Tryggt 2030-concept was contributed by Dr. Cornelis Uittenbogaard, Urban Planner, Safer Sweden Foundation. E-mail: cornelis.uittenbogaard@tryggaresverige.org

private housing companies, real estate developers, architectural consultants, public transport companies, insurance companies, national and governmental organizations, trade unions, and many more. Active partners contribute with knowledge of their own working field, experiences from pilot studies in practical projects, organized workshops, and discussions and reviews of the content. However, by naming the project of Bo Tryggt 2030, Safer Sweden and partners aim to create a platform and concept open to continuous development; involvement of new actors; and adjustment to changes in society and urban planning processes. Follow this link for more information and more links (in Swedish).

2.9. CPTED Applied in Swedish Planning[7]

There is no actor in the Swedish planning system that can provide a comprehensive list of projects in which CPTED-principles have been applied. Many urban planning offices would say that they do consider safety/security, but would also agree that they do not consistently apply CPTED, and might admit that they do not know of the teaching and planning material, etc., on CPTED and CP-UDP in Sweden as described in this report. What follows here are a few major examples of CPTED applied in Sweden.

From 1997 and onwards, the safety consultant Ulf Malm has engaged in evidence-based safety/security work for Swedish housing companies, including CPTED aspects. These cases all concern improvements in previously built areas. Implemented measures based on Malm's work show great resulting improvements, e.g.: Hjällbo (1997) and Gamlestaden (2002), in Gothenburg; and in Stockholm, Järva (2006, 2010 and Skärholmen (2008). Previously available documents about some of these projects have been removed from the web. The municipality of Sundbyberg, seamlessly neighboring to Stockholm, implemented a three year safety/security plan between 1999 and 2001 in its existing urban areas. This plan included CPTED-aspects to some degree, and the results have been evaluated (Grönlund, 2006).

In the planning of new neighborhoods, the City of Stockholm in the late 1990s showed an interest in CPTED. A case in point was the large new residential district Hammarby Sjöstad, yet, the implementation of CPTED was in this case not systematic. However, when Grönlund (2012) years later assessed urban planning and design principles in this area from a CPTED point-of-view, the overall results seemed mostly promising. Crime statistics and data on how residents perceived safety were compared with other areas in Stockholm, and the analysis concluded that CPTED guidelines were to a large degree met; that crime rates were relatively lower; and that perceived safety was higher than the Stockholm average.

In 2010, JM Sweden, one of the Nordic region's major developers of housing and residential areas, became the first company to include CPTED principles in its business policy (Eriksson, 2010). However, there is nothing today about this on the company's website, and as described

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[7] The examples here comes from an unpublished manuscript by Bo Grönlund: "Swedish CPTED", dated May 12, 2013, which provides a chronology of various Swedish CPTED-related facts from 1974 to 2013. Grönlund is Danish delegate to COST Action TU1203, and Professor Emeritus at the Royal Academy, School of Architecture, Copenhagen. His knowledge about Swedish CPTED is based on his work for the Stockholm Police; the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning; the organization Safer Sweden; and on his research, lectures, and photo documentation of CPTED in 48 Swedish municipalities since the late 1990s.

there, the planning process includes the process of hiring architectural consultants and consultations with municipalities and other authorities, without mentioning any requirements from JM to include CPTED-principles.

In addition, there have been huge investments made in the large scale post-World War II suburban housing developments, and these investments have included measures to increase safety/security, and some such measures have been based on CPTED-principles. For a total population of at that time about eight million people, there were in Sweden 800,000 dwellings built between 1945 and 1960, and as much as one million dwellings built between 1964 and 1975. The urbanization process was very strong in Sweden after the war with an intact industry expanding in relation to both domestic and foreign demand. However, coordination between municipalities could have been better, and in the later part of the period the result was empty flats in some areas. While social segregation was a fact from the beginning, and ethnic segregation emerged when skilled southern European workers beginning in the 1950s were recruited to the industries, high levels of violence and crime belong to a later period and mostly consist of outdoor crime in the dark hours. Many of the large projects have later been improved, also from a safety/security point of view and with problems and needed measures often identified through safety/security walks (see 3.7. for more on this). Many of the largest areas built have had improvement projects implemented several times. In the Stockholm area: e.g. Skärholmen, Järvafältet; Botkyrka; in Gothenburg: e.g. Hammarkullen, Gårdsten, Bergsjön, Hjällbo; in Malmö: e.g. Rosengård; in Norrköping: e.g. Ringdansen. The latter was partly reconstructed according to CPTED-principles and was in 2002 in relative terms one of the most expensive projects done – the cost was over 100 million Euros.

3. Processes & Partnerships in Gothenburg

3.1. Safety and Security in Urban and Social Planning

In this section, we will present the Gothenburg take on crime prevention in urban as well as social planning, based on the presentations made during the program of the COST Action visit as well as on additional research into relevant documents. As we will see, one characteristic of the Swedish urban as well as social planning discourse is that the term 'crime prevention' is not used much – almost never in urban planning discourse, and not much in social planning either. The terms that are commonly used either refer to, on the one hand, that which is a consequence of a low level of crime and incivilities, namely 'safety/security', expressed with the Swedish term 'trygghet' (which as we have noted above is quite impossible to translate into English), or, on the other, refer to the process of promoting the achievement of such a state of safety/security, the process of 'trygghetsskapande'. This could probably be seen as a kind of both ideological and professional avoidance on part of architects as well as social workers who do not see themselves as working *against* crime but rather *for* a good social and built environment, but the reader should be aware that this does not preclude that the usage of the term safety/security (i.e. 'trygghet') often implies and includes an awareness of crime prevention.

3.2. Crime in Gothenburg – Figures, Trends, Places[8]

In general crime, including attempted crime, have been declining in Gothenburg over the last twelve years (Table 1). This trend is stable both in official reports and in self-reports, and despite the fact that the last years have seen a higher willingness to report crime in society. This increased willingness can be understood to be both a result of a higher level of trust in the police, and an effect of changing norms in society regarding the reporting of crime.

Table 1: Reported crimes (all types) per 100 000 inhabitants

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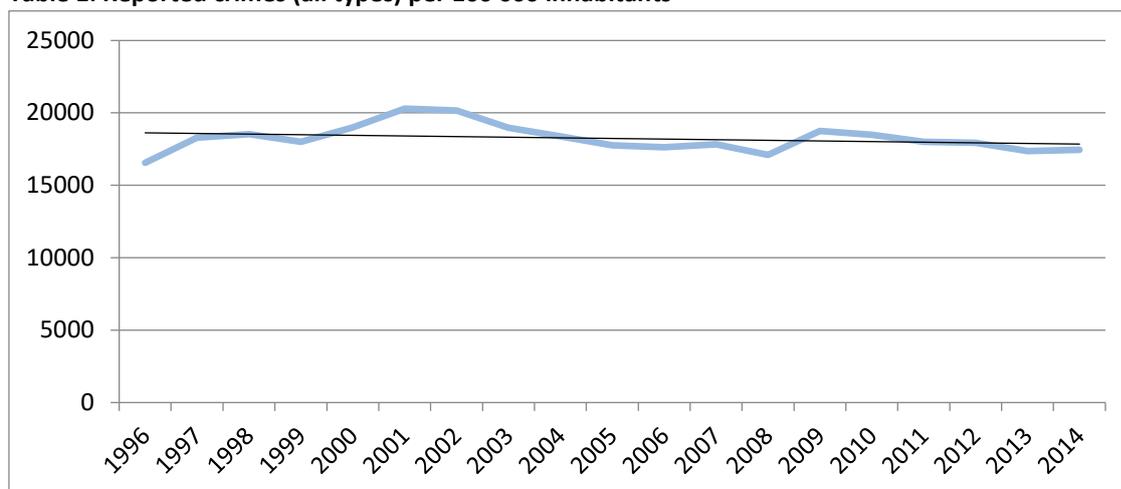
[8] The main author of this section is Charlotta Thodelius. Facts and figures are from the presentations by Sven-Åke Lindgren, Professor of Sociology/Criminology, University of Gothenburg, and Thomas Pettersson, Chief Inspector and Analyst, The Swedish Police, Region West.

However, even if the general crime rate trend is declining, there is some notable differences between crime categories. Mainly is the decline related to property crime, theft, assaults and lethal violence – but there is an increase in police reported sexual offenses and frauds (City of Gothenburg 2014d). In this section will mainly two crime categories be discussed, property crime and assaults. Both categories of crimes tends to cluster in the inner-city areas, often in small areas with a high concentration of crimes (hot spots).

Regarding property crime as an overall category, there is a decline in Gothenburg. Mainly the decline is related to robbery, burglary, car theft and theft from vehicles, and the decline is evident in the two last categories.

The geographical distribution of property crime is related to the concentration of crime opportunities and comprehensible from the routine activity approach (RAT). The RAT indicates the importance of crime as depending on three elements, a likely offender, a suitable target and absence of capable guardians, which physical convergence in time and space. And in these hot spots, there in a discrepancy between the amount of surveillance and amount of objects.

Street robbery tends to cluster near junctions in the inner city area, mainly Drottningtorget, Brunnsparken and Järntorget. Drottningtorget, the main hub for local public transportation in Gothenburg, is a square located adjacent to the Central Station with long-distance as well as regional trains and buses. During the latest year registered, September 2014 to September 2015, Drottningtorget had 17 reported cases of street robbery. Brunnsparken, is another major transportation hub for local public transport, located close to the Drottningtorget square, had 13 cases, and the street Andra Långgatan closely connected to the Järntorget hub, had 16 cases of robbery reported during the same time period.

Car theft and theft from vehicles tends to cluster in three hot spots, first Östra Larmgatan, where 167 cases were reported to the police during September 2014 to September 2015. Second, Sofierogatan (116 reported cases); and, third, Valhallagatan (114 reported cases). These places are related to different activities in the inner-city area, Östra Larmgatan is one of the main streets for reaching the shopping centres, but still located away from the actual shopping streets; Sofierogatan is near the Liseberg amusement park, and Valhallagatan, is an outside parking lot connected to the indoor arena Scandinavium.

A major explanation to the drop in this crime categories is related to societal changes or technology- and product development, mainly products or innovations related to target hardening. For example, robberies are effected of the transition from cash payment to electronical means of payment; car thefts and thefts from vehicles are effected of new design and implementation of security products, including rather simple things such as steering wheel locks. In addition, the decline is also related to surveillance services, such as active policing and the impact of crime prevention mobilization, the latter particularly in terms of environmental and situational prevention measures.

There has also been a drop in serious violent crimes in Gothenburg and deadly violence shows a strong declining tendency, even if the number fluxes over the years due to special events (Table 2, 3 and 4). Primarily homicides involving children as victims and cases involving an intoxicated offender are declining, probably due to the combination of social preventive measures and a general drop in alcohol consumption.

Table 2: Deadly violence in Gothenburg 1990 - 2014
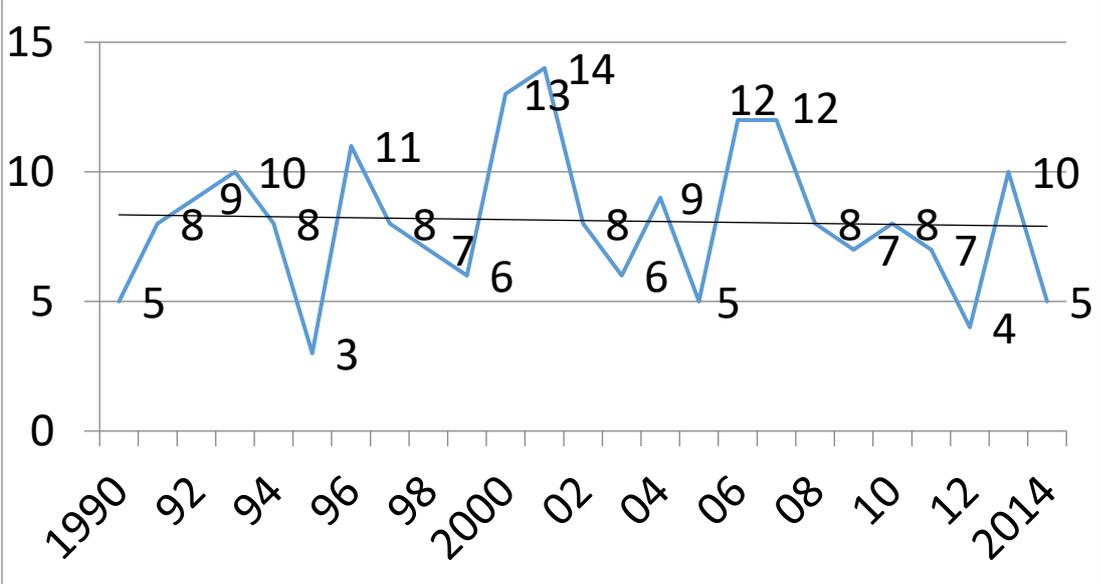
The social preventive measures include a joint effort to detect early signs of abuse of women and children. Connected to this, programs to support and protect them have also been implemented. Also the overall alcohol consumption is declining in Sweden since 2004. This has mainly affected the consumption of hard liquor, and this decline is a probable reason that both violent crimes and lethal violence are also declining. One factor affecting the level of alcohol consumption is related to the introduction of stricter control with regard to the issuance of alcohol serving licenses. There has, for example, been a tougher stress on non-violence and capacities to maintain good social behaviour within the premises as criteria for such certification. Moreover, different situational prevention measures have been implemented within bars, pubs, and restaurants.

Concerning the temporal distribution of assaults and battery in public, statistics show that they often take place on a Friday or Saturday night, after the closing of restaurants and bars. In August 2013, in an attempt to reduce such crimes, a political decision was taken to change the allowed opening hours. The new regulations meant that bars had to close earlier on Fridays, and this has turned out to have a small effect on crime, there is a small decline in the number of assaults on Friday nights, whereas there is no effect on the level of crime on Saturdays.

The spatial distribution of assaults and battery in public space, based on statistics for the period September 2014 to September 2015, shows that there are three hot spots in Gothenburg. The three are: Kungsportsavenyn (110 reported cases); Vasagatan (66 cases) and Järntorget (38 cases). The first two are major pathways in the inner-city with bus and tram lines as well as high numbers of cyclists and pedestrians, the third is an urban square with restaurants, cafés, and fast food places, as well as a junction for public transportation. In addition, Kungsportsavenyn and adjacent streets to Järntorget are also two of the city's major restaurant districts, with a high concentration of nightlife. Even if the nightlife or the bars in itself don't are the problem, the closing of the bars often lead to crowding in nearby places such as hamburger restaurants or public transport stops.

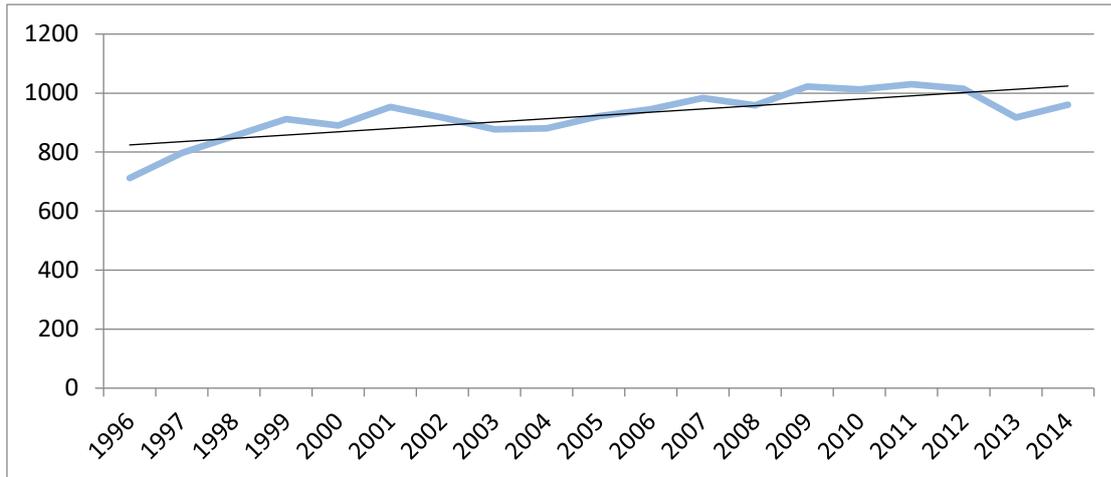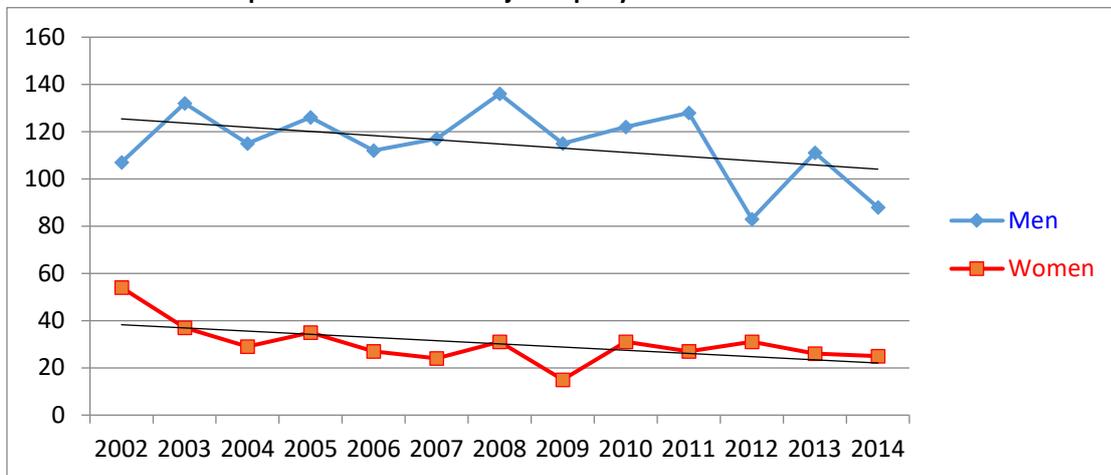**Table 3: Reported assaults (all types) per 100 000 inhabitants**

Table 4: Number of inpatients with violent injuries per year

Another aspect that have been observed to influence crime trends is the change of values and norms amongst the so called Y-generation (born in the 1980s). This change is traceable all over Europe, and the Y-generation seems to be more oriented towards conventional activities, future planning, more decent behaviour, and caring for friends and family, compared to earlier generations. In two different studies conducted on a national level, these tendencies are general, and there is a decline in delinquency and deviant behaviour in the youngest generation although changes over time are weaker for girls compared to boys. Also, the trend emerge regardless of socioeconomic status and demographics, and it is noticeable even in the most criminally active youths (BRÅ 2013; Bäckman et al. 2014).

3.3. The Present Model for Policing in Gothenburg[9]

In order to work with the problems of the inner-city area, there have been measures taken regarding policies of opening hours and alcohol serving permits, but the main strategy from a

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[9] The main author of this section is Charlotta Thodelius. Facts and figures come from the presentations by Anders Petersson, Chief Inspector, The Swedish Police, Greater Gothenburg, and Daniel Hjerpe, Coordinator, The Swedish Police, Greater Gothenburg.

police perspective and for the city as a whole has been 'active policing'. Active policing is an essential aspect of the present model for collaboration between the national police and the City of Gothenburg.

In Gothenburg, the model for cooperation between the Police and the City is called "Safe/Secure in Gothenburg" [Trygg i Göteborg]. The model is in practice implemented through cooperation between the City District Administration of a certain area and the local police and is presently applied not only in the inner city but also in three local projects in suburban Gothenburg called "Safe in Angered", "Safe in Western Hisingen", and "Safe in Eastern Gothenburg"[10]. The cooperation is expanding, and the ambition is to engage more districts in this urban safety and security work. The model is based on the so-called SARA-model (Scan, Analyze, Reflect, Act), and is aimed to increase the level of safety for citizens by working with local problems in the areas. The model is based on six steps and contains both producing an action plan and a follow up/evaluation part (see table 5 and 6).

Table 5: Example from "Safe in Angered" Action Plan matrix:

Problem description	Causal analysis	General impact goal	Partial goals	Measures	Responsibility
What problem do we need to address?	Why has the problem occurred?	The vision. General goal: What do we want to achieve?	Sub-targets	Which practical measures have to be taken?	Who is responsible for what?

Table 6: Example from "Safe in Angered" Follow-up matrix:

Problem description	Proposed measures	Implemented measures	Effect
What problem have we attended to?	What kind of method did we use in attending to the identified problem?	What have we done so far?	Which effect(s) can we see?

In praxis this model and different steps are built on collaboration with different actors, to create a common problem description and action plan. The different steps will in the next section be discussed more throughout.

The common report is based on three different reports: a police status report; a status report from the local district administration; and a status report for the local context based on safety surveys and interviews with citizens, the local business sector, and local associations. These reports are analyzed and assembled into a common report that includes different subjects, e.g.: area specific statistics; risk factors; and elements perceived to create unsafe and insecure situations. The kinds of data registered can range from low achievements in schools, high level of unemployment, narcotic sales in public areas, littering, and annoying moped- and motor cycle riding. In this way, the common status report provides a structured picture of the current situation in the district. Based on the thus established report, a common problem description is formulated based on an analysis of identified subjects, and for each such subject registered data, and their direct or indirect contribution to problems in the area.

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[10] Documents in Swedish can be downloaded from the City of Gothenburg website:
https://socialutveckling.goteborg.se/team/brottsforebyggande-arbete/trygg-i-goteborg/

These analysis is of the status report and the problem description is the foundation for the common action plan in the area. The action plan states the aim and purpose of measures to be taken, as well as general and partial goals of the action plan. The plan also gives a clear description of the methods and resources to be employed, and organizations responsible in the implementation phase. The implementation of the plan is conducted in three steps. First the most acute problems are tackled and public places made safe for the public as a whole (reactive phase). The second step, aims to create a sustainable crime prevention practice and building (new) networks. In this phase there are also important involve the evaluation, to see if measures taken worked and set goals were properly aimed. In addition, this step also involves to give and receive feedback to/from all involved actors. In the feedback, different strategies are used to reach the public, for example social media and local neighbourhood newspapers.

The Swedish Police identifies the local police district as the hub and basis for effective police activity. Mainly, the local police districts are able to make decisions more efficient, which creates better conditions for well-functioning community policing strategies. The combination of working close to citizens and to make decisions on a local level is part of the new police organization's strategies to work both with both the prevention of crime, and to increase safety and security. This approach governs the implementation of new working methods based on flexibility and local commitments, such as: municipal police officers; specially appointed local police officers; collaborative agreements with municipalities; and dialogue with citizens.

The police organization has also introduced a 'citizen promise' [medborgarlöfte]. Such citizen promises are commitments on a one year basis, developed from local problems and cooperation agreements, which regulate police activities in the area. Thus, these promises steer activities so that they clearly aim to contribute to solve/reduce the local problems that have been jointly identified by the Police, the District Administration, and citizens. The promises are an important part of the local police work. But such citizen promises are, however, only one part of the police's overall mission.

3.4. The Police and the City of Gothenburg in Collaboration

As noted previously, the police in Sweden is a unified national force organized in seven geographical areas. Gothenburg is located within the so-called Police Region West, and within this region, there is a branch called Police Area Greater Gothenburg. Most of the decision-making in terms of joint policies and strategies for collaboration between the Police and the City takes place on this latter level, while collaboration on the ground is based on local agreements on neighbourhood level.[11]

On the strategic level, there is a Strategic Collaboration Group for safety/security promotion [trygghetsfrämjande] and crime prevention. In this group, both the City and the Police are represented by top-level officers. The City is represented by the City Manager, Development

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[11] This section is based on information to be found on the following City of Gothenburg webpage:
https://socialutveckling.goteborg.se/team/brottsforebyggande-arbete/

Leaders from the City Executive Office, the Head of the Social Resources Administration, the Head of Welfare and Education, the Head of one of the ten City District Boards, and the City Coordinator of safety/security promotion and crime prevention. The Police Area Greater Gothenburg is represented by the Head, the Assistant Head, and the Police Coordinator of safety/security promotion and crime prevention. This group meets approximately four times per year. To support the group, the two coordinators for safety/security promotion and crime prevention contribute analyses, etc., and may for this purpose engage other personnel from the two organisations. Every year, there is also a conference jointly organized by the City and the Police in which chief officers as well as other personnel meet to discuss problems with the goal to set objectives and make priorities for the coming year.

On the tactical level, including support processes between strategic and local levels, there is a so-called Local Agreement Network consisting of representatives from the City District Administrations, the City Executive Office, and the central as well as district levels of Police Area Greater Gothenburg. This work is coordinated by the City Coordinator of safety/security promotion and crime prevention, positioned within the Social Resources Administration, and the Police coordinator with the corresponding responsibility. With the purpose of sharing and learning for effective implementation, members meet circa four times per year. In addition, both the Police Area Greater Gothenburg and the City have appointed Process Leaders that support an already earlier existing collaborative format called SSPF (short for: School, Social Services, Police, Freetime Activities). These process leaders also report back about SSPF to the central strategic group. In addition, representatives of the City and the Police have weekly telephone meetings to which other actors are invited (the Greater Gothenburg Fire and Rescue Services; Region Västra Götaland; and the neighboring municipalities). The purpose of these weekly meetings is to share information and establish a common operating picture.

On the city district and local police levels, each City District Administration coordinates local crime prevention councils. The local police participates in the work of these councils, and there is also in each city district a forum for collaboration between leading representatives of the City District Board and the Local Police Area. The SSPF-collaboration mentioned above takes place in terms of operative work on the local city district level with a focus on those aspects of children and youth related problems that are identified in the Social Services Act and mentioned above in the context of Swedish legislation. In addition to this, and through decisions made on the central strategic level, five City District Administrations responsible for areas where youth problems and crimes have been more extensive collaborate with the Police Area Greater Gothenburg through a method called Special Measures Groups [Särskilda insatsgrupper, SIG].

3.5. The Social Resources Administration – 'Trygghet'[12]

The concept of safety/security promotion [trygghetsskapande] is important in the City of Gothenburg's strategic work. In the presentation by Ingela Andersson, Development Leader

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[12] The main author of this section is Charlotta Thodelius. Facts and figures come from the presentation of Ingela Andersson, Development Leader, Social Resources Administration, City of Gothenburg, and from two official documents, see Göteborgs stad, 2014b, 2014c.

at the Social Resources Administration, during the COST Action visit, the question of social sustainability and the importance of creating an equal city were addressed. In this section we will mainly focus on two strategic projects hosted by the Social Resources Administration: activities to reduce inequality in living conditions and health; and the work regarding personal security promotion and crime prevention.

While the living conditions in general has improved for the population of Gothenburg in recent years, inequality has simultaneously increased. With increasing differences between the rich and the poor, and with a political majority consisting of the Social Democrats, the Green Party, and the Left Party, there is a shared vision among actors in the city to work with and from a social sustainability perspective. Social sustainability as an aim as well as an approach to analyzing and planning for development is mentioned both nationally and locally, is visible in the City's budget. In the City, the Social Resources Administration is one actor working with social sustainability, on a strategic level with regard to the City's policies around social issues, and on a more concrete level by importantly offering citizens various services related to the social sphere, and with support to the City's different districts with regard to social issues.

Since social sustainability relates to several aspects of social justice and of quality of life for individuals, families, and groups, there are many closely entwined elements that affect one another. One way of working in Gothenburg is to collaborate in the building of 'knowledge alliances', a strategy as well as practice that enables long-term and broad perspectives on processes and goals. Such processes are to be supported by evidence-based methods. Starting with the problems at hand, the report *Inequality in Living Conditions and Health* (Göteborgs stad, 2014c), is based on the combination of current knowledge and statistics, and contains both an in-depth description of Gothenburg's socio-urban inequality and gives 30 suggestions on how to work with the issue. The report stresses the importance of collaboration by stating: "No single initiative in isolation can change the City of Gothenburg. Change requires a range of long-term measures in collaboration" (2014c: 13). The report shows that inequalities are indeed both social and urban; both between groups of people, and between different areas of the city. Since the disparities follow socio-economic status and since the city is socio-economically segregated, disparities are greater and becomes distinctly visible when a spatial perspective is included in the analysis. Yet, the problem with big disparities is not reserved to some areas – all districts in the city have disparities.

One well known indicator for disparities in a population is the measure of average life expectancy. In Gothenburg, the difference in life expectancy between the areas that are *most* different is for women 7.5 years, and for men 9.1 years. Other variables correlating to health is the uneven distribution between and within the districts of long term unemployment, level of education, level of trust in others, and degree of social isolation. There is also a significant difference between children's living conditions in the city. The City's strategies to reduce inequality are built on joint, early, general, and long terms efforts, mainly focusing on reducing the gradient in health. Health inequalities result from social inequalities, and action on health inequalities requires action across all the social determinants of health. Focusing solely on the most disadvantaged will not reduce health inequalities sufficiently. To reduce the steepness of the social gradient in health, actions must be universal, but with a scale and intensity that is proportionate to the level of disadvantage.

The strategy for achieving social sustainability includes four focus areas: 1) Give every child a good start in life; 2) Provide children with good conditions throughout their school years; 3) Create preconditions for a dynamic labor market; 4) Contribute to sustainable environments and communities that promote health. The City also notes that these focus areas are related to safety/security promotion and crime prevention, since more equal communities with small income differences not only improve population health, but also has positive effects on society as whole. On the societal level, social cohesion, trust, security, and criminality are more affected by the degree of equality, than the degree of prosperity (2014c: 4).

The City's program for personal security promotion and crime prevention also stresses the importance of collaboration and dialogue (Göteborgs stad, 2014b). The program is a part of the City of Gothenburg's strategic work for sustainable urban development (2014b: 3) and is entitled *Dialogue and Collaboration: A Comprehensive Program for Personal Security Promotion and Crime Prevention in the City of Gothenburg*. The program was developed in broad collaboration between the City's different bodies, with the Social Resources Administration as coordinator and leader of the work. The program highlights the need for implementation of organizational structures and partnerships that supports the City's work with crime prevention and the promotion of safety/security through joint development on a shared base of knowledge (2014b: 8-9). The general approach is based on the idea of open dialogue and trust. The actors to engage in this dialogue and development are the different authorities and administrative branches of the city, insurance companies, real estate property owners, universities, specialized knowledge centers, and interest groups. The program also notes the importance of governmental bodies external to the City to participate, such as the national police. The logic is clear: by taking advantage of different perspectives more thoughtful strategies with extended reach can be achieved and implemented (Göteborgs stad, 2014b: 55). To support this in practice, the program states that all branches of the administration and all city-owned companies have to include in their mission-statements an engagement to help promote safety/security in the city.

There are a number of actors that have been designated specific roles and responsibilities, based on geographical and operational considerations. One such actor with particular importance is the Social Resources Administration. The Social Resources Administration has several roles in this, one of them is to be the overarching coordinating body for the City's work with safety/security promotion and crime prevention. Further tasks included are support to the city districts; support to other functions such as the Family Office, the Crisis Center for Women, and the Emergency Social Services, but also support to individuals and families (Göteborgs stad, 2014b: 56).

Collaboration between the City's various bodies is not intended to focus only on social solutions, but also on relations between the physical environment and human interactions, and on people's perception of safety/security. Under the heading "Where People Meet – About the Interaction between People and the Physical Environment", we can read that: "The sense of security in a city is closely associated with the people of the city. One cannot completely eliminate insecurity by physical measures, and we know that it is above all the presence of and meeting with other people that contribute to feeling secure. The perception of security in the physical environment is dependent upon a variety of factors that are related

to one another. Thinking about the urban environment in terms of promotion of wanted qualities and the prevention of unwanted aspects is linked to the goal of a unified city. If there are arenas where people experience a sense of belonging, different groups can come in contact with one another. Community representatives that are visible in public places contribute to trust. (…) Based on knowledge about the situations and places in which people feel insecure and in which crimes are committed, the City shall together with partners act to promote safety/security and prevent crime" (Göteborgs stad, 2014b: 25, 28).

Under the heading "Factors for Safety/Security in Buildings, Places, Neighborhoods, and the City", the program presents a list of features (with explanatory comments) that actors in the city are to consider in their collaborative activities. The list is a familiar read to those engaged in CPTED and CP-UDP: "Clear organization and easy orientation; Visibility; Lighting; Maintenance; Populated places; All-day-long activities; Openness and avoidance of barriers; Accessibility; Public transport; Architectural and urban qualities that promote interactions" (Göteborgs stad, 2014b: 26-27). As mentioned above, this crime prevention program was developed in a collaborative process. While there was indeed broad representation in both the Steering Committee and in a Working Group connected to the program, there was no representative from the City Planning Authority in any of these two groups – competence with regard to architectural issues and urban planning came particularly from architects and urban planners positioned in other bodies. As we will see below, the City Planning Authority is nowhere as explicit about CPTED and CP-UDP-issues as the crime prevention program, developed under the leadership of the Social Resources Administration.

3.6. The City Planning Authority – 'Trygghet'

The document *Qualities in City Building and Development* [*Stadsbyggnadskvaliteter*, 2008] was developed by a group of 16 professionals within the City Planning Authority, then discussed in both an internal review board consisting of 27 people, and an external review board with representatives from seven other city bodies. The document was finally approved by the Planning and Building Committee in 2008. This indicates the kinds of collaborative relations and processes internal to the city that lie behind the development and approval of policies that impact upon the future of the city as a whole. The document is intended "to show the view of the Planning and Building Committee and the City Planning Authority with regard to how the urban environment should be designed in a time of major changes", and further "to provide guidance on concrete design issues", as well as "function as a tool in practical planning, both in the production of Detailed Development Plans and in terms of processing of building permits and land surveys" (Göteborgs stad, 2008: 5). The document is comprehensive and we will here only exemplify how questions of crime prevention and safety/security promotion are addressed. While the document in several places and in various ways notes that "the built environment should be planned and developed so that people experience increased safety/security" (2008: 7), the term crime prevention does not appear. Noting that Gothenburg is a segregated city, the document states that "the city should be safe and secure and provide for everyone's participation" (2008: 11). Urban planning should contribute to "safe/secure, well designed housing areas" (2008: 15), and "public spaces should be designed so that they are experienced as safe/secure, beautiful, and pleasant" (2008: 32). On a general

level, planning should be concerned with "relations and connections between urban spaces" that contribute to flows of people, with the assumption that "a higher density and a design that creates good spatial connectivity should be able to result in a richer and more safe/secure social urban life (2008: 34). To achieve this, the method identified is to "make interventions in Gothenburg's cityscape that contribute to larger components with spatial continuity", with good "public transport and traffic systems for both walking and cycling as fundamental parts in such planning" (2008: 45). And again, not only are "more logical patterns of movement" mentioned in this context, but also the expected outcome "increased safety/security" (2008: 45). One observation is that "the mixing of work-places and housing make neighborhoods more evenly populated through the whole day", and that this contributes to "safety/security and to the opportunities for making social contacts" (2008: 56).

Interestingly enough, the term 'crime prevention' is not used anywhere in the document. One would assume that it is an articulated concern, yet it is discursively implicit and the only terms used explicitly are 'safety/security', and 'safety/security promotion'. Nonetheless, questions of safety/security are mentioned quite extensively throughout the document. With regard to the realization of the document's ambitions, the document notes legal conditions as well as the need for an open process with communication at early stages to build trust between planners and citizens, yet also a process "in which not everyone can expect to have their wishes realized, but should be able to expect that they are taken seriously and evaluated" (2008: 66). One might note that, in relation to what we are saying elsewhere in this report about the collaborative spirit in the Swedish system, under the heading "The Conversation Between Property Holders and Real Estate Interests", the document stresses that "it is important to have open early-stage discussions about urban planning projects between the different administrations and actors of the city", adding that "building interests should be encouraged to early contacts so that projects can be successively developed, from sketches to more concretion in a collaborative format that is based on a clear understanding of the different roles" (2008: 67). To the extent that questions of crime prevention and safety/security promotion are raised in a qualified way in such contexts of 'negotiation-planning', this kind of process would support the kinds of integrated design solutions that are discussed and favored in CPUDP-and CPTED-discourse (see Cars 1991 for an early overview and discussion of 'negotiation-planning' in a Swedish context).

Another essential document published by the City Planning Authority engages with how the social dimension should be integrated with urban planning. The document is entitled *Social Consequence Analysis – Focusing on People 1.2* [*Social konsekvensanalys. Människor i fokus 1.2*, 2016] and was developed by a group comprised of professionals from the City Planning Authority and members from the City's Task Force for a Socially Sustainable City. The first version was published in 2011, and is a reiteratively developed model now offered in a 1.2-version (Göteborgs stad, 2016b). The model is used across and between the city's administrations to provide a common language and platform for collaboration. The focus is on dependencies between the built environment and people when physical changes are to be made – the model is designed to help professionals identify, on the one hand, individuals' and groups' different life situations, circumstances, and needs, and on the other place specific characteristics. The model thus facilitates the identification and inclusion of essential social

aspects in the urban planning process; their translation into measures and proposals. In practice, a social consequence analysis takes place at five geographical levels of analysis, and with regard to four social aspects (Göteborgs stad, 2016b: summarized on pages 13-14). The five spatial scales are: Building and place; Proximate Environment; District; City; and Urban Region; and the four social aspects are: Urban Cohesion; Interaction; Everyday Life; and Identity. While a specific analysis may not engage with all scales and aspects, the intention is to capture the fact that several scales and aspects intersect with one another, and that positive as well as negative characteristics and effects may spill over in ways that need to be analyzed. The aim of the model is to make options visible and consequences comparable, in order to support the integration of social aspects in the design of Detailed Development Plans so that each urban planning intervention contributes to the overarching objective to build a sustainable city.

In practice, a Detailed Development Plan is always produced within one of the district departments at the City Planning Authority in the collaborative vein outlined above, and then politically approved by the Planning and Building Committee (consisting of politicians from the City Council). Taking an example somewhat familiar to the COST Action delegates that visited Gothenburg in September 2015, such a plan can, in addition to drawings, etc., include general descriptive statements that connect the plan to overarching objectives as defined in documents of the kind discussed above. The example is Skeppsbron at the riverfront, including the ferry landing Stenpiren from where the COST Action delegates took the ferry over to the meeting venue at Lindholmen. The Detailed Development Plan for Skeppsbron states: "The city should be planned to promote increased safety/security. Mixed urban environments that are populated under most parts of the day contribute to this. With functions that generate people in movement during much of the day, safety/security can increase. In the Skeppsbron area, functions such as hotels, restaurants, and a public transport node, are planned, and these will together with the planned housing make the area populated in evenings. Offices and other functions will make the area populated during daytime. The design and layout of buildings and places shall be made in ways that contribute to increased interaction between people, support everyday life activities, strengthen a sense of identity, and contribute to urban cohesion and accessibility" (Göteborgs stad, 2015: 33). In terms of methods employed to design a plan that actually supports such goals, one method mentioned is space syntax analysis: "A space syntax analysis of Skeppsbron and its neighboring areas shows that the proposed structure will improve the connection between Skeppsbron and the city center. In particular, the part of the Stora Badhusgatan street closest to the Järntorget square and the whole waterfront stretch will become well integrated segments that create conditions for many people to visit, stroll, and pass (Göteborgs stad, 2015: 30).

In his presentation to the visiting COST Action, Gunnar Persson, Head of the Planning Office at the City Planning Authority, and with overarching responsibility for the development of plans on all spatial scales of the city, addressed considerations in planning of relevance to questions of crime prevention. He noted that the process of making a Detailed Development Plan always is a matter of translating multiple interests into a working spatial design. He observed that the general political priorities and demands on urban planning in Gothenburg presently concerns: integration and mixing of different kinds of people; mixed functions and more of a city rather

than suburban character; active ground floors; higher density and higher buildings; compensation of greenery that disappears in the process; more housing also in inner areas; and to make walking, cycling, and public transport more effective and convenient rather than to plan for cars. He also noted the many legal demands that each and every plan has to satisfy, and exemplified with around 40 different aspects the many considerations and compromises that each plan has to accommodate. Crime prevention and its related qualities of safety and security is but one of these, and one that is not legally requested by the Swedish Planning and Building Act to be considered. Nonetheless, Persson listed a set of principles that are employed in the making of plans and that can be related to a CPTED-approach, although not necessarily articulated as such in the Planning Office. He stressed six such principles: avoid hiding places (bushes, corners, tunnels); make possible for eyes and ears to notice (shops with eyes/windows; populated spaces at all times, day and night); balance public, semi-public, semi-private, and private space; good lighting conditions; reshape the architectural design as well as the functions of buildings and places that display unwanted activities (exemplifying with the Rosenlund area visited by the COST Action); and avoid clusters of functions that may contribute to high crime risks. Persson also noted that the Planning Office as one method in achieving such results make use of space-syntax analysis to analyze a new Detailed Development Plan in terms of how it will work in relation to, and support wanted qualities in, the larger spatial pattern of which it will become part (cf. the Skeppsbron example above).

3.7. The Collaborative Platform Safe Beautiful City

The platform Safe Beautiful City[13] works with public spaces in Gothenburg. While the platform is coordinated by the Parks and Landscape Administration, the Planning and Building Committee, the Property Management Committee, and the Parks and Landscape Committee have joint responsibility for setting guiding principles and objectives. The platform works through various forms of collaborative arrangements and processes. Involved actors include the city's administrations and companies as well as actors from the private sector, mostly real estate companies. The objective is to make projects happen that contribute to improved qualities in public spaces and thus give "added value to Gothenburgers". Safe Beautiful City receives funding from the City Council for coordination of such projects, and distributes funding for actual interventions to those municipal actors that are involved: "All projects are performed in collaboration Parks and Landscape Administration, the City Planning Authority, and the Property Management Administration together with those other municipal bodies and private actors that are relevant to the project. Safe Beautiful City allocates funding to that administrative body which according to the City's budget is responsible for the coordination of a particular project. The politically appointed Committee with administrative responsibility for the area, place, or object with regard to which interventions are made, also has responsibility for continued running and maintenance" (Göteborgs stad, 2016c).

All projects follow the normal budgetary year, and each project makes a detailed description that is to be approved before a new year of activities can be started. With regard to private

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[13] While the English translation officially used is 'Safe Beautiful City', the Swedish name 'Trygg vacker stad' would with the terminology used in this report be translated as 'Safe/Secure Beautiful City'. See above: 2.3.

actors, participation is voluntary and based on expected win-win effects. Private actors contribute funding to those joint projects in which they participate, usually on a 50 per cent each basis (50% public/50% private). Sometimes other funding sources are identified, such as in the case presented to the COST Action (see 3.9.), where part of the funding came from the European Union. There are some obvious pros and cons with public-private partnerships of this kind. The collaborative format means that initiatives can come from any of the parties, and activities can thus be based on knowledge of local/specific conditions; and further needs, etc., can be identified in a dialogue about the project design process. Simultaneously, projects become dependent upon the existence of a joint interest: some projects may become impossible if there is only when interested party; others may become impossible because enough funding cannot be mobilized by one party alone; etc. While the participation of private actors such as real estate companies is positive, the partial dependence on such private actors for funding of projects may also affect which kinds of projects that become realized since the bottom-line logic of stock owners is about financial returns on investments.

Safe Beautiful City also has the overarching responsibility for informing about Safety/Security Walks [Trygghetsvandringar]. The responsibility for actually organizing such a walk resides with the local District Administration, and a walk is performed in partnership between the district administration, Safe Beautiful City, and local property owners and managers, yet with participation from all affected parties and in particular local inhabitants as a core idea. The method includes both a focus on how the external environment is managed and maintained, looking at playgrounds, vegetation, possible hiding places, lighting conditions, etc., and a focus on coordination of actors responsible for management and maintenance: ”Managers in a housing area do not always know about one another's areas of responsibility”, and safety/security walks is a method to have them as well as inhabitants and others that are active in the area to meet together with a knowledgeable organizer and then talk about how the area can be made more safe/secure as well as more pleasant/attractive” (Göteborgs stad, 2016c).

The method of safety/security walks has quite a long history in Gothenburg. Together with a creative researcher, the former crime prevention council A More Secure and More Humane Gothenburg [Tryggare Mänskligare Göteborg] played a key role (the council was operative for a decade, but reorganization into the structure described in this report started followed upon the council's demise in 2011). The architect Gerd Cruse Sondén was in the 1990s involved in research on how people in some Gothenburg suburbs experienced their neighborhoods, interviewing inhabitants about problems as well as desired improvements. She soon came to realize that actual walks with inhabitants were the most productive method to gather information. Working also as an architectural consultant, she then succeeded in making civil servants from relevant public bodies participate in such walks in order to create an immediate dialogue both about observed problems and possibilities for making actual changes. The method was further developed when Sondén started to work for A More Secure and More Humane Gothenburg. The first guidelines for walks of this kind were published in 2002, and the method was from then on named Safety/Security Walks [Trygghetsvandringar]. The method came to be an important tool for identifying local needs and requests for changes, and for improving inhabitants' sense of safety/security in Gothenburg neighborhoods. Early

on, the method was picked up also in many other places in as well as outside of Sweden (see Andersson-Ek, 2009: 6, 28-29). In 2010, the national recognition of the method was confirmed when revised and extended guidelines were published jointly by A More Secure and More Humane Gothenburg, the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, and the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (also published in English, see: A More Secure and More Humane Gothenburg, et al., 2010a; see also 2010b). Similar concepts are found under other names, such as 'safety audits', and a conference in Gothenburg in 2005 called the walks "safety and security inspection tours" (also published in English, see: A More Secure and More Humane Gothenburg, et al., 2005). A parallel and well-known method was developed in Toronto, Canada by the Metro Action Committee on Public Violence against Women and Children (METRAC). This method was originally conceived as a "women's safety audit" and first performed in 1989, but has later been adapted and developed both in Canada and elsewhere (see: METRAC, 2016).

The Parks and Landscape Administration also works with "sociotope mapping" (Göteborgs stad, 2016d). In their presentation of the method, a sociotope map is compared with the more common notion of a biotope map in which vegetation structure and biodiversity, etc. are mapped. Sociotope maps build upon "on the one hand, systematic place observations, and, on the other, citizen polls, meetings, and interviews, in which people can inform about which places they use and what they find important and valuable with these places" (Göteborgs stad, 2016d). While background research and production of the maps are done by the Parks and Landscape Administration, the sociotope maps are used as one tool of many in the City's urban planning toolbox.

3.8. Other City Actors

There are two other actors that should be mentioned, both free-standing companies owned by the City of Gothenburg: the Framtiden Group and the Göta Lejon Insurance Company.

The Framtiden Group (Förvaltnings AB Framtiden) is the overarching holding company for the City's four public housing companies, and also controls companies specializing in housing construction and disturbance and emergency services. The Framtiden Group works to reinforce the role of Gothenburg as a regional center and the development of the city through the construction of new homes, the renovation and development of existing areas, and ensuring that properties and facilities are maintained to a good standard. The company also engages in extensive development work, particularly in the suburbs. The Framtiden Group is one of the largest property holders in Sweden and the company's holdings total 4.9 million square meters, of which 4.6 million square meters make up a total of 72,338 apartments. One of the company's objectives is to contribute to sustainability in all its dimensions, and the website informs that "the Group will promote security, satisfaction and service, and provide residents with the opportunity to exert an influence over their homes and immediate surroundings and to develop their own welfare", as well as "endeavour to make Gothenburg a cohesive, stimulating and socially sustainable city, … an integrated, eco-friendly city that is attractive for everyone". Given the size of the Framtiden Group, both the building of entirely new housing and the maintenance of existing areas most often take on urban dimensions. Presently, both the company's main Expert on Urban and Housing Development, and the Head

of Development: Social Sustainability, are explicitly interested in CPTED-principles, and such principles have been implemented in various projects.

The City of Gothenburg also has its own insurance company, Göta Lejon, which insures all the City's administrations and companies, and in addition also works with risk and accident prevention. The latter includes physical protection and damage prevention with regard to the City's building stock. Göta Lejon has published guidelines for safety/security in and around public buildings like schools and sports facilities; has a website that includes recommendations for damage prevention with regard to public buildings; and has in recent years also consulted with e.g. the NGO Safer Sweden (see 2.8.) to make CPTED-oriented assessments of schools in order to reduce incidents. With regard to recommendations for the prevention of damages with a focus on vandalism and burglary, the Göta Lejon website itemizes a host of measures to be taken, many of which directly overlap with CPTED-prinicples.

Table 7: City of Gothenburg: Property Damages 2015

Type of damage	Cost
Theft/Burglary	8.2 MSEK
Broken Windows	8.5 MSEK
Graffiti	11.6 MSEK
Other vandalism	16.0 MSEK
Fire	113.0 MSEK
Water/flooding	62.7 MSEK
Alarms	8.2 MSEK
Other	39.8 MSEK
Total	**268.2 MSEK**

3.9. Collaborative Action in the Rosenlund Area[14]

The Rosenlund area was the selected case study site for the COST Action visit to Gothenburg. Among many options ranging from suburban to city center examples, the site was chosen due to its set up of involved parties and accessible location in relation to a packed program of presentations. The project name for the renewal of the area was "A Thriving Rosenlund". The project was coordinated by Safe Beautiful City and also included property owners in the area as well as the Police Region West and the City Planning Authority. The property owners were, from west to east along the street, SEB Life Insurance, Wallenstam Real Estate, and Alecta Pension Insurance Mutual. The project ran between 2012 and 2014, and was partly funded (40 per cent) by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

History and space syntax of Rosenlund

Rosenlundsgatan (the Rosenlund Street, literally meaning Rose Grove Street) is located at the very edge of the old fortified city. The street basically follows the fortifications from the 17th

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[14] This section partly builds upon the on-site presentations by Ulrika Barkman, Planning Officer, Safe Beautiful City; Mats Paulsson, Chief Inspector, Human Trafficking Unit, The Swedish Police, Region West; and Peder Wahlgren, Business Area Manager: Commercial Properties, Wallenstam Real Estate. Additional research has been made by Michael Landzelius, who is also author of the text.

Map of the Rosenlund area with the buildings included in the project "A Thriving Rosenlund" highlighted.
(Image: City of Gothenburg)

century (Gothenburg was founded in 1621) as laid out by the Dutch engineers that were contracted for the task of building a city in this difficult topography of rocks, swamps, and sedimented clay, at the southern shore of the Göta River. The rock to the north of the street was once part of the fortifications (a few parts of the stone wall remains), and was topped by the military armory in the 19th century until demolished in the 1890s and replaced by urban housing blocks between 1900 and 1930 (still remaining).

The Rosenlund area from the south, around 1930. The picture shows the extensive boat traffic, the Fish Market to the right, and on the rock the block of flats from around 1905 that replaced the military arsenal building.
(Image: Public Domain)

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The canal to the south of the street was originally a moot that was part of the military defence system which encircled the city. When the defence system was demolished, the moot became a canal and part of the inner harbor with boats bringing fish and vegetables as well as goods to and from furniture factories and other industries along the street.

From a space syntax point of view, with the canal on one side and the rock on the other, Rosenlundsgatan is rather poorly integrated. It has connections to the street grid only at its end points in the west and east. With the canal was part of the transport infrastructure and used for port activities and boat traffic, the street was integrated in a very different fashion. Car traffic is allowed on Rosenlundsgatan also after the recent renewal. Traffic flows, including pedestrians and cyclists, are concentrated to the streets in the west and east, where bridges cross the canal and connect the old once fortified city to the 19th century extensions.

Before the renewal project started, there were three major attractors on Rosenlundsgatan: food and offices brought people to the street during daytime; and prostitution attracted men during night-time. The Fish Market (or, because of its neo-gothic style, the so-called 'Fish Church', Feskekôrka) is still used for trading fish and has been an important attractor for visitors as well as Gothenburgers for close to 160 years. The office buildings that now line the street's northern side are all from around 1970, when urban renewal resulted in total demolition of everything along the street – ranging from warehouses and industries to a wine merchant's exclusive neo-renaissance edifice – only the Fish Church survived.

Passenger ferry located between bridges, with the Fish Market in the background
(Photo: Public Domain)

Wine merchant's edifice, once at the eastern corner of Rosenlundsgatan (Arch. Adrian C. Peterson, 1884)
(Image: Public Domain)

The renewal in the 1970s resulted in office buildings with bottom-floor commercial spaces. There was no provision for housing, and with the poor space syntax location, basically all bottom floor businesses had problems surviving. The Detailed Development Plan for the 1970s design had withdrawn bottom floors that created arcaded sidewalks, a nice feature in the rainy Gothenburg autumns but one that did not correspond to a real need since there were not much pedestrian traffic. Rather, in combination with the desolate character of the area after office hours, the arcades became convenient for prostitution. The prostitutes were somewhat protected from view as well as protected from bad weather, and the off-the-grid space syntax location of the street made it convenient for sex-buyers who did not want to be seen. This gave the area a bad reputation and detracted many people from passing through. For such reasons, the area did not have a great reputation when it came to safety/security.

The project "A Thriving Rosenlund"

For quite a long time, many had argued for matters to be taken and with increased cross-European criminality including human trafficking, the street began to receive more attention. In 2012 came the renewal program. The objective of the program was expressed in the following words "to create a sustainable and thriving neighbourhood; a safe, friendly and welcoming place where people want to meet". The photos below show differences between before and after, and also capture the look of the area on a sunny November day in 2017.

Rosenlundsgatan towards the north-west after and before the 2012-2014 refurbishment project. Note the difference with and without arcades, and how the sidewalk on both sides has been widened into the street.
(Photo: Safe Beautiful City)   (Photo: Google)

The Rosenlund area towards the north-west with one of the office buildings (Arch. Sven Brolid, 1968)
(Photo: Michael Landzelius)

The Rosenlund area towards the east with the Fish Market (Arch. Victor von Gegerfelt, 1874)
(Photo: Michael Landzelius)

Rosenlundsgatan from the west
(Photo: Michael Landzelius)

Rosenlundsgatan from the east
(Photo: Michael Landzelius)

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Apart from the space syntax issue, the Rosenlund area has a great city center location next to the Rosenlund Canal and with open areas around the Fish Market. These public spaces including the street Rosenlundsgatan have been redesigned with elements such as: new natural stone paving; sturdy yet inviting benches facing south and the sun; an accessibility ramp at the eastern end; new lighting; etc. Lunch restaurants that were previously more or less only visited by employees of the major residents are now visited also by a clientele increasingly public, outdoor benches and other areas are on sunny days occupied by high numbers of people. The few specialized stores that needed no attractive location and had a small number of regular customers (e.g. an orthopaedic rehab-shop) are now accompanied by others, including restaurants open for lunch and in the evenings, and a major food store. All the buildings along the northern side of the street had the arcades removed and the display windows pushed out to line up with the rest of the façade in order to make the street less attractive for prostitution, as well as for burglary, etc.

Other functions less sensitive to locational advantage have moved in along the street. At the eastern end, a number of national state authorities have occupied the bottom floor of the corner building where they together offer an accessible and highly visible shared space for citizens to visit when they have business with either the Swedish Tax Authority, the Swedish Pensions Agency, or the Swedish Social Insurance Agency. Another actor, half-public, half-private, which is also new on the street is Boplats, a company co-owned by the City of Gothenburg, the City's housing companies, and the local branch of the Swedish Property Federation (the private real estate owners' joint company). Boplats is a marketplace for people looking for rental housing in the Gothenburg region. While the service has all-availability on the web, the only physical location is on Rosenlundsgatan. This is another example of the strategy to establish certain kinds of attractors that will pull people to the area.

The real estate owners have also sought to develop their properties in other ways than just to let already available rental spaces. In the context of the renewal project, a revamping of the ground floors was planned but ideas were also raised to add apartment floors on top of the existing office floors. In 2012, the Planning and Building Committee assigned the City Planning Authority the task to prepare for a new Detailed Development Plan for the area that would allow such additions. While apartments high up and facing south and southwest would have been very attractive to live in as well as contributed to more eyes on the street as well as a livelier neighbourhood around the clock, the idea fell. Due to various considerations of the negative impact on aesthetic as well as cultural heritage values of remaining parts of the fortifications and surrounding architecture, and also due to protests from those living in the old apartment buildings on the rock above, the number of additional floors that could have been allowed were fewer than proposed by the real estate owners. For several reasons, such as insufficient capacity of existing constructions to carry additional load, or that economic costs would outweigh profits, the real estate owners cancelled all plans in September 2016 before a new Detailed Development Plan was ready (Göteborgs-Posten, 2016).

Within the running time of the project, 2012 to 2014, the only clearly visible changes made by the real estate holders were the changes to ground floors. One example is the modification of an office building with store spaces on the bottom floor (Wallenstam Real Estate, 2017). Selling durable goods, a furniture store survived for quite some time in this building, up until

Leisure area fronting the canal (the old defence moot)
(Photo: Michael Landzelius)

Leisure area with accessibility-ramp
(Photo: Michael Landzelius)

The Rosenlund area from the south with dining areas, and the block of flats from ca 1905 on the rock behind
(Photo: Michael Landzelius)   (Photo: Michael Landzelius)

Sidewalks before and after. The arcades were removed and the bottom floor spaces in all buildings were moved out in line with the rest of the façade to improve visibility, remove hiding places and discourage prostitution.
(Photo: Safe Beautiful City)   (Photo: Michael Landzelius)

the renewal started, but seeking a function that would attract more people on an everyday basis, the project and property owner succeeded in having a major food chain move in. This building is located close to the Fish Market, but also one step closer to the eastern end of the street (where the national state authorities mentioned above reside). In this case, the redesign made use of the possibility to move the entrance to the store around the corner, so that it

now faces east and is seen from the connecting street. The many people that live in the proximate area of Rosenlundgatan but would normally not access the street now have two major food stores located close to one another, as well as the Fish Market. Wallenstam Real Estate states on their website with regard to their work on social and environmental sustainability that: "We contribute to a better society and take active social responsibility through building safe areas and showing respect for the individual, our customers and employees. We support vulnerable groups and contribute to active leisure and youth activities in the areas where we do business". "In addition to our comprehensive environmental work, we focus on peace of mind and quality both in and around our properties. We concentrate on security and work with customer-focused measures and action plans in our areas. By sponsoring popular youth sports programmes and making donations to relief organizations, we try hard to do our bit in contributing to a better society" (Wallenstam Real Estate, 2017).

The project "A Thriving Rosenlund" illustrates how such commitments, ranging from stock market listed companies to public sector investments and public sector relocation of attractors, support the City's ambitions to make the activities of Safe Beautiful City contribute to improved qualities in public spaces and thus give "added value to Gothenburgers" in general. Long term impact is hard to measure, but the Rosenlund project has succeeded in meeting objectives, and many of the interventions will continue to impact on the area's social life. For obvious reasons, real estate owners are interested in safe and secure access and usability for their customers, be they housing tenants or businesses, as well as in the increased property values that follow. Yet, the relations between renewal projects of this kind and real estate values as well as rent levels may contribute to unintended processes of spatial dislocation. In this case, prostitution remains in the area but has moved a block eastwards and now encircles one of the branches of the University and the Anglican Church.

While the project "A Thriving Rosenlund" ended in 2014, there were already at that time plans for a bridge across the canal. The canal would cross from the Haga neigborhood on the south

Planned pedestrian and bicycle bridge across the canal connecting Rosenlund with the Haga neigborhood.
(Illustration: the City Planning Authority)

side and over to Rosenlund on the north. The plans suggest a bridge built in fibre-reinforced polymer for pedestrian and bicycle traffic positioned in-between the existing bridges in the west and the east. The bridge was planned to be finished in 2016, but is delayed due to the complexities of legal restrictions. The area is defined as of national cultural heritage importance, and the canal as well as surrounding layers of soil include remains from the old moot and other fortifications that are defined as of archaeological interest. Several laws apply and both local and state bodies are thus involved when it comes to assessments and permits at different levels. If and when the bridge is built, the space syntax relations of the Rosenlund area will change with possibly quite strong impact on flows of people. Particularly, conditions for commercial activities at street level would be affected together with more eyes on the street and thus the dynamic of safety/security.

Follow the link if you wish to walk the Rosenlund area on Google (Accessed Nov. 3, 2017).

4. Conclusion

4.1. Recent Developments and the Safe Places Network

2017 has seen quite a number of positive developments with regard to interest in situational crime prevention in Sweden. As mentioned in Section 2.4., March 2017 saw the presentation to the parliament of a new national crime prevention program: *Together against Crime – A National Crime Prevention Program* (Regeringen, 2017). The program was developed within the Department of Justice and the Swedish Crime Prevention Council played an important part. Presently, the Council is more engaged than before with questions of situational crime prevention as part of effectuating the intentions of the program. We will sketch out these developments below, and will start with the new crime prevention program.

The program *Together against Crime* represents a clear shift with regard to the importance given to situational crime prevention and CPTED-issues. The program initially notes that general welfare policies form a basis for reducing various root causes of crime, but soon turns to directed crime prevention measures. In general, the program stresses, on the one hand, knowledge- and evidence-based forms of prevention, and, on the other, the need for more and better organized collaboration between both local and central governmental bodies, and between these and civil society organizations as well as market actors, such as housing companies. In stressing that crime prevention practice should be knowledge- and evidence-based, the program also addresses the need for actual collaboration with researchers through facilitating forms of organization, and some of this is already in place, as we will describe below. Situational forms of prevention are mentioned in several places, as is Felson and routine activity theory. In the introductory presentation, the program states that "so-called situational prevention with a focus on opportunities and places where crimes are committed needs to be developed" (2017: 7). Situational prevention through multi-stakeholder involvement in urban planning and management is given pronounced attention, and the need for more engagement by planning authorities is stressed. The program, for example, includes a one-and-a-half-page-section under the heading "Crime Prevention Aspects in Physical Planning and Housing Development" (2017: 47-48). This section is devoted to CPTED-issues, and the text stresses that "questions of security and security/safety must be a natural part of the building process". The general importance of the National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning (Boverket) is mentioned here, and the section ends with five declarative sentences in which the government/cabinet states that it will act for increased implementation of situational prevention measures in the planning and building process. However, the program does not suggest any new legal measures or changes in the applicable laws (see 2.1.) that would make such implementation mandatory.

Following upon the new national crime prevention program, special funding has on the national level been allocated to enable County Administrative Boards to hire crime prevention coordinators with the role to coordinate and support the local municipal implementation of nationally prioritized measures. The new crime prevention program has also strengthened a trend among local authorities towards more emphasis on situational crime prevention. Whilst

there is not yet any direct visible impact on urban planning processes, a number of other important things have happened as a result of the policy change.

With regard to the program's request for knowledge- and evidence-based prevention, preparations for the establishment of a national network for situational crime prevention were ongoing already in 2016, and in January 2017 the Safeplaces network had its inaugural meeting in Stockholm. Safeplaces is an interdisciplinary network that links local needs for knowledge in situational crime prevention to a national and international network of experts and institutions. The network receives support from the Swedish Crime Prevention Council and is based at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm (and headed by Professor Vania Ceccato, at the Department of Urban Planning and Environment, School of Architecture and the Built Environment, and one of two Swedish delegates to the COST Action TU1203).

Writing this in December 2017, the Swedish Crime Prevention Council has approved to support also a regional node of the Safeplaces network based in Gothenburg, and hosted by the Urban Safety and Societal Security Research Center (URBSEC) of University of Gothenburg and Chalmers University of Technology. This node, Safeplaces West, emerged out of long-term previous collaboration between URBSEC and a host of local actors involved in crime prevention, several of them contributing to the program for the COST Action TU1203 visit to Gothenburg in September 2015. The organization in Gothenburg is different from the one in Stockholm, and is solidly connected to local and regional actors with a node leadership consisting of the URBSEC Director (Michael Landzelius, Swedish delegate to the COST Action TU1203); and members from: the County Administrative Board of Västra Götaland; the Swedish Police Region West; and the Greater Gothenburg Fire and Rescue Services; as well as the City of Gothenburg with broad presence through representatives from: the City Planning Authority; the Social Resources Administration; the Safe Beautiful City Platform; the Framtiden Group; and the Göta Lejon Insurance Company.

The key objectives of the national as well as the regional node are to arrange various kinds of activities that enable and increase the sharing of information and research findings among experts involved in local crime prevention (such as safety coordinators, police, security managers, urban planners, and other practitioners); and to provide exchange and links between various stakeholders and academia, and at the same time to reinforce research collaboration both nationally and internationally. The Safeplaces West network should also, as we will briefly discuss below, be able to support the development of concrete collaborative crime prevention projects and practices.

4.2. Challenges for CP-UDP in Gothenburg

There is in Sweden no legal requirement to consider safety/security in spatial/urban planning, and as mentioned above, the new crime prevention program does not suggest any new legal measures that would make such implementation mandatory. In addition, new legislation would be more general than to point directly to CP-UDP and CPTED principles. The major local challenge in Gothenburg and elsewhere is thus to build a shared and dedicated interest among all actors that need to be involved. As this report has shown, there is quite a lot to build upon in terms of relevant national reports, translations of international key texts, and other sources

of knowledge including experiences from actual CPTED inspired practice. However, more widespread awareness and dedication have been missing, and other planning objectives have often been prioritized. This may change with the ambitions of the new crime prevention program and the accompanying processes that now taking place, such as the establishment of the Safeplaces network, and the Safeplaces West collaborative format through which most key actors suggested by CP-UDP principles actually are engaged.

Looking briefly at the document *Development Strategy Göteborg 2035*, endorsed by the Planning and Building Committee and published by the City of Gothenburg in 2014, one finds that the guiding concept for future development is "density". Safety/security is in an illustration of this concept not mentioned other than as an aspect of "movement": "More movement … area daytime and evenings gives greater security". Many of the aspects that the illustration brings into the picture are well-known and overlap with a CP-UDP agenda.
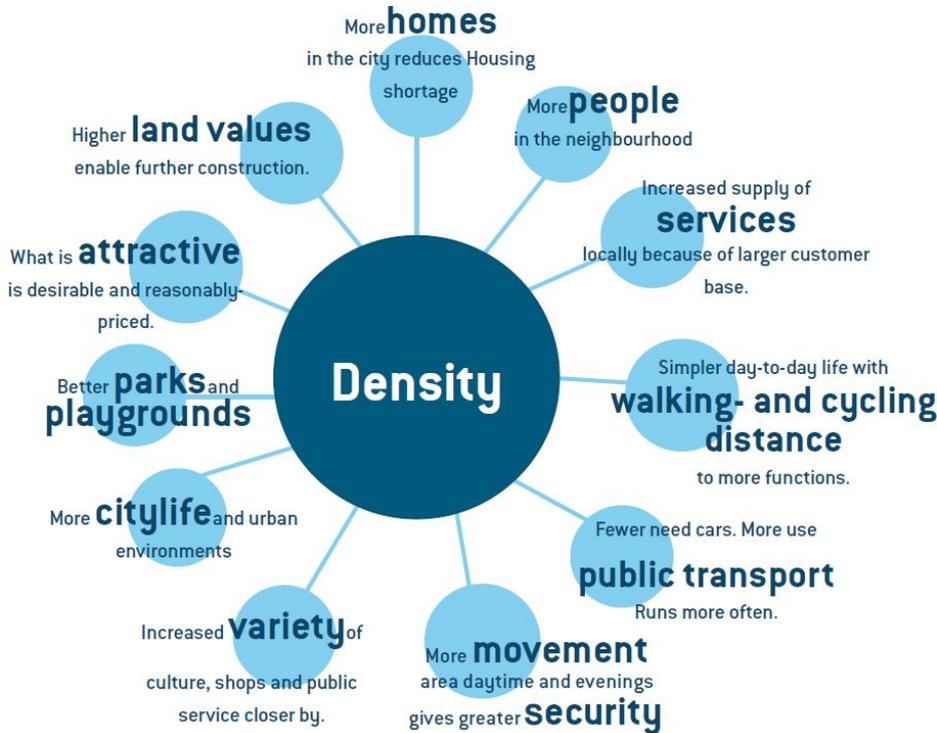

Illustration from *Development Strategy Göteborg 2035*. 'Density' is identified as the core guiding planning concept through which material as well as economic and social aspects and values of urban life are improved. (Illustration: Göteborgs stad 2014a: 16)

The *Development Strategy Göteborg 2035* (Göteborgs stad, 2014a) is a strategy document, and it is published in English, and thus in some ways also promotional. This might be why questions of safety/security, in the half-a-dozen times that any of the two terms is used, are mentioned as secondary effects of other planning objectives, and only once used as referring to a concrete measure in a real planning context. Nonetheless, the document does include more than 20 pages of text addressing Prioritized Development Areas, with quite detailed discussions of different neighborhoods – yet safety/security is hardly addressed. The following quote illustrates the reasoning of the text (underlining added): "It takes time to develop a city structure that benefits those who walk, cycle and travel by public transport, but it is an

important step towards a more sustainable city development. A more compact city gives more opportunities to live a life without a car. In a more close-knit city, the conditions for a mixture of housing, business and activities improve. A city with mixed functions in turn increases the attractiveness of its city environment as the inner-city areas are full of life both daytime and evenings and this increases the possibility for short distances between workplaces and homes. It gives a good opportunity to manage without a car and it leads to a livelier city environment. If a city is to be perceived as <u>secure</u> and attractive, people must be moving around the city both daytime and evenings. Mixing functions is an important part of the planning, as it can create new flows and increased opportunity to use places in the evening. When culture, sport and non-commercial activities are able to supplement the commercial supply, more people are encouraged to be out in the city in the evenings" (Göteborgs stad, 2014a: 15). And: "The dense city also has an economic driving force. The large population base, short distances, mixture of functions and <u>secure</u> city environments as well as proximity to parks and green areas generates high land values that in turn create a willingness to invest" (Göteborgs stad, 2014a: 16). One may agree on this, but in addition to the generation of higher land values, one might wonder what it is on a concrete urban planning level that in terms of actual measures and interventions would contribute to the generation of "secure city environments". This has for a long time been poorly addressed in Swedish urban planning.

The new crime prevention program *Together against Crime* with its stress on situational prevention and the objective that "crime prevention aspects should be considered in spatial planning" (Regeringen, 2017: 6, 13, 46) is of major importance. The program supports local initiatives to increase awareness and to make safety/security a more explicit concern than, for example, in a strategy such as the one for Gothenburg discussed above. The program observes the need for "initiatives that can build enthusiasm and stimulate more actors to contribute to crime prevention – not least those who presently have no such mission according to legislation, government directives, or other steering documents" (Regeringen, 2017: 6). Related to this, the document notes that "municipalities have a monopoly on planning, which means that they are responsible for planning, design, and development of the physical environment". While this monopoly hinders direct national state intrusion, the program also notes that the law stipulates that "the making of plans should contribute to a from a social point of view good living environment". Immediately following upon this, the program makes a point of noting that: "In this, aspects such as safety/security and health are included" (Regeringen, 2017: 21). Further down, the program states that: "The cabinet will act so that … collaboration in the local crime prevention councils or corresponding bodies to a higher degree also includes situational crime prevention" (Regeringen, 2017: 31). Although, legislation is unchanged, the program thus gives strong support for new priorities.

In the decision to financially support the Safeplaces West network, the Swedish Crime Prevention Council writes: "The Council recognizes that development of Safeplaces West can contribute to the intentions expressed in the national program *Together against Crime* and to the Council's work with strengthening situational crime prevention in Sweden" (BRÅ, 2017). Safeplaces West with its strong representation of actors corresponds to the request for collaboration made in the new crime prevention program and also comes close to cover the list of key actors that are identified in the work on a CEN standard for CP-UDP (Grönlund et

al., 2014): Politics and legislation (local, municipal, regional politicians); Designers and planners; (Semi)private or public developers/builders; Police and other professionals for public order; Services (service providers in waste management and facility management); Social workers; Education; Population (individual and/or organization). When this report is wrapped up in December 2017, more than two years have passed since the COST Action TU1203 visit to Gothenburg in September 2015. Given the above account of developments since then, there is good reason for optimism in relation to our heading above – Challenges for CP-UDP in Gothenburg.

4.3. Public Private Partnerships – Critical Reflections[15]

The last thirty years have seen an uneven but steady global change in forms of governance. Called by some a process towards "governing without government" (Rhodes 1996), the change has included an adoption of networked and market-oriented "governance-beyond-the-state" (Swyngedouw, 2005). After a short contextualization, the following section will address one resulting form of public-private collaboration in urban governance that has emerged in Gothenburg as part of this change. We touched above on the role of the City's Safe Beautiful City platform as a coordinating body for project-based actor-constellations (see 3.8., 3.9.), and we will here look closer on the role of a private joint-stock company. While CPTED and CP-UDP are based upon and requires collaboration, the concern of this section is that the format of collaboration needs to be assessed in relation to questions of democratic priorities, accountability, legitimacy, and involvement.

The process towards governing without government has included four fundamental shifts: first, an externalization of state functions through deregulation and privatization; second, a transfer of some nation-state governmental functions to higher scales of governance; and third, a simultaneous down-scaling of other governmental functions, many of them to urban decision-making bodies (ibid.). The fourth shift relates to the question of political legitimacy in this new landscape, which has been observed to include a "dismantling of traditional relays of democratic control at national and subnational levels" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 365). It has been argued that the political and administrative implementation of this process has been based on an "idealised-normative model" that suggests that the result will be a "horizontal, non-exclusive and participatory (stake)holder-based governance" (Swyngedouw, 2005: 1995) However, rather than all-inclusive and horizontal, the shifts have often resulted in a 'quango-ization' of the state with multiple problems with regard to democratic forms of representation and accountability ('quango' is short for quasi-autonomous non-governmental organization, see Miller and Rose, 2008: 213).

These shifts have had a strong impact in Sweden, and have resulted in greater local differentiation and a situation where new private sector actors have entered into the arena of governing as well as taken over roles that previously belonged to government (Larsson, et al., 2012). In Gothenburg, with a City Council coalition majority based on the Social Democrats,

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[15] This section builds upon "Real Estate Ownership Concentration and Urban Governance", authored by Michael Landzelius and published as Chapter 15 in: *Transformations of the Swedish Welfare State: From Social Engineering to Governance?*, edited by B. Larsson, M. Letell, and H. Thörn, Palgrave Macmillan 2012, 230-246.

the Greens, and the Left Party, public-private collaboration in urban planning and governance spans over a quite wide range of constellations. Many of them are neighbourhood-based, but rather than the result of citizen-initiatives, they often emerge out of the interests of local businesses, and to some extent inspired by Business Improvement Districts (BIDs).

Public private collaboration – Inner City Gothenburg Co.

To begin, one should note that urban planning in general rests with the City Planning Authority under the Planning and Building Committee, where the latter consists of members from all parties represented in the City Council. As noted in section 2.1. above, in preparing a proposal for a Detailed Development Plan, a municipality is through its planning department legally obliged to consult relevant governmental authorities, affected other municipalities, business community stakeholders, homeowners, tenants, and tenants associations, as well as "those governmental authorities, organisations and associations, and other private interests that are substantially affected by the proposal" (Ch. 4: Regulation by Detailed Development Plan and Area Provisions, 11§). The format of spatial planning regulated in Swedish law thus stipulates as well as allows for extensive consultation with affected parties and stakeholders, but not stakeholder-based collaborative governance as such.

However, collaborative governance has developed particularly with regard to various forms of interventions in public spaces, many of which do not require that changes are made in the Detailed Development Plan for the area or object in question, and thus no formal decision in the Planning and Building Committee. Quite a number of changes to buildings privately held by real estate companies would fall under the category of regular maintenance, and so would many interventions in public spaces such as streets, squares, and parks, administered by e.g. the Traffic Office, the Parks and Landscape Administration, or the Property Management Administration. Yet, when political decisions are legally required, the involved parties can of course bring planned interventions to the relevant political committees.

The example here is public-private collaboration in inner city planning, interventions, and governance through a body called Inner City Gothenburg Co. This is a private joint-stock company owned by the real estate holders' and merchants' local inner city organizations, with the City co-funding running costs with a third (Innerstaden 2011). The website of Inner City Gothenburg Co. informs us that "with a goal to reach a population basis of 1.5 million in 2020, a living and exciting city center is a precondition for success" (Innerstaden 2011). This goal is drawn from the goal of Business Region Göteborg AB (Business Region, no publication year: page 2), another private joint-stock company organizing the 13 municipalities of the Gothenburg region, yet owned by the City of Gothenburg (Business Region 2011). In terms of regional growth strategies and the ambition to compete on the global market of regions, this regional coalition of 13 municipalities corresponds to the observation that "the creation of mechanisms of cooperation between municipalities in the area of international strategy will be one of the main challenges of urban governance" (Jouve 2007: 389). The Gothenburg case also illustrates how temporary institutional fixes are increasingly sought also on the regional level (cf. Uitermark, 2005: 159). The 13 municipalities have "adopted a unique long-term strategy designed to achieve sustainable growth" with a goal to expand from the present 950,000 citizens to "an integrated commuting and labor market region with a population of

1.5 million inhabitants by 2020", including "homes for 30,000 new inhabitants and commercial space for 40,000 new jobs" in the inner city (Business Region, no publication year: page 2).

In this context, the quango Inner City Gothenburg Co. is an organizational device for negotiation and lobbying: on the one hand for internally negotiating the partly antagonistic interests of merchants and other entrepreneurs in relation to real estate owners; and on the other for building a united front of capital interests in order to muster more power in matters of urban governance. This internal negotiation of interests works as long as there are businesses ready, willing, and able to move into those high-rent spaces left empty after less profitable activities have been squeezed out of the market or pushed into another spatio-economic segment of the urban space economy. Inner City Gothenburg Co. markets and contributes to make the constrained perspective of business interests and calculation a universal fundament for local urban development. With this focus on facilitating competitive market expansion and increased yield of businesses, this is an eminent example of what Miller and Rose discuss as the narrow logics of calculative practices (2008: 11, 115). One might want to note here that although Gothenburg is a minor European city, major corporate interests are involved. With regard to real estate owners, the companies involved are some of the largest in Sweden, many of them with holdings also elsewhere in Europe, and there is in addition also one transnational U.S. company on the scene (for details: see Landzelius, 2012); in terms of retail businesses, several are major Swedish as well as foreign companies, some of them transnational; and when it comes to the provision of security, there is an agreement between Inner City Gothenburg Co. and the private company Securitas, a business that originated in Sweden in the 1930s and today is a public joint-stock company with 280,000 employees operative in 45 countries.

Urban interventions made through Inner City Gothenburg Co. are in practice piece-meal and project-based. In addition to an overarching Declaration of Intent, there are two kinds of agreements that formalize project collaboration (cf. Innerstaden 2008). First, there is an agreement between the city, real estate holders, and merchants within a certain inner city district called Cooperation Agreement (cf. Innerstaden 2010). Such an agreement lists areas of cooperation, addresses matters of funding, and centrally states that collaboration in practice is to take place through "the company", that is, through Inner City Gothenburg Co. All interventions are run on such a project-basis, and in relation to each project a specific Development Agreement is worked out which details the particular objectives to be achieved and the interventions that need to be made. The signatories of such an agreement are the specific authority of the City that is engaged and those real estate owners and possibly other businesses that are immediately involved in the project (cf. Innerstaden 2008). Basically the City takes on half of the total cost of any project, while the real estate holders' half is divided among them based on the street-façade length of each individual property. The resulting interventions can be of different kinds. Changes in the urban fabric can, for example, include transformation of streets into so-called walking-speed-streets through removal of asphalt, widening of sidewalks, and reintroduction of natural stone paving, combined with real estate owners' changes to buildings. Interventions can also be less visible, such as new forms of policing. In the district Inom Vallgraven, this is exemplified by a joint incident reporting system and a private policing agreement with the company Securitas called Cooperation Surveillance.

This agreement essentially functions to provide policing that makes the inner city a safe haven for consumption by effectively protecting real estate owners', merchants', and consumers' property. As Inner City Gothenburg Co. explains: "In cooperation with our 500 members and other partners", we have "high ambitions to further increase growth and a cozy ambience [trivsel] with due consideration taken to those concerns about climate and environmental issues that increasingly characterize society" (Innerstaden 2011).

Accountability and legitimacy

Economic growth in terms of profits for private business is the decisive preoccupation of Inner City Gothenburg Co. With "investments in infrastructure, public transport, and densification" as means contributed by tax-payed public investments, the explicit long term goals mentioned are to produce "an attractive region in global competition" that "increase turnover for businesses"; and "increase real estate values through increased attractiveness" (Innerstaden 2011). In an annual report from the property holder Balder, the property owners' decisive focus on the profit-aspect of the kinds of projects that are run through Inner City Gothenburg Co. is shown explicitly. In the annual report from Balder we can read that considerations of property values include "an estimate […] of the future development of the immediate surroundings" (Balder, 2011: 8). The private-public quango Inner City Gothenburg Co. can thus be conceived as one component of a temporary institutional fix that allows inner city real estate owners and merchants to affect not only proximate area-development, but also regional planning matters deemed to be of importance in global competition. And that placeless competition and profits are at the forefront is ironically clear: scrutinizing several annual reports of the seven major real estate owners it is not even clear that property is held in Gothenburg. In fact, one could argue that the annual reports show no evidence of a care for "Gothenburgers' happiness" but rather reduce them to unknown placeless consumers reflected only in the figures of company returns and dividends to stockholders.

While real estate market values increase and produce wealth for investors and stockholders, tax payers through the City's signing off on a Development Agreement contribute to this increase in wealth by subsidizing costs of refurbishment measures with half. Whether the particular interests of economic growth and high rates of return are compatible with environmentally sound and sustainable production and consumption are not addressed by Inner City Gothenburg Co. Neither does the organization address to which extent the kinds of safety/security-interventions that are made contribute to processes of displacement and exclusion or limited access for various kinds of under-privileged individuals. On the contrary, this question is avoided through the assertion that "the Gothenburgers, real estate owners, and other entrepreneurs will all be brought happiness by Gothenburg developing in a positive way". Simultaneously, increased commercial real estate prices push inflationary rent hikes that squeeze some merchants out of the market and that in the end inflate consumer prices. While the City acts with good intentions, one would imagine, it is nonetheless possible to argue that the City actively contributes to the efforts to expand commodification of entire urban areas across the entire spectrum of artefacts within them, from blocks and buildings to store spaces, offices, and apartments, seen as commodities within commodities. Apart from the buildings for the specific political and administrative functions of the City, there is not one single public institution accessible for citizens where to participate in social life as citizens

rather than as consumers. The framing of the city as a competitive 'growth machine' has for many years been a "key operative motivation toward consensus for members of politically mobilized local elites" (Molotch, 1976: 310). In the Inom Vallgraven district, the role of the city as political entity and governmental authority has clearly changed through the adoption of networked and market-oriented "governance-beyond-the-state solutions".

Essential questions of accountability and legitimacy emerge out of this public-private quango-ization. Taking the Cooperation Agreement for Inom Vallgraven as an example, it lists six areas of cooperation: Traffic, accessibility, parking; Maintenance and street cleaning; Refurbishment and aesthetic measures; Educational activities and care for members; Marketing and events; Crime prevention and safety/security matters. Through measures in these areas, the City's ambition with cooperation is to "strenghten the city center as a meeting- and shopping-place in the region and to consolidate a strong brand", as well as to "make all visitors experience the area Inom Vallgraven as Sweden's leading city center" (Safe City of Gothenburg 2011). While the City claims that "this contributes to the development of the city as a whole", all of the six areas of cooperation are political or have immediate political impact either in terms of budgetary effects with regard to prioritized allocations in the budgets of participating branches of the City, or in ways that have direct impact upon the spatial area in question in terms of how it is physically structured, imagined, and marketed as well as policed.

Furthermore, a Cooperation Agreement is signed not by any elected official, but by head administrative officers. This makes an agreement take on a seemingly technical rather than political character. While the Cooperation Agreement for Inom Vallgraven is signed by four persons each from the private and the public sector (Innerstaden 2010), the board of the company Inner City Gothenburg Co., consists of six persons. Four of these six are leading members of the inner city business community and two are representatives of the city's Park and Landscape Management Office (Innerstaden 2011). The Cooperation Agreement states that the company may appoint working groups to work on specific projects to be reported upon to the board of the company, where the core decision-making power hence rests. Formal approval of any concrete proposals that emerge from the working groups and the board would however still be decided upon by the relevant political boards of the city, that is, in the City Planning Board, the City Traffic Board, etc. Accountability and responsibility thus formally continue to reside with the political boards of the City and the appointed politicians ruling therein, yet the direction of urban policies and development has through Inner City Gothenburg Co. become directly linked to strong actors of the business community.

Concluding remarks

When adapting the text to the context of this COST Action report, a return to the webpage of Inner City Gothenburg Co. and the company's Action Plan for 2017 gave some interesting additional information. The company now defines itself as the Business Improvement District-model for Gothenburg. Under the overarching statement that "sustainability is our compass" (cf. Abrahamsson's comment in 4.3. below on 'sustainability' as a "floating signifier" with vague meanings), the four "theme activities" of the company during 2017 have been: Clean, proper, and safe/secure; Traffic and accessibility; Marketing and events; Vision, organization, communication, and a shared sense of belonging. The themes range from very practical matters to ideological visions, but all are related to market and develop the area for increased

shopping. However, the webpage also shows that it is also on the company's agenda to make this happen by reaching a stronger institutionalized position in local urban politics. Four areas are identified in which the company needs to take steps: to further develop collaboration in and about the city center; to participate at early stages in projects and developmental work initiated by the City; to position Inner City Gothenburg Co. as an official advisory and reviewing body; and to strengthen ties with politicians and media. Such a development would further the ongoing process of quango-ization in Gothenburg through which political agency is displaced from fora consisting of elected or appointed politicians. To be absolutely clear, Inner City Gothenburg Co. is a joint-stock company owned by the real estate holders' and merchants' organizations. Yet, rather than to accept the role of an external lobbying voice, the company seeks to become internally affiliated with the political and administrative system, and integral to the very formation of urban policy. Within such a format of collaboration, interventions based on CPTED or CP-UDP approaches, although in many ways of generic value, may more than anything support the agendas of strong minority interests.

When inter-urban competition despite the rhetoric about "all Gothenburgers" in this fashion turns more destructively intra-urban than ever before, and when segregation and poverty in Gothenburg is on the increase, there is a need to reflect upon the serious risks and failures of guango-ized governance. In order to build democratic and socially sustainable, safe and secure cities, public urban policy needs to focus on safe-guarding public bodies' independence from stakeholder pressures; focus on building democratic citizenship rather than to subsidize the delivery of citizens as consumers to the market; and in urban practice focus more on those areas that lack competitive advantages, rather than pave the ground for convenient and increasingly upscale inner city consumption and high dividends to stockholders.

4.4. Towards Just and Socially Sustainable Scandinavian Cities[16]

Introduction

The question of crime prevention in urban settings is increasingly on the agenda. Why is this? Which are the urban as well as global conditions in which this question is situated? Drawing upon experiences from two medium-sized Swedish cities, Malmö and Gothenburg, this article deals with the role of cities in social sustainable development. As the argument goes, the potentialities of cities are challenged by three interlinked processes exposing them to sincere societal strains. The uneven development of globalization, the transformed character of migration and an increasing speed of urbanization bring several cities into the danger of tearing apart and develop into arenas for social conflicts. This section discusses the area of

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[16] This section is an abbreviated version of "The Great Transformation of Our Time – Towards Just and Socially Sustainable Scandinavian Cities"; authored by Hans Abrahamsson and published as Chapter 1 in: *Social Transformations in Scandinavian Cities: Nordic Perspectives on Urban Marginalisation and Social Sustainability*, edited by Erica Righard, Magnus Johansson, and Tapio Salonen, Nordic Academic Press 2015, 21-41. The longer version includes an extended discussion of globalization in historical and theoretical perspectives, related to the changing role of the state and the development towards glocalized forms of global governance in which cities, on the one hand, become essential nodes in global networks and flows, yet on the other, closely related to the contradictions of this development, also emerge as arenas for violent social conflicts. Hans Abrahamsson is Associate Professor at the Department of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg, and participated in the COST Action Gothenburg program with a lecture on the topic of this section.

tension in which most cities find themselves as well as some of the factors that are considered decisive for the direction in which they will be heading. Socially sustainable development is here understood as a point of balance between the three dominant values and principles guiding the main ideologies and societal development during modern history. By highlighting the interrelationship between security, development, and justice, the argument here is that urban social cohesion requires *proventive* security where acts of prevention is combined with acts of promotion and based upon enlarged local democracy and strengthened popular participation. The transition from urban politics to urban governance with increased partnership requires co-creation between decision-makers and citizens on important policy choices. Co-creation, however, needs to encompass the whole decision-making process from formulation of the problem, analysis of constraints and possibilities, to the identification of measures and their implementation.

Malmö and Gothenburg – the double facets of the cities of knowledge
In Sweden, Malmö and Gothenburg could be taken as examples of cities that have done surprisingly well in mobilizing the required resources in order to become attractive and competitive nodes in the global network. Both cities, with their populations of 300 and 500 thousand respectively, are considered too small to act alone in the global context. A strengthened subnational and regional cooperation has become paramount. The Gothenburg region belongs to the fastest growing regions in Europe. Through massive investment in infrastructure for transportation and communication, synergy effects in the areas of research, technological development and innovation that involve the Sahlgrenska University Hospital, the main industrial enterprises like Volvo, SKF, and Ericsson as well as Chalmers University of Technology and the University of Gothenburg, the city has succeeded in placing itself on the map of foreign investors. The possibilities of offering a varied cultural supply and becoming a reputed city of events have in this regard been considered crucial. The Malmö region represents a similar success story. Through impressive investments in information and advanced technology, the city has managed to turn around the economic stagnation during the 1990s, when 25 per cent unemployment followed on the closing down of factories and important shipyards. Instead, an attractive and forward-looking green city of knowledge has been created. It's multicultural mix with over 100 spoken languages and 160 different nationalities are important in the marketing of the city's continental and international atmosphere.

The uneven development accompanying the process of globalization, with its increased inequalities, points with all reason to the fact that the success stories of Malmö and Gothenburg also carry unwanted consequences and reverse sides. On a high level of aggregation, statistics show that the increasing process of segregation going on in Gothenburg has divided the city into three parts. The more affluent population has moved out to the suburbs in the southwest, leaving the inner city in the hands of the middle class. Following the ongoing process of gentrification the lower middle class, workers and migrants are forced to leave the increasingly more expensive inner city for a life in the more low-cost suburbs in the northeast. The development manifests itself in strong differences, be it the rate of employment, level of income, life expectancy, or health standard. In reality however, the location of the social consequences accompanying the process of uneven development is

much more complex. In the same neighborhood, even in the same staircase, the prerequisites for decent life vary significantly. The same situation is found in Malmö. Even here, where every third inhabitant is foreign-born, the multicultural variety of people has implied strong segregation (Johansson and Sernhede, 2006).

The situation has become aggravated through the changing role of the state and its withdrawal from the political room. The Swedish state has abandoned its metropolitan focus and changed its financially supported urban politics to instead focus on urban governance. For cities like Malmö and Gothenburg this change has manifested itself in non-state financed local development agreements based upon local public-private partnership. The cities have tried to find their own financing through a combination of public-private partnership and increased taxes. This has increased the leverage of the private sector considerably as regards the need to prioritize investments for strengthened economic growth and increased international competitiveness at the expense of social undertakings.

Of special concern in the social and political development in Malmö and Gothenburg is the urban youth. According to the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs, who analyzed the living conditions of the population in Swedish suburbs, 35 per cent of the youth between 20 and 25 years old in the suburb of Rosengård (Malmö) and Angered (Gothenburg) neither work nor study. For some housing areas the figure can reach 50 to 60 per cent, especially for the foreign-born and less educated youth. Of alarming importance is the fact that an increasing share of young people in some housing areas belong to the third generation being unemployed. They consider themselves "unemployable" and have simply stopped looking for jobs. This has made societies incapable of harnessing the energy, intelligence and workforce of the next generation upon which the society with its aging population depends. The lack of housing is making things worse. Many young people find themselves having to move back and forth to the home of their parents as some kind of "boomerang kids" as they can neither find permanent work nor permanent lodging. Both Gothenburg and Malmö at times experience severe social upheavals driven by frustration from what is perceived as discrimination, lack of respect and lack of opportunity to a life in dignity. The social tensions have increased through transnational migration and better access to global information about what is going on in other parts of the world. The social exclusion and discrimination that people encounter worldwide give racial and colonial connotations with subsequent frustration and alienation.

Cities in social sustainable development
Thus, many cities find themselves in an area of tension between, on the one hand of the possibility of becoming a node in the global network of production capable to contribute to a sustainable development and on the other hand the danger of being transformed into a battlefield for social conflicts due to increased income and health gaps (Abrahamsson, 2015; Graham, 2010; Lidskog, 2006).

How cities will be able to navigate in such an arena of tension depends on politics. Among other things it is dependent upon how citizens and policy decision-makers evaluate and relate to the fundamental values of security, development and justice, constituting peoples' basic needs, and on how the subsequent demands for social sustainability can be met. These are all essentially contested concepts. The understanding of the conditions that the concepts seek to

capture varies depending on the social context that people find themselves in. Nonetheless, these three concepts have, based on the circumstances that have characterized people's living conditions, constituted important values and principles that have formed political ideologies and therefore come to greatly influence social development during the modern history of humanity (Hettne, 2009).

Globalization, together with the expansion of the market economy and the state's withdrawal from the political arena, has come to change the conditions that these concepts seek to capture. The dominant understanding (discourse) of these concepts' meanings has therefore also changed. Today *security* is not any longer primarily linked with protection from external military threats. It is increasingly more about people's day-to-day security, about jobs and predictability (Fierke, 2007). In the network society, the security of the state has become substituted by human security. *Development* challenges in this current era of globalization are less about the creation of the nation-state, the rural question, and the conditions necessary for the modernization of the countryside. Thus, development issues in the profoundly interconnected emerging post-national society all the more concern how to become more inclusive so that people can increase their participation in the collective process of building a society, as well as their influence over their everyday life, regardless of where they or their parents were born. Hence, development is increasingly about education, quality of life and public health. *Justice* is not just about the distribution of material and immaterial resources but also about cultural recognition and political influence (Fainstein, 2010). Justice has increasingly come to mean access to the spaces where economic and political decisions that affect people's daily lives and livelihood opportunities are made. In the context of the uneven development spurred on by globalization and the discussion of sustainable development, the issue of *social* justice and social inclusion has also recently been brought forth as an additional dimension of the concept.

Social sustainability

This brings us to the issue of social sustainability. Here we also face a concept whose fundamental significance is debated, i.e., a floating signifier that can essentially mean anything. Some literature on sustainability seeks to give the concept a more definitive meaning and suggests that social sustainability is a combination of social equity and "community sustainability", which in turn may be defined as sustainability in a local context or neighborhood (Dempsey et al., 2009). Others refers to the question of *Social cohesion,* e.g., the factors that hold a society together. Social cohesion is about people's relationships with one another, or social capital, for which civil society is of great importance, among other factors (Putnam, 1996). Numerous urban researchers therefore argue that cities' ability to manage cultural diversity in terms of ethnicity and to combat social inequalities and discrimination will be decisive for their opportunities to develop in an increasingly globalized world. Many scholars in this regard define social sustainability as the ability to foster a climate that promotes coexistence between groups with different cultural and social backgrounds, thus encouraging social interaction as well as improved quality of life for *all* social groups. Socially sustainable development therefore means that cities must be able to become a counterweight to exclusion by being as inclusive as possible (Polèse and Stren, 2000; Borja and Castells, 1996).

In Search of a Definition of the Concepts

In a globalized world, where the local is increasingly intertwined with the global, we would like to suggest that in a given social context the way that people understand and relate to the dominant political ideologies and the tree basic values, security, development and justice, on which they are grounded, together form the preconditions for socially sustainable development. The term social sustainability can therefore only be defined in relation to these three values. In other words, the meaning of social sustainability is not arbitrary or fluid but is rather comprised of a sort of "equilibrium" that exists between these three values. If there is a deficit of any of the values in relation to the others (for example, a deficit of justice in relation to security and development), the system will ultimately not be socially sustainable. This necessity of equilibrium means that the issue of trade-offs and conflicting goals and how these are dealt with becomes central to social sustainability. The following figure seeks to illustrate this proposition.
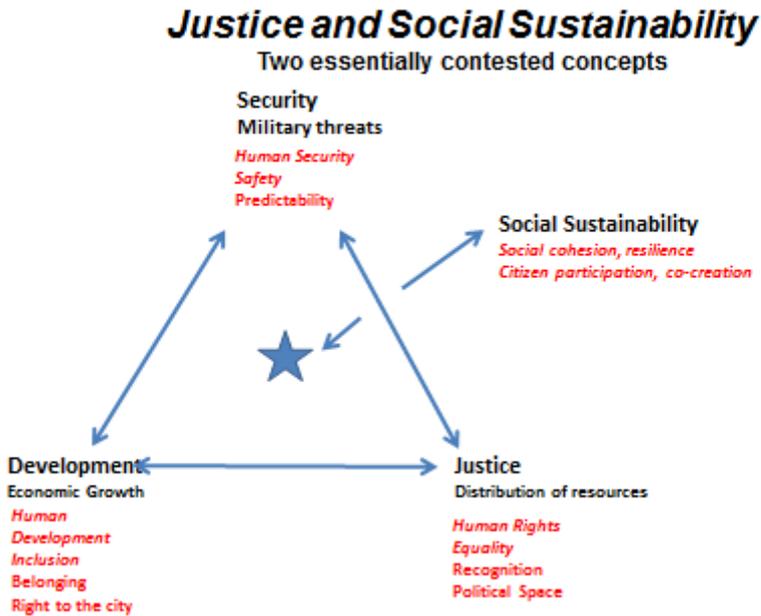
The vertices of the triangle represent the values of security, development and justice. The sides of the triangle may be understood as the axes that illustrate interdependence as well as the different types of trade-offs and conflicting goals that exist between the values represented by each vertex. The star represents the point of equilibrium between the values, which both lays the foundation for these concepts and constitutes the point at which the political balance of power allows social sustainability to be attained. The equilibrium's location within the triangle varies according to the social context and the political balance of power. The closer the equilibrium is to the center of the triangle, the greater the social sustainability. The farther away the equilibrium is from the center of the triangle, in the direction of any one of the vertices, the more emphasis there is on a "lowest common denominator". The former may be called "strong" social sustainability while the latter may be denoted as "weak" social sustainability that is on the verge of dissolution. Social sustainability should therefore not be understood as a static state but rather a dynamic process in constant motion and in need of constant maintenance and reinforcement.

In sum, social sustainability entails a non-discriminatory social system that views the individual as a bearer of economic, social and cultural rights (Dempsey et al., 2009). Social sustainability and cohesion can only be achieved through a social contract and the structural conditions that give inhabitants a sense of belonging and trust despite the possibility that different values exist. Such social identity and belonging strengthens people's self-respect, self-confidence and self-reliance. This in turn augments people's ability to contribute to the maintenance and reinforcement of social sustainability.

In light of this perspective and the situation in medium-sized Swedish cities, we can propose a definition of social sustainability and of a socially sustainable city to read as follows:

Social sustainability constitutes a society's ability to deal with complex social issues and, based on this ability, perpetuate its existence as a functioning social organism. This ability is formed and sustained by the structural relations that open up the space for individuals' participation and opportunity to understand different contexts and feel self-confident. A socially sustainable city is a just and safe city with many public spaces free from discrimination and where the people that live and work in the city have a sense of social trust and fellowship. This requires that inhabitants not only feel that they are involved but also that they truly participate in the city's social development.

From negative to positive security

Hence, the pursuit of the greatest possible social sustainability and the preconditions for this depends upon how citizens and policy decision-makers relate to the question of security, development and justice. The content and dynamics of the concepts can be elucidated with assistance from the founding father of the Peace Research tradition, the Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung. He made an important distinction between direct and structural violence. With direct violence he referred to physical violence, frequently as a result of military interventions, and by structural violence he had in mind the regulatory framework and societal structures that constrained people from fully using their potential and capability and at times also taking away their means of subsistence. Galtung talked about the absence of direct violence in terms of negative peace (to be defended from something). In order to achieve a state of positive peace (to have the right to something), constraints in the form of structural violence must be taken away. Such a removal constituted the conditions for sustainable development and could only be achieved through increased social justice (Galtung, 1996) and a more inclusive, territorially based development strategy (Friedmann, 1992).

In the same way, this chapter suggests that we can talk about negative and positive security. By creating fences and walls and various technical systems for increased surveillance and social control, people in urban areas are intended to be defended from crime and violence and granted increased negative security. However, through measures in order to enhance people's participation in the political life and their empowerment, as well as their social recognition, conditions for increased social cohesion and social trust could be created, thereby strengthening people's right to safety and the conditions for a more positive security (Lidskog, 2006; Sahlin, 2010).

In order to create conditions for a positive security there is a need to combine acts of prevention with acts of promotion. Such measures of *provention* require financial support and

a new mindset (Burton, 1990). Social sustainability must be understood as a prerequisite for economic sustainability. Expenditures in increased social cohesion must accordingly be understood not as operating costs (with demands for immediate amortization) but foremost as investments for the future (with more favorable rules for depreciation). The investments are necessary in order to counteract the changing role of the State and to create the social conditions required at the local level in order to attract foreign investments. Hence, a social investment policy with some kind of social investments funds is called for (Morel et al., 2011). As earlier accounted for, Polanyi demonstrated how market expansion in the 18th century through its commodification of land, labor and capital implied that the economy over time became dis-embedded from the social institutions in which it was previously embedded. In the same way and for the same reason three hundred years later social sustainability in a post-national global network society requires that the economy is gradually re-embedded in its local social context. Social investments funds can turn out to be a first important step in this direction. However, it is not enough to try to achieve such embedding by prioritizing on the city's budget in favor of social preventive measures. There is also a strong need to inject additional resources for activities outside the regular activities that can strengthen social cohesion. In this way additional resources have the ultimate goal to once again embedding the economy in the social conditions that sustainability requires. It is in this sense that it is not possible to separate the social from the economic and to see them as two different dimensions of sustainability.

The need for co-creation and citizen dialogue in social sustainability
Important as these measures and approaches may be, the conditions for positive security cannot, however, only be created from above. They require a strong popular participation and trust-building from below. An increasingly popular tool for strengthened engagement is dialogue. However, the dialogue must not only be limited to so called user dialog permitting civil servants, inspired by the New Public Management, to get inside the customer's head through first hand interaction in order to produce services to meet their needs. The challenges that cities faces consist of complex issues without quick fixes and identifiable solutions. Positive security, based upon enhanced social trust and cohesion, requires a more fully participation of the urban citizens in the political decision making as regards not only the mobilization, allocation and distribution of various resources but also as regards the identification of complex issues and suitable management. This goes on also for how contested open-ended concepts like security, development and justice should be understood and acted upon, let alone the concept of social sustainability. The transition from urban politics to urban governance with increased partnership requires co-creation between decision makers and citizens on important policy choices. Co-creation, however, encompass the whole decision-making process from formulation of the problem, analysis of the possibilities structures to identification of measures and their implementation. The co-creators share hereby also the responsibility for the output and outcome. For such undertaking, an open-ended, inclusive and empowering citizen dialogue is required. Dialogue is about to make different actors and their perspectives visible, in order for them to be able to feel that they are listened to, respected and that they can influence decisions affecting their everyday life. Obviously, for some of the urban rulers fear for power sharing creates

constraints. However, power should not be understood as a zero-sum game. In the network society power is more a question of *power to* do something than power over something. The more people are empowered, and the more they subsequently perceive the power-holders as legitimate, the stronger their capacity to give support to such leadership will be. This calls for a transformative oriented method of citizen dialogue capable to deal with asymmetric relations characterized by important conceptual gaps and strong distrust between different stakeholders (Abrahamsson, 2003).

Conclusion

This section has pointed to the fact that ongoing processes of globalization, migration and urbanization – in interaction constituting the great societal transformation of our time – brings many cities into battlefields for social conflicts. Hereby their potential to contribute to sustainable development are in danger. Social sustainability, here suggested to be understood as an amalgamation of the three values security, development, and justice is presently an objective on which dominant political ideologies are grounded. Yet, these values are essentially contested concepts and the way people understand and relate to them is open for a constant negotiation. Such negotiations require not only an enhanced co-creation based upon strong participation and involvement with concerned citizens. Urban design and planning is one essential aspect of how local governments handle present ongoing global transformations, and crime prevention through such measures needs to look at overarching issues of urban segregation and learn from experiences of violent social conflicts, as well as contribute to reshaping local spaces so that they become more safe, secure, and accessible for all of a city's inhabitants. In all such efforts, a transformative-oriented method of dialogue is a prerequisite in order to create space for dissenting voices and to deal with asymmetric power relations.

5. References

5.1. Acknowledgment

The editors would again like to acknowledge that the report is based on the presentations made by the contributors to the case study program. Those presentations are not listed below. Instead, for details, see Acknowledgments as well as Appendices 1 and 2.

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6. Appendices

6.1. Appendix 1: TU1203 Gothenburg Program Sept. 28-30, 2015 [with links]

6.2. Appendix 2: TU1203 Gothenburg Program Sept. 29, 2015 [with links]

COST ACTION TU1203 WORKING GROUP MEETING AND WORKSHOP, GOTHENBURG, SWEDEN
Program for COST Action TU1203, Monday-Wednesday, September 28-30, 2015

The program includes different venues. On Monday and Wednesday, the venues are Lindholmen Science Park and Chalmers Campus Lindholmen. The entrances to the two buildings we will be in are right opposite one another. We will use spaces in both buildings during both Monday and Wednesday.
After hotel check-in on Monday, you should take the ferry shuttle (Line 286, free ride, no ticket necessary) across the river from Stenpiren to Lindholmspiren.

Monday 13:30-18:00: Lindholmen Science Park, Lindholmspiren 5: Google Maps
Wednesday 08:30-13:30: Chalmers Campus Lindholmen, Kuggen, Lindholmsplatsen 1: Google Maps

For the venues on Tuesday, see the separate full program.

1 MONDAY September 28

13:30 – 14:00 Registration and Coffee

14:00
PLENARY SESSION
Chair: **Umberto Nicolini**
Dr., Architect, Politechnico di Milano
Studio Nicolini Architecture and Planning Consultants
Chair of COST TU1203

15:00
RESEARCH ON CRIME PREVENTION AND URBAN DESIGN IN TRANSIT ENVIRONMENTS
Vania Ceccato
Associate Professor, Housing and Safety Research Group
Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm
Swedish Member of COST TU1203

15:45 – 18:00
WORKING GROUP MEETINGS

2 TUESDAY September 29

PRESENTATION OF GOTHENBURG CASE – SEE SEPARATE FULL PROGRAM!

3 WEDNESDAY September 30

08:30 – 09:00 Registration and Coffee

09:00
WORKING GROUP MEETINGS

[Between 10 and 11 am, the Core Group will meet in parallel with WG Meetings]

11:15
SPACE SYNTAX ANALYSIS AND CPUDP – METHODOLOGICAL ADVANCES
Lars Marcus
Professor, Urban Planning
Chalmers University of Technology, Gothenburg
SpaceScape Consultants, Stockholm

12:00
PLENARY SESSION
Chair: **Umberto Nicolini**
Dr., Architect, Politechnico di Milano
Studio Nicolini Architecture and Planning Consultants
Chair of COST TU1203

13:30
END OF MEETING – OPTIONAL LUNCH

CRIME PREVENTION IN GOTHENBURG AND SWEDEN - PROBLEMS, PROCESSES, AND PARTNERSHIPS
Program for COST Action TU1203, Tuesday, September 29, 2015

The program for Tuesday Sept. 29 includes two different venues, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. Both are located in the city center. The group will jointly walk from one to the other and in-between enjoy a lunch and an on-site presentation:

08:30-12:10: Auditorium, Basement Level, the City Planning Authority, City of Gothenburg, Köpmansgatan 20: Google Maps
13:20-14:10: On-site-visit in the Rosenlund Area, Rosenlundsgatan, Hvitfeldtsplatsen: Google Maps
14:20-17:30: Auditorium, Street Level, the Social Sciences Campus, University of Gothenburg, Sprängkullsgatan 25: Google Maps

08:30 – 09:00 Registration and Coffee

09:00
WELCOME AND PRESENTATION OF PROGRAM

Michael Landzelius
Associate Professor
Director: URBSEC
University of Gothenburg and Chalmers
Swedish Delegate COST TU1203

Agneta Essén
Strategic Development Leader
Crime Prevention, Personal Security
Social Resources Administration
City of Gothenburg

1 COST ACTION TU 1203: CPUDP

09:10
WELCOME TO DELEGATES AND INTRODUCTION TO COST TU1203
Umberto Nicolini
Dr., Architect, Politechnico di Milano
Studio Nicolini Architecture and Planning Consultants
Chair of COST TU1203

09:20
A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF CPUDP – THE CEN STANDARDIZATION WORK OF TC 325: PREVENTION OF CRIME BY URBAN PLANNING AND BUILDING DESIGN
Paul van Soomeren
Director of the Board of the International CPTED Association
CEO DSP Groep, Amsterdam
Dutch Delegate COST TU1203
Former Chair of the WG on the European CPUDP standard CEN/TR14383-2

2 WHAT DOES IT LOOK LIKE?

09:50
RISING OR DECLINING? – CRIME TRENDS IN GOTHENBURG AND THE NEARBY REGION
Sven-Åke Lindgren
Professor of Sociology/Criminology
Department of Sociology
University of Gothenburg

10:20
THE CITY OF GOTHENBURG – SPATIAL OVERVIEW AND PLANNING STRATEGIES
Björn Siesjö
City Architect
City Planning Authority
City of Gothenburg

10:50 – 11:10 Coffee Break

11:10
INEQUALITIES IN LIVING CONDITIONS AND HEALTH: WAYS FORWARD TOWARDS THE WHOLE CITY – SOCIALLY SUSTAINABLE
Ingela Andersson
Development Leader
Social Resources Administration
City of Gothenburg

11:40
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THREE CATEGORIES OF CRIMES IN GOTHENBURG – WHERE, WHEN, AND WHY?
Thomas Pettersson
Chief Inspector, Analyst
The Swedish Police, Region West

12:10 – 13:20 Short Walk and Lunch
[Choice of four restaurants – lunch at participants' own expense]

3 WHAT IS BEING DONE AND HOW?

13:20
On Site Visit:
REGENERATION IN THE ROSENLUND AREA – PUBLIC SAFETY, REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENT, AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING
Ulrika Barkman
Planning Officer
Unit for a Safe, Beautiful City
City of Gothenburg
Mats Paulsson
Chief Inspector
Human Trafficking Unit
The Swedish Police, Region West
Peder Wahlgren
Business Area Manager
Commercial Properties
Wallenstam Real Estate

14:10 – 14:20 Short Walk

14:20
LOCAL PARTNERSHIPS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF GOTHENBURG'S PUBLIC SPACES – AN OVERVIEW
Ulrika Barkman
Planning Officer
Unit for a Safe, Beautiful City
City of Gothenburg

14:50
SAFE IN GOTHENBURG – LONG-TERM COOPERATION BETWEEN THE POLICE AND CITY DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIONS
Anders Petersson
Chief Inspector
Daniel Hjerpe
Coordinator
The Swedish Police, Greater Gothenburg

15:20 – 15:40 Coffee Break

15:40
CONSIDERATIONS IN PLANNING OF RELEVANCE FOR CRIME PREVENTION
Gunnar Persson
City Planning Director
City Planning Authority
City of Gothenburg

4 REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

16:10
THE GLOBAL POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION OF OUR TIME – LOCAL EFFECTS AND PROCESSES IN GOTHENBURG, SWEDEN
Hans Abrahamsson
Associate Professor
Department of Global Studies
University of Gothenburg

16:40 – 17:30
CONCLUDING DISCUSSION – MAIN TOPIC: PROCESSES AND PARTNERSHIPS
Moderator: **François Wellhoff**
Civil Engineer, Economist, Urban Planner
Vice Chair of COST TU1203

5 DINNER

19:30
OPTIONAL JOINT DINNER
Restaurant Taverna Averna